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A Survey of the Latin Manuscript Fragments in Danish Collections with Special
Consideration given the Gospel Books of the Archdiocese of Lund



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ABSTRACT

A Survey of the Latin Manuscript Fragments in Danish Collections with Special Consideration given the Gospel Books of the Archdiocese of Lund

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This thesis offers a modern re-evaluation of the medieval fragmentary manuscript material kept in the two major collections in Denmark at the Danish National Archives and the Royal Library. The introduction offers an overview of the fragment collections in order to assess the Danish collections in Copenhagen and the unique challenges they pose. Next, Chapter One discusses various palaeographical difficulties of working with de-contextualised Pregothic script samples is discussed. This is followed by an examination of methodologies that are necessary and which are applied in order to work with the body of fragmentary manuscript material and achieve valid results.

Chapter Two demonstrates the potential of the Danish fragment collections by investigating the fragments attributed to Scribe A, working at the Scandinavian archdiocese of Lund in the first half of the twelfth century. Following this scribe's career, a model of his scribal hand development is constructed with a number of fragmentary manuscripts, pieces of which can be found across the various Scandinavian manuscript fragment collections, revealing a web of interconnected scribes working at Lund.

Chapter Three concerns the gospel books associated with Lund. It is demonstrated that the manuscript Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67) was written by two Lund scribes, one of whom is Scribe A, the other being the main scribe of the gospel book KB, Thott 21 4to, Scribe T. A detailed study of the corrections of Thott 21 proves that Ludwig II 3 served for the most part as that manuscript's exemplar.

Chapter Four discusses the picture of scribal activity and interconnectivity at Lund in the first half of the twelfth century resulting from the close studies of the scribal hands involved in the writing of the manuscripts.

In the conclusion, the findings are contextualised and further implications discussed, especially regarding the confraternal relationship between the archdiocese of Lund and the abbey of Helmarshausen in Germany. Finally, various other fragments are highlighted in order to demonstrate the further potential of Danish fragment scholarship, as well as which steps must be taken in the future in order to progress the field.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, FIGURES AND TABLES

Abbreviations

CMD: Catalogue des Manuscrits datés
CCM: Catalogus Codicum Mutilorum
KB: Kongelige Bibliotek (Royal Library, Denmark)
DRA: Danmarks Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives)
UB: Universitetsbiblioteket (University Library, Lund)
MPO: Medeltida Pergamentomslag (Medieval Parchment Cover)
NRA: Norges Riksarkivet (Norwegian National Archives)
PCC: Patrologiae Cursus Completus
SRA: Sveriges Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives)

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to offer a modern re-appraisal of the medieval fragmentary manuscript material kept in the two major collections in Denmark in order to make up for many years of scholarly neglect. It will be shown that a re-evaluation of the material is required to unlock large sections of the other Nordic fragment collections to their fullest potential. Furthermore, a closer look at the palaeographic methodology required when dealing with large bodies of fragmentary manuscript material will be given, highlighting problems and solutions.

First, I will offer an overview of the fragment collections in order to assess the Danish collections in Copenhagen and the unique challenges they pose. Next, Chapter One discusses particular palaeographical difficulties of working with de-contextualised Pregothic script samples. This will be followed by an examination of methodologies that are necessary and which are applied in order to work with the enormous body of fragmentary manuscript material and achieve valid results. Chapter Two will then demonstrate the sheer amount of potential the Danish fragment collections have by investigating the fragments I attribute to one particular scribe (Scribe A), working at the Scandinavian archdiocese of Lund in the first half of the twelfth century. Following this scribe's career, a model of his scribal hand development will be traced throughout a number of fragmentary manuscripts, pieces of which can be found across the various Scandinavian manuscript fragment collections. This in turn reveals a web of interconnected scribes working at Lund, and leads to Chapter Three, which concerns the gospel books associated with the archdiocese. In that chapter I will prove that the manuscript Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67) was written by two Lund scribes, one of whom is Scribe A, the other being the main scribe of the gospel book KB, Thott 21 4to, Scribe T. A detailed study of the corrections of Thott 21 proves that Ludwig II 3 served for the most part as that manuscript's exemplar. The resulting close studies of the various scribal hands involved in the writing of the manuscripts will then be combined and a resulting picture of scribal activity and interconnectivity at Lund in the first half of the twelfth century will be constructed in Chapter Four. In the conclusion, the findings made will be contextualised and further implications discussed. Finally, I will bring attention to various other fragments in order to demonstrate the potential of Danish fragment scholarship, as well as which steps must be taken in the future in order to progress the field.

The collections

Norway

With approximately 6500 pieces, Norway's collection of fragments is comparatively one of the smaller ones in Scandinavia, which until the 19th century was located in Copenhagen.¹ Since the foundational work done by Lilli Gjerløw in the 1960s and 70s,² a recent wave of renewed interest in the fragments has produced a modern approach to fragment studies. This research, while focused on Norwegian interests, remains critical to fragment scholarship to this day. Two noteworthy works have influenced modern approaches to Norwegian fragment studies, namely Åslaug Ommundsen's *Books, Scribes and Sequences in Medieval Norway*, as well as *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway: Studies in Memory of Lilli Gjerløw*.³ Appearing in 2012, this work is in many ways one of the most comprehensive modern publications on the Latin manuscript fragment collection of the NRA (Norges Riksarkivet). Here one finds contributions surveying, for example, European influences on the fragments, or certain genres such as psalters or patristic texts. The problems and opportunities found in fragment scholarship laid out here informed further studies in the years to come. As such, the methodologies of Norwegian fragment scholarship should be applied and considered with regard to the Danish collections.

Sweden

With 22,700 items, the fragments of the National Archives in Stockholm represent the largest collection in Scandinavia, comprising parts of an estimated 6000 medieval codices. These fragments tend to belie their name, as a vast majority of them consists of single complete leaves or whole bifolia, offering the largest amount of raw manuscript material of the collections.

In 1995, work was begun to update and modernise the old catalogue, CCM (Catalogus Codicum Mutilorum) and the online project MPO (Medeltida Pergamentsomslag) took shape. This project, led by Gunilla Björkvall, Anna Wolodarski and Jan Brunius, was finished in 2003. The 2013 publication *From Manuscripts to Wrappers* by Brunius, offers a clear insight into

¹ Ommundsen, 'A Norwegian – and European – jigsaw', p. 135.

² See bibliographical entries under Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis; Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*.

³ Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences*; Karlsen, (ed.), *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway*.

the Swedish fragment collection and its history, and allows for a solid understanding of that collection.⁴

The result of this early approach towards an electronic catalogue of manuscript fragments of the SRA (Sveriges Riksarkivet) can be seen today. An online database with expansive search criteria, including digital images and scholarly commentary where applicable, serves as an extremely powerful tool for further research. Due to the sheer size of the collection, the work on the Stockholm fragments is far from complete. Nevertheless, the approach and methodology have inspired similar efforts in Norway and Denmark. These days, however, the database is showing its age, with subpar image quality being one of the most hampering aspects of the online resource.

Finland

The National Library of Finland contains approximately 9400 fragments. These should be seen in close proximity to the Swedish collection due to the countries' shared history up until the early nineteenth century. The account books, which were then transferred from Sweden to Finland, and the accompanying fragments, whilst capturing the interest of the Finnish archivist Edward Grönblad in the 1850s, were only subjected to a systematic study much later, in a similar fashion to the other Nordic countries.⁵

The fragments garnered interest amongst the musicologists initially in the early 20th century, in particular with Toivo Haapanen.⁶ In 2006 the National Library of Finland launched the *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa* (Written Culture in Medieval Finland) project under Tuomas Heikkilä.⁷ This project further led to the *Fragmenta Membranea* database, which was launched in 2011, and to this day serves as an exemplary fragment database amongst the Nordic countries.⁸

Denmark

In contrast to the Swedish fragments, the Copenhagen collections face a far worse survival rate, and similarly to the Norwegian collections, range from the smallest of parchment strips to full leaves. The similarity of the NRA and Copenhagen collections is tied to the shared history of the countries, since from 1536–1660 Norway was under direct Danish rule,

⁴ See Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*.

⁵ Heikkilä and Ommundsen, 'Piecing Together the Past', p. 11.

⁶ See Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente*.

⁷ For the published results of the project, see Heikkilä, *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*.

⁸ See <https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>.

wherefore the NRA fragments were located in Copenhagen until the nineteenth century as well. The Copenhagen fragments, remnants of approximately 1000 manuscripts, were bound into the bindings of thousands of account books used by the Danish administrative apparatus during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries following a type of manuscript recycling which occurred across Scandinavia.

The nature and amount of surviving fragments may be due to the fact that during the early eighteenth century, pre-1610 account books were discarded wholesale. After the large-scale tax reforms and restructuring of the fiefdoms in Denmark after 1597, the old books no longer held any relevant meaning for the officials, and keeping records of the past seems to have not been at the forefront of the administration's mind at the time.⁹ The 8th of October 1725 saw the worst authorisation of the purging of tax records. One need only imagine the number of volumes destroyed, as the simple listing of accounts filled nearly a thousand leaves.¹⁰ To compound the problem, the pre-1610 accounts most likely comprised a disproportionately large amount of manuscript evidence. While parchment was in plentiful supply early on, officials were able to bind the books in whole folia or bifolia. This seems to be a pattern across Norway and Sweden as well.¹¹ Books bound after 1600 tend to feature smaller fragments in general – some of the later ones feature strips barely a finger's breadth wide – as supplies of easily accessible parchment were running low, and only a few rare exceptions bear large folio covers. Further troubles ensured an even sparser survival rate for Danish medieval manuscripts, fragmentary or otherwise. The first half of the seventeenth century saw a period of great turmoil and war between Denmark-Norway and Sweden.¹² The systematic attacks and destruction of royal and ducal castles, the inheritors of the monastic libraries after their dissolution, further reduced the survival rate of manuscript evidence. The traditional cut-off point for fragment studies, 1660, after the Treaty of Copenhagen and the institution of an absolute, hereditary monarchy, sees practically no more accounts being bound in the old system of fragment wrappers.

So far, however, only a relatively small amount of scholarship has emerged – and that sporadically – from the study of the Latin manuscript fragments in Denmark, unlike the situation with the other Scandinavian collections, something which is tied to negative scholarly

⁹ For a more detailed account on the restructuring of the system of taxation, see Enevoldsen, 'Lensreformerne i Danmark'.

¹⁰ For more on the destruction of the accounts, see Holmgaard, *Rentekammeret*; Gelting, 'The Problem of the Provenance'.

¹¹ See Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøger i Norge inntil år 1300'; and Karlsen, 'Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway: Survival and Losses'.

¹² Frost, *The Northern Wars*, p. 120.

attitudes which only recently are shifting in Denmark. This is a problem that affected scholarship to varying degrees in Scandinavia, as the long-time focus was placed on vernacular manuscripts, and by extension vernacular manuscript fragments. This is most likely connected to longstanding anti-Catholic prejudice, which affected the choice of material which was studied, though these attitudes are very much receding into the past.

As was mentioned above, the Swedish collection exists, in a somewhat aged, digital form, and the Norwegian collections are well on their way to finding a digital publication platform.

In Denmark the situation is more complex. The vast majority of fragments in Denmark are split between the Danish National Archives (DRA) and the Royal Library of Copenhagen (KB).

The 3355 fragments at the KB range from pieces of printed books produced up to the late seventeenth century, to some of the earliest manuscript fragments of the eighth century. These fragments, the majority of which were removed from the account books at the National Archives, had been professionally digitised over the past several years, yet problems with the computer systems supplied by a third party have caused the project to be delayed until mid-2019, when the images were made available on the KB website.¹³ The inventory of these fragments, by Meerete Andersen and Jørgen Raasted, offers some dating by century and rough genre categorization and grouping, and serves as a sufficient guide to navigate the collection, even though any closer analysis of particular fragments should not rely on the data given in the inventory.¹⁴

The fragments at the DRA, calculated by Ommundsen to number at 7147,¹⁵ (though I would place that number slightly lower since I have come upon various uncatalogued fragments in the course of my research, as well as numbering errors in the catalogue itself), are divided between the *Aftagne Fragmenter* collection (1762 fragments that have been removed from bindings) and 5390 fragments still in situ in the account books.

Of these in situ fragments, around 500 were made available online by Ottosen's research, with an accompanying catalogue,¹⁶ which mainly covers various miscellaneous accounts that do not fall into the main collection of *Lensregnskaber 1559–1660*. The server for those digitised fragments has regrettably since gone down and the information is no longer available.

¹³ <http://www5.kb.dk/editions/any/2009/jul/editions/da/>.

¹⁴ Andersen, M. G., and J. Raasted, *Inventar over det Kongelige Biblioteks Fragmentsamling*.

¹⁵ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 185.

¹⁶ www.liturgy.dk (now defunct).

The bulk of the fragments, the in situ ones, are still attached to the account books, which are valuable and fragile documents in their own right, and are restricted to the public. A pertinent quote by Ommundsen sums up the problem I faced at the outset of my research:

‘The about 4350 remaining fragments (almost two thirds) would be more time consuming to consult, and it would take at least a couple of years to go through them all: Lensregnskaber 1559–1660 are distributed in 2045 different boxes, and only ten boxes can be ordered up at a time’.¹⁷

Since my research focuses on fragments of the Pregothic period, I was able to avoid boxes storing fragments designated in the inventory as fifteenth to sixteenth century or later. However, since the data of the catalogues is not that of a detailed palaeographical nature, any fragments with designated dates before these required my viewing in order to assess them myself. Instead of the 2045 boxes, I was therefore able to restrict myself to approximately 800. The situation in Denmark, in comparison to the other Scandinavian countries, requires a long overdue large-scale overview of the majority of its fragments, though small areas have been illuminated by various case studies.¹⁸ While these have greatly contributed to the scholarship of the Danish fragments and Scandinavian fragment studies in general, they as yet exist in a vacuum of sorts, which may lead to somewhat misleading results, though due to no fault of the scholars in question. This, in large part is due to the issue of the secondary provenance question, which will be discussed below.

Secondary provenance and research history

The all-important factor deciding the relevance of any findings made with regard to direct palaeographical and textual analysis of the Latin fragments is whether these fragments can be shown, with a relatively high degree of accuracy, to have arrived, or been written, in Denmark during the Middle Ages and not during the early modern period. In order to do so, one must resolve the secondary provenance issue.

One of the fundamentally unresolved problems regarding the manuscript fragments is that of their secondary provenance. The use of medieval manuscripts, then deemed as relatively worthless, except for their value as binding material, presents both a problem and an opportunity. On the one hand, the current state of the material has left it extremely difficult to

¹⁷ Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 185.

¹⁸ See bibliographical entries on Gullick, Petersen, Gelting and Ommundsen.

analyse. On the other hand, the body of material spans a wide cross-section of manuscripts, from large, expensively decorated codices meant perhaps for prestige display purposes, to codices meant to be used by the parish priest, manuscripts, which rarely survived the rigours of intense use and centuries-long neglect.

Most of the fragments kept in the National Archives are designated with their secondary provenance, namely, of the account books they were removed from, with the date of the accounts and the administrative region these accounts belonged to. However, a few hundred fragments were transferred from the University of Copenhagen and the National Archives into the collection of the Royal Library during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century without their secondary provenance information being recorded. These fragments, as Christian Tortzen argued, were important because they were of regional accounts, and therefore were in all likelihood bound in locally sourced parchment, and not centrally collected reserves.¹⁹ The lack of secondary provenance is to his mind therefore doubly frustrating (whether his model of regional binding is actually correct will be discussed below). Other fragments, including some of the oldest in the collection, have been used as covers or part of bindings of books in the Royal Library. Some of these, for example a small group of fragments collected by Frederik Rostgaard and later kept in the University Library, were numbered by Andersen and Raasted but not included in their inventory.²⁰ This is also the case with other fragments formerly in the University Library whose manuscript collections were transferred to the KB in 1938. Other fragments outside the collection of the KB remained unnoticed. Furthermore, even though many of the fragments remain in situ at the DRA, the problem of multiple re-usages of the manuscript pieces confuses the picture. In a few lucky cases the previous provenance can be found somewhere on the surviving parchment, but multiple re-trimmings of these have removed that evidence in many cases. Even if evidence of a previous provenance can be found on a fragment, there is no guarantee of that being the original one.

The lack of secondary provenance makes the task of locating the determining medieval location of fragments in question extremely difficult, if not impossible. Where it is feasible, the linking of these fragments to other fragment groups of known secondary provenance will be demonstrated below, though these cases tend to be the exception, and not the rule.

¹⁹ Tortzen, 'Medieval Parchment in Elsinore', p. 109.

²⁰ See Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar*, pp. 1–2.

Moreover, during the period in question, Norway was part of the kingdom of Denmark and therefore was required to send account books to Copenhagen, to the oversight of the *Rentekammeret* (Royal Accounts Chamber). While the distance to the central administration will have impacted the process of accounting and the binding of account books, it is nevertheless a fruitful and necessary endeavour to take a closer look at what evidence of binding practices has so far emerged from the study of the Norwegian fragments. Gunnar Pettersen paints a convincing picture of the differences between the local *fogderi* accounts and the centrally bound *len* accounts in Norway.²¹ While perhaps leaning on rather optimistic interpretations of the evidence, Pettersen concludes that the larger, more important land registers of the *len* were bound centrally in the castle where the administration was based (for example Bergenhus slott, Akershus slott). When embarking upon a study of the Danish fragments, it is therefore relevant to bear the processes in Norway in mind.

To look to Sweden, Brunius has made a close study of the difficulties of tracing provenance in the case of the Swedish fragments. It is worth bearing in mind his findings regarding the usage of local parish churches, which would typically have owned between three and eight books of liturgical nature.²² Conversely, he notes that a high proportion of fragments of the Stockholm provenance, the central account bindery, stem from non-liturgical, i.e. legal and theological manuscripts. This strengthens the case of local binding practice at least in the case of the Swedish account books.²³

Nonetheless, the question remains, as to what degree waste parchment was bought by the administrative centres from further abroad in order to bind their accounts. This could have been necessary when not enough parchment was left or readily available in the area in question. This particular issue seems to have hampered Danish fragment studies until recently. Two pieces of evidence were commonly held up to discourage Danish scholars from properly investigating the fragments in greater detail, due to the secondary provenance being shown to be of no use in locating the fragments back to their medieval provenance in Denmark.

Although a small group of scholars studying the fragments in the DRA in the 1950s had concluded that these were of historic value to Danish medievalists,²⁴ most mainstream medieval scholars seemed to distance themselves from the body of material kept at the archives.

²¹ The *len* (fief) was ruled by a governor (*lensherren*) and was subdivided into *fogderier* (districts), which were in their turn administered by a *fogd* (bailiff). Subsidiary *len* and *fogderier* were in most cases identical, and the term *fogderi* was sometimes interchangeable with the term *len*. For more information, see Pettersen, 'From Parchment Books to Fragments', pp. 48–9.

²² Brunius, 'De medeltida bokfragmenten', p. 391.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 393–95.

²⁴ See the preliminary findings by Raasted in 'Middelalderlige håndskriftfragmenter i Danmark'.

This is due to the following, often-cited pieces of evidence. The first, a letter from King Frederik II in 1587 to his Lord Lieutenant at Roskildegaard, shows the transferal of manuscripts from Roskilde to Kronborg:

Wij bede thig och wille, ath thu strax forschicker hiid till wortt slot Kroneborg alle huis Papistische Böger, som finds ther paa wor gaardt wdi Roschild wdi huis Inuentarium, thu ther haffeur annamitt, saa the strax mett thett förste kunde hiid komme. Ther medt schier wor wilge. Befalendis thig Gud. Schreffuitt paa wortt Slott Kroneborg then ij Dag Junii Aar Mdlxxxvij.²⁵

The only reason for an order of outdated, unwanted, pre-Reformation liturgical books would have been for recycling purposes. One may assume that a part of these books would have ended their lives as book covers. The second piece of evidence is the following report cited by Tortzen, which has had an extraordinary impact on the scholarly perception of the manuscript fragments. It is argued that Latin ecclesiastic books had been imported from Lübeck by the barrel load. This had famously been the case for the wedding celebration of the eldest son of King Christian IV in 1634.²⁶ Therefore, the argument went, the fragments found within the DRA might as well be of northern German provenance, or even further beyond. This trend of highly sceptical scholarship continues to cloud Danish scholars' views until this day.²⁷

The sceptics rely on pieces of evidence which support the existence of a centrally located binding operation in Copenhagen. If this were the case, much of the information gleaned from the fragments would be of highly questionable use, proving an impossible barrier to historical fragment contextualisation. However, this view of the fragment binding process has been convincingly refuted.²⁸ Furthermore, Tor Weidling and Espen Karlsen have suggested the possibility of governors in some cases having private access to manuscripts.²⁹ This would further heighten the chances of locally acquired books having been used as bindings. These studies did not place all of their emphasis on the specifically Danish question of central or local binding and parchment acquisition, yet they offer clearly valuable insights. During my time at the DRA, I have kept an eye out for any features of account books, especially those that are

²⁵ *Monumenta Historiae Danicae* III, p. 72; Transl. 'So is it our wish and will, that you quickly send to our castle Kronborg all the papist books which you can find at our estate at Roskilde, which you have received into our inventory, so that they may be sent here at first notice'. This, and all following translations, are my own.

²⁶ Tortzen, 'Medieval Manuscript Fragments in Denmark', p. 170.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

²⁸ See Karlsen, 'Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway: Survival and Losses', pp. 13–39; Pettersen, 'From Parchment Books to Fragments', pp. 41–65.

²⁹ Weidling and Karlsen, 'Latinske fragmenter', p. 120.

likely to have been bound at a central location, i.e. the Copenhagen ones, which would speak of a central bindery. No obvious features have emerged so far regarding fragment bindings. Any more detailed searches may require a closer look at twine samples used for these bindings, and measurements of sewing stations and the like. There may, perhaps, be a higher number of parchment covers in the Copenhagen accounts which do not stem from any manuscripts but are a hard, thick, binding parchment, of a type which seems to have gone through the parchment making process, but not with manuscript production in mind. These covers are incredibly robust and sturdy to this day, so one can see why they were used. Whether the presence of these in the Copenhagen accounts speaks of some central practice is speculation. I have not noticed any particular pattern in their distribution, though my focus lay on manuscript fragments, so I must acknowledge that there may be a variable which I missed.

Michael Gelting has recently proposed a working model for Danish fragment binding practice along the following logical premise: If the *len* had succeeded to a large monastic or ecclesiastic institution, it would therefore also have had access to a wealth of manuscript codices, as opposed to one whose administration was purely based in a ducal castle. Following this, the *len* of the first type would access local manuscripts, whereas if there was no easy access to parchment books, they would have to be acquired from further afield.³⁰ The logic of this conclusion is rather obvious, but as has been seen with regard to working with the Norwegian fragments, being able to prove this premise is a far more difficult task than it might initially seem.

By performing a preliminary test of two series of accounts, those of the *len* of Ringsted Abbey in Sjælland,³¹ and those of the *Amt* (German equivalent of Danish *len*) of Tønder (German: Tondern) in the duchy of Schleswig (a borough with a medieval royal castle belonging to the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf since 1544) Gelting has, at least in the limited nature of a case study, supported his supposition.³²

The conclusion is that, indeed, the accounts from a *len* which incorporated a large Benedictine abbey such as Ringsted, were bound in parchment from its medieval library. The accounts of an *Amt* such as Tønder, based in an old ducal castle, however, were bound in parchment provided by central authorities, acquired from monastic foundations elsewhere in the various duchies.³³ Furthermore, this closing statement is of particular significance: ‘all of the fragments

³⁰ Gelting, ‘The Problem of the Provenance’, p. 113.

³¹ DRA Lat. fragm. 1226–54 and DRA Lat. fragm. 4983–5111.

³² Only a few of the relevant accounts of the *Amt* of Tønder are now in the DRA.

³³ Tønder and Solvig belonged to the duchy of Schleswig; Bordsesholm was located in the duchy of Holstein.

I have studied came from libraries within the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century monarchical conglomerate of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein; no foreign “monkish books” seem to have been used for binding the accounts.’³⁴

When compared to the previous view of scholarship on the Latin manuscript fragments, we are able to see how this one particular foray has deviated from what was once the accepted viewpoint.

³⁴ Gelting, ‘The Problem of the Provenance’, p. 127.

1. METHODOLOGY

As mentioned above, the relevant fragment catalogues of the Danish collections are in many ways flawed and outdated. Nevertheless, the two catalogues in question are no doubt impressive for what they set out to achieve; the valuable information they offer can be used in the analysis undertaken in the present work.³⁵

At this juncture it must be mentioned that Albrechtsen's catalogue of the fragments in the DRA, spanning the *Aftagne Fragmenter* and the *Lensregnskaber 1559–1660* collections, regrettably contains twelve instances of simple numerical errors, of numbers skipped in the cataloguing process (i.e. #6917 followed by #6919). This changes the overall number of the fragments, so DRA Fr. 7717 would actually be DRA Fr. 7705, though of course it is not as straightforward as moving the catalogue number down by twelve, since these errors are spread over the course of the work. For clarity's sake I have kept the original catalogue numbers; however, when a new catalogue does eventually emerge, these errors must be accounted for.

Moreover, the issue of dating the fragments is clearly the most problematic issue (not to speak of localising them as well). The catalogues list the fragment number or group, a possible dating of the fragment, and the date and provenance of the account book in question (if these are known). The removed fragments, i.e. the ones stored at the KB and the *Aftagne Fragmenter* collection of the DRA, make up the majority of the problem, since at the time of their removal it was rare for the provenance of the account books they stemmed from to be taken note of.

The fragments of the *Aftagne Fragmenter* collection have been grouped, pairing fragments of the same manuscript together, and these manuscript designations can be found in the catalogue. These groups form the basis of further investigations and a useful reference point to which the in situ fragments may be matched and the already established groups expanded.

I have collated the data on all fragments up until around the fourteenth century. While my focus lies on the twelfth century, future researchers should continue to collect material of this period and beyond, up until the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. This is mainly required for the purpose of an overarching combined catalogue, which would aid the discussion of the secondary distribution of fragments across Denmark. If one wishes to create a complete picture of fragment distribution, one must not confine oneself to manuscript fragments of one particular

³⁵ Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar*; Albrechtsen, *Middelalderlige håndskriftfragmenter*. See Powitz, 'Datieren und Lokalisieren nach Schrift', for a seminal paper on the difficulties of creating dated and located catalogues of large numbers of manuscripts.

century. Since manuscripts stemming from up to the sixteenth century were used as binding material at the same time as the earlier fragments, their distribution will also need to be mapped. Implementing my study of the Danish fragment collections faced several major practical difficulties. The first obstacle, that of acquiring the images of the actual manuscript material, was accomplished over a number of years, with the constraint of focusing on fragments which could even vaguely fall into the ‘Pregothic’ script classification (more on this below). This arduous task, whilst somewhat time consuming, is, however, not the main obstacle facing a fragment scholar. When dealing with upwards of 30,000 images of manuscript fragments, the identification of significant groupings required a visual judgment made according to palaeographical information found in the manuscript material.

I have found that the approach one must take with regard to fragment studies is that of a mainly palaeographic one. This obvious seeming statement bears a number of important issues which impact the methodological route one must take. What emerges from fragment scholarship so far, as well as personal experience, is that it is impossible at the current state of Danish fragment scholarship to study a historic premise, such as a broad topic as e. g. ‘the impact of the English church as seen through fragmentary manuscript evidence in Denmark’ or ‘Cistercian manuscript fragments in Danish Collections’. Constructing a historical narrative, and then exploring how the fragmentary evidence may fit into it, is in the best-case scenario extremely difficult, and in the worst case, may lead to incorrect conclusions. Instead, one must let the close study of a writing sample lead to the next, and so on, until a firmer understanding of a fragment or group may be achieved. This can be incredibly time-consuming in the case of isolated fragments or groups, and as such single case studies, while not expansive in breadth, but in depth, are perhaps the only way to progress in order to achieve a wider understanding of the Danish fragment collection. Therefore, one must be led by the palaeography of the fragments, and not attempt to force it in one direction or the other by looking at the material with presuppositions which affect the nature and reliability of one’s conclusions. This leads to an inherent problem of the palaeographic process of analysis itself.

When undertaking a palaeographic study, one commits to the study of a given script sample. An objective and scientific approach to the analysis of handwriting is clearly of paramount importance. One intends to find the truth of the script, the origins, and the story behind the creation of the written object. However, one need not look far within the established literature to encounter a problem, namely the subjective issue of personal experience. How is one to reconcile the intention of an objective scientific approach with the case that writing, by its very nature, is a dynamic and self-evolving process, and extremely susceptible to subjective

influences? Simply identifying distinctive features of various writing schools and houses in Germany, France and England and then projecting them on the thousands of scribes writing in Europe in the medieval period is a dangerous approach, and more often than not may be rather misleading. Specifically the projection of these onto the thousands of script samples in fragment collections, pieces of manuscripts that do not have an immediate cultural or historical context for the palaeographer to fall back on in order to commence their study, must be done in the most cautious manner. The analytical process itself is extremely dependent on the personal experience of the palaeographer in question. Visual memory plays a key role here, with many years of experience required in order to acquire and hone the skill demanded.³⁶

As mentioned above Gerhardt Powitz produced a valuable paper musing on the difficulties faced by palaeographers when dealing with a large amount of manuscript evidence, something which, when dealing with fragment collections in such an unexplored state as the Danish ones, is highly relevant. The particular problem he discusses is the creation of a comprehensive catalogue, something which lies at the root of the problem of manuscript fragment collections. Whilst discussing the requirements and abilities a palaeographer must possess, he invokes the great German philologist Joachim Kirchner.³⁷ This led Powitz to summarise the sentiment with his now much quoted phrase ‘das Auge sehen lernen’,³⁸ in other words, learning to develop the skill to instinctively recognise the various scripts and scribal influences. Powitz’ paper, however, truly remained relevant with regard to other points raised, and these words only followed the general sentiment of the palaeographic field in general, and as such serve as a condensation of the current zeitgeist. A few years later Bernhard Bischoff made the now notorious statement raising the issue that palaeography was on the way to becoming a ‘Kunst des Messens’.³⁹ Johan Gumbert offers a clear digest of the situation,⁴⁰ though the issue continued to be discussed.⁴¹

These arguments are as relevant today as they were then, as will be explored below. One of the works that has had the most influence in the Scandinavian area of palaeography is Albert

³⁶ Parkes, *Their Hands before our Eyes*, pp. 57–65.

³⁷ Powitz, ‘Datieren und Lokalisieren’, p. 136. ‘A proper degree of knowledge will only emerge after years of practice, and under the condition that one possess an empathetic feeling for script forms. The firm visual registration of scripts and their changes is the most important and determining factor with regard to palaeographic judgment of handwriting.’

³⁸ *Ibid.*, ‘to teach the eye to see’.

³⁹ Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums*, p. 18. Transl. ‘Palaeography, which is the art of seeing and empathy is, with technological methods, on the way to become an art of measuring’. See Pratesi, ‘Commentare Bischoff’, for more on the philosophical ramifications on this subject, pp. 321–48.

⁴⁰ Gumbert, ‘Commentare ”Commentare Bischoff”’.

⁴¹ Pratesi, ‘Commentare Bischoff: Un secondo intervento’.

Derolez's *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*. Following its publication, Nordic scholars accepted and integrated European terminology when discussing the writings of the north.⁴² Derolez's discussion of the evolution of palaeography, and the struggles of various schools of thought, remains valuable in the current context of discussions surrounding Pregothic script. Derolez offers brief insight into the aforementioned debate surrounding Bischoff's infamous statement, though he remains within the established framework of the debate, stating that in 'absence of sufficient existing quantitative palaeographical research, the morphological method proposed here cannot involve statistics'.⁴³ His work, splitting the world of Gothic writing into the two rough areas of Northern and Southern Textualis, is truly commendable and finds such frequent usage in Scandinavian scholarship for a reason. However, when discussing the localisation of Pregothic scripts, which by no means is the focus of his book, he un-ironically falls back on the work of Battelli, with the following quote: 'In Italy the script is large and more beautiful than in other countries; In Germany it tends to be heavier and more angular; script in France is close to English Pregothic, but heavier and rounder, and sometimes angular.'⁴⁴ 'Kunst des Messens'? Not in this case, one may rest assured.

This muddled issue, concerning a reliance on authority and the personal experience of that authority, is as present today as it was forty years ago. If palaeography is still viewed as more of an art than science, then a deliberation on skill, talent and ability is made permissible.

This issue leads to the latest avenue in palaeographic studies, that of Digital Palaeography, which should be differentiated from Digitally Assisted Palaeography, the latter which is applied below. Whilst programs and neural networks become more and more evolved, and we come ever closer to visual recognition systems, one runs into the same problem again. In order to teach these networks, one must categorize scripts and hands by various palaeographical means, which is done on the individual judgment of the palaeographers involved. One must reduce a complex reality of dynamically evolving scripts (especially in this case the transitional one of the 'long twelfth century', of Pregothic, discussed below) to the categorizations required for machine learning. The positive aspect of this process is that, in this case, discussing the difficulties of transitional script identification 'forces scholars to rethink and formalize, in a fully explicit manner, the set of silent assumptions that they subconsciously rely on when

⁴² Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences*, pp. 35–6.

⁴³ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

describing a particular script'.⁴⁵ This is a process which I encountered when I decided on the parameters of my own fragment database. There seems to be a fine line between unspoken judgements made on somewhat unarticulated feelings, and a well-informed, experienced opinion.

1.1. *A practical, digitally assisted approach*

One must now proceed to leave the theoretical discussion behind and move on to a more practical application. The approach that will be explained and discussed below is necessary in the case of building up a set of criteria which help in identifying Lundensian hands, since these are by their very nature rather difficult to.⁴⁶ When constructing a case for a continuous development of a scribal hand, one must of course rely to a large part on morphology in order to connect the writing samples through the shape of the graphs the scribe employs. Since aspect can shift drastically through a variety of factors, the morphology gives one an initially firm starting point, an instinctual starting point almost (here is where Derolez's above point on morphological studies ring truest). The manner in which the shape is formed, the individual ductus of the letter, is subject to change over time, influenced by various factors. Though one can always argue about the exact definition of ductus, Parkes' description of 'the act of tracing strokes', is perhaps the most unloaded and neutral one.⁴⁷ As will be discussed below, the example of Scribe A shows marked differences between e.g. SRA FR 6786 and DRA Lat. fragm. 7051, and clear similarities, both in the aspect as well as in the letterforms. Here the intersection of morphology and ductus comes into play. One may closely dissect each line, phrase and word for the various environments of the graphs in question. However, we know that those graphs shift, sometimes drastically, in their shape; they are not static. The process which shapes them, the ductus, enacts these changes. One must attempt to quantify what the underlying core of the graph, the essence of the graph, is, which is individual to the scribe in question, and therefore allows you to identify him through the layers above this essence which are subject to the factors of change that develop over time. Variables such as the internal proportions of letterforms, with the size changes within different modes (e.g. in the case of

⁴⁵ Kestemont, Christlein and Stutzmann, 'Artificial Palaeography', p. 109.

⁴⁶ My thanks to Prof. Teresa Webber for supporting my assessment that the complexity of the chronological development of Scribe A at first, and even second glance, is by no means an obvious case.

⁴⁷ Parkes, *Their Hands before our Eyes*, p. 59.

Scribe A, four), as well as the proportional size and relations between angles of the strokes can be the factors that give the graphs a sense of continuity within a scribal hand.

In practical terms I am forced by simple expedience to adopt a modern approach to palaeography. Only a highly systematic approach, utilising digital means to the fullest can through careful application create a structured framework for the study of manuscript fragments. Through this, the reliance on purely visual means as a judgmental tool can be avoided until the very last. By going through the first more technical steps, one can alleviate much, if perhaps not all, of the subjectivity connected to palaeographical analysis. The above discussion, whilst abstract, was necessary to deliberate upon when attempting to cope with the number of fragments found in Copenhagen, particularly given limitations of time and ability of a single researcher.

In order to bring structure to the fragments, I input the existing catalogues of the KB and DRA into a Microsoft Access database. This arduous and time-consuming task resulted in a digital version of the catalogues in question, with all the ‘searchability’ the format allows. This process has raised a number of issues. As has been mentioned, Albrechtsen’s catalogue contains a number of counting errors, leaving the number of fragments actually in the National Archives lower than the numbers currently given. Furthermore, due to the sheer amount of fragments that were viewed at the time the catalogue was created, errors in dating inevitably occurred.

The next step, however, brings us to the curious intersection of objective and subjective. What followed was the recording of various palaeographical diagnostic markers of the individual fragments. This method allows for a relative structure to be created within the fragment collection, matching fragments of the same manuscript or scribe with one another, even though they were spread across the various collections in several locations.

In order to minimize initial subjective judgement, I chose a yes/no format of checklist. This step, of course, should set many an alarm bell ringing, since the choice of diagnostic markers is going to influence any results pulled from the database. These markers, however, are not intended to for instance assign a German or English provenance to a fragment, or date the script to any certain degree. Their purpose is to assist in creating an internal order within the collection, and as such accurate markings need only be correct within a relative context, linking fragments with similar features to one another (one does nevertheless strive to be palaeographically ‘accurate’ in any case when assigning diagnostic markers).

The diagnostic markers I have decided to use are seemingly vague; however, though they remain rather general in nature, by simply the combining three or four markers in a search query the number of fragments conforming to those markers is greatly reduced. The more

variables are added to the list of chosen markers, the higher the chances of a reduction in number of fragments conforming to the requirements. The list below contains the relevant markers chosen:

- Caroline Script
- ‘Early’ Pregothic Script
- ‘Late’ Pregothic Script (The judgment between what is ‘Early’ and ‘Late’ strikes one as a perhaps rather large one to make. Simply terming these two categories as diagnostic markers seems to not entirely grasp the scope of such categorizations, and the judgment calls made in order to assign these. The process here was a rather simple one (and one must not forget that with any of these markers, selecting one or the other is not exclusionary, so ticking both and leaving the case somewhat open is always an option, though this was a surprisingly rare case). Since, as has been explained, the system was designed to help piece together fragments within a collection, relative dating was ultimately the most important. To do so in this case I mostly observed the aspect of the fragment in question. Increased angularity and lateral compression, especially an increased frequency fusion occurrences shifted the assignment of the script to ‘Late’. It must be emphasised that this is not an absolute judgement of the hand in question, but a relative one.)
- Gothic Script: The qualifications for this marker are quite clear and pertain to more or less fully formed Textualis.
- Figure-eight type **g**
- Straight-backed **g**
- **g** with a-typical construction
- trailing-headed **a**
- **a** with compressed/straight back
- **d** with compressed ascender
- **d** with remarkable serif on ascender
- Forked ascenders
- Ampersand ending on an upturned stroke
- Ampersand ending on a downturned stroke
- Ampersand with unusual construction/endstroke
- Neumes *in campo aperto*
- Neumes in a lined system

- Early square notation
- Square notation
- Flex punctuation
- South German point-and-tick punctuation
- Usage of fragment is not first recycling

By simply noting their presence, or lack thereof, in the script of the fragments, one arrives at a searchable checklist. A simple search query then allows one to, for instance, to find fragments containing straight-backed **g**, trailing-headed **a** and various ductus of ampersands, something which might speak of a mix of influences, pointing perhaps, with many caveats, towards a Scandinavian origin, and therefore warranting closer investigation if one so desires. By applying and combining search criteria of the twenty-two diagnostic features, one arrives at various groupings of fragments. These groupings, depending on reasonably chosen diagnostic markers (e.g. simply choosing straight-backed **g** and Pregothisc script would of course result in an unworkably large amount of fragments), are digestible by one researcher and allow for the combining of new, and expanding of existing, fragment groups.

By utilising the database in such a fashion, one is no longer reliant purely on visual memory, which would have been a rather difficult task, since the purely Pregothisc fragments number around 1100 fragments, which contain at least 700 different hands, which are all scattered amongst the ca. 30,000 images I have taken.

The Access database furthermore allows for a digital format of the existing catalogues, which made them somewhat easier to work with. The ability to sort fragments into the various groups via personal search criteria now enables quantitative studies with regard to secondary provenance distribution of the fragments. How many fragments of what sort of rough dating are found mostly in which areas? Which now assembled groups can be seen to be either clustering in certain regions according to their provenance or are scattered across a wide geographic area? Particularly the ability to ring-fence the queries by the binding date of the accounts will additionally allow for a chronological dimension to supplement the geographical when discussing fragment distribution.

1.2. *Pregothisc*

The scripts found in the fragment collections of Copenhagen reflect the range of periods of scribal development in Europe. One is confronted with a wide range of scripts, spanning from

Caroline Minuscule to fully developed Gothic book hands of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The work undertaken here focuses on fragments of manuscripts originating in the twelfth century. This period of writing in Europe falls into what has been termed the ‘long twelfth century’, ranging from 1075–1225.⁴⁸

In order to understand the problematic issue of the Pregothic material in the fragment collections in Copenhagen, one must first come to terms with what ‘Pregothic script’ actually means. For simplicity’s sake, I will be using this term (even though, technically, every script before Gothic Textualis is pre-Gothic). There has been an extensive discussion concerning terminology, which to some palaeographers seems to be the main contentious issue, as this presents the most significant problem ‘and needs to be addressed even before a single manuscript is invited to enter the stage: that of terminology and definition’.⁴⁹ Of all the various terms proposed throughout the decades, Schneider’s application of the term *Übergangsschrift* hits the nail on the head in the most convincing fashion.⁵⁰ Therein lies the problem: It is a transitional script, in a constant state of development across Europe, bringing with it all the difficulties of analysis of something so hard to pin down.

This period of writing can easiest be described by what it is not. One can tell rather clearly whether a codex is Carolingian work, or whether it is Gothic in production. However, the period in between those two rather clear bookends is somewhat shrouded in mystery to this day. It is startling that even now some of the most profound questions, such as the reason why this transition occurred in the first place, and why it became so widespread, have not been answered entirely with regard to a process which would eventually lead to the first more or less unified European script.

Karin Schneider develops a clear chronology, which so far seems to be along the lines of most commonly held recent scholarly opinion: ‘Die karolingische Minuskel wurde in einem längeren Übergangsprozeß von der neuen gotisierenden Schreibweise erfaßt und verändert. Zuerst im anglonormannischen Raum, in England, Nordfrankreich und auch auf heutigem belgischem Gebiet kamen schon im späten 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhundert erste Veränderungen der karolingischen Minuskel.’⁵¹ A shift can be observed to take place, of letterforms gradually

⁴⁸ Kwakkel, ‘Book Script’, p. 26.

⁴⁹ Kwakkel, ‘Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet’, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde*, ‘Caroline Minuscule was gripped and changed by the transitional process of the new gothicising style of writing. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the first changes occurred, first in the Anglo-Norman territory in England and northern France, and then also the area of modern day Belgium’, p. 28.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–9.

undergoing horizontal compression, and increased angularity of minims, a process which gradually spreads to the rest of Europe.

Two questions dog the palaeographer when discussing writing samples of manuscripts and their fragments. Those key questions, ever present, are of dating and locating.

I will start with the (admittedly easier) question of dating. Here it is important to understand the limits of the transitional script of the 'long twelfth century'. As mentioned above one of the works that has had the most influence in the Scandinavian area of palaeography is Derolez's *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*. It is quite fitting that Derolez's work rather helpfully sets out a brief discussion of features he has found to shape the development of Gothic script. Various general trends in script development are observed in the build-up to his great divide of Northern and Southern Textualis. Following this, the main features defined in his section on 'Praegotica' were extracted and condensed into a brief digest by Erik Kwakkel:⁵²

1. A narrowing of the letter bodies.
2. Enhanced lateral compression with the introduction of bitings.
3. Ascenders and descenders are shortened.
4. Angularity increases: Round strokes are broken, increasing the angular aspect of given letterforms.
5. A broadening of the strokes.
6. The feet of minims curving, or being ticked, to the right.

In the section on individual letterforms, Derolez observes a number of features which point towards Gothic development.

1. The shaft of **a** becomes more upright.
2. The introduction of uncial **d** (using uncial and half-uncial forms in succession is perhaps an Iberian or Southern French feature).
3. The upward sloping of the tongue stroke of **e** (which seems to be a fundamental change, though calligraphic hands in Italy in the early twelfth still preserve this feature).
4. Stems of **f** and long **s** no longer go below the baseline. (the stem of **f** sometimes extends below the baseline in manuscripts from Germany, Italy, Spain, though there are also some examples from England and Normandy).

⁵² Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet', pp. 86–7. The listing given here is a compressed and shortened overview, which is worth bearing in mind moving forward with regard to the later scribal hand analyses in Chapters Three and Four.

5. A gradual closing of the bowl of **g**.
6. The bowing limb of **h** eventually goes below baseline.
7. Strokes appear on **i**, and **i**-longa (**j**) was introduced to assist legibility and minimise minim confusion of **ii**.
8. The use of uncial **m** at the end of lines (not present in Caroline minuscule).
9. Round **r** (in the shape of ‘2’) is used next to the Carolingian **r**. **r** descending below baseline can be found everywhere, but Germany and Iberian Peninsula are the form most commonly found.
10. **r** in German regions gains a hairline, and in rare cases two. This ‘horned’ **r** seems typical for those territories.⁵³
11. Uncial **s** is used in word-final position as opposed to tall **s** in word-initial and medial positions.
12. Stem of **t** is turned into a minim that ‘pricks’ through the horizontal bar.
13. Introduction of **vv** for **w** as opposed to **uu**. This feature was very popular in Germany.
14. Reduction of size of **x**. Its legs do not go below baseline.
15. Dotting of **y**. Though it is pointed out by Derolez that the examples in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits datés* (CMD) of un-dotted **y** are German and Italian.

Though Kwakkel finds issues to criticise with the features listed above, as well as expanding the identified features with his own research, the morphological features listed above should be seen as an at most general overview of some of the processes observed in manuscripts spanning not just a period of over a century but also a huge geographic area. As a general guide they are helpful with the initial understanding of some of the changes Caroline underwent over time. One must consider, however, that not all of these markers can be considered equal as such. Feature retention would have been simpler, and a less thought-involving process than feature adaption, so its presence does not necessarily carry the same weight.

Whilst the chronological developments of ‘gothicisation’ are rather well understood, the picture looks decidedly different with regard to a discussion of regional differences. Since the material found in Scandinavia reflects a large variety of European scribal production, which is re-worked and interpreted by the burgeoning local scriptoria, one must develop a familiarity with the scribal developments in England, the Germanic area, France and the Low Countries.

⁵³ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 83.

On the German side, we find the extensive work done by Schneider, who pulls out these concrete developments:⁵⁴

- The lower bow of **g** is attached closer to the upper one.
- The bow of **h** extends more and more beneath the line.
- **r** starts to show a decorative hairline.
- The second half of the twelfth century sees the biting of **de**.
- Shafts of **f**, tall **s** and **r** end on the line (most of the time).

These rather familiar sounding general observations are all that one might reliably extract, and fall in line with most studies touching on the subject, which is where one encounters the problem of current scholarship. Whilst studies on regional developments in the time period in question exist, and Schneider's *Paläographie* is a comprehensive handbook, their concerns are with the vernacular hands and scribal developments. One sees this with Jane Robert's *Guide* as well, a marvellous look through scribal developments from 1000–1500 in England, but here the focus once more lies on the vernacular.⁵⁵

What these examples show is that whilst one does find more recent works done on scribal developments covering the long twelfth century, they for the most part ignore the Latin writings. Now, one is clearly aware that one cannot draw a clear line between the vernacular and Latin. However, the tracing of developments in vernacular writings during the Pregothisc period and their diffusion into Latin writings in the various key regions of concern extend into a field of study which would clearly exceed the current work set out here.

The most ground breaking work on Pregothisc script development has been done by Kwakkel in recent years, and a discussion of his findings cannot be avoided in this case.⁵⁶ In two stages, once in 2012 and recently in 2018, he has applied what can be perhaps termed a rather scientific approach to the CMD.⁵⁷ Even as Bischoff expressed perhaps some *Unbehagen* at works such as Leon Gilissen's *L'expertise*, as well as the conception of the CMD,⁵⁸ one wonders how he might have reacted when seeing to what purpose it has been (ab)used. The latest study tackling the issue of this transitional period of script makes a valiant attempt to answer answering the

⁵⁴ Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde*, p. 33.

⁵⁵ Roberts, *Guide to Scripts used in English Writings up to 1500*.

⁵⁶ Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing, and the Treatment of Feet', 'Book Script'.

⁵⁷ For a detailed overview of this field changing undertaking, see Grand et al., ed., *Les Manuscrits Dates: Premier bilan et perspectives*, and for a clear insight into the particular difficulties surrounding the CMD, 'Discussion', pp. 73–84.

⁵⁸ Gumbert, 'Commentare "Commentare Bischoff"', p. 398. See Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales*.

questions of how and why this process occurred.⁵⁹ By using the manuscripts of the CMD Kwakkel arrives at a list of various features which may be used as indicators of this transitional process. This listing, while extensive and well thought-out, offers the danger of a reliable and secure system of classification.

Since one has access to such a rather firmly dated and located corpus, Kwakkel decided that one might extract quantitative data from this and trace the development of Pre Gothic script over time, and, most importantly, by region. One of the main conclusions which he has come to in a general sense is that the roots of ‘gothicising’ features can be found deeply, and early, within Caroline Minuscule.⁶⁰ He furthermore agrees with the well accepted regional divisions between England, France and the Germanic countries (modern Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland), which formed a separate *Kulturraum*.⁶¹

Kwakkel’s findings can be condensed down to the points below:⁶²

1. In most quarter-centuries more than twice as many scribes in England and France execute their **r** in the Gothic fashion than do their counterparts in Germanic countries.
2. The feature whereby uncial **d** consistently merges with round letterforms in an adjacent position, e.g. **de**, **do** appears in:

- 1150–74 in England and France 4% of manuscripts
- 1175–99: England 13%, France 12%
- 1200–24: England 60%, France 30%
- This fusion does not appear in any of the manuscripts from the Germanic countries during the same time frame nor do fusions of **h**, **o** and **p**.
- Biting involving **h** during this period: France 17%, England 13%
- Biting involving **o** during this period: France: 15%, England 7%
- Fusions of **p**: France 22%, England: 31 %

Kwakkel’s extensive studies contain more than the handful of statistics listed above, and can be summed up very quickly with the graphs appended to his 2012 study. This large amount of data, as objectively gathered as possible, can be applied to great effect with regard to dating manuscripts, and may shed light on regional variety. One can only commend the scientific approach undertaken here. Nevertheless, as tempting as it may be to now proceed with a

⁵⁹ Kwakkel, ‘Book Script’.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 33–5.

practical application of the data in question, one must also rigorously ask the question which does not appear in any of the published works mentioned above: How representative are these findings? The 353 manuscripts of the CMD used and queried in the studies in question cover not only, in a rough divide, three main areas, England, France, and the Germanophone territories, but also a large span of time. How representative are the statistics derived thereof? By dividing the manuscripts by region and dating, the CMD seems not overly representative in certain categories. Statistics such as only four per cent of manuscripts in 1150–74 in England and France show **de/de** biting, translates to fourteen manuscripts, divided over two large areas of scribal activity. That is a sample size of only seven manuscripts per country. How representative such a sample is remains to be seen. One must bear in mind that at the lower end of frequency distributions, questions of sample size come to the foreground.

As opposed to the somewhat easier question of dating, locating scripts and hands is a more difficult undertaking. As Martin Steinmann rather wryly puts it: ‘Datieren können wir alle einigermaßen, von den besonders schwierigen Fällen abgesehen. Aber wie steht es mit den Möglichkeiten des Lokalisierens? ... das sind Probleme, denen wir doch mehr oder weniger ratlos gegenüberstehen, obwohl sie eigentlich grundlegend wären.’⁶³ In practical terms, only a handful of regional indicators in morphological change of the graphs can be seen to be somewhat reliable.

Following are five general markers which are probably best accepted in established scholarship.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, one must always bear in mind that these indicators do just that, they just indicate and do not prove. They should be used in conjunction with as many other reliable variables one can possibly find in any given manuscript fragment, including the codicological context, and the textual and in relevant cases musical context as well.

1.3. *Graph: a*

The letter **a** is an extremely useful diagnostic tool for palaeographical studies. Neil R. Ker identifies an English, so-called ‘trailing-headed’, **a**.⁶⁵ Here, the head stroke of the letter projects further out to the left than the lobe which forms the body of the **a**. This letterform is used early

⁶³ Steinmann, ‘Der Katalog der datierten Handschriften’, p. 38. Transl. ‘We can all date to some extent, apart from the particularly difficult cases. But what about the possibilities of localization? ... these are problems that we are more or less perplexed about, though they are actually fundamental.’

⁶⁴ This particular grouping of analytical features leans on the trailblazing work done in Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences*, pp. 97–103.

⁶⁵ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 36.

on in the twelfth century in initial position, later in medial and final position. However, one cannot expect this letterform to be used exclusively in a text, and ‘normal’, non-trailing-headed, **a** can be expected to appear as well. For the continental **a** one can generally settle for a so-called flat top **a** as a diagnostic feature. Here, the ductus of the stroke forming the head stroke is that of a reverse **s**, and this sometimes causes the lobe of the **a** to be formed in a triangular manner.⁶⁶

1.4. *Graph: Ampersand*

Thomson, in his invaluable work *Latin Bookhands of the later Middle Ages*, gives examples of French and German types.⁶⁷ Here, one can observe that some continental types tend to rest the head of the ampersand on the end stroke. Furthermore, Derolez delivers a good explanation of differing types of ampersands. The first form to look out for is the German and sometimes Spanish type of ampersand, where the shape of the abbreviation ends on an end stroke, with the ductus therefore being that the abbreviation was formed upwards, from left to right.⁶⁸

The other main style of ampersand is the English type, a feature properly attested in the work of Ker. This seems to follow the ductus which Derolez gives for the more general type of ampersand.⁶⁹ However, as Derolez points out, the ampersand was the ‘graph with the greatest variability of the twelfth century’.⁷⁰ Hence, one may observe continental types of ampersands within English productions, and vice versa. This is most likely due to scribal variability, since each scribe will form the symbol differently. Therefore, the implications of the differing ampersand forms alone are highly speculative and should therefore not be viewed as a reliable diagnostic feature on their own. However, it is this scribal variability which in my experience has made the ampersand a rather useful tool regarding fragment analysis. In many cases they express the individuality of the scribe in question like few other graphs. This allows for quicker and simpler identifications of various scribes across the multitude of script samples. When finding similarities in these highly variable graphs between script samples these are therefore non-trivial and carry a higher analytical weight than other graphs.

⁶⁶ Thomson, *Latin Bookhands*, pl. 35.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 1 and 34.

⁶⁸ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 67.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

1.5. *Graph: g*

The English type, as Derolez describes it, is a figure-eight-style **g**, with the lower lobe being formed in a triangular manner.⁷¹ For a German and French type one can observe that the ductus of the **g** is different from the figure-eight type. This is caused by the fact that the lobe is formed first, with the back and lower part of the letter being formed in the second stroke, from top to bottom. This ductus tends to give the letter a straight-looking back, so one may term this a straight-backed **g**. However, as with all these kinds of criteria of localisation, one must be highly wary of simply using a differing ductus of a given letter as the only localisation criterion for a fragment. However, **g** is useful inasmuch as it is a slightly more reliable diagnostic feature, allowing one to differentiate between continental and English texts, as straight-backed **g** does not seem to occur often in English manuscripts. However, here one finds a very good example of over-reliance on morphological features. In one of the most ground breaking works showing the way for future fragment studies, one can find the following statement: ‘The most certain conclusion one can draw based on the shape of a **g** is that “if the letter **g** is straight-backed, the scribe is not English”’.⁷² Perhaps Ommundsen takes a rather too positivistic approach here. Such an absolute statement can very easily mislead. A straight-backed **g** can be said to point towards the Germanic territories, but does not prove anything more.

1.6. *Punctuation*

The *punctus elevatus* in English or French manuscripts often has a cup-shaped tick, or slightly more straightened-out stroke, with the ductus starting with an entry stroke going from left to right. A characteristic observable in French manuscripts can be a rather sharp tick, or even a simple line, with no sign of an entry stroke.⁷³ Looking to southern regions of Germany, and in particular Austria, one may observe *puncti elevati* starting with an entry stroke from top left, forming a number-seven-shaped tick.⁷⁴ This should not be confused with the *punctus flexus*, which may be a key identifier of Cistercian manuscript fragments. This type of punctuation was used to indicate a minor medial pause, as opposed to the *punctus elevatus*, which indicates a major medial pause.⁷⁵ Use of the *punctus flexus* allowed the scribe to use the simple *punctus elevatus* to divide lists, or nouns, in apposition, providing a subtle discrimination.⁷⁶ However,

⁷¹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 62; Thomson, *Latin Bookhands*, pls. 84–6.

⁷² Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences*, p. 99.

⁷³ Thomson, *Latin Bookhands*, pls. 5–7.

⁷⁴ Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century*, pp. 47–8, 58–9; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 306.

⁷⁵ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 39.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

around 1200, the issue becomes more problematic as other orders (such as the Dominicans) start using flex punctuation as well, although these sorts of temporal boundaries are rather fluid with regard to scribal practice. It also remains to be seen whether some of the texts using *punctus flexus* were simply written under Cistercian influence.

1.7. *Treatment of minims*

In general, minims tend to end with a slight uptick to the right when meeting the baseline. This feature can, under the right circumstances, assist in identifying geographical trends of scribal influence. Scribes treating the feet of **m** in the Caroline manner, and sometimes within the same word treating them in a Gothic manner, show how the transition from one practice to another led scribes to use both the older and younger forms simultaneously for some time. These mixed-feature manuscripts can be found throughout the developmental stage of Gothic script, but, after around 1120–34 they almost never represent more than 20% of the manuscripts.⁷⁷ Further, it is possible, when discussing a twelfth to thirteenth century manuscript, that an observable lack of serifs, or presence of serifs on other letters than **m**, with the **m** lacking serifs itself, may indicate a German area of origin.⁷⁸ Moreover, a flat baseline ending with a hairline instead of a wedge, an identifier for *textus praescissus*, may help further with discussing geographic differences, since this highly formal and stylised script was used very widely in England and later in parts of Germany and specifically Austria. However, *textus praescissus* did not seem to be very widespread in France.⁷⁹

So far, the focus has mainly been on morphological changes in script. This topic lends itself to quick listing without too much explanation. However, morphology is only one side of the coin. Concepts such as ductus, with related issues such as allographic variability, must also be taken into account as a parameter when discussing scribal hands. Focusing on script types viewed through the lens of morphological change neglects the fact that these models of script were copied more, or less, faithfully in the local scriptorium. With time, individuals developed their own personal ductus, which very rarely will adhere to any pre-constructed ideas of a rigidly aligned morphological system of Pregothic script. The strict adherence to a script model, imitated by the scribe, as opposed to adapted by the scribe, will on the other hand betray a stilted lack of fluency.

⁷⁷ Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet', p. 92.

⁷⁸ For the simple mid-stroke of the *m*, see for instance Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pl. 10; Thomson, *Latin Bookhands*, pl. 32.

⁷⁹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 76.

1.8. *Local or imported?*

Amongst one of the greater difficulties one faces with the studies of Nordic manuscript fragments is the problem of separating locally produced manuscripts from foreign products. Palaeographic analysis, to a large degree, after all only speaks of where the scribe was trained, and not where he or she produced their works.⁸⁰ At today's level of knowledge it might also in some cases be impossible to come to an accurate conclusion regarding primary provenance. For instance, the productions of an English scribe working in Denmark, using English parchment and English techniques, might still be assigned to England, even though his work was created locally. One must first look towards more established fragment scholarship. Large steps have been taken since the inception of fragment scholarship such as that conducted in Norway. One would be remiss not to at least see whether findings made concerning manuscript fragments in that country can apply in the Danish case. A number of features have been identified so far which may speak of local production, some of which had been first established by the foundational scholarship of Gjerløw and continue to be regarded as relevant diagnostic features. Whether any of these criteria are actually reflected in Danish scribes' work remains a somewhat open question; however, one would be remiss not to have at least an eye out for these features:

- **Small capital R:** If occurring in a dependable frequency, in word-initial and -medial positions, (not just in endings and *nomina sacra*) small capital **R** is an indication of Norwegian origin.⁸¹ Although this letterform also occurs in English books, particularly before 1200, it is found mainly in *nomina sacra* and in initial or final position.⁸² Similarly, small capital **H**, if not a part of *nomina sacra*, may indicate a local production.
- **a-endings:** While the effects of scribal errors must never be forgotten, Gjerløw has pointed out a tendency for Norwegian liturgical texts to spell words such as *lectio*, *postcommunio*, and *praefatio* with an **a** borrowed from writing in the vernacular (*lectia*, *postcommonia*, *praefatia*).⁸³
- **au-ligature:** This feature can also point towards a Norwegian scribe's work, due to this feature being commonly used in vernacular writings.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Bischoff, 'Paläographische Fragen', p. 102.

⁸¹ Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøger i Norge', p. 159.

⁸² Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 91.

⁸³ Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, p. 276.

⁸⁴ Ommundsen, *The Beginnings of Nordic Scribal Culture*, p. 41.

One highly debated issue is the ‘awkwardness’ criterion. There is a distinct possibility, that due to the historic introductions of scriptoria in Scandinavia, and the pressing need for liturgical manuscripts, the lack of experienced scribes led to ‘awkwardly’ copied material. However, one must not lose sight of the fact that hastily produced continental manuscripts may just as likely be awkward and unskilled-looking. Inexperienced scribes worked across Europe, and not just in Scandinavia.

1.9. *Codicology of fragments*

How is one to approach questions of codicology when working with fragments of manuscripts? When identifying two fragments in the same hand, clearly of the same scribe’s work, one might attribute both to the same manuscript. However, scribes often made more than one copy of an exemplar. Furthermore, the work of two different scribes might look like the remnants of two separate manuscripts, whereas one knows that multiple scribes commonly worked on the creation of one manuscript.

So how is one to approach solving this puzzle? One must proceed with an utmost eye for detail, and one must not underestimate the efficacy of a simple, reliable, ruler. Accurate measurements are paramount when attempting to ascertain the relations between fragments of the work of the same scribe which is scattered in various pieces as is the case of Scribe A and the work of the scribes at Lund. One of the questions one must ask is how many manuscripts do we have in fact? In order to answer this, one must take measurements of a number of parameters:

- Density of letters and words per line.
- Height of the ruled lines within the text box.
- Width and height of the columns. Where not possible, reconstructing the missing text and applying the letter and word density of the extant parts may give a reasonable approximation.
- Width and height of surviving margins.
- Spacing of pricking, and the tool used, be it a specific implement or a knife point.
- What tool is used for lining the parchment. Can one tell the shape of the head of the implement? Is it a round point or a triangle?
- In cases where the original sewing stations remain, their shape and spacing must be recorded as well.

These measurements are all extremely important when dealing with material of such a scarce nature and will be able to shed light on the relationship between fragments. The same spacing and

shape of binding holes is clearly the simplest and most obvious link between fragments, but those rarely survive. By comparing every other feature, however, one may at least come to a reasonable guess as to whether two fragments stem from the same manuscript or not. Coupled with an analysis of the content of the text to confirm the findings, and perhaps a comparison of parchment quality, (though this is very dependable on the state of the fragments themselves, with the wear and tear sustained over time deteriorating the parchment, making comparisons difficult, if not impossible), these codicological features will be able to shed some more light on the relationships between manuscript fragments.

The application of the methodology above has allowed for the identification of a number of fragment groups spanning not only the collections in Denmark but also elsewhere in Scandinavia. As the table below shows (Table 1), these groups are not immediately apparent from the catalogues, since the same manuscript pieces have at times been given different dates and genres. The manuscript designations build on the ones determined in the Albrechtsen catalogue of the DRA in order to maintain continuity (i.e. Bi 5).

Abbreviations:

Bi= Bible, Mi= Missal, Br= Breviary, Gr= Gradual, R.= Regsnkaber, J.= Jordebog,

E.= Ekstraskattemandtaller

Catalogue Nr.	Catalogue Date	Genre	Secondary Provenance	Date of Account	Type of Account	Grouping
DRA Fr. 612–16	12	?	Aarhusgaard	1584–1612	R.	G1
DRA Fr. 6156–57	12	Br	Aarhusgaard	1605–06	J.	G1
DRA Fr. 3966–67	12–13	Br	Abrahamstrup	1610–11	E.	G4
DRA Fr. 3968	12–13	Br	Abrahamstrup	1611–12	E.	G4
DRA Fr. 4338–39	12–13	Br	Fredriksborg	1610–111	E.	G4
DRA Fr. 5365–66	12–13	Br	Tryggevælde	1646–47	R.	G5
DRA Fr. 5367–68	12–13	Br	Tryggevælde	1647–48	R.	G5
DRA Fr. 5369–70	12–13	Br	Tryggevælde	1648–49	R.	G5
DRA Fr. 5388	12–13	Br	Tryggevælde	1633–34	E.	G5
DRA Fr. 6257–58	12–13	Mi	Dronningborg	1604–05	R.	G8
DRA Fr. 6554	12	Br	Kalø	1573	J.	G8

DRA Fr. 7484–85	12–13	Br	Ørum	1613–14	R.	G8
DRA Fr. 7512–13	12–13	?	Ørum	1614	E.	G8
DRA Fr. 6804–05	12–13	Bi	Møgeltønder	1626–27	R.	G9
DRA Fr. 6930–33	12–13	Bi	Riberhus	1625–26	R.	G9
DRA Fr. 6935	12–13	Bi	Riberhus	1629–30	R.	G9
DRA Fr. 180–87	12	Bi	Silkeborg	1616–19	?	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 5388	12–13	Bi	Tryggevælde	1633–34	E.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6099	12–13	Bi	Aalborghus	1618	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6100	12–13	Bi	Aalborghus	1618–19	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6113	12–13	Bi	Aalborghus	1618	E.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6114	12–13	Bi	Aalborghus	1627–28	E.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6220	12–13	Bi	Aastrup	1617	E.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6221	12–13	Bi	Aastrup	1618	E.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6282	12–13	Bi	Dronningborg	1622–23	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6325	12–13	Bi	Dronningborg	1623–24	J.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6344–45	12–13	Bi	Dronningborg	1623	E.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6456	12–13	Bi	Hald	1617–18	J.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6460	12–13	Bi	Hald	1624–25	J.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6716	12–13	Bi	Mariager Kloster	1616–17	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 6717	12–13	Bi	Mariager Kloster	1617–18	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 7065–67	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1615–16	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 7068	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1616	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 7091	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1634–35	R.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 7116	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1615–16	J.	Bi 5

DRA Fr. 7117	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1616–17	J.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 7118	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1617–18	J.	Bi 5
DRA Fr. 7119	12–13	Bi	Silkeborg	1618–19	J.	Bi 5
KB Fr. 2210	13	Bi	‘Christen...rode’	1616	?	Bi 5

Table 1: Examples of Fragment groups generated from the fragment Access Database

This table shows an example of the groups found in Danish collections emerging from the variable diagnostic marker search in the Access Database, greatly in this case expanding the group of fragments known as Bible 5. The resulting findings of this and similarly compiled groups, cross-referenced, with patterns of secondary provenance and date, as well as the application of Gelting’s solution to the secondary provenance problem would doubtless offer important insights, and most importantly structure for fragment scholars to then use as a starting point of a more systematic study. Bible 5, for example, is spread over a wide area of account book provenances, bound at similar times. This may be taken to indicate a more central binding process. By the same token, the more fragment groups constrained to smaller areas may indicate a more local process, though this may seem so simply due to accident of survival. One must only bring Gelting’s aforementioned study of secondary provenances to mind, and this brief analysis of the fragment distribution seems incredibly simplistic and misleading. An in-depth examination of the fragments tends to show a far more complex picture.

However, the purpose of this project was to demonstrate the depth the Danish fragment collections may offer, and a cursory though wide-ranging overview was not my goal. Instead, it will be shown that by concentrating on one specific, although large, group of fragments, those I attribute to the Scribe A mentioned above, an entire web of scribes and manuscript connections is revealed, with a focus on the scriptoria of the Scandinavian archbishopric of Lund during the first half of the twelfth century.

The discussion above highlights the problematic issues that a single palaeographer faces when dealing with such a large amount of raw manuscript material, from the sheer difficulty of gaining and maintaining oversight over the corpus, to the minutiae of the Pregothic transitional script. In itself, a difficult script to come to terms with, it is only compounded by the decontextualised nature of the fragments.

Moving forward with the analysis of the manuscript fragments connected to Scribe A, his colleagues, Lund, and the surviving gospel books, it must be borne in mind that the framework built upon the scholarship by Derolez, Thomson, Ker, Parkes and Kwakkel, to name but a few,

is by no means perfect, and at best may be seen to serve as a guide. The examples of graphs delineated above are listed so as to enable an educated judgment to be made when viewing the following script samples, yet it must be reiterated that these do not enable any absolute diagnoses of the hands discussed below.

2. LUND, SCRIBE A, AND HIS COLLEAGUES

2.1. *Introduction*

The following case study discusses the works of a scribe known primarily to the world as the main hand of the *Lectionarium Lundense* II (MH 5). This book, containing the required service readings of the liturgical year,⁸⁵ one of the oldest to have been written in Denmark, kept at Lund in modern Sweden, has only rarely been mentioned in studies over the years, mostly in connection to other, more prominent manuscripts.

This chapter reconstructs a scribe's hand development through the assembly of fragmentary manuscripts. The scribe who is the focus of this study, Scribe A, stands at the heart of scribal activity at Lund during the 1130s and 1140s and will be seen to emerge as the main actor at the centre of a web of manuscripts, fragmentary as well as whole. By applying the search criteria detailed above, the Access database assisted in filtering out the resulting fragments from the thousands of images available to me. This then allowed for a further, closer palaeographical study, as is laid out below. Through the piecing together of these disassembled codices, a chronology emerges, detectable through a shift in the scribe's hand. Furthermore, once this relative timeline has been established, an internal chronology between the fragments, anchor points within a historical timeline, will be suggested. The insights gained in this chapter will then inform the discussion of the following chapter concerning the gospel books of Lund. Moreover, through this detailed analysis of scribal hand development, a firm basis will be constructed which will allow for a discussion of scribal practice and scriptoria at Lund in general. Furthermore, by extension, a number of other scribes will be discussed, who are connected to Scribe A by the nature of their presence in some of the manuscripts attributed to him.

In order to contextualise the fragmentary manuscripts which will be discussed below, one must first establish the roles the complete surviving codices play in the history of the scriptoria at Lund.

2.1.1. *The manuscripts*

The perhaps most important Lundensian books, the *Necrologium Lundense* (Lund, UB, MH 6) and *Liber Daticus Vetustior* (Lund, UB, MH 7), generated most of the scholarly works

⁸⁵ Bell, 'Liturgical Books', p. 176.

focusing on Lund's history, due to their great historic importance and value. The *Necrologium Lundense* (*Necrologium* hereafter) in particular, has rather rightfully claimed the attention of scholars, not only due to the copy of Lund's Foundation Charter found within the composite manuscript, but also due to the extraordinary number of scribal hands contained therein, from Lauritz Weibull's 48 hands to Erik Kroman's around 80. In particular the work done lately by Gelting and Stephan Borgehammar has used this material to great advantage, as will be discussed below. Within the *Necrologium* one finds the oldest surviving copy of St. Canutes's deed of the gift from 1085 to the cathedral, the rules for the canons of St. Lawrence, the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, and the *Memoriale fratrum*, a calendar with names of deceased brothers, sisters, laity and others who were seen fit to be recorded there.⁸⁶ For the purposes of this study the main focus lies on the main hand of the *Consuetudines* and the entries of the *Memoriale Fratrum*, though it will be seen that a handful of other sections play an important part as well.

The most commonly accepted dating of the *Consuetudines* is the one proposed by Weibull, namely that of 1123.⁸⁷ This date has, however, not remained uncontested with 1133/4 proposed by Andersen,⁸⁸ or the latest dating suggested by Josef Siegwart, 1140/45.⁸⁹

It is not the purpose of this study to re-evaluate the dating of the *Necrologium* to any particular degree. For the most part, it does not particularly impact the material being discussed here whether the manuscript dates from 1123 or 1130, as the closest dates being discussed concern the 1130s and 1140s. Since Siegwart's dating is based on scarce evidence,⁹⁰ and has not much impact on the discussion surrounding the manuscript, it will be discounted for present purposes. However, the crucial question of the dating of the main hand of the *Consuetudines*, (Weibull's hand f, Kroman's hand 4), comes into focus with regard to the discussion below concerning the *Lectionarium Lundense* II. Furthermore, Hand rub./8 and Hand b/16 play an important role

⁸⁶ Two editions are most commonly cited when discussing the palaeography of the *Necrologium Lundense*. The first, *Lunds Domkyrkas Nekrologium*, ed. L. Weibull, holds authority to this day, with the facsimile edition *Necrologium Lundense*, ed. E. Kroman, offering a revised and updated facsimile edition with an apparatus of each catalogued scribal hand working in the manuscript, introducing a numbered hand system next to Weibull's lettered terminology. By building on Weibull and expanding the identified number of hands, Kroman's edition forms the basis of the terminology used to denote scribal hands. Modern publications as yet use one or the other and sometimes both editions to discuss these in MH 6. Therefore both numbering systems will be given hereafter, first Weibull's, followed by Kroman's, e.g. Hand f/4. The most recent edition of the *Consuetudines* themselves can be found in Erik Buus' 1978 edition, which takes great care to place these in a historical and textual context.

⁸⁷ *Necrologium Lundense*, ed. Weibull, p. LXXV.

⁸⁸ Andersen, 'Consuetudines Canonice of Lund', p. 34.

⁸⁹ Siegwart, *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes*, p. 89.

⁹⁰ Ciardi, *On the Formation of Cathedral Chapters*, p. 32.

in the following analysis as well as in the next chapter concerning the gospel books where relative dating will be seen to play a role. Since these hands are some of the most important witnesses in the *Necrologium*, it is important to acknowledge the issues surrounding the absolute dating of the manuscript.

It has been suggested by Andersen that the main hand of *Necrologium*, the hand responsible for the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, perhaps belongs to no other than Hermann of Klosterrath himself.⁹¹ While her argument is circumstantial in nature, the hand in question will be seen to play an important role at the scriptorium at Lund, perhaps impacting that of Scribe A.

Conversely, the recent re-evaluation by Ciardi of all the available evidence surrounding the *Consuetudines* confirms the tentative dating of Weibull, which is for the most part based on careful palaeographical and codicological observations on the *Necrologium Lundense*. She makes a convincing point of the latest usage by 1 June 1123, with a suggestion that there may be a possibility that the *Consuetudines* were based on a version found at Dalby, which were adapted for Lund.⁹²

The *Necrologium* fell out of regular usage in 1140/5, and was replaced with the *Liber Daticus Vetustior* (MH 7), though entries were continued in the *Necrologium* until three decades after the transition. The martyrology of the *Liber Daticus* is dated around 1139–46. Written in a somewhat inconsistent Pregothisc hand, perhaps localised to the wide area of Low Countries, eastern France, Belgium, and the Rhineland, the presence of several saints venerated at Lund may indicate that the manuscript was commissioned with Lund in mind.⁹³ Gelting has recently established a convincing working model of the relationship between these two manuscripts. The central idea revolves around the theory that MH 6 was actually more of an archival copy for the cathedral, and entries in the *Liber Daticus* were copied from an older, no longer extant necrology. The *Liber Daticus* was thereafter kept rather haphazardly updated until around 1170, when a comprehensive update was undertaken by Weibull's 'yngsta hand'. The entries in the *Liber Daticus* are of a chronological nature, whereas the ones found in the *Necrologium* are grouped by ecclesiastical role. Due to the somewhat arbitrary updates in the *Necrologium* from 1140–45, Gelting supposes that it could not have functioned as a basis for the liturgical commemorations at the time, hence that job falling to the lost use copy, which served as a basis

⁹¹ Andersen, 'Consuetudines Canonice of Lund', p. 33.

⁹² Ciardi, 'När tog lundakanikernas Consuetudines egentligen i bruk?', p. 16.

⁹³ Björkvall, 'Enhetlighet och Mångfald', pp. 39–44.

for the *Liber Daticus*.⁹⁴ The signs of heavy usage of the *Liber Daticus* speak to this, as opposed to the clean execution of the entries in the *Memorial Fratrum* of the *Necrologium*.

The *Necrologium* and *Liber Daticus* have therefore offered, since Christian Weeke and Weibull,⁹⁵ sources for Danish history that are yet to be fully tapped. From the numerous scribal hands to the content, and the context of the manuscripts themselves, these codices have served so far as cornerstones to the historiography of the archdiocese of Lund, but more remains to be gained from these sources.

Next to these two codices, the three gospel books Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 83 4to; Copenhagen, KB Thott 22 4to; and Copenhagen, KB Thott 21 4to play an important role as well, though these and their scribes, will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The gospel books have generated their own fair share of scholarship, some more than others, yet in a comparison with these, *Lectionarium Lundense* II (*Lectionarium* hereafter) seems to have been rather neglected, sitting as it does amongst these other greatly important codices. Most mention of the manuscript is found through the discussion of the *Necrologium*, with commentary on Hand f/4 having corrected some sections of the *Lectionarium*.

However, it seems that a modern re-evaluation of that manuscript is becoming more and more necessary. A number of different scribes have worked at various stages in this book, not merely Hand f/4 of the *Necrologium*, and a list of these instances can be found in Appendix 2. More importantly, however, I will show that the findings made in the various Nordic fragment collections allow the construction of a chronology of Scribe A's development and may shed some light how the various scribal influences arriving in Lund at the time were taken up and reshaped by the local scriptoria and scribes. The web of fragments linked to the *Lectionarium* scribe further reveals far more than the work of but one scribe. It will be seen that a network of scribal activity reaches out further through the fragmentary material, as well as through the aforementioned *Necrologium* and *Liber Daticus*.

2.1.2. Previous scholarship

During the course of this study I will be discussing fragments currently residing in all three main Scandinavian fragment collections. As a starting point, I will be using some of the results of the modern re-evaluation of the Norwegian fragment material by Ommundsen.⁹⁶ During the course of discussing archival links between Denmark and Norway, she discusses 'a

⁹⁴ Gelting, 'Forholdet mellem Liber Daticus', p. 148.

⁹⁵ Weibull, *Lunds Domkyrkas Nekrologium*; Weeke, *Lunde Domkapitels Gaveboger*.

⁹⁶ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway'.

grand twelfth-century lectionary on Trondheim accounts'.⁹⁷ It will be necessary to briefly sum up the findings made by her in order to understand the resulting implications for the case study at hand.

The impetus for the linking between Norwegian and Danish account books emerged from NRA Lat. fragm. 26, 1–2, Trondheim 1629. This was identified as part of Pope Leo's *De Passione Domini* and was dated to approximately the first half of the twelfth century. These fragments were connected to DRA Lat. fragm. 558–59 and DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81, of the *Aftagne Fragmenter* collection in the DRA, which contain parts of Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelia*, namely Homily 31. Pointing out various palaeographical similarities, a solid connection between the two pieces of writing was made. While it was possible that the Trondheim fragments emerged where they did through manuscript transmission during the twelfth century, with Gjerløw having investigated the possibility of liturgical books coming to Trondheim from Lund, this was dismissed as the likely cause of the current fragment distribution.⁹⁸ It was further posited that these fragments may all stem from a *Lectionarium breviarum de tempore*, perhaps based on that of Paul the Deacon. The link to Lund then emerged when the *Lectionarium* was identified as possibly having been written by the same scribe who would have been responsible for fragments of the temporarily designated 'Leo Lectionary'.⁹⁹ Furthermore, it was pointed out that a fragment kept at Lund University Library, LUB fragment 5, a partial leaf of a missal, seemed to have been written in the same style, however more vertically compressed.¹⁰⁰

Finally, Michael Gullick has suggested a number of breviary fragments in the Swedish National Archives, used to bind accounts from Småland between 1577 and 1585, which had been registered as seven different breviaries, though Gullick has since revised the number to four. The table below is taken from said article, and displays the known fragments related to Lund.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 188.

⁹⁸ Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*, pp. 44–5, 82.

⁹⁹ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 192.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Table 8.1 The ‘Lund group’ of related fragments and manuscripts

Name	Signature	Genre	Secondary use	Size	Scribe	Hyphens	Initials	Neumes
NRA/DRA lectionary TH:AA 66 TH:AA 69	NRA Lat. fragm. 26 DRA Lat. fragm. 558–559, 580–581	<i>Lctionarium breviarii</i>	Trondheim 1629 No info provided	folio (40+) folio (40+)	A A	baseline baseline	– –	– –
<i>Lctionarium Lundense II</i>	LUB, Mh 5	<i>Lctionarium missae</i>	Kept at Lund	quarto (25,8 × 18 cm)	A	baseline	red, blue, discs, single and double leaves	–
Lund missal fragment	LUB fragm. 5	Missale	Kept at Lund	folio	A <i>compe</i>	higher	red, blue, double leaves	German neumes
Br 1212	SRA Fr 23589	Breviarium	Småland 1577	folio	A	baseline	red, discs, single leaves	German neumes
Br 1214 [Br 1215]	SRA Fr 23591 + 23592	Breviarium	Småland 1579 1578	folio	A	higher	red, discs and double leaves	German neumes
Br 1216	SRA Fr 23593	Breviarium	Småland 1578	folio (34+)	A B (2v)	A: higher B: none	red, single leaves	German neumes
Br 1217 [Br 1242] [Br 1300]	SRA Fr 23594 + 23621 + 23695	Breviarium	Småland 1579 1585 1581	folio	C	higher	red, discs and double leaves	German neumes, different scribe?

With the similarities found between the hands witnessed in the fragments above, it was concluded that what initially seemed like the product of one scribe was actually produced by three, which indicates the presence of a scriptorium collaborating on the same manuscripts.

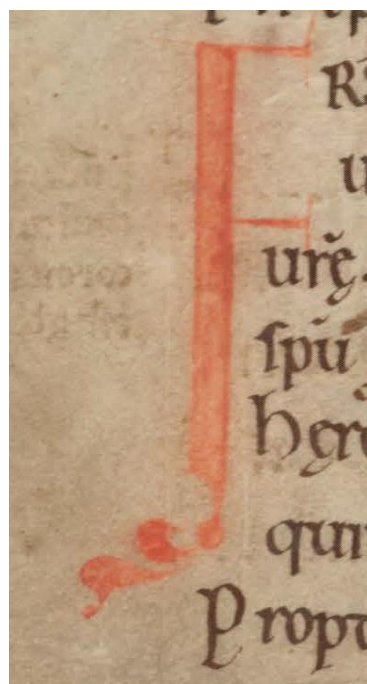
It was further commented that the rubrics are written out in a similar manner as those of *Lctionarium*, with a combination of Rustic Capitals and minuscule forms. The musical notation is German-style neumes *in campo aperto*, which is why the MPO database classifies these fragments as German in origin, though with the Lund connection this categorisation is no longer as simple as that.

The fourth breviary in the group, Br 1217, is in the hand of a third scribe, Scribe C, with the one outstanding linking feature noted being the double leaf decoration or ‘fishtails’.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 195.



SRA Fr 23594



Lectonarium Lundense II (MH 5) fol. 33v

As can be seen in the above example it is highly likely that the two scribes may well have been working together in the same scriptorium under the same influences, the location being Lund due to the firm links to the *Lectonarium*. However, it so happens that what Ommundsen and Gullick had come upon during their brief research trip to the DRA was but the corners of a vast web of fragments, interlinked on various contextual levels. By first identifying Scribe A and Scribe C, and connecting these to the *Lectonarium*, the first brick of the foundation of the following investigation into the scriptoria at Lund was laid.

Following (Table 2) is an overview of the fragments I am adding to the works of Scribe A, to continue with the terminology set out in the article discussed above. Information in red is that which I am adding myself, leaving the original catalogue data in order to illustrate the disparate nature of the fragment groups below.

Fragment Designation	Date	Genre	Secondary Provenance	Secondary Date	Account book
DRA Lat. fragm. 4090	11–12 (12)	Bi (Lec)	Antvorskov Kloster	1628	Ekstraskatte mandtaller
DRA Lat. fragm. 4091	11–12 (12)	Bi (Lec)	Antvorskov Kloster	1628	Ekstraskatte mandtaller
DRA Lat. fragm. 4188	12	Bi?	Dragsholm	1636–37	Ekstraskatte mandtaller
DRA Lat. fragm. 4770	12	Thaa (Lec)	København	1633–34	Ekstraskatte mandtaller
DRA Lat. fragm. 6177	12–13 (12)	Thaa (Lec)	Aarhusgaard	1620	Ekstraskatte mandtaller
DRA Lat. fragm. 7051	12–13 (12)	Bi (Lec)	Silkeborg	1601–02	Regnskaber
DRA Lat. fragm. 7549	12–13 (12)	Thaa (Lec)	Herlufsholm	1614–15	Regnskaber
DRA Lat. fragm. 7561–62	12–13 (12)	Thaa (Lec)	Herlufsholm	1623–24	Regnskaber
DRA Lat. fragm. 7607–08	12–13 (12)	Bi (Lec)	Herlufsholm	1655–56	Regnskaber
DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a	12–13 (12)	Thaa (Lec)	Herlufsholm	1627–28	Udspisning
KB Lat. fragm. 2857	12 (12)	Thaa (Lec)	Herlufsholm	1627–28	Ekstraskatte mandtaller
SRA Fr 6786	12	Br	Småland	1606	?

Table 2: Fragments of manuscripts by Scribe A

As can be seen in the above table, the fragments vary greatly in their supposed dating and their secondary provenance in the current catalogues. The first four, DRA Lat. fragm. 558–59 and DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81, currently reside in boxes as part of the *Aftagne Fragmenter* collection in the DRA and are the ones discussed by Ommundsen. The other DRA designated fragments are all in situ fragment bindings from various secondary provenances. Two outliers exist in KB Lat. fragm. 2857 in the Royal Library and SRA FR 6786 in the collection of the SRA. The data as visible here is taken from the various catalogues of the relevant archives.¹⁰³ As becomes obvious, the disparate dating of these fragments shows but one of the problems faced by the original compilers of the catalogues.

However, merely recognizing palaeographical similarities between these fragments does not offer up sufficient evidence to build a strong case of scribal hand development. The first step is to prove clearly that the fragments are indeed by the hand of the same scribe. The second is

¹⁰³ Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar*; Albrechtsen, *Middelalderlige håndskriftfragmenter*, MPO.

the grouping of fragments of the same manuscript wherever possible. One must take a more tentative approach here. The surviving evidence is sparse enough that grouping will mainly consist of recognising a phase of Scribe A's hand, and connecting fragments thematically by genre within that same stage of Scribe A's hand development. It may remain impossible to tell whether these fragments indeed stemmed from the same codex; however, there is currently no clear reason why this approach should not be taken. A closer look at the secondary provenances will aid in ascertaining the likelihood of two fragments belonging to the same codex.

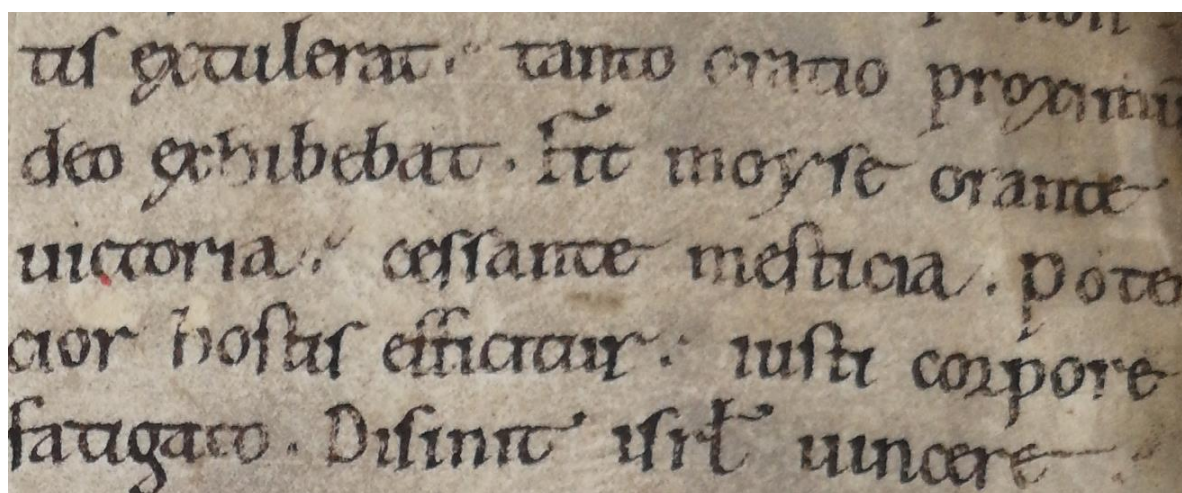
An initial differentiation between the various fragments is the following partitioning into three general groups, that of an early stage, a transitional, and a final stage. These borders are clear in a general sense when taking a wider view of Scribe A's corpus. However, at a more granular level, no absolute delineations can be drawn, as these stages are to be seen as signposts within the continuum of the scribe's hand development.

The prerequisite of any divisions within the corpus which one is able to attribute to Scribe A is the identification of features in the script which show a clear difference, or continuance, between fragments.

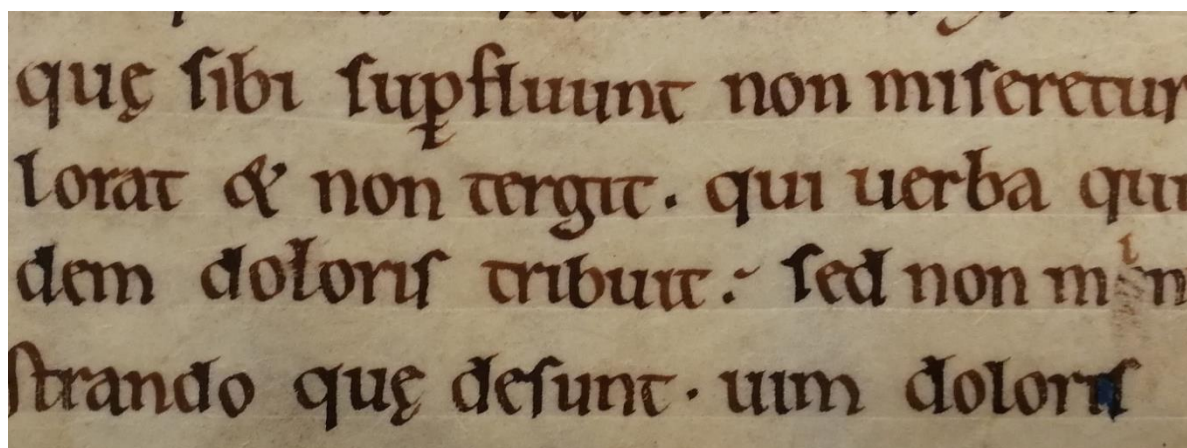
Further, a progressive shift of various features of morphology and ductus in the hand of the scribe which are applicable across fragment groups must be demonstrable.

2.1.3. *The hand of Scribe A*

The case concerning Scribe A is a complex one from a palaeographical standpoint. If one compares the following images of SRA FR 6786 and DRA Lat. fragm. 7051, two fragments stemming from manuscripts at the extreme ends of the chronology, one might at first struggle to see the connection:



SRA FR 6786 fol. 2v.



DRA Lat. fragm. 7051r.

Various factors are at play when considering the influences acting upon this scribal hand. Not only does one perhaps suspect a shift in origin of the *Kulturraum* of the exemplars which Scribe A might be used to, we also find that a shift towards a more ‘gothicised’ type of script execution takes place. Perhaps even a conscious attempt at adaptation is made by the scribe in question, though this is of course far more difficult to ascertain. In order to untangle these various forces acting upon Scribe A, one must first embark upon a close dissection of the various stages of Scribe A’s writing, which will clarify the shifts taking place not only on a morphological level but also on that of the ductus of the scribe. It must further be clarified that the discussion concerning Scribe A’s hand is embedded in a chronological argument, and not one of possible multigraphism, as will be made clear below.¹⁰⁴

The first step is the sorting of fragments into various hypothetical manuscripts. These will be designated in a numerical fashion, from one to eight, including the fragments discussed by Ommundsen and Gullick.

The emerging order of the fragments grouped into theoretical manuscripts is as follows:

Earliest phase:

MS 1: SRA Fr 6786, Breviary

Early transitional phase:

MS 2: NRA Lat. fragm. 26, 1–2 + KB Lat. fragm. 2857 + DRA Lat. fragm. 4770 + DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a, Lectionary

MS 3: DRA Lat. fragm. 4188, Bible?

¹⁰⁴ For an exploratory discussion concerning the construction of a theoretical and practical palaeographical framework for the establishment of possible scribal multigraphism, see Stokes, ‘Scribal Attribution across Multiple Scripts’.

Later transitional phase:

MS 4: SRA Fr 23591, Br 1214 + Fr 23592 Br 1215, Breviary

MS 5: SRA Fr 23593 Br 1216, Breviary

MS 6: LUB 5, Missal

Later Stage: (Where the *Lectionarium* is also located)

MS 7: SRA Fr 23589, Br 1212, Breviary

MS 8: DRA Lat. fragm. 558–59 + DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81 + DRA Lat. fragm. 4090–91 + DRA Lat. fragm. 6177 + DRA Lat. fragm. 7051 + DRA Lat. fragm. + 7549 DRA Lat. fragm. 7561–62 + DRA Lat. fragm. 7607–08, Lectionary

A number of fragments contain various chants in neumes *in campo aperto*, particularly the breviary fragments. I will be treating these individually, and then exclusively from a palaeographic, and not musicological point of view, since broaching that particular area of study would go beyond the remit of the current work and my personal expertise.¹⁰⁵

The following closer discussion of the fragments and manuscript groups will use specific terminology. When using the vague term ‘style’ it is meant to convey a referential descriptor of a general manner, aspect and ductus, as opposed to ‘feature’ which may refer to a specific descriptor of morphology or ductus.

It is important to be very clear with regard to more specific references such as influence, exemplar or habit, since these might colour any discussion when one is not able to make a sure determination of which of these is/are at play. Only rarely will terms denoting geographic locations be used in the following discussion. As has been mentioned above, it is important to bear in mind the scholarship which has so far emerged of Pregothic script, with direct application thereof to the fragments to be used as sparingly as possible.

2.2. MS 1: SRA FR 6786 (Fig. 1)

This fragment is the first of the breviary fragments of the SRA to be discussed. They found special consideration by Erik Niblaeus, who constructs a detailed picture of their context.¹⁰⁶

This particular bifolium must have escaped notice by Gullick when discussing the breviary fragments of the SRA in relation to Scribe A, since these had already been mentioned in a Lund connection. Not only this particular fragment, but also SRA FR 23589, SRA FR 23591, SRA

¹⁰⁵ I wish to thank Prof. Susan Rankin for her discussions with me concerning the type of ‘Frankish’ notation, widespread at this point in time in Europe.

¹⁰⁶ Niblaeus, ‘German Influence’, pp. 220–41.

FR 23593, SRA FR 23594, SRA Fr 23621 and SRA FR 23695 are mentioned by Niblaeus. Already noticing some similarities of aspect between SRA Fr. 23591, SRA FR 23593 and SRA FR 23594,¹⁰⁷ Niblaeus' list of over 50 breviary fragments sought to capture fragments with a form of German connection. However, the aim was not an extended palaeographical review of these fragments, though it must be acknowledged that they were at least associated with SRA FR 6786 in sharing features which led Niblaeus to place them within a related context, if only minimally.

Size: 34 x 22 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

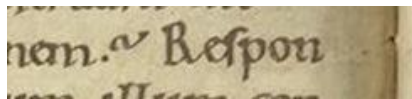
Content: 1r–2v Proprium de tempore: 1rv Dom.II in XL - Fer.II in XL [2]; 2rv Sabb. in XL [3] - Dom. IIII in XL¹⁰⁸

Secondary Provenance: Smålands handlingar 1606

Date: 1120–40

Ruling: Dry-point. The ruling pattern, as laid out below, follows the same as the other breviary fragments in the SRA with connections to Scribe A. However, SRA FR 6786 differs in the closer ruling of the text column lines, at 0.7 cm, which is one of the reasons why, in comparison to the other breviary fragments, this fragment seems to possess such a close and dense aspect of the *Schriftbild*.

Punctuation: *Punctus elevatus*, hyphen on baseline. *Punctus interrogativus* is of the more horizontal type. Unlike the other works of Scribe A, there does not seem to have been any corrections regarding punctuation.



Fol. 1v l. 18b

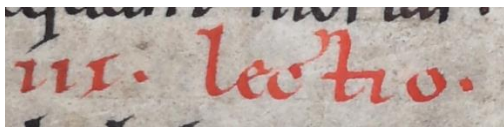
Condition: Typical for fragments of Scribe A's work in the SRA, a rather well preserved bifolium.

Initials/Rubrics: Red initials and rubrics. It is notable that even with such a large selection of initials one is yet to find the typical 'fish tail' which has been linked to this scribe. One must bear in mind that the design may be a feature that entered the scribe's repertoire only in his later works, and may originate through other influences and exemplars. Indeed, the connection

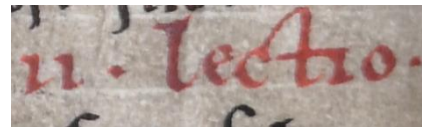
¹⁰⁷ Niblaeus, 'German Influence', p. 251.

¹⁰⁸ This, and following content information of fragments in the SRA are taken from the MPO website, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/MPO>.

to Scribe C may be the explanation, as is discussed below. Compared to the other breviary fragments in this group, we find a number of differences in design. The **Q**, is executed with the tail on top and the majuscule **H** and the minuscule **h** designs differ as well, with the minuscule being the most similar to those in Scribe A's other work. However, the bow in SRA FR 6786 terminates in a horizontal foot on baseline. The atypical design of the minor initials is a very precarious factor to go by when deciding if Scribe A was responsible for them. However, when one takes a closer look at the rubrics, we find two different executions of rubric designs are employed.



Rubric Type1 (R1)



Rubric Type 2 (R2)

Next to the obvious shift in **ct**-ligature, the two styles of rubric differ in the treatment of the foot of the **i** minim, as exemplified in the *lectio* examples above. Further, the above-named R2 with the flat **i** feet executes the bow of **a** in a straight, triangular fashion, as well as the **v**, which is executed with two very straight lines. However, there are two problems with the conclusion that there are two different rubricators, since there are a number of cases of rubrics which seemingly express a mixture of these designs, perhaps indicating one rubricator working under mixed influence. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any pattern of work flow to be found between the two hypothetical rubricators, as the distribution of R1 and R2 does not seem to make any sense from a manuscript production point of view. However, one must also note the difference in the brightness of the ink, with R2 employing a less vibrant (or at least differently aged) red than R1.

What can be said with certainty is that the rubrication termed as R1 is the same as can be found in the following works:

- SRA FR 23589
- SRA FR 23592
- SRA FR 23593
- Lectionarium Lundense II
- DRA Lat. fragm. 6177
- KB Lat. fragm. 2857

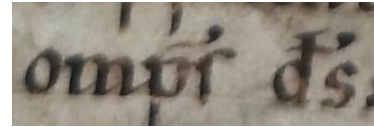
Abbreviations: Here we find one of the most important and tangible evidence of the transitional process occurring in Scribe A. The abbreviating suspension mark employed is of a horizontal line shaped as an elongated wave, ending on an upturn with a rather thick, sometimes ball-shaped, form. This graph is the same as will be used in *per*, and as the head stroke in some word-final **t** and as various abbreviation strokes, e.g. *deus* below.



Fol. 1v *domine*



Fol. 1v *semper*



Fol. 1v l. 5a

One cannot emphasise the importance of this stroke enough, as one here has the most tangible point of evidence of not just the connection between this rather different breviary fragment, but also the direction, the flow of one style of writing to another, as will be seen in the analysis of the following breviary fragments.

Moreover, the **-bus** abbreviation used here is that which resembles a semicolon. However, this is another feature that is part of the process of shift in hand, and is no longer seen after SRA FR 6786.

Music: Frankish neumes *in campo aperto*. These, whilst looking continental, do not seem to be in the same hand as those in FR 23589, FR 23591 and FR 23592. Barely if any instance of the flat *punctum* is in evidence. The music scribe is quite precise and professional. There is no perceivable difference between the ink used in the chant texts and the music. Compared to the other Scribe A breviary fragments, the music here is accurately placed, well executed, and the usage of hairlines and pen angles shows good proficiency at musical notation.

The *quilisma* tends to stay horizontal in execution (as opposed to those of the music scribe of SRA FR 23592). Note also the lack of the horizontal German *punctum*. These differences are not unexpected, as the forces shaping this particular section of this breviary seem to be of a different origin than the other fragments.

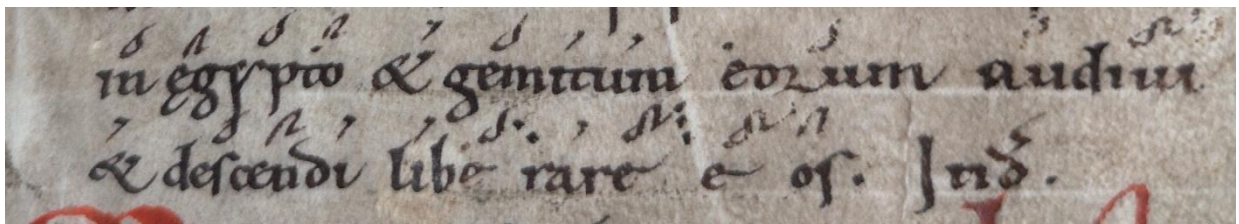
It might be possible that Scribe A is the music scribe as well. Beyond any features that will become apparent through comparison with other fragments in this group, one might compare similar strokes of various graphs with the example below showing musical notation next to punctuation:



Fol. 1v l. 11



Fol. 1v l. 5



Fol. 2r ls. 24–5b

2.2.1. *Script*

Round-backed **d** is found only rarely in the main breviary text; however, in the text of the chants we see more consistent right-hand ticks on the curved **d** ascender.

We find no usage of single **i**-longa in non-double **ii** position. This is one of the features which will later be assimilated in the course of Scribe A's scribal development, and is a link to Hand f/4 as will be discussed below. The treatment of the feet of the minims in the case of this breviary fragment is rather unique. One finds a distinct regularity in a somewhat exuberant flicking of the feet in almost every single case. This change in minim treatment exemplifies one of the major shifts in hand that Scribe A experiences. DRA Lat. fragm. 4770 and DRA Lat. fragm. 4188, the closest relatives from a scribal perspective to SRA FR 6786, show a similar flicking of feet, however, not entirely as excessively as in the breviary fragment. Further, the final minim stroke of **m** tends, in the later samples, to experience an inward turn of the pen which is not present in this early material. The initial cause one might suspect for the ever-present pen flicks is a connection to the speed of the ductus of the hand. In the final minims of most words one finds an exuberant flick of the pen entering the empty space between graphs. However, following fragments show that this goes deeper than speed of writing and is more deeply embedded in the scribe's personal ductus. Word-final **e** and **r** show similar treatment, with a final emphasis given on the tongue of **e** and **r**. The end strokes of the ampersand tend to

be made in alignment with the stroke at the bottom bow and tend to terminate at the same height as the head bow, giving it a more compressed appearance (as opposed to the later hand).

Another important feature is the *s*. In word-final position, if not given a hairline at base, long *s* is consistently drawn below the baseline in a somewhat atypical manner compared to the other fragments in the group. When given the distinctive hairline that in most cases is angled slightly upward, long *s*, even in word-final position, is not extended below baseline. It is this feature Derolez associates with mostly German manuscripts.¹⁰⁹ The hyphens on baseline and the *ct*-ligature, however, remain a firm identifying feature of the hand.

Further, one finds a second hand adding a slight correction in line two on fol. 1v. This sample remains difficult to analyse with regard to dating and identification. One might hazard a guess that it is probably later, however, by perhaps not much more than a decade. Though a small sample, it looks regular and well-practised. The abbreviating suspension mark is perhaps rather atypical for what one has seen so far, with a marked curving swing in the execution. To say anything more is perhaps impossible, as the script sample is simply too small.

Regarding the general aspect of the hand of Scribe A at this point in time one must emphasise a certain roundness of the ductus. Taking a closer look at curved shapes, *o*, the head of *g*, these are features which will change during the course of the scribe's career.

The verdict is still out who the rubricator(s) is/are. As opposed to the other fragments where Scribe A is consistent in rubricating and writing, this fragment may speak of a more collaborative effort. The fact that the scribe's hand changes so much confuses the issue of the rubrics.

The measurements of the folio itself are 34 cm in height and 20 cm across. The full bifolium would, approximately, be 44 cm in width and at least 20 cm in height, and one may safely assume that it would have been somewhat taller. Below is an indication of the ruling pattern. Notable is the fact that the columns have been ruled with single lines and not a double vertical line grid. Further, the space between the columns does not contain a centre line. The text lines themselves have been ruled at a height of approximately 0.7 cm.

2.2.2. *Summary*

In keeping with the fact that SRA FR 6786 is at first glance rather different from the other breviary fragments associated with Lund in the Swedish collection with regard to the parameters of production, script and music, it will be shown that the other breviary fragments

¹⁰⁹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 64.

stem from a later period of writing than SRA FR 6786. There is a coherence with regard to the ruling and layout of the breviary, as these follow the same basic layout, though the line height differs between the slightly tighter ruled SRA FR 6786 and the other breviaries. One might be tempted to speak about English influence on the script, due to the **a** and **g** for instance. However, one must bear in mind that the music is definitely not English, and is well copied and executed in a calligraphic manner. The hand however does not show any convincing features of a ‘German’ type. This mixture of features, which only allows for the safe statement that one cannot safely pinpoint the origin, may be a hallmark of the diverse influences found at Lund.

This breviary fragment serves as a starting point in the development of Scribe A’s hand and allows one to proceed to the transitional phase of the hand with the fragments below.

2.3. *MS 2: A grand lectionary in four parts*

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Ommundsen has previously published on DRA Lat. fragm. 558–59 + DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81 and NRA Lat fragm. 26, 1–2, linking these together to form a ‘grand twelfth-century lectionary’.¹¹⁰ However, as will emerge in the case below, the study was in fact touching upon two different lectionaries. With the missing puzzle pieces now in play, it will be shown that two large, high-status lectionaries can be attributed to Scribe A, having been written at different times of his working period. The first of these lectionaries to be discussed includes the fragments found in Norway, NRA Lat. fragm. 26, 1–2, containing part of Pope Leo the Great’s sermon 70.

2.3.1. *KB Lat. fragm. 2857 (Fig. 2)*

Size: 44–5 x 34 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

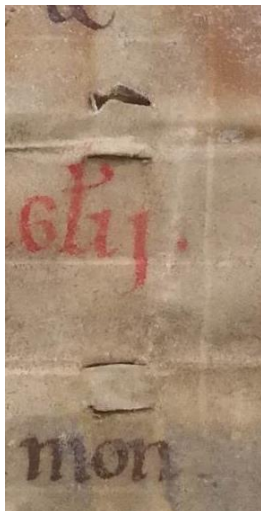
Secondary Provenance: Herlufsholm 1627–28, (Herlofsholm Addelig fri Skollis Regenskab) Founded 1565 by Herluf Trolle and his wife Brigitte Gøye, Herlufsholm School was a ‘fri skole for adelige og fromme mænds børn’.¹¹¹ The school was based at in the Benedictine monastery of Skovkloster, which had been founded close to today’s Næstved in 1135 but moved to its

¹¹⁰ Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 188.

¹¹¹ Grinder-Hansen, ‘Den Danske adels frie skole’, p. 158.

current location in 1200, where it burned down 1261 but was reconstructed and remained intact until it fell into the hands of the crown after the Reformation reached Denmark in 1536. This provenance seems remarkable due to a specific binding technique applied to two of the fragments of this lectionary stemming from there, as will be discussed below.

Though the fragment catalogue of the Royal Library makes no note of the provenance of this fragment,¹¹² it is of remarkable importance to this investigation. The size of the fragment itself, a full folio, is highly uncommon with such a late binding date. The manner in which it was bound with the clear fold in the centre, with the recto facing outwards and the verso facing inwards, is highly reminiscent of DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a. In the centre of the folio one finds three sets of four cut slits on both sides of the fold markings, where the spine of the account book would have been. These are atypical for most of the binding practices of the account books, which used the far more common twine, as opposed to the reinforcing parchment strips which would have been slipped through the slits in this fragment. Coupled with the signs of pastedown, one may perhaps link this binding practice to Herlufsholm itself, since this seems nearly identical to DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a.



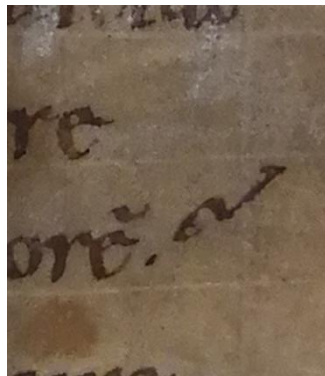
Fol. 1v ls. 20–2a: Cuts made for the insertion of reinforcing parchment strips. No sewing stations were required for this type of account book binding since paste-down was applied at Herlufsholm.

Ruling: Dry-point. Writing does not start on the top line. Considering the surviving size of the margins and general proportions, one can be fairly sure that the fragment, as it now exists in loose form, is not much smaller than it originally would have been, even though some trimming did occur. There are signs of possible pricking at the bottom of the folio, made by a round tool. This would link it to the pricking made in DRA Lat. fragm. 4188/a. However, this pricking point is not quite aligned with the ruled line it is nearest to. Further, a couple more pinprick

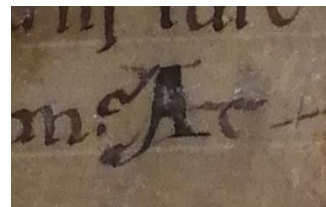
¹¹² Andersen and Raasted, *Inventar*, p. 96.

holes can be seen at the top of the folio, none of which are near ruled lines. One is therefore not able to make a judgment whether a round pricking tool connects this and DRA Lat. 4188. The likeliest explanation for these fine holes may be found in signs of parasite activity during the lifetime of the calf the parchment originated from.

Punctuation: *Punctus elevatus*, with hyphens on the baseline. The *punctus interrogativus* is of a more vertical, perhaps less continental European style, as opposed to the horizontal ones used throughout the breviary fragments in the SRA and in Scribe A's other works.



Fol. 1v l. 30b

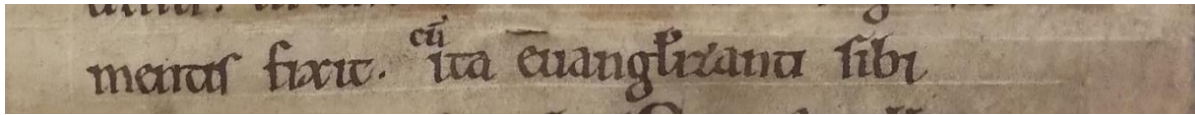


Fol. 1v l. 32b

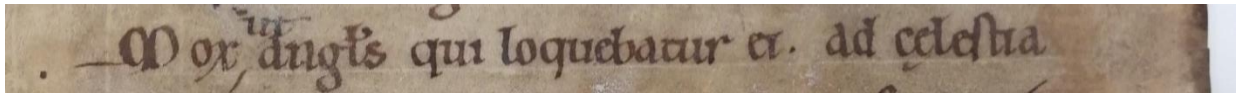
Script: The **d** ascender seems to be in a state of flux regarding the height of its ascender, one of the signs that we are looking at a very well executed example of Scribe A's work in his transitional scribal phase. Round **d** is restricted to one instance on fol. 1v l. 6b. The ascenders in general tend to be on the longer side; however, one notices some shortening and thickening of the strokes occurring. Note the use of **i**-longa in non-double **ii** position, and how the feet of the minims tend to flatten out more and more, with the process being especially noticeable in **m** and **n**. Whilst some features like the **g** retain the execution as seen in SRA FR 6786, we find the ampersand more upright than ever, moving towards its final construction. Note the re-sharpening of the pen nib as of *hoc* in fol. 1r l. 29a. One does not see a noticeable difference occur at the equivalent point in the facing column. As opposed to SRA FR 23593, in this case Scribe A seems to be copying column by column and not line by line across columns.

Long **s**, when in word-final position, is given a hairline at the foot of its shaft, sometimes in a horizontal fashion but mostly angled slightly upwards to the right side.

There are two interlinear corrections on the verso of the folio, *cum* (l. 22b verso) and *ut* (l. 36b verso). These corrections are in a different hand, which can be seen by the use of a different type of abbreviating suspension and the straight-shafted **t**.



Fol. 1r l. 22b: Note the difference in suspension marks.



Fol. 1v l. 36b: Note the straight-shafted **t**. There is one particular hand which undertakes correctional work in Scribe A's work, which is Hand rub./8, which uses both that particular suspension mark in *cum* and a straight-shafted **t**. This scribe will be discussed in greater detail below (see DRA Lat. fragm. 8140).

Initials/Rubrics: Are in the same hand as that of the main scribe. The two initials seem to be of a pen-drawn variety, and an odd-looking collision regarding the management of the spacing seems to have occurred as well.

Condition: Signs of pastedown and a certain amount of exposure to moisture are in evidence. However, the fragment is in relatively good condition and is the largest surviving fragment of the manuscripts penned by Scribe A in the Copenhagen collections.

Content:

Recto: Bede, *Homilia Prima in Festo Annuntiationis Beatae Mariae*.

Verso: Bede, *Homilia Prima in Festo Annuntiationis Beatae Mariae*, ending. Followed by Bede, *Homilia II, In Festo Visitationis Beatae Mariae*.

Ruling pattern: KB Lat. fragm. 2857 verso:

		2.4–6 cm margin height			2.4–6 cm margin height		
5 cm	0.9	11.8–9 cm line width	1.2	0.9	11.4 cm line width	0.9	1.4 cm
Margin	cm		cm	cm		cm	Margin
width		0.9 cm line height					width
		3.8 cm margin height			3.8 cm margin height		

2.3.2. DRA Lat. fragm. 4770 (Fig. 3)

Size: 31 x 11 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

Secondary Provenance: Copenhagen 1633–34, Ektraskattemandtal. The reliability of this provenance is likely questionable. Considering not only its small size, but also the equal weathering of the fragment on both sides of the binding, one can assume that this is not the first instance of this fragment having been recycled. This is also indicated by the somewhat atypical cut in the top corner.

Script: On this fragment one can observe a number of different **d** ascenders, from a split top of a relatively tall and thin ascender to a typical wedge, and one example on the verso of the rather compressed **d** that one finds in the later works of Scribe A. The hand in general, however, retains the features typical of the early to intermediary stage of development with regard to general aspect, ascenders and formation of **g** and abbreviations. However, one observes the compressed wave abbreviation mark almost entirely employed in its final formation, and whilst some of the feet of **m** and **n** show some flattening, in general one still sees a propensity for the right upwards ticking of feet.¹¹³

Ruling: Dry-point.

Measurements: The text block from left to right spans approximately 24.5 cm. This is measured from the bottom line of the fragment, since it was bound with a slight fold in the material in the now right-hand column. The fold does not quite extend into the final text line, thereby ensuring the taking of somewhat accurate measurements.

Punctuation: Later addition of the reversed *punctus elevatus* with visibly darker ink. This type of punctuation is the same that is employed by Scribe A in KB Lat. fragm. 2857, where it seems clear that they are not later additions. This is an indication that either Scribe A had to make these later corrections himself as they were pointed out, or indeed someone else did them for him, and he later on in the production of this lectionary adapted to these correctional impulses and conformed to this style of punctuation. This may be taken as further evidence of his adapting to scribal practices which were perhaps not as familiar and usual for him, a process which will be seen to occur later in his writings as well, as is discussed below.

¹¹³ Kwakkel, 'Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet', p. 90.

It is worth noting that this same corrector added a linking line between *comprehendi* and *Admisit* (verso, column b, l. 4 from lower edge), linking the two sentences, more in accordance with the PCC version of the sermon. Finally, note the hyphens on baseline.

Condition: The script is clearly legible; however, the signs of use and wear indicate multiple re-uses of the parchment material.

Content: Recto: Pope Leo the Great, *Romani Sermones in Praecipuis Totius Anni Festivitatibus ad Romanam Plebem Habiti*, Sermo 63, chapter 6.

Verso: Pope Leo the Great, *Romani Sermones in Praecipuis Totius Anni Festivitatibus ad Romanam Plebem Habiti*, Sermo 65.

Ruling pattern: DRA Lat fragm. 4770 recto

		2.1 cm margin height			2.1 cm margin height		
?cm	1.1	11.4 cm line width	1.1	1.2	11.4 cm line width	1	6.2 cm
Margin	cm		cm	cm		cm	Margin
width		0.9 cm line height					width

2.3.3. DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a (Fig. 4)

Size: 35 x 20 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

Secondary Provenance: Herlufsholm 1628–29 Ugekost- og udspisningsregister. The fragment has been pasted down, making analysis of the verso difficult if not entirely impossible. The issue of the reliability of the secondary provenance remains obfuscated. The binding technique used for this account is once again atypical. One finds reinforcement strips

made of parchment, and of course the paste-down method itself is not widely used in the binding of the Danish account books. It is possible that the strips come from the same manuscript, even folio, as the fragment itself. It has weathered in the same manner as the fragment and the central strip shows a stroke of brown ink, which conforms to the general hue of the ink on the fragment itself. The fact that this is one of the kitchen accounts of Herlufsholm must be considered with regards to the variation in binding practice, the implication being that this may be a local binding. Coupled with the binding evidence of KB Lat. fragm. 2857, one can be somewhat confident that these practices were local to the school itself, perhaps tying this particular lectionary closer to the library of Skovkloster, which would have been at least in part inherited by the school.

Ruling: Dry-point. The initial space between the ruled text boxes is very small, approximately one centimetre. This seems to be due to the fact that the blue **C** initial seems to have been placed in such a manner that the amount of following text did not account for the displaced area, leading to the accompanying four lines almost touching the adjacent space ruled for the left-hand column. It is very difficult to ascertain the ruling pattern of this fragment, as the lines are no longer visible.

Punctuation: Perhaps only one instance of the hyphen on baseline is visible on fol. 1r l. 6b. Three lines from the lower margin we find a possible later addition of a *punctus elevatus*, and the re-drawing at the same time of the *ab* in *Habet*.

Condition: The fragment has clearly been handled frequently during its life as a binding. Parts of the text are difficult if not impossible to read, having been rubbed off through intense use. A later, perhaps fourteenth or fifteenth century addition has been made on the top of left column, above what remains of the rubrics. Due to the placement and the line keeping within the space of the column, it is unlikely to be a clerk's addition. It therefore may be an addition made later in the use life of the manuscript the fragment stems from. However, individual letterforms are very difficult to make out.

Initials/Decoration: The red rubric giving the Sunday for which this particular reading is to be used for has sadly suffered the most damage, eliding most of that section of the fragment. The other initial, also in red, a pen-drawn **M**, has also suffered from wear but is still clearly visible.

Script: Following the general development of Scribe A at this point in his scribal production, one observes the features typical of this intermediary stage.

The figure-eight style **g** is in evidence as well as a rather unforked **d** ascender, though Scribe A's usual variance has not quite abated here. Note the **d** ascender in *profundum*, fol. 1r l. 10b

terminating in a straight line and the forked one in *quod* in fol. 1r l. 13b, and only very occasionally compressed ascenders, notably in *ad* fol. 1r ls. 6–7a. The short wave suspension mark occurs as well.

Looking at the minims of **m** and **n**, there is a general right turn of the feet, the idiosyncratic **ct**-ligature can be found on the verso. However, there does not seem to be an instance of **i**-longa in non-double **ii** position. Note a possible contemporary addition in fol. 1r l. 12b of a *punctus elevatus*. This somewhat darker ink may then also have retraced part of the bow of **a** and the ascender of **b** in the following word *Habet*.

Content: As of the initial **M**, the text running from there through to the verso is *Tractatus* 24 of Augustine of Hippo. On the right-hand side of the verso one finds the beginnings of Chapter 4 of *Tractatus* 24.

Ruling Pattern: DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a recto

		3.2 cm margin height		3.2 cm margin height		
2.8 cm Margin width	?cm	10.6–9 cm line width	2.6– 9 cm	11.1–2 cm line width	?cm	4.9 cm Margin width
		0.9 cm line height				

2.4. MS 3: DRA Lat. fragm. 4188/a. One large bible, two small fragments?

DRA Lat. fragm. 4188/a (Fig. 5)

Size: 9.3 x 4.5 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

Ruling: Dry-point

Secondary Provenance: Dragsholm 1636–37 Ekstraskattemandtal. The small size of the fragments may be taken to be the first indicator of an unreliable secondary provenance. However, the obvious wear on the inside of the binding, almost more than the outer side, confirms that this is not the first recycling of the parchment. It must be noted that this fragment is accompanied by DRA Lat. fragm. 4188a. This textless fragment stems from the margin of the same folio as DRA Lat. fragm. 4188, since the patterns of the signs of wear and tear match exactly, as well as the pricking tool used.

This is a rather curious and atypical fragment. On the one hand, the preservation conditions have left us with a minimal amount of text. On the other, not only is the pricking preserved, but from the looks of the fragments, most of the outer margin is preserved as well. With around 8.3 cm preserved, the scale of the manuscript quickly becomes apparent.

Content: It is the content which hints at these two fragments being the only surviving parts of a bible or at least the Old Testament. The reconstructed size of the manuscript is the first indication as is the fact that if one establishes the folio with a double column layout, following the word density demonstrated by the surviving text, a continuous section spanning two chapters of the Book of Amos fits on the theoretical writing space so created.

Recto: Book of Amos, Chapter 8, 10–13

1. **super** omne dorsum vestrum saccum, et super omne caput
2. **calvitium:** et ponam eam quasi luctum unigeniti,
3. **et novissima** ejus quasi diem amarum. Ecce
4. **dies** veniunt, dicet Dominus, et mittam famem in ter-
5. **ram:** non famem panis, neque sitim aquæ, sed
6. **audiendi** verbum Domini. Et commovebuntur a ma-
7. **ri usque** ad mare, et ab aquilone usque ad orien
8. **tem:** circuibunt quærentes verbum Domini, et non
9. **invenient.** In die illa deficient virgines pul-
10. **chrae** et adolescentes in siti.

Verso: Book of Amos Chapter 7, 10–15

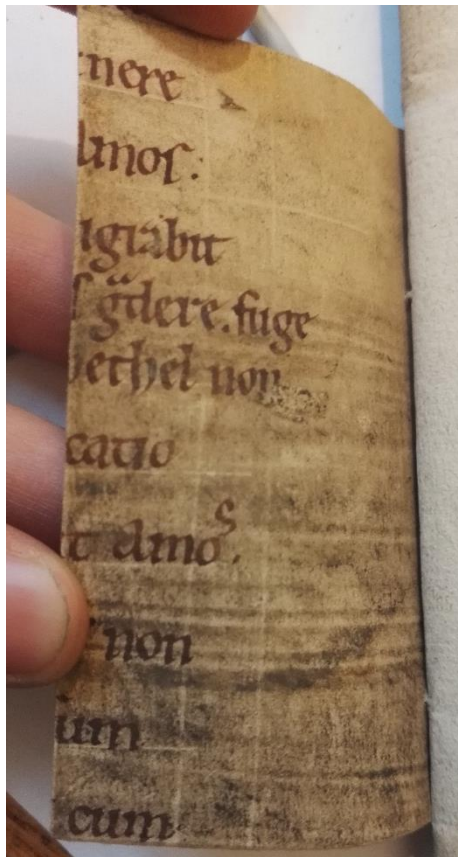
1. **inere**
2. universos sermones ejus. Hæc enim dicit **Amos**
3. : In gladio morietur Jeroboam, et Israël captivus **migrabit**
4. de terra sua. Et dixit Amasias ad Amos: Qui vides, **gradere: fuge**

5. in terram Juda, et comede ibi panem, et prophetabis ibi. Et in **Bethel non**
6. adjicies ultra ut prophetes, quia sanctificatio
7. regis est, et domus regni est. Responditque **Amos**,
8. et dixit ad Amasiam Non sum propheta, et **non**
9. sum filius prophetæ sed armentarius ego **sum**
10. vellicans sycomoros. Et tulit me Dominus **cum**

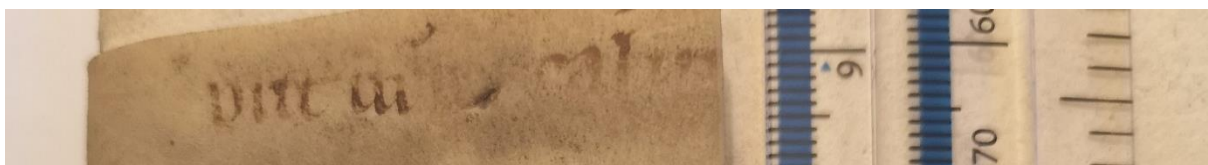
The text in bold is the content which survives on the remaining 1.4–5 cm of the right-hand column of what is now the recto of the fragment. At around four to five units per 1.5 cm (with units counting graphs, spaces and punctuation), one can reconstruct a line length of around 13–15 cm per column. Including a space between text blocks of a conservative 2 cm, similar to KB Lat. fragm. 2857, one can assume that the folio width measured, if one accounts for a similar inner margin as outer, around 40–5 cm. This would make it a bible of very large proportions as well as status. The text of the Book of Amos, allotted according to these proportions, fills the folio on both sides continuously. Such a length for a reading is highly unusual, as well as this not being a section of the Book of Amos that is found in lectionaries. However, whilst I have not been able to find readings of Amos beyond 9.13–15, one must not reject the possibility of DRA 4188/a being a part of the large lectionary discussed above. The hand and line ruling fit the pattern of that manuscript. Furthermore, the likelihood of these two fragments either representing an entirely new manuscript as opposed to being part of one already represented by three other fragments, weighs towards the latter simply by statistical probability. Nevertheless, the reconstructed text does not support that hypothesis.

Script: Due to the small sample size, identifying the hand is not particularly simple at first glance. However, it is demonstrably of the hand of Scribe A employed for the lectionary discussed above. The most important feature of this fragment can be found on the verso, where lines 3–5 are corrected by Hand rub./8. This can be shown by the figure-eight ductus of **g**, the straight **t**, angular tongue of **r** and the flat-topped belly of **d**. This correcting hand has had to find space to insert two lines of text in the space of one ruled line, hence the cramped aspect of this section of the fragment. However, this might not be the entire extent of the correction, since *migrabit* is also in the corrector's hand, though in the proper space in the line, implying that he has corrected a more sizable section. It is odd that such a large section would need correcting. One might imagine an instance of homeoarchy from verses four to five, with *de terra* and *in terram* leading to the skipping of verse four. By erasing verse five and adding in both lines in the space of the line, the text would have been amended. However, this explanation

is rather ad hoc. It is difficult to tell whether erasure has taken place, due to the wear on the inside of the fragment, though judging by blind touch alone, the parchment of the line in which Hand rub./8 operates is somewhat rougher than the surrounding material, which may point towards erasure, though this is of course not the most firm of evidence.



DRA Lat. fragm. 4188v: note the corrections by Hand rub./8 in ls. 3–5.



DRA Lat. fragm. 4188r.

It is unclear from the content of Amos 8 what this marginal addition could mean and why it was written in the first place.

Ruling: Dry-point. Line height: 1 cm. Ruled space between column demarcation and marginal ruled line: 0.8 cm.

2.5. MS 4

2.5.1. SRA FR 23591 (Fig. 6)

Size: 20 x 33 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

Secondary Provenance: Tiondelängder för Sevede 1579.

Content: Sabbato post pentecosten; Dominica in octavis pentecosten; Trinitas; Feria II-V post octavas pentecosten.

Script: In order to understand how SRA FR 23591 and SRA FR 23592 relate to SRA FR 6786, a number of diagnostic features will be highlighted below which show the development and progression of morphological change as well as those features which remain continuous in the hand. This breviary shows the hand of the scribe at its most transitional or perhaps its most inconsistent stage. Some features remain close to SRA FR 6786, such as minim feet, e.g. **m** and **n** for the most part showing ticks, something which can be observed to be highly consistent in SRA FR 6786 but which becomes less and less pronounced in Scribe A's work over time. However, some stark differences do occur at this point, for instance long **s** no longer goes below baseline in word-final position, a previously regular feature now lacking.

Graph g: One of the graphs undergoing the largest change is **g**. It is noticeable here that one observes various executions of the bowl. The main question seems to concern the placement of the bowl in relation to the head. At times, one finds the bowl occasionally offset from the body of the **g**, and in particular in the chant texts we find a straight descending stroke before bowing out to form the bowl itself. In general, these morphological changes are not too far removed from the hand as it appeared in SRA FR 6786.



Fol. 1v l. 5a



Fol. 1rv l. 13b



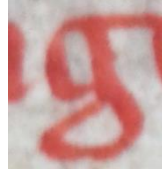
Fol. 2r l. 7a



Fol. 2r l. 9a

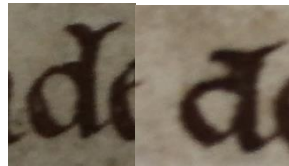
It is curious when looking towards the rubrics that one finds an execution of **g** which exhibits a high degree of similarity to those Scribe A produces later in his works. This may have

something to do with the influence which is shaping his hand in this transition phase. The rigidity and formality with which rubrics may be copied could be the reason why we observe a fully formed 'late' **g**, that is, a **g** that is characteristic of the last phase of the development of Scribe A's hand.



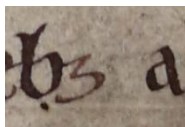
Fol. 2r l. 2b

Graph: **d**: The **d** ascender can be seen to be in a state of flux as well. One sees a variety of ascenders ranging from the regular tall forked to the compressed type which later becomes so typical for Scribe A.

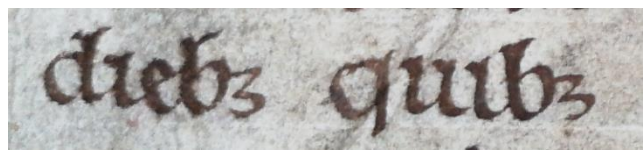


Fol. 2r l. 18a Fol. 2r l. 9a

Abbreviations: The **-bus** abbreviation has changed to the three-shaped form, which is used as of this breviary by the scribe. Note how Scribe A does not, as he will later do, use the full nib of the pen in regular pen strokes. Instead, he is at pains to use the corner, writing in almost hairline movements, if not an entirely different pen with a finer nib, giving the different abbreviation type an almost added-on quality.



Fol. 1v l. 15b from lower margin

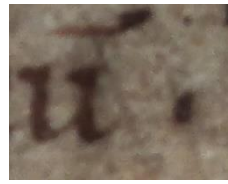


Fol. 1v l. 12a

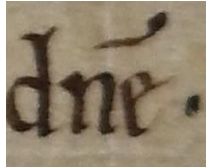
The feature which most clearly seems to show the transition from the SRA FR 6786 style to Scribe A's later work is the stroke which for the main part serves as the abbreviating suspension mark. As opposed to the stroke which takes the same role in SRA FR 6786, here, we see the clear intention of the scribe to shift to the short compressed wave that takes over as the graph of choice, not only in abbreviations but also in the cross stroke of *per*. Most of the time one does see the short wave; however, as opposed to later works where it occurs regularly and well-practised, SRA FR 23591 shows some discomfort with the execution and one does see the previous design of stroke crop up occasionally.



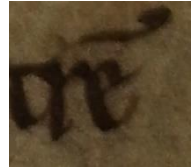
Fol. 1v l. 7



Fol. 1v second to last line



Fol. 2r l. 23



Fol. 2r final line

Ampersands: In general the ampersand remains of the style observed in SRA FR 6786, with the head lobe being at the same height as the final tick of the upward end stroke of the arm, though the more upright design, which is the one employed later on through Scribe A's career, also occurs.

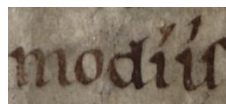


Fol. 1v l. 4a: An example of the more commonly seen upright, later ampersand. The **et**-ligature seems to be more horizontally compressed as opposed to the vertical compression we see in SRA FR 6786 for example.



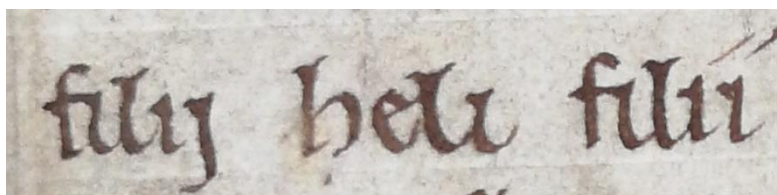
Fol. 1v l. 19a

Regarding the use of **i**-longa, one only finds one in a double **ii** position, and none in single **i**, remaining close to the lack of **i**-longa as seen in SRA FR 6786.



Fol. 1r l. 35b

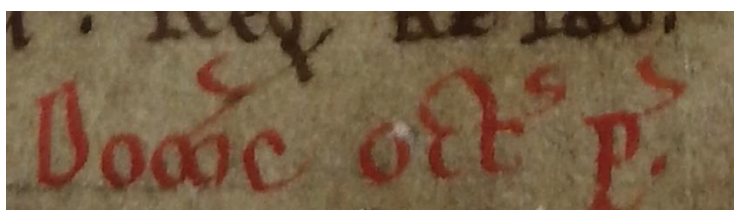
Even when used, **i**-longa appears only rarely and not in a regular pattern of use, as only one instance is found in this fragment.



Fol.1v l. 21a

Indeed, this seems to be the only instance of *i-longa* used on the four sides of writing here. One must bear in mind that this may be dependent on the sample of writing available. What can be said for certain is that the usage of *i-longa* in non-*ii* position will occur in later works, as is observed by Ommundsen.¹¹⁴

Rubrics: The rubrics are written by Scribe A as well, as the use of his particularly distinctive *ct*-ligature shows.



Fol. 2r l. 34a

Punctuation: mostly cup-shaped *elevatus*. Hyphens are mostly line-medial.

Music: If Scribe A is indeed the music scribe, in this case he does not seem to have planned the layout of the music very well. He seems to have trouble, which requires him having to work around the text that at points does not seem to fit due to the ascenders, or in particular the exuberant *ct*-ligature, which the scribe seems rather fond of but which does not seem necessary here. The music employed in SRA FR 23591 is particularly interesting. At times one finds a darker ink used to draw the neumes. However, it occurs at irregular intervals, which would point towards later corrections of the original music. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be the case as it looks like it is the same hand using the darker ink. Note the rising of the *quilisma*, as opposed to in SRA FR 6786, as well as the use of the round double *virga* and the perhaps more 'German' horizontal *punctum*.

¹¹⁴ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 188.

2.5.2. SRA FR 23592 (Fig. 7)

Size: 33 x 20 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

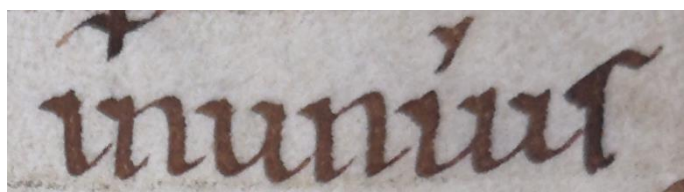
Secondary Provenance: Peder Staffanssons räk för Kind och Ydre, 1578.

Content: Feria III-V post Trinitatem; Dominica I – feria II post Dominica I post Trinitatem.

Ruling: Dry-point

Punctuation: Cup-shaped *punctus elevatus*. Hyphens tend to wander in their line placement and are not placed on the baseline as most of Scribe A's work tends to show.

Script: This fragment, stemming from the same breviary as SRA FR 23591, as identified by Gullick,¹¹⁵ shares many of the features showing the transition in Scribe A's hand. There is a mixture of round and generally straight-back **d**, with an uncertain execution of the ascender. The **g** switches between the figure-eight and more straight-backed designs. The **ct**-ligature remains horizontally compressed, and Scribe A seems to be the rubricator as well. The shaft of **t** tends to be straightening out more and more. **I**-longa is used only on a single occasion in *fili*, with other instances of **ii** in the same word at most receiving marks to avoid minim confusion. It is difficult to ascertain when these were added; however, in some cases they seem to have been added by the scribe himself.



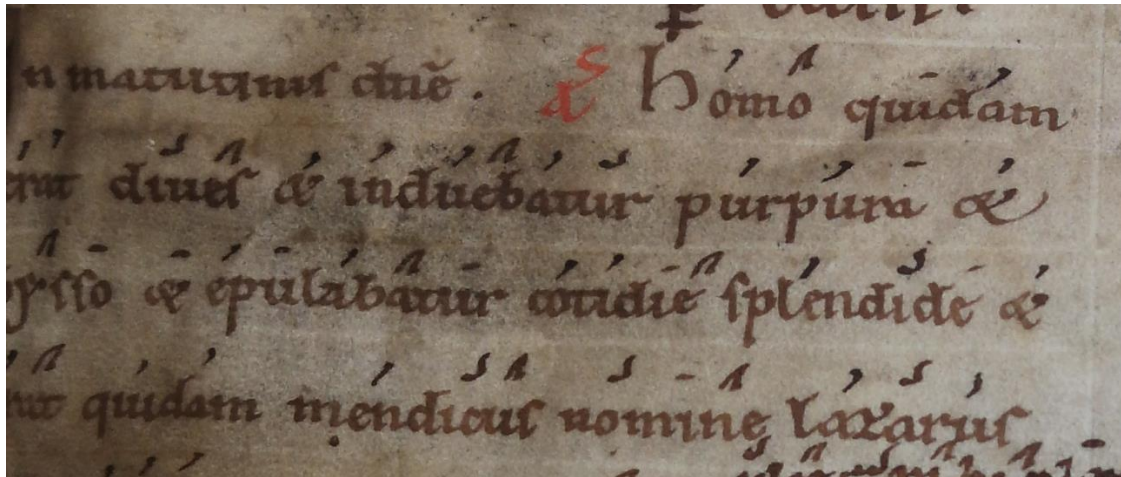
Fol. 1r l. 25b

Judging from the hue of the ink and the angles of the wedging, Scribe A is responsible for the mark to avoid minim confusion.

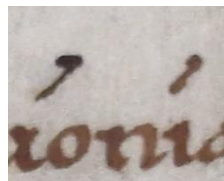
Music: As is the case with the other fragments in this group, the chants are in general of a Frankish type. We find the music to be written in two stages. Most of the neumes are written in the same shade of brown ink, with the width of the pen nib used for the chant texts and the music most likely very similar. These features point towards Scribe A also having written the music. He, however, does seem unsure at times regarding the proportions of the chant texts and music. Note the placement of the text in the centre of the ruled lines below, leaving little space for the music. This perhaps may point towards another hand adding in the music since – if this

¹¹⁵ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', pp. 192–93.

were his task – one could have expected more spatial awareness in the hand of the scribe. Further, this breviary is the only one to show occasional lack of notation, perhaps hinting at some confusion in the production of this part of the breviary, a notion further strengthened by the corrections in the chant discussed below. This would explain the difference in notational hand between SRA FR 6786, LUB 5 and the other breviary fragments written by Scribe A.

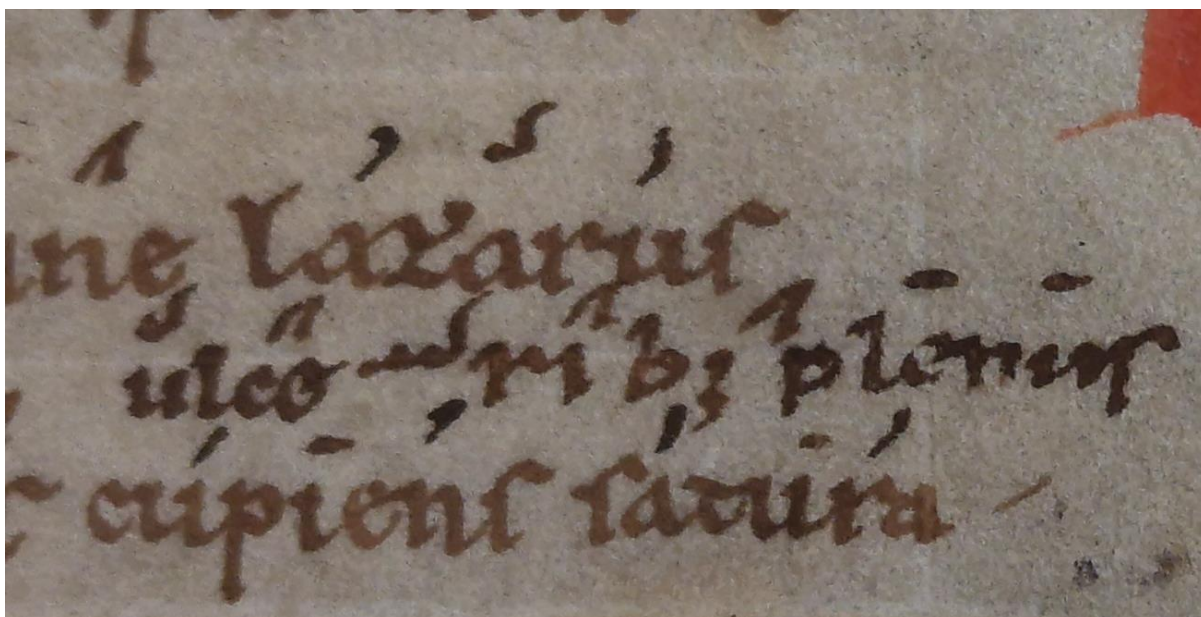


Fol. 2r l. 21–4a



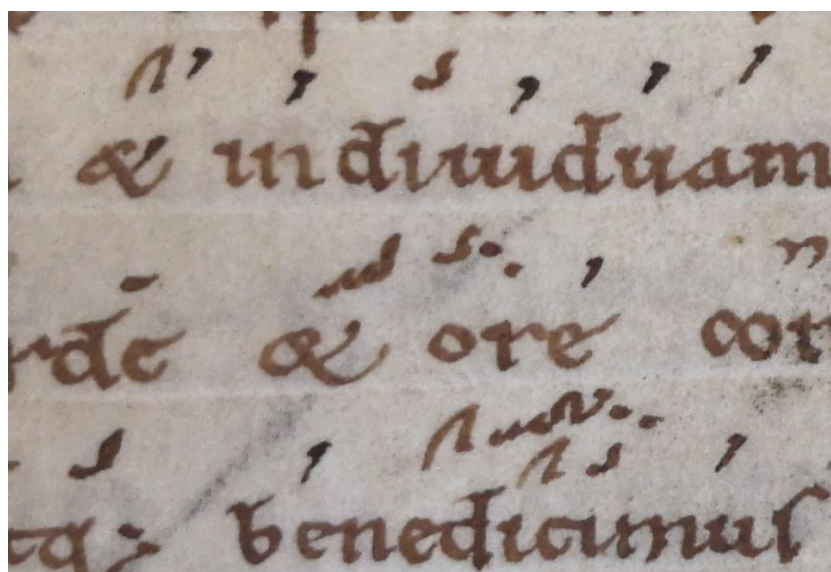
Fol. 2r: An example of the two different *virgae*.

The following section on fol. 2r may offer the solution to the question as to how many scribes were involved in the writing of this fragment, and what Scribe A's musical notational hand looks like. Judging by the spacing of the music and *ulceribus* one can safely assume that this scribe also was the main music scribe, since the neumes are executed in the same manner as the rest of the music. It is difficult to ascertain whether this is Scribe A as well. However, judging by the ink and the letterforms employed, it is a possibility (note the **u** and **r**). Nevertheless, the *plenus* that has been added seems to be in a different hand, and with the slightly darker ink as mentioned before. Note the differences in the ascender of **l**, the execution of **u** and long head of the long **s**. This seems to be the likely addition of the second scribe changing the music ever so slightly. Notable is that this music scribe adds the horizontal *punctum*.



Fol. 2r ls. 21–2a

One initially wonders as to why these additions were made. However, a closer look shows that the later darker ink was used for reasons of legibility. The light, elegant *virgae* of Scribe A, whilst nicely executed, are perhaps not the most visible from a user's standpoint, since these breviaries were supposed to have a practical application after all. Especially in perhaps a lower light setting, the *virga*, being one of the most common and simple of musical notation forms, is helpful for orientation purposes during the chants. The second hand seems to have drawn over most of the *virgae*, as can be seen by the thin hairlines of the original symbols occasionally showing through the second layer of ink.



Fol. 1v, ls. 22–4a

2.6. MS 5: SRA FR 23593 (Fig. 8)

Size: 33 x 20 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

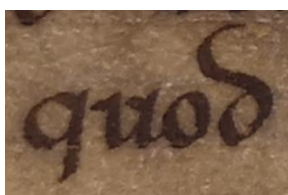
Secondary Provenance: Årlig ränta med tiondelängder för Kind och Ydre, 1578

Content: Dominica XVI-XVII post Trinitatem

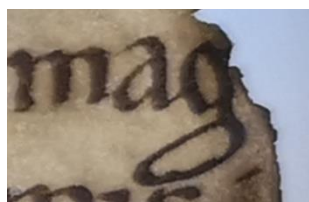
Script: This example of Scribe A's work is much closer to his final style of writing. Not just the **d** but also the **h** ascenders are compressed most of the time. The bowl of **g** is for the most part straightening out in its ductus and seems to have stabilised, as opposed to the state of flux seen in SRA FR 23591 and SRA FR 23592, though they tend to be somewhat on the compressed side. Furthermore, he seems to have assimilated the short wave suspension mark completely, and **i**-longa is seen in single **i** position. The shaft of **t** seems to be straightening out now and again as well.

Comparing SRA FR 6786 with SRA FR 23593, one truly observes the contrast of what the process taking place in SRA FR 23591 and SRA FR 23592 has brought about in the hand of Scribe A.

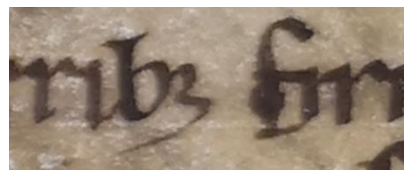
The nib of the pen used is wider, lending itself to emphasise the slight increase in angularity. However, the ductus as yet shows the early form of foot treatment, with the high frequency of ticks, though now and again we find certain minims, such as the second minim of **m** to end at a flat, though sometimes angular, cut-off. One further finds the more 'classic' Scribe A ampersand with the rather upright shape in evidence. However, it must be noted that this bifolium shows the scribe in a rather rushed production. Documentary forms such as the **d** and the large looped **g** seem to creep in due to the speed of writing. Especially the first half of fol. 1v shows a degree of inconsistency that is highly unusual for Scribe A. Indeed, he breaks off in the middle of the line and a second, highly inexperienced hand takes over for the rest of fol. 1v. The facing side of the bifolium, fol. 2, however, is completed by Scribe A. It is further worth noting that the manner in which the break and transition between the two scribes occurs shows that Scribe A was copying across columns and not sentence by sentence, column by column. The copying of the manuscript occurred therefore in the manner of the scribe copying line by line and not sense by sense.



Fol. 1v l. 13a



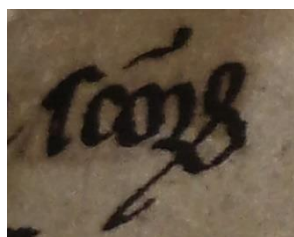
Fol. 1v l. 9b



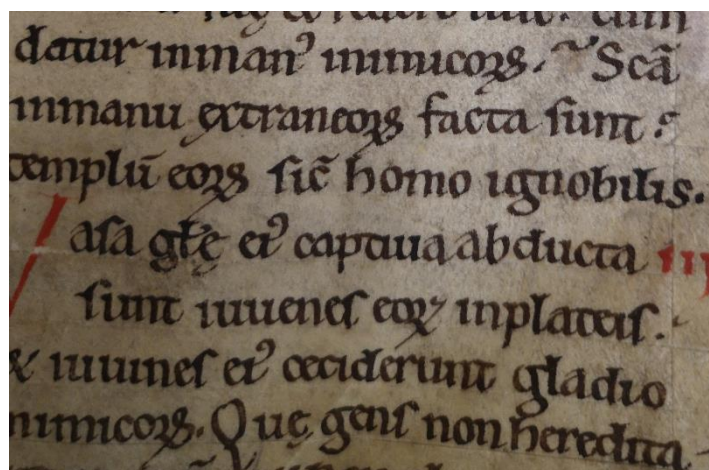
Fol. 1v l. 10b

Note the documentary **d** appearing due to the urgency felt by the scribe, the extended hairlines of the **-bus** abbreviation and the **i**, brought about by quick movements of the pen. The contrast between Scribe A's hand on the recto of this folio and the verso is stark.

Regarding abbreviations, it is worth pointing out that whilst Scribe A does not seem to show any consistent preference for either looped or un-looped **-orum** abbreviation in general in his works, this fragment shows a clear preference for the looped, as opposed to forked, construction. Note how the suspension mark of Scribe A's early work once again makes an appearance, this time in *sociorum*.



SRA FR 23593 fol. 2r l. 23a: A commonly used abbreviation, it is unsurprising that this slip-up would occur almost automatically in this environment.



Fol. 2r ls. 31–7b: This fragment shows some of the highest densities of looped **-orum** abbreviations in Scribe A's work.

Rubrics: Scribe A is responsible for rubricating the entire bifolium and is unable to entirely shake off the previous suspension mark used, perhaps due to the formality of the copied rubrics, as evidenced on fol. 2v, where the rigidity of rubrication forms retains this abbreviation.



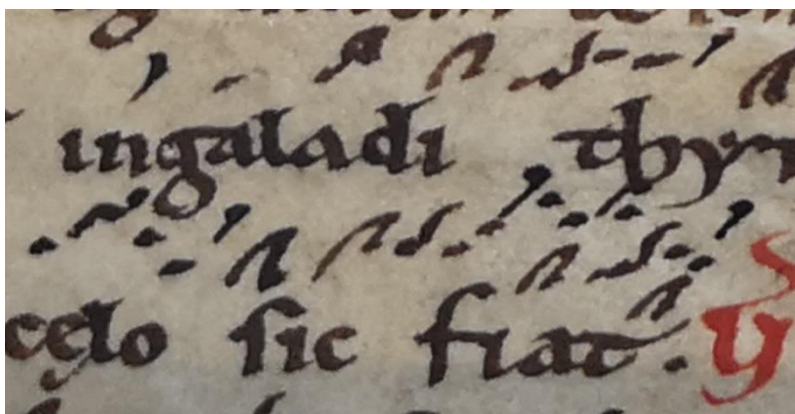
Fol. 2v l. 29a

Note that this breviary, which so far shows Scribe A at his furthest point in development, as yet does not contain the ‘fish tail’ design of minor initial which associates this scribe with Scribe C and the initials of the *Lectioarium* as discussed by Ommundsen and Gullick.

Ruling: Dry-point. Pricking has been done using a knife point, judging by the slits left in the margins of the bifolium, although the opposing marginal pricking marks are somewhat larger and oblong in shape.

Punctuation: Cup-shaped *elevatus*. Hyphens not always on baseline.

Music: The notation is executed in a less skilled fashion compared to that in SRA FR 6786. Furthermore, empty space has been left where musical notation has not been included in the chants. The spacing of the music is not entirely as professional as it could be, as sections such as these show, with hurriedly compressed and overlapping music lines.



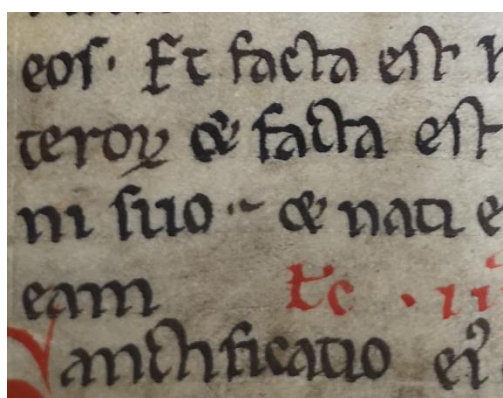
SRA FR 23593 Fol. 1r ls. 31–2a

2.6.1. Scribe B

As mentioned above, halfway through fol. 1v a second hand takes over writing the main text of the folio. So far, this is the only instance known to me of this scribe (Scribe B as termed by Ommundsen).¹¹⁶ As is clear at first glance, the hand is highly insecure and inexperienced. In l. 17 we see that Scribe A did not even finish the line, with the second hand taking over as of *quos*. It is interesting to note that this hand seems to want to emulate the extended **ct**-ligature which is the hallmark of Scribe A. However, he does not seem to be comfortable with the

¹¹⁶ Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 196.

extended execution of it. Note below the fairly unremarkable, regular **ct**-ligature in the first *facta*. The following two seem to have been constructed with two strokes forming the arch of the ligature itself, displaying the unfamiliarity of the extended form. It does not seem to have been an intentional teaching experience, since Scribe A's hand itself exhibits an inconsistency brought on by hasty execution as discussed above. It is worth pointing out that this scribe also employs the short wave abbreviation stroke which Scribe A has adopted. This hand can only be described as that of a novice scribe with little experience, as the mismanagement of space shows on fol. 2v ls. 29–30, where not enough space was left at the end of the line for the rubrics.



Fol. 1v l. 28–32b

It is tempting to reconstruct the process in the scriptorium which led to the folio as it exists now. The rushed state of the hand of Scribe A breaking off and an inexperienced one taking over as the main scribe makes off with haste without finishing the folio, explains why an inexperienced novice was left to finish the folio. However one wants to spin the story, this section nevertheless allows for an interesting insight into the process of the scriptorium.

2.7. MS 6: LUB Fragn. 5 (Fig. 9)

Size: 22 cm x 15.5 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1120–40

Secondary Provenance: Secondarily used in the binding of LUB Medeltidshandskrift 12.¹¹⁷

Script: This missal fragment has been briefly described,¹¹⁸ though the short mention made barely scratches the surface of what this small fragment has to offer. After giving the linking descriptions between the fragment and the scribal group the concluding remarks given are:

¹¹⁷ <https://www.alvinportal.org>.

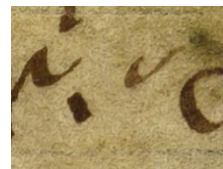
¹¹⁸ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 196.

‘This fragment should be seen in connection with others, and regarded as “a possible product of Lund”’.¹¹⁹ Only in the following table 8.1 in the article is Scribe A designated as the hand of LUB fragm. 5, given as ‘A compr’ (read compressed).¹²⁰ The hand itself is notably different from what one is initially used to from Scribe A. The use of a wider pen nib adds a certain heaviness to the strokes, contributing to a more compressed aspect. However, it is unmistakably Scribe A towards the later end of his development. The feet of the minims are rather pointed, with the flicks still very much present, though now and again one does notice some flattening of feet. The ampersands, in particular, show some of the most difference, with the thick stroke finishing the arm, which itself is rounder than one is used to seeing from Scribe A. Note *i*-longa used in non-*ii* position as well as the variance in execution of *g*. Whilst these features seem rather unusual, as does the format, compared to the other fragments, this is clearly Scribe A still undergoing some transition in his hand. The features in this fragment can all be found in Ludwig II 3 (as is discussed below), and as such the hand in LUB Fragm. 5 does no longer constitute much of an outlier.

Punctuation: Note the correctional point-and-tick *elevatus* added in lighter brown ink, the correction being underlined as well. Interestingly enough, a few cup-shaped *elevatus* have been added as well, above the regular *punctus*. The *interrogativus* is of the horizontal variety. Hyphens are placed medially.



LUB Fragm. 5 Fol. 1r l. 12b



LUB Fragm. 5 Fol. 1r l. 7b

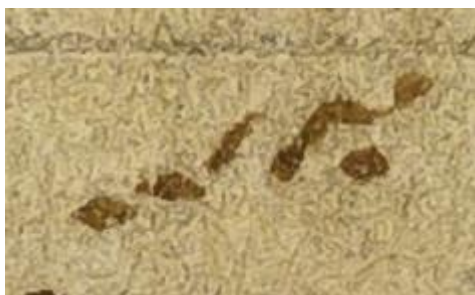
Ruling: Dry-point. The ruling pattern is closer to that of the breviaries in the SRA, as well as the general format and size of the original manuscript

The general differences notwithstanding, this fragment shows Scribe A at the later point of his transitional hand, as exemplified by the breviary fragments SRA FR 23591 and SRA FR 23592. Most importantly, however, this fragment links back to SRA FR 6786. The hand that wrote the music in both manuscripts shows the same, rather calligraphic and well executed neumes *in campo aperto*. From the clean and expert execution one sees in SRA FR 6786 and LUB fragm. 5, especially regarding the relationship between text and music, it seems somewhat more likely

¹¹⁹ Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 196.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

that this may be Scribe A's hand. As has been discussed above, the confusion in the other breviary fragments regarding the placement and quality of music seems to point away from the main scribe being responsible for the notation.



LUB Fragn. 5 Fol. 1r l. 20a



SRA FR 6786 Fol. 2v l. 19b



LUB Fragn. 5 Fol. 1r l. 20a



SRA FR 6786 Fol. 1v l. 41a

Initials: As is pointed out by Ommundsen, the double leaf here is close to some of the designs seen in the *Lectionarium*.¹²¹

2.8. MS 7: SRA FR 23589 (Fig. 10)

Size: 32.3 x 20 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1130–40

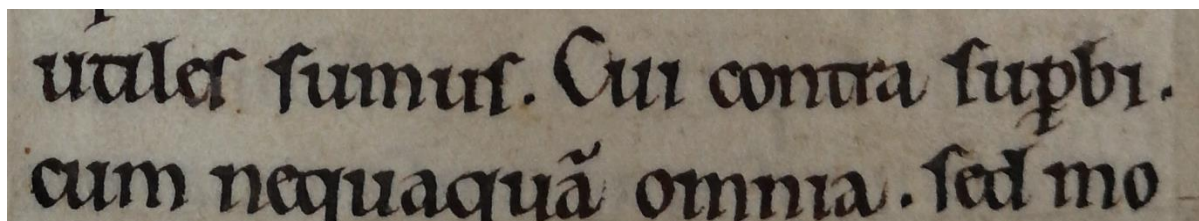
Secondary Provenance: Tiondelängder av Kind og Ydre, 1577

Script: This product of Scribe A falls into the later end of the transitional period of his work. The **g** still tends to follow the construction of the early, somewhat more figure-eight shaped style. However, the later features, the regular use of **i**-longa in non **ii**-position and highly compressed ascenders of **d**, are starkly apparent.

The shift in Scribe A's treatment of feet has mostly finished at this point. The **m** and **n** are rather telling with regard to this process. Whilst his propensity to flick the feet is as yet not

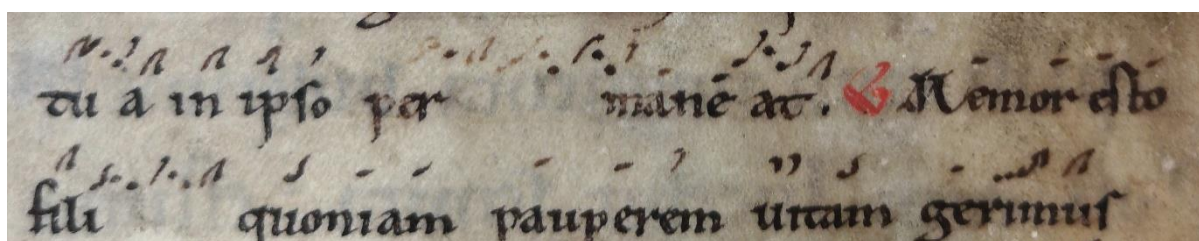
¹²¹ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 198.

entirely infrequent, we observe the foot of the second minim of **m** ending in a flat cut off, with the final minim ending in a horizontal flick, exhibiting a habit of curling inwards as well.



Fol. 1r ls. 25–6b

Music: The music scribe is the same hand as in SRA FR 23591, SRA FR 23592 and SRA FR 23593, though perhaps appearing less frantic than in SRA FR 23591 and SRA FR 23592. It remains somewhat unpractised. The retracing of some of the neumes might have taken place here on this fragment as well. We see use of the horizontal *punctum* and the double *virga*.



Fol. 1r ls. 17–8b

2.9. MS 8: A formal lectionary in multiple parts

This large lectionary survives in the largest group of fragments, all of which reside currently in the DRA. As mentioned above, Ommundsen has touched upon this manuscript in the discussion regarding DRA Lat. fragm. 558–59 + DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81.¹²²

2.9.1. DRA Lat. fragm. 6177 (Fig. 11)

Size: 32 x 9 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1130–40

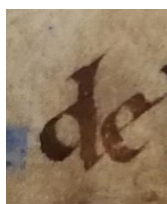
Secondary Provenance: Aarhusgaard 1620, Ektraskattemandtal. This secondary provenance is to be considered as unreliable. The inside of the binding shows the title of another account for which this fragment was used twenty years previously, which the clearly visible date ‘1600’

¹²² Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 190.

shows. During the course of the rebinding, the fragment was used inside out and trimmed in order to accommodate the new binding it was applied to.

Script: The ascender of the **d** is not as consistently compressed as it tends to be in most of the fragments of the later stage and the *Lectionarium*. Now and again, a regularly proportioned and lightly forked ascender is in evidence. Note the somewhat atypical **x** in *subiuncxit*, fol. 1v. l. 6b.

Note in l. 6r we find the addition of **de**. Whilst Hand rub./8 has corrected two lectionaries so far as well as DRA Lat. fragm. 4188/a, this correction should not be attributed to him, which a brief comparison clearly shows.



DRA Lat. fragm. 6177, fol. 1r l. 6b



DRA Lat. fragm. 8144v l. 9b
showing an example of Hand
rub./8.

Hand rub./8's execution of **d** is particularly noteworthy due to the belly of the graph consistently being written in a square fashion, with the top of the bow executed as a horizontal line.

Ruling: Dry-point. The point was pressed from what is now the verso outwards towards the recto. The ruling is worn off on the recto but well preserved on the verso. The measurements of the left column is 10.2 cm, the right 10.5 cm in width.

Punctuation: Note the hyphens on baseline.

Condition: The multiple re-use of the parchment has left some damage to the fragment with various later notes and additions written on the material.

Decoration and Rubrics: This fragment contains a 'fish tail' initial which is still visible from where the fragment was trimmed at the top rubric. This design, which led Ommundsen and Gullick to connect the fragments of Scribe C, who will be discussed below, to Scribe A, is clearly expressed here. It is interesting to note that whilst this particular design is present in the breviary fragment of Scribe C, when we look to the breviary fragments of Scribe A, we note that the 'fish tail' initials, of which there is a relevant sample size, are all made with the single tail design in mind. This design also occurs in MH 5, however, almost exclusively in **I**, and in a far less frequently executed form compared to SRA FR 23589 and SRA FR 23593. Note the mistaken rubric which had to be rubbed out. Due to the fact that the red ink required some

rather heavy erasure, the parchment is quite visibly ruffled. This probably led to the large gap being left empty, since the ink would have run rather badly on such a surface, if the scribe had filled in the empty space.

Content: Recto: Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliae de Tempore*, Homily 78.

Recto and continued on verso: Gregory the Great, Homily 22.

Ruling Pattern: DRA Lat. fragm. 6177 verso

		?cm margin height			?cm margin height		
2.1 cm Margin width	1.3 cm	10.5 cm line width	1 cm	1.4 cm	10.2 cm line width	1.2– 3 cm	5.1 cm Margin width
		0.9 cm line height					
		6.5 cm Lower margin					

2.9.2. DRA Lat. fragm. 7561–62

Size: 10.5 x 9 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1130–40

Secondary Provenance: Herlufsholm, 1623–24, Regnskaber. This secondary provenance is to be treated as unreliable. The small fragment size, coupled with the general wear on both sides of each fragment, point towards a re-use of binding material in this case.

Script: As the other fragments in this group, these fragments bears the typical compressed **d**'s, except in *nomina sacra* or in their vicinity. The **g** remains the second type of this hand, with a more straightened out descender as well as the typical **ct**-ligature.

The repair stitching on DRA Lat. fragm. 7562 must be highlighted since it may be original. The intralinear addition of *nos* between fol. 1r l. 9–10 seems contemporary, though the highly angular execution of **n** does not seem to be that of Scribe A and may be treated as a possible correction by Hand rub./8.

Ruling: Dry-point.

Punctuation: Regular light cup-shape *elevatus*.

Condition: Good; excepting various ink stains, the text itself is well preserved.

Content: Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliae de Tempore*, Homily 77.

Order of fragments in sequence of text:

1. DRA Lat. fragm. 7562r
2. DRA Lat. fragm. 7562v
3. DRA Lat. fragm. 7561v
4. DRA Lat. fragm. 7561r

2.9.3. DRA Lat. fragm. 7051 (Fig. 12)

Size: 33 x 34 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1130–40

Secondary Provenance: Silkeborg, 1601–02, Regnskaber. Due to the size and very good condition of this fragment, there seem to be no reasons to doubt this provenance.

Script: The compression of the **d** ascender is very marked here. The ductus of **g** has fully straightened out, and no more signs of the figure-eight design can be found. **I**-longa is used in non-**ii** position. The same lighter brown ink as used in the additional point-and-tick punctuation

has been used in a correction in fol. 1r. l. 6a, correcting *monstrando* to *ministrando*. The **o** has been erased, and two **i** are added. However, whether in a different or the same hand is perhaps impossible to tell.

Ruling: Dry-point. Writing starts above the top line. The ruling is very well executed, with most of the spaces being symmetrical on both sides of the centre dividing line.

Punctuation: Note the hyphens on baseline. Presence of point-and-tick *elevatus*. The light brown ink of the ticks points towards their later addition. Even though a very large part of one of the side margins survives, no traces of pricking remain on this fragment.

Condition: This fragment is in very good condition. Outside wear is almost non-existent, and the recto is almost as well preserved as the verso of the fragment.

Content: Recto: Bede, Commentary on Luke, ch. VII.

Verso: Gregory the Great: *Homiliae in Evangelia. Liber Secundus*, Homily 33.

Ruling Pattern: DRA Lat. fragm. 7051 recto

		3.5 cm margin height as measured from top line			3.5 cm margin height as measured from top line		
0.2–4 cm Margin width	1.1 cm	10.8 cm line width	1.3 cm	1.3 cm	10.6-7 cm line width	1.1 cm	7.4 cm Margin width
		0.9 cm line height					

2.9.4. *DRA Lat. fragm. 7549*

Size: 37.4 x 23.5–24 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1130–40

Secondary Provenance: Herlufsholm, 1614–15, Regnskaber. This secondary provenance is to be treated as unreliable. Whilst it is not immediately apparent that the fragment has been re-used as a binding, one notices various pen tests on the verso of the fragment at the back of the account book. It seems that perhaps most of these were made after the current binding, since some protrude into the part of the margin which has been folded over, when it was bound originally. It is interesting to note that the ink spatters which are prevalent on this fragment seem rather similar to those seen in the verso of DRA Lat. fragm. 6177. Whether this has anything to do with a shared provenance superseding their current one is, of course, highly speculative.

Script: No major variance in the hand is noticeable on this fragment.

Ruling: Dry-point. Writing above the top line. The line ruling is somewhat irregular, with spacing ranging from 0.8–1 cm. Due to the preservation of more of the margin, pricking marks survive, which seem to have been made using a round to oblong point. The ruling of the text blocks is identical to DRA Lat. fragm. 7051.

Punctuation: Note the hyphens on baseline. Lack of point-and-tick *elevatus*.

Condition: Good; excepting various ink stains, the text itself is well preserved.

Content: The ending of Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliae de Tempore*, Homily 81, finishing on the recto of the fragment. The ending of the text high on column b leaves most of the space of this column free. The scribe seemed to be content in leaving a very large section of writing space blank. Whether this speaks to a disruption in the production, due to whatever reason, is difficult to tell. The fact remains that this is very atypically wasteful management of writing space.

Ruling Pattern: DRA Lat. fragm. 7549 recto

		4.8–5 cm margin height			4.8–5 cm margin height		
8.7 cm	1.3	10.5 cm line width	1 cm	1 cm	10.8 cm line width	1.2	2.9 cm
Margin	cm	0.9 cm line height				cm	Margin
width							width

2.9.5. *DRA Lat. fragm. 4090–91*

Size: 16.5 x 6 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: 1130–40

Secondary Provenance: Antvorskov Kloster, 1628. This secondary provenance is to be treated as unreliable. Not only does the condition and the small fragment size point towards this, but quite noticeably a previous account label can be seen on DRA Lat. fragm. 4090, which most likely would have been the top section of a larger fragment once used for binding accounts from 1601–03.

Script: Like the other fragments in this group, these fragments bear the typical compressed **d**, except in *nomina sacra* or in their vicinity. Ascenders of **b** and **l** are following suit, especially

with the somewhat vertically compressed and wide forking. The **g** and the **ct**-ligature remain typical for Scribe A's later work.

Ruling: Dry-point, writing above top-line.

Punctuation: Regular light cup-shape *elevatus*. Lack of 'point-and-tick'.

Condition: The two fragments stem from the same folio. When cut, a loss of approximately two graphs per line occurred.

Content: Text: Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliae de Tempore*, Homily 70.

2.9.6. Summary

MS 8 is a large, formal, folio-size lectionary. The quality of the parchment used, most clearly visible in DRA Lat. fragm. 7051, is of a high standard, of a pleasant creamy hue and well produced, if on the thick side. This lectionary would have been of the same dimensions as the lectionary MS 2. These two manuscripts were of considerably higher status than the previously known Lund lectionary, MH 5. The relationship between MS 2 and MS 8 is one that must be explored in some further detail. As has been discussed above, Ommundsen suspected that the fragments discussed in her article stem from the same manuscript, not in a small part due to the readings found therein, Pope Leo the Great's *Sermo 70, De Passione Domini 19*, (NRA Lat. fragm. 26, 1–2) and Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelia* Homily 31 (DRA Lat. fragm. 558–559 and DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81) being part of Paul the Deacon's homiliary. This is a question that must be addressed from a textual standpoint as well as a palaeographical. The most recent source for the homiliary can be found in the edition by Reginald Grégoire in *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge*. This work builds, as well as expands, on the foundational work of Friedrich Wiegand, with an increased number of manuscript witnesses consulted coming together in a type of 'pure' form of Paul the Deacon's homiliary. The actuality of the homiliary, widely disseminated throughout the Carolingian Empire, and continuously modified and adapted, is such that a comparison to Grégoire's edition serves mainly as a way to position the fragments discussed here. The picture is indeed far more complex, with questions concerning the dissemination, treatment, and textual variants of Paul's homiliary remaining largely unanswered.¹²³

¹²³ I must express my gratitude to Revd. Dr. Zachary Guiliano for sharing his monograph *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon* with me, which will be published later this year (2021), and which to a large extent addresses this lacuna in the current scholarship. From his findings it emerges that winter and summer volumes of the homiliary circulated independently of one another as well as together, and furthermore underwent various textual additions and changes over time.

The readings found in MS 2 are part of the winter volume of Paul's homiliary. DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a, Tractate 24 of Augustine of Hippo's *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium*, the reading for John 6.5, the incipit of which is barely legible on the fragment, is indeed the first reading given for the year, for **Ebdomada V ante Natalem Domini**.¹²⁴

This is followed by KB Lat. fragm. 2857, Bede's *Homilia Prima in Festo Annuntiationis Beatae Mariae* and *Homilia II, In Festo Visitationis Beatae Mariae*, the readings given for **Feria IV ante Natalem Domini**.¹²⁵ This places the fragment in the KB in close proximity to DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a. DRA Lat. fragm. 4770, with Pope Leo the Great's Sermo 63, for **Feria III** after Palm Sunday, is followed by Sermo 65, which is followed only six readings later by NRA Lat. fragm. 26, 1–2 with Sermo 70, almost at the very end of the winter volume of Paul the Deacon's homiliary.¹²⁶ MS 2 therefore spans almost the entire manuscript, from the very beginning to the final readings, with evidence of probably two to three quires of the manuscript surviving.

The question posed by MS 2's conformity to the winter volume of Paul's homiliary is the following: If MS 8, fragments of which contain Pope Gregory's Homily 31, is part of the summer volume, one is faced with a problem due to the chronological spacing of the manuscripts in Scribe A's hand development. With a surviving winter and summer volume, spaced apart as they are in the chronology of Scribe A, established thus far, two further manuscripts would have to be presumed to exist, a corresponding summer volume to MS 2, and a corresponding winter volume for MS 8. However, even though Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelia* Homily 31 (DRA Lat. fragm. 558–559 and DRA Lat. fragm. 580–81) is given by Paul the Deacon, none of the other sermons by Gregory found in MS 8 are, nor are Haimo's sermons part of Paul the Deacon's original homiliary. Furthermore, as was mentioned above regarding Revd. Dr. Guiliano's work, it must be taken into account that the summer and winter volumes were used and circulated independently of one another as well as undergoing various changes. This casts further doubt on whether MS 2 and MS 8 were ever intended to be part of a complementary set. Therefore, the question whether there are any missing volumes is indeed one that cannot be answered, nor does it necessarily have to be, as the surviving evidence does not call the chronology of the hand development of Scribe A into question.

¹²⁴ Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge*, p. 430.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 448–49.

2.10. *Lectionarium Lundense II* (MH 5)

This manuscript has so far garnered little to no attention by Scandinavian manuscript scholars. With other Lund codices such as the *Necrologium Lundense* (MH 6) and the *Liber Daticus Vetustior* (MH 7), this is not surprising. Compared to those two manuscripts, MH 5 has, on the surface, little to offer as has been discussed above.

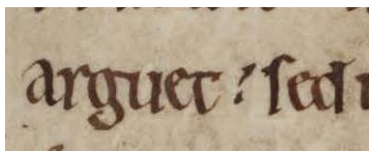
However, since this manuscript is the only complete work of Scribe A in his latest stage of hand development surviving at Lund, a closer look is necessary. In addition to Hand f/4 correcting large parts of the book, Hand rub./8 makes a couple of changes. Beyond these two hands, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to delineate any more corrections by contemporary Lund hands.

These corrections and additions offer valuable insights into the role which these scribes may have played at Lund. By comparing every surviving instance of these hands, be they in a correcting or main hand role, with the plethora of hands found within MH 6, one is able to arrive at a more complete picture of the scribal practices and activities at Lund. These additions and corrections exist, as in any medieval codex that survives to this day, in a number of layers which have accrued over time. I will be focusing on those I deem contemporary, or nearly so, to Scribe A, a period covering at the maximum 15 to 20 years. I mainly arrive at this estimate by the fact that most of the additional hands can be linked to far larger script samples in MH 6 and in the gospel books discussed in the next chapter, which allow for a closer dating than the examples in MH 5 alone would allow.

However, the first hand one must approach in the *Lectionarium* is of course that of the main one, namely Scribe A. This manuscript offers a large and continuous sample of work of our scribe and therefore allows more insight into the stability of his writing. MH 5 shows Scribe A in his later form, more angular, and exhibiting the features one may associate with this period of his work. The lectionary MS 8 stems from the same period of writing, and side by side comparisons make this fact obvious. One does notice a difference, perhaps regarding the formality of the hand. DRA Lat. fragm. 7051 exhibits a stiffer and somewhat more deliberate execution, if only perhaps by a small degree. This, most likely stems from the nature of that manuscript, its size by necessity elevating the status and production requirements. This would have ensured that Scribe A employed a hand that would fit the expensive production of the codex. The parchment used in the production of these two manuscripts speaks of the differing purpose of the books. The large lectionary MS 8, with its finely produced parchment, indicates

a more careful and higher level production compared to the thick, almost leathery material found in MH 5.

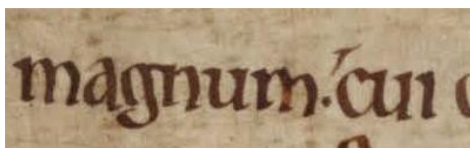
However, one notable difference might provide some degree of chronology. The point-and-tick *punctus elevatus* which is lacking in Scribe A's productions so far, except for the LUB fragm. 5 Missal fragment, and which has been added by later correction where required, has been employed by Scribe A in MH 5. The issue is, however, confused by the fact that while Scribe A does seem to utilize this punctuation, instances can be found where they have been added by correcting hands. Nevertheless, one might entertain the idea that the adaption of point-and-tick may be a later development, as this type of punctuation does not seem to be native to Scribe A, whereas the possible German influences and hands may have been the reason for the adaptive impulse felt being one of the final developments of his scribal practice. The examples below juxtapose Scribe A's point-and-tick *elevatus* and the correctional ones we find in MH 5, which are highly reminiscent of those found in the lectionary MS 8.



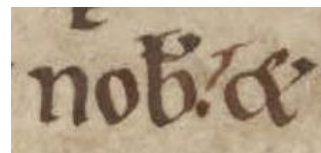
MH 5 fol. 5v l. 7



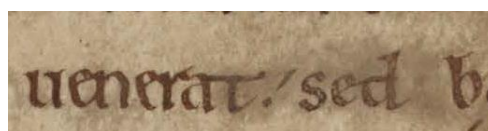
DRA Lat. fragm. fol. 1r l. 8



MH 5 fol. 83r l. 15

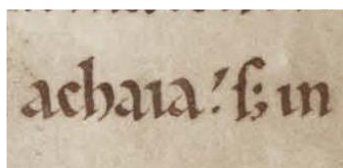


MH 5 fol. 84v l. 14: It is unlikely that this is Scribe A, since it is squeezed in somewhat awkwardly in the available space.



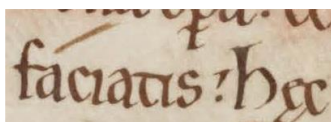
MH 5 fol. 96v. Note the correction done by Hand rub./8, allowing for the identification of his point-and-tick *elevatus*.

However, Hand rub./8 also executes the point-and-tick *elevatus* in a different more compact and vertical manner, as the marginal addition below shows:



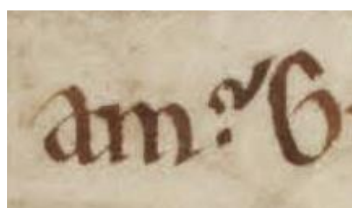
MH 5 fol. 22r: Hand rub./8

Below, an example of Scribe A's point-and-tick:

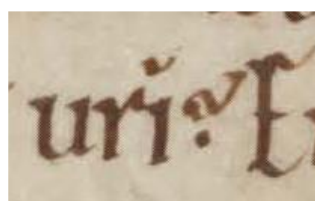


MH 5 fol. 108v. The ink and spacing point towards this being Scribe A's execution of the graph.

A similar confusion exists with regards to *punctus interrogativus*. There are clear examples of later additions, but only in the sense that they were added after the writing of the adjacent text had been done. Indeed, they might be corrections by Scribe A himself. The difference in design, with the acute ascending tail, is due to the fact that these were inserted in spaces not intended for them.

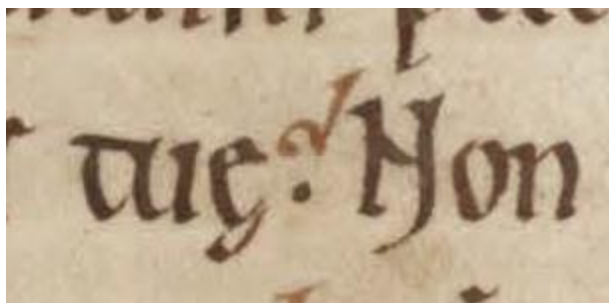


MH 5 fol. 116r l. 4

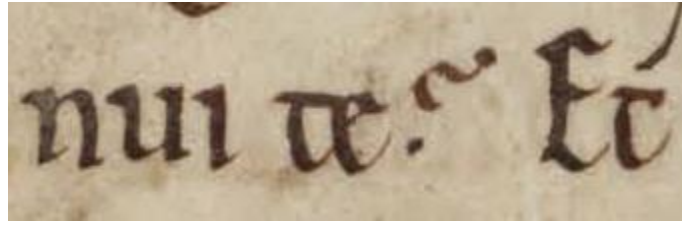


MH 5 fol. 118v l. 8

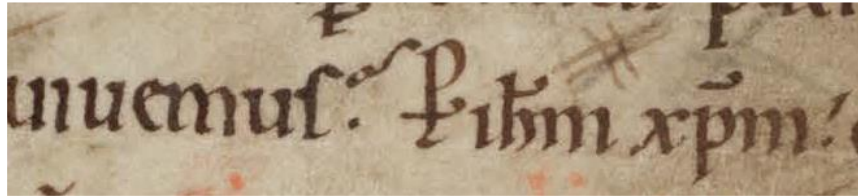
Excepting the compact execution, it is clear from the first example here that there is no reason to believe that this is not Scribe A.



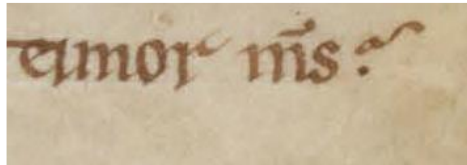
MH 5 fol. 128r l. 13: In contrast an example of Hand f/4's correctional *punctus interrogativus*.



Fol. 11v: An example of Scribe A's regular *punctus interrogativus*.



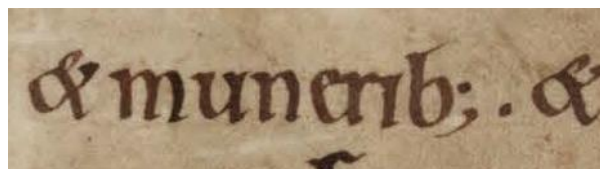
MH 5 fol. 26v l. 4: The particular downward turn at the final turn of the pen. This is a hallmark of Hand rub./8. Whilst there is no clear example of this in DRA Lat. fragm. 8140, we find the same execution in Hand rub./8's corrections in MH 6:



MH 6 fol. 33r l. 20.

2.10.1. *Abbreviations*

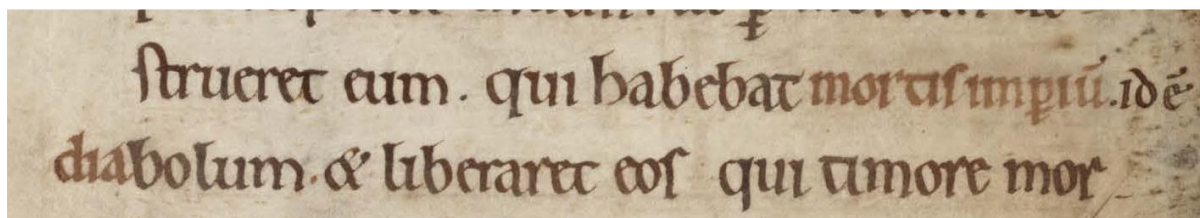
There is little to note regarding Scribe A's use of abbreviations at this point in his writings. However, the use of the semicolon **-bus** abbreviation occurs once in MH 5. This is highly unusual of Scribe A at this point in his scribal career. The fact that one finds this form of abbreviation in MH 5 is one of the major indications of the directionality of the transitional process seen in his hand. One finds a consistent use of this form in SRA FR 6786, with none of the three-shaped **-bus** abbreviations in evidence, whereas one finds this semicolon as a rare hangover from his previous writing style. The fact that this form occurs only once in the entire manuscript, and then only in the very beginning, is telling.



MH 5 fol. 5v l. 18v

2.10.2. Order of corrections

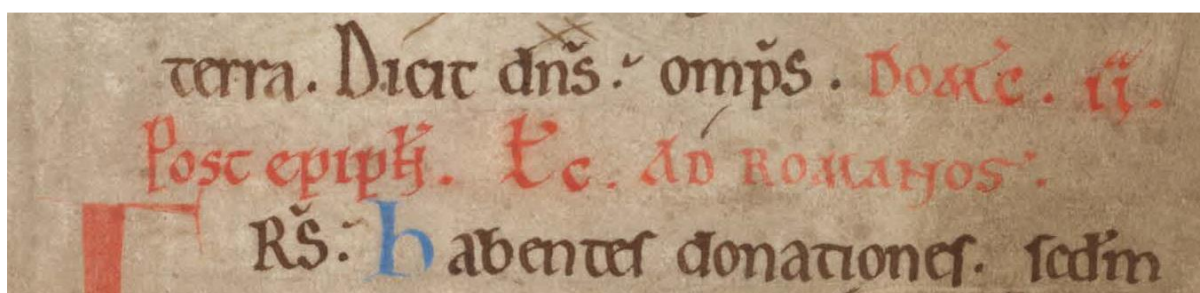
Regarding the chronological order of corrections, one instance, in particular, is rather revealing. It seems that Hand f/4 undertook two rounds of corrections: The first where offending parts of text were erased and overwritten in a light brown ink, and the second where corrections were inserted between lines in a dark ink. The first, and perhaps the second, can be placed before Hand rub./8 happens to make his changes. We can tell this from the order of corrections done on fol. 91v. The first correction by Hand f/4, *mortis imperium dia* made on erasure going over lines nine and ten, shows an added *idem* by Hand rub./8. The addition only makes sense if it occurred after Hand f/4's first correction. We can then perhaps extrapolate the order of corrections in general, with Hand rub./8 following Hand f/4.



MH 5 fol. 91v ls. 9–10

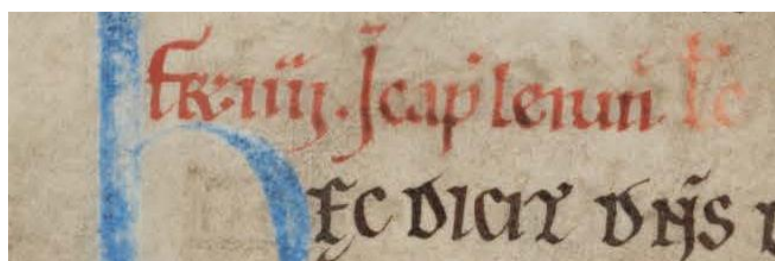
Rubrics:

Regarding the rubrics, one finds a handful of corrections by Hand f/4.



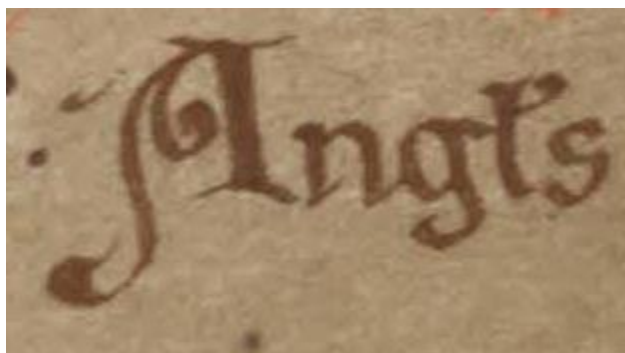
MH 5 fol. 18v l. 12: Note Hand f/4's typical **t** in *Post*.

However, one unknown hand makes a single appearance. Note the uptick of the descending leg of **r** in the abbreviation for *Feria*, a feature which is not used by the other hands.



MH 5 fol. 27v l. 10

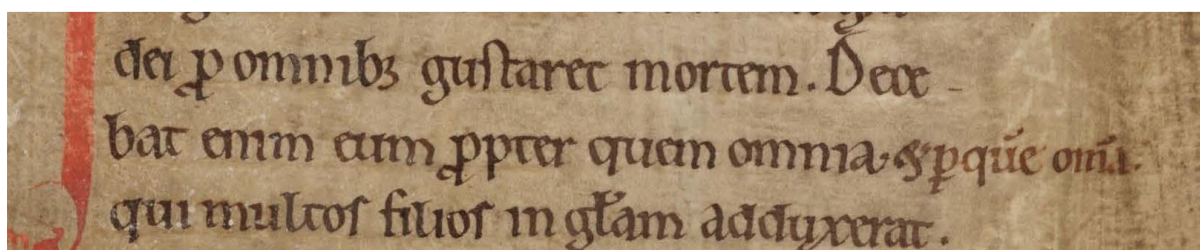
Regarding the question as to who, and how many artists were responsible for the initials, as discussed by Ommundsen,¹²⁷ it is worth pointing out that Scribe A is also very well able to execute these, as we see him employing them in a minor, pen-written instance as well. The issue of initials will be discussed in more detail below, regarding the works of Scribe C.



MH 5 fol.79v l. 21.

2.10.3. *Influence on Scribe A*

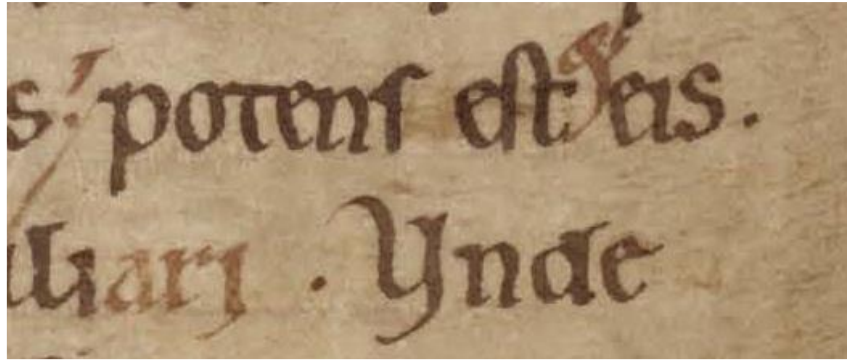
As discussed above, Scribe A's hand undergoes a series of changes. One of these is the usage of *i*-longa in non-*ii* position, a feature which Ommundsen has commented on.¹²⁸ This feature is not found in Scribe A's early work, where *i*-longa is rarely, if ever, used in any position. However, Hand f/4 consistently employs *i*-longa in non-*ii* position, which a brief glance at MH 6 will show. Whether Scribe A picked this feature up from Hand f/4 is so far circumstantial. Since all the corrections above occurred after the writing of the manuscripts, direct contact between the scribes is not necessarily proven. However, fol. 184r in MH 5 may just give the evidence needed to prove that not only were they contemporary but that Scribe A was aware of the corrections or at least exposed to Hand f/4s in some manner during the time of writing.



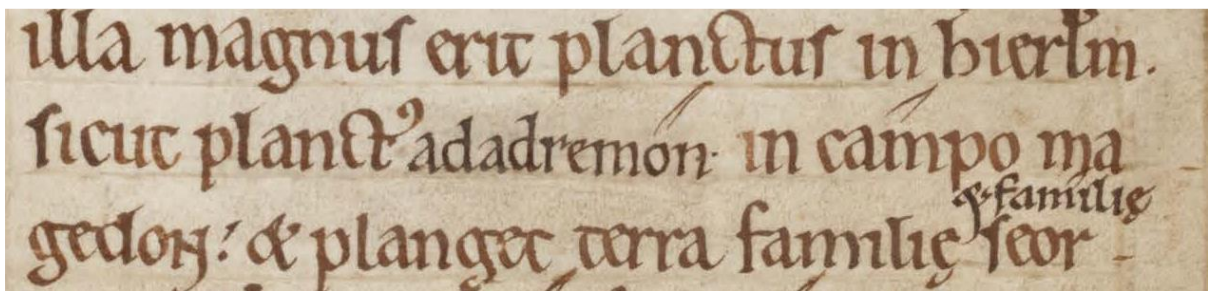
MH 5 fol. 95r, l. 5 from lower margin: *& per quem omnia*. This is a typical example of Hand f/4's first round of corrections.

¹²⁷ Ommundsen, 'Danish Fragments in Norway', p. 197.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

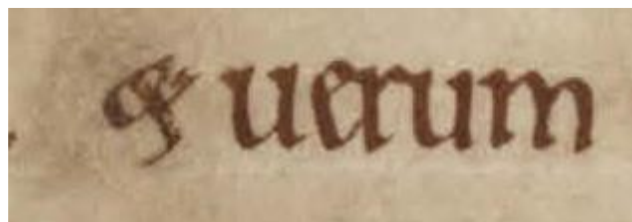


Fol. 91v ls. 3–4 from bottom: Typical insertions in MH 5 by Hand f/4.



MH 5 fol. 65v l. 4 from lower margin & *familie*. An example of the proposed second round of corrections, which are far fewer in number than the first.

Most important to note are the ampersands employed in corrections:



Fol. 110r. l. 8 from lower margin: A typical example of the most common correction, ampersand on erasure.

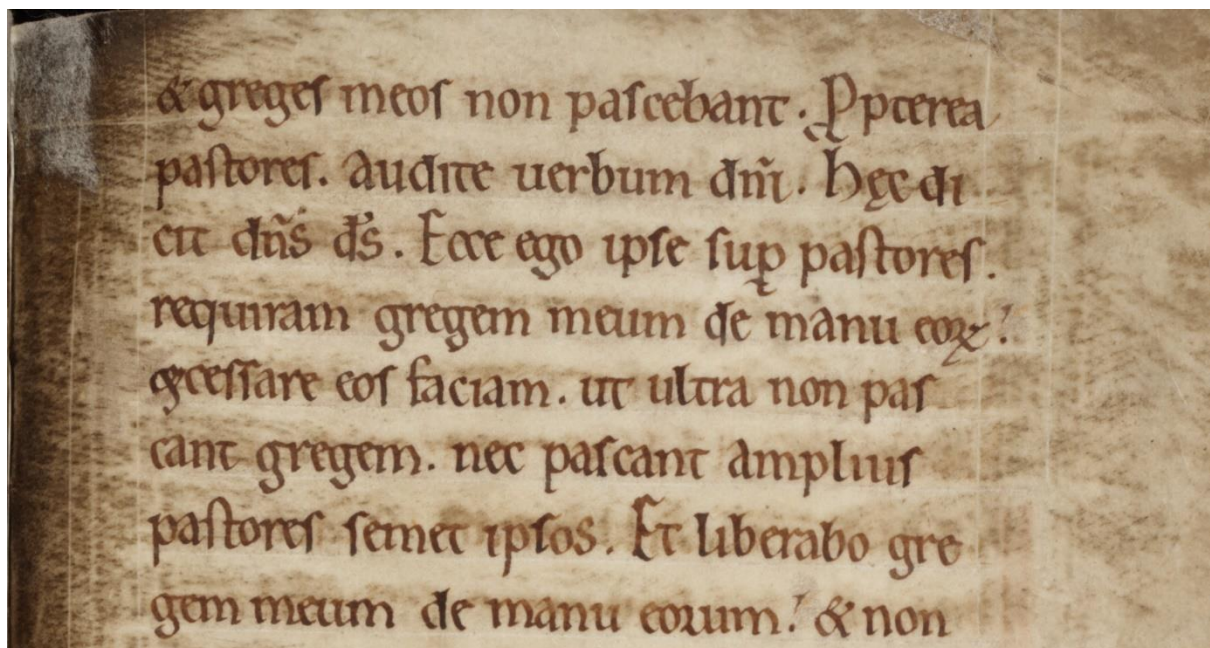
This ampersand is the hook upon which much of Andersen's identification of Hand f/4 with Hermann of Klosterrath hangs.¹²⁹ This type of ampersand is found in the documentary hands of Liège, where Hermann was educated before he made his journey to Scandinavia.¹³⁰ Andersen's suggestion that Hermann would have brought the *Consuetudines* to Lund causes the dating issue to arise between the 1124 dating and Hermann's arrival in 1133/34.¹³¹ However, the fact that this ampersand is particularly distinctive and, indeed, the Liège connection is a very strong one, raises the issue of the ampersand found on fol. 184r in MH 5.

¹²⁹ Andersen, 'Consuetudines canonice of Lund', p. 33.

¹³⁰ Stiennon, *L'écriture diplomatique*, pp. 196–200.

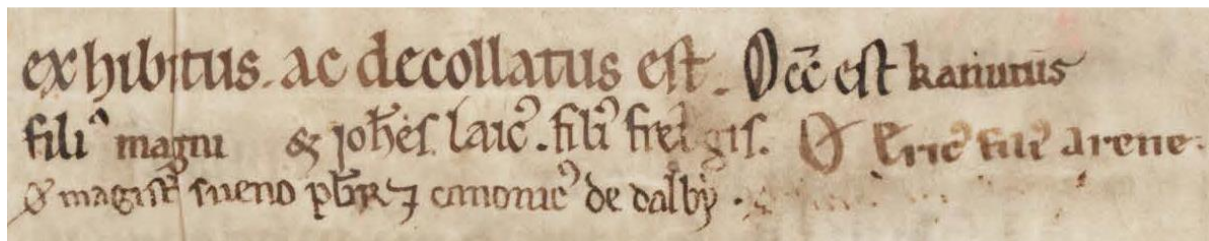
¹³¹ Andersen, 'Consuetudines canonice of Lund', p. 33.

First, note the regularity with which Scribe A holds to the ruling of the left marginal ruled line, a consistency he shows throughout the *Lectionarium*. Observe the first graph on the page, a typical ampersand for Scribe A, and further below note a line-medial example. The key graph here is the ampersand in line five. The ink conforms to the brown used by the rest of the text. Further, the width of the stroke forming the graph seems to conform to the width of the nib of the pen used for the surrounding text as well. This ampersand, however, differs greatly from not just the ones Scribe A employs but also from the examples above, those of Hand f/4. The design, the typical Liège-influenced hooking stroke beneath the line, is in evidence. The slightly zig-zagging final mark at the end of the upright end-stroke does not come out clearly in this example and seems to instead terminate in a somewhat blocky square, which is something which also occurs in cases of Hand f/4. What explanation can one find for this entirely atypical graph then? One must take all of the mentioned factors into account. The dozens of examples of the correctional ampersands of Hand f/4 in MH 5, all of which are consistently of the design above, exclude that hand as the likely culprit. The spacing of the line itself is telling. If this were a later correctional ampersand, a space would have had to remain there for the ampersand to be inserted, which would be odd, since Scribe A keeps so consistently to the ruling. On close personal inspection I have been unable to see any traces of erasure, which are usually quite discernible in MH 5. The most likely conclusion is that Scribe A, having witnessed these odd and atypical ampersands, is himself experimenting with this different ductus, perhaps more on a whim than anything else. This points strongly towards him interacting with Hand f/4 on a scribal level, showing that they were active at the same time.



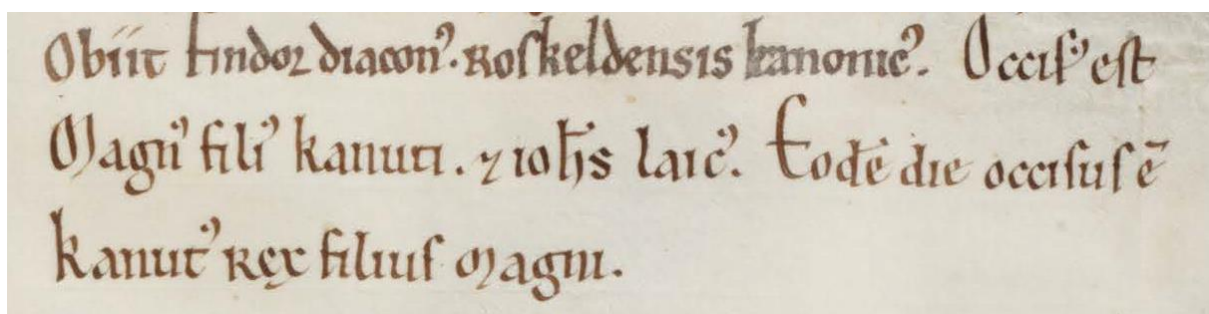
MH 5 Fol. 184r, first 8 lines. Note the ampersand in line 5.

As a brief excursus, since Hand f/4 has been discussed in such detail above, I would demonstrate that I have been able to find a single instance of this hand in the *Liber Daticus*. This seems to have escaped notice thus far, and at a glance it is not entirely unsurprising. The context of this entry is a complicated one, and one that has been dissected in great detail by Gelting.¹³² During the course of the study establishing the relationship between the *Liber Daticus* and the *Memoriale Fratrum* of MH 6, the following death notices are discussed:



MH 7 fol. 83r

Hand f/4's entry can be found amidst an intriguing entry changed by erasure and the editing of the original text.



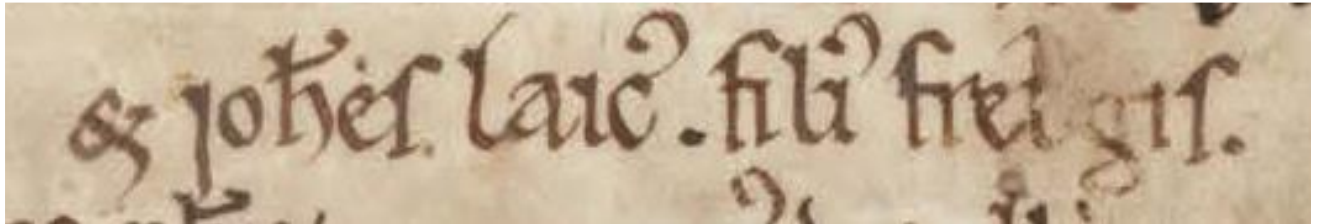
MH 6 fol. 153r: The corresponding entry in the *Memorial Fratrum* by Weibull's 'yngsta hand'. The multiple erasures and changes result in a complicated picture. As the *Liber Daticus* records it, 'Kanutus filius Magni' was killed as opposed to the 'Magnus filius Kanuti' of MH 6.

Two possible scenarios come to mind: Are these two different people, or is it an error of reversing the names? Gelting proposes that after the 'youngest hand' transferred the death notices to the *Memoriale Fratrum*, changes were made to the *Liber Daticus*. Knud Magnussen was perhaps not originally under the 9th of August in the *Liber Daticus*, with the 'youngest hand' including him in the *Memoriale Fratrum* from a different source. Since the hand in the *Liber Daticus* is later than the 'youngest hand', this is a probable scenario. The possibility that a Magnus Knudsen and King Knud Magnussen were killed on the same date is, however, conceivable as well, though it is difficult to say if that assumption is correct.

Magnus Knudssen could have been entered into the *Liber Daticus* before the murders in Roskilde in 1157. The similarity with the name of the murdered king is an unlikely coincidence

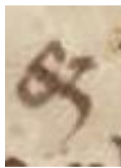
¹³² Gelting, 'Forholdet mellem Liber Daticus', pp. 145–46.

but it was not impossible that a Magnus Knudssen was killed on the 4th of August at the end of the 1140s and that King Knud Magnussen died 1157.¹³³ Whilst Gelting is interpreting this through the lens of political editing in the *Liber Daticus*, it is interesting to note the commentary on the entry surviving the erasure in the *Liber Daticus*. The entry of the layman ‘Iohannes laicus filius freburgis’ shows some damage to the text of *Iohannes*’ lineage, which Weeke misreads as ‘frelgis’.¹³⁴ Gelting only cites Weeke on this hand, who dates it to the second third of the twelfth century.



MH 7 fol. 83r: A closer look at this entry reveals Hand f/4 at work.

Below are a range of graphs arrayed in order to show the identification of this hand as Hand f/4.



MH 7 fol. 83r



MH 6 fol. 46r



MH 6 fol. 46v l. 6



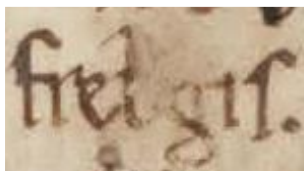
MH 7 fol. 83r



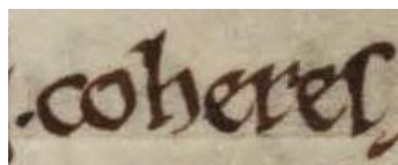
MH 6 fol. 43v



MH 6 fol. 132r



MH 7 fol. 83r

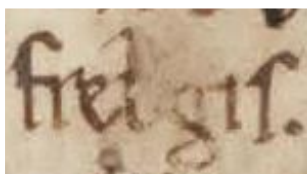


MH 6 fol. 43v

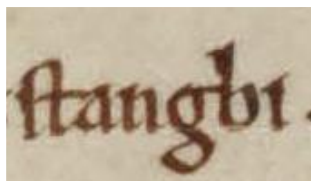
The **r** used by Hand f/4 is very particular, with the tongue of the **r** appearing rather sharp and jagged due to the thin arm which then turns downwards in a 90 degree angle.

¹³³ Gelting, ‘Forholdet mellem Liber Daticus’, p. 146.

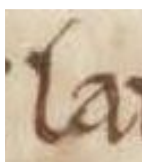
¹³⁴ Weeke, *Lunde Domkapitels Gaveboger*, p. 197.



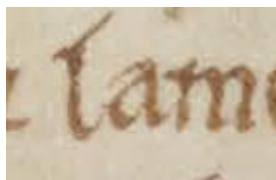
MH 7 fol. 83r
Hand F/4.



MH 6 fol. 132r: The figure-eight **g** is consistent with



MH 7 fol. 83r



MH 6 fol. 51r: Hand f/4 constructs the **a** with the belly stroke terminating at the top of the graph where the head joins the back of the graph. Note the hairline on **l** as well.

It is clear from the evidence presented above that Hand f/4 was indeed active in the *Liber Daticus*, if only briefly. What his original entry said will perhaps never be known; however, it is worth noting that this scribe did make entries in the usage necrology that the *Liber Daticus* now served as. Even though he made a number of entries in the *Memoriale Fratrum*, at this point in time the transition had taken place from one manuscript to the other, hence his entry having to be copied over later.

The implication this brings with it, is that if indeed Hand f/4 is that of Hermann of Klosterrath, who had passed away by 1151,¹³⁵ it would not be possible for the original entry preceding & *Iohannes* to have recorded the death of King Knud Magnussen.

2.11. Hand rub./8 DRA Lat. fragm. 8140 (Fig. 13)

This single breviary fragment is the third manuscript which Hand rub./8 has taken an active productive role in. This hand is known as the rubricator of MH 6, hence Weibull terming this scribe the rubrication hand. As has been discussed above, this scribe took an active role in the correction of multiple manuscripts penned by Scribe A. Furthermore, he has been identified as having penned a section in MS theol. Lat. fol. 149 (of the Berlin Royal Library, now at Marburg University Library), which contains the *Colbaz Annals*. The *Colbaz Annals* (so-called due to being kept at the Monastery of Colbaz) are the earliest Danish chronicles, with the first Danish entries commencing in 1130. This earliest section of the composite manuscript is thought to

¹³⁵ Andersen, 'Consuetudines canonice of Lund', p. 34.

have originated at the cathedral chapter of St. Lawrence in Lund, in no small part due to Hand rub./8's presence.¹³⁶ Fol. 26v sees Hand rub./8 entering a passage from John 18, filling most of the folio in a hand very similar to the one found in DRA Lat. fragm. 8140. The lack of the hand's distinctive round-backed **d** is the only major feature which sets them apart.

Size: 21 x 6,5 cm, line height 0.8 cm

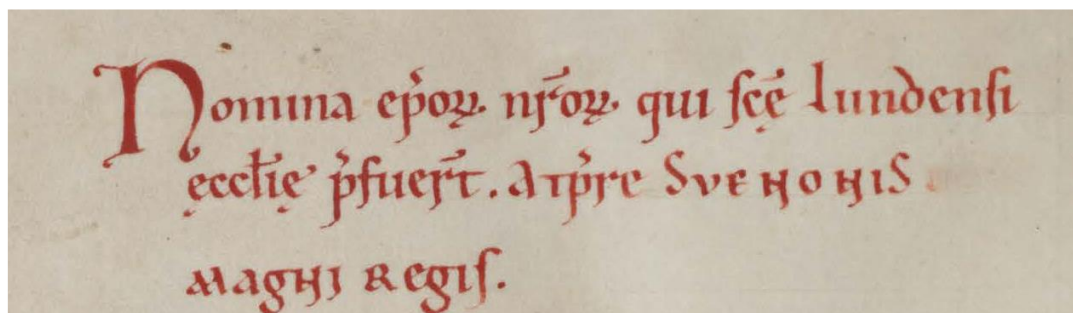
Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: xii2.

Secondary Provenance: Helsingborg, 1635–36. This secondary provenance is not reliable. The fragment was used at least once before as a binding. One can see where the spine of the previous book was placed at a right angle to the current binding, as well as nine intact stitching holes, with the equivalent stitching holes having been damaged in the re-trimming of the fragment. The distance between where the sewing stations would have been measures at approximately 6.5 cm, with the spine of the previous account book approximately 1.4 cm thick.

Script: Hand rub./ 8 is the scribe who was the main rubricator of the *Memoriale Fratrum* in MH 6. This example is less formal than the primary samples we have in the *Necrologium*, since those are mainly in a very formal rubricating hand. This hand is rather peculiar with a number of prominent features. Particularly the figure-eight type **g**, the straight shaft of **t**, the mixture of straight-backed and round **d**, though his is of this more atypical design, with the 'round' feature consisting of the angled, yet straight, shaft are noteworthy.

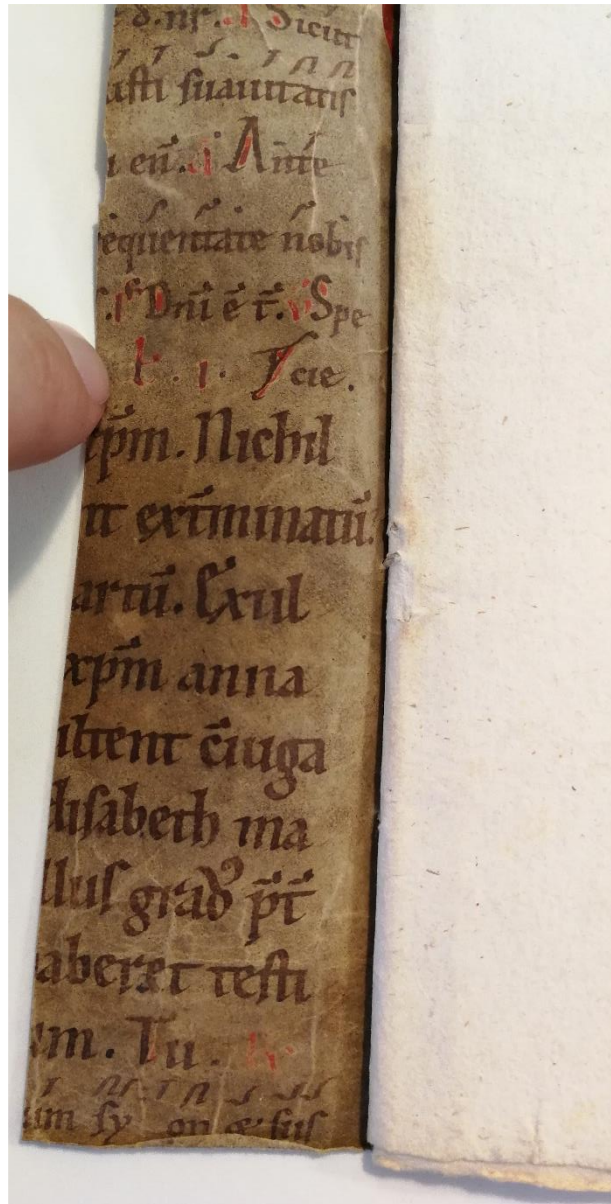
One notices an occasional extension of long **s** below the baseline in word-final position, for example see fol. 1r l. 7a *oculis* and fol. 1v l. 12b *Benedictus*, as well as a slight tendency of extending the shaft of **r** below the baseline (fol. 1v ls. 9, 21–22b.) These features, as well as the horizontal angle of the arm of the ampersand, are exaggerated in the rubrication of MH 6. This seems to be something that points towards a strong German influence, though the **g** is distinctly not of a straight-backed design.¹³⁷



MH 6 fol. 174v ls. 1–3

¹³⁶ *Der Liber Vitae der Abtei Corvey*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, p. XII.

¹³⁷ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 63–4.



DRA Lat. fragm. 8140v

Music: Judging from the pen and ink used, it is probable that the scribe is also responsible for the neumes *in campo aperto* of the same type found in the other Lund breviaries, and is display here in a rather well executed manner. This is thus far the only known sample of Hand rub./8's musical notation.

Punctuation: Point-and-tick. The two examples of *punctus interrogativus* are difficult to discern but appear to be a somewhat more upright, diagonal, execution, as opposed to the purely horizontal one seen in fol. 1r ls. 16b and l. 19b as well as in the corrections in the *Lectionarium*. The exclusive use of point-and-tick *elevatus* further strengthens the German connection of Hand rub./8.

Condition: The recto of the fragment is difficult to read due to the fragment's extended use in multiple bindings. Since no original stitching holes can be seen where the spine of the current account book lies, we can assume that the fragment was cut from the centre of a folio, preserving the inner margin between the two columns, which measures approximately 1.5 cm.

Content: Purificatio Mariae, Candlemas.

Hand rub./8 was therefore not only responsible for some of the most important work done in the *Necrologium* from a scribal standpoint, saw himself as a corrector of much of Scribe A's work, he copied breviaries as well and produced books for liturgical practice, as exemplified by the fragment DRA Lat. fragm. 8140.

2.12. Scribe C

The following three fragments belonging to one breviary (henceforth Br 1217) have been identified by Ommundsen and Gullick as being associated with the Lund group of fragments:

‘The hand in the fourth breviary fragment, Br 1217, is more difficult to assess. The hand is stiffer and gives a different general impression (see Plate 8.4). The initials seem to connect it with this group, though; they are relatively simple, but decorated with the same double leaves as can be found in the *Lectioarium* (see Figure 8.6)’.¹³⁸

This scribe is termed Scribe C, and as with the other scribes discussed by Ommundsen I shall continue to use the same terminology for clarity. The connection pointed out above is clearly there. However, more can be said about this scribe, since his hand is one which will be used in defining scribal clusters of hands connected to Lund. The hand, as witnessed in the following three fragments, does not show any clear transitional activity, though a slight possibility remains as is discussed below.

2.12.1. SRA FR 23621 (Fig. 14)

Size: 31.3 x 20 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Date: xii2

Secondary Provenance: Mantalsregister på brudskatt av Kind och Ydre 1579.

Content: Dom. in L XX.

Punctuation: Hyphens not on baseline.

¹³⁸ Ommundsen, ‘Danish Fragments in Norway’, p. 197.

Music: Neumes *in campo aperto*.

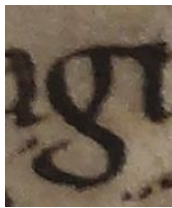
Punctuation: Cup-shaped *punctus elevatus*, hyphens on baseline.

Script: **G** has a figure-eight ductus, **a** is of a more compressed-headed design, though especially in word-initial placement trailing-headed, **t** is of a round variety, a mixture of round and straight-backed **d** is apparent and **i**-longa is occasionally in non-**ii** position. The **ct**-ligature occasionally seems rather exuberant and is highly reminiscent of Scribe A. Unlike the Scribe A breviary fragments, this scribe's hand remains rather unchanged in the chant texts.

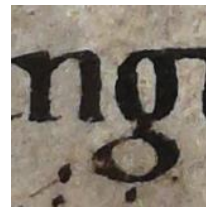
The initially most obvious feature is the **ct**-ligature, which is almost indistinguishable from those of Scribe A. Note the usage of **i**-longa in single position, further connecting this hand to Scribe A.

The following is an overview of some of the more notable markers of Scribe C. They are found in all the surviving fragments of his work unless specified otherwise:

The **g** is generally shaped in a figure-eight ductus and is reminiscent of Hand rub./8 and Hand b/16. However, variation can occur:

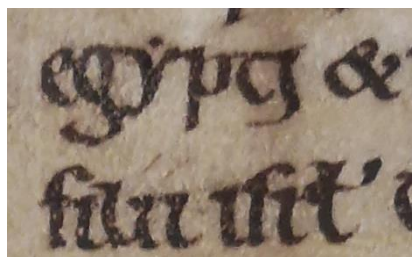


SRA FR 23594 fol. 1r l. 15



SRA FR 23594 fol. 1v l. 21

Ampersand ends on an upstroke, use of **i**-longa in non **ii** position:

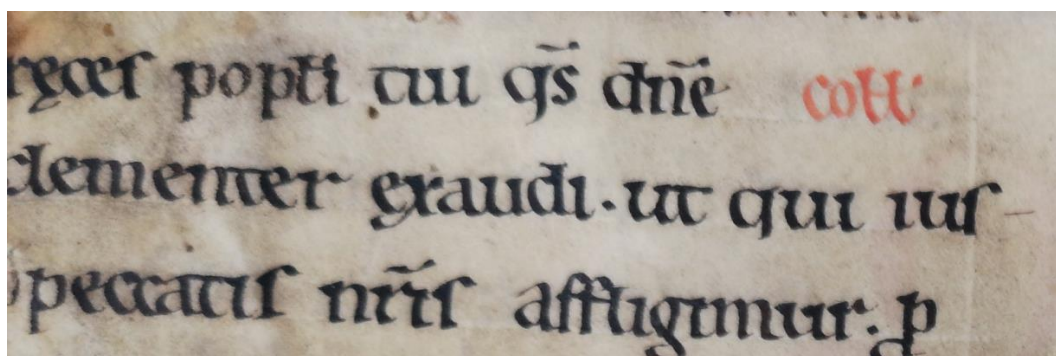


SRA FR 23695 1r l. 10: Note the occurrence in *egypti*, as opposed to *filii* below, which clearly lacks **i**-longa and which has been given the distinguishing marks above the minims, though these may well have been added later.

Shaft of **t** is mostly round, though sometimes the angled minim of the shaft of **t** is very similar to the strokes late Scribe A eventually adopts. **a** is a mixture of somewhat compressed and the trailing-headed type. The ascender of **d** is mostly compressed, sometimes almost indistinguishable from Scribe A's late **d**, though Scribe C tends to add a horizontal hairline at the top of the ascender. The feet of minims such as **m** and **n**, are treated in a mostly flat manner.

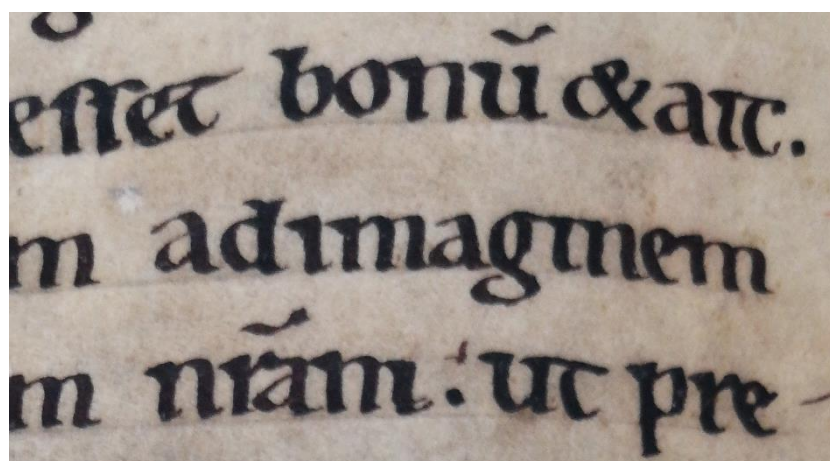
The aspect of the hand, in a general sense, seems to be in between round and angular, with shafts of **t**, **e**, and **c** sometimes showing a round ductus, sometimes a very angular one.

The link between the scribes which most strongly connects them are the ‘fish tail’ initials which are found in their respective works. However, the connection is a far deeper and intriguing one. The obvious excessive **ct**-ligature, with the connecting bow looping backwards, almost reaching behind the apex of the **c** bow, before arching over to the shaft of **t**, is particularly striking, and more than somewhat reminiscent of Scribe A.



SRA FR 23621 fol. 1r ls. 6–8

A similar mixture of abbreviating suspensions can be seen in these fragments. Note the horizontal suspension marks as seen in early Scribe A. SRA FR 23621 seems to show Scribe C in the final transitional state, where an active effort is made to change to the same short, thick, wave mark used by Scribe A, leading to similar intermediary forms such as these, particularly in commonly abbreviated words.



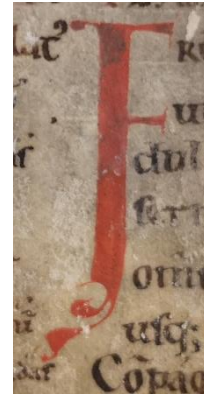
SRA FR 23621 fol. 1v ls. 18–20. Note the compressed **d**, as well as the abbreviation in *nostram*.

Rubrics: Note the ‘fish tail’ used on the minor initial **A** on fol. 1v. l. 11 from the lower margin. Further, the minor initials on the verso of the folio show far more decorative elements than one is used to from Scribe A. It is clear that Scribe C is the rubricator of these breviaries, which

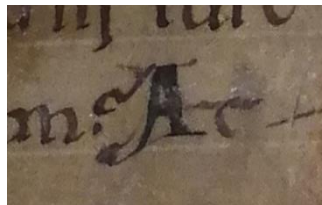
leads to the question of whether he is also responsible for the initials, which so strongly connect him to Scribe A.



SRA FR 23621 fol. 1v. l. 11: Scribe C



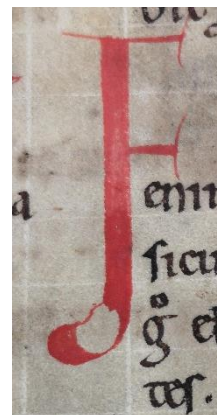
SRA FR 23594 2r: Scribe C



KB Lat. fragm. Fol. 1v. l. 30b: Scribe A



MH 5 Fol.79v l. 21: Scribe A

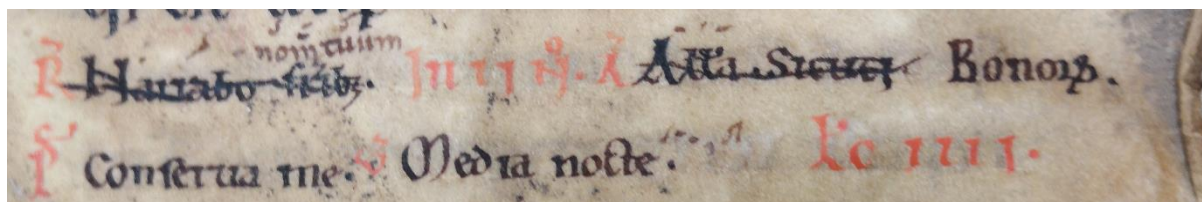


SRA FR 23589 verso: Scribe A

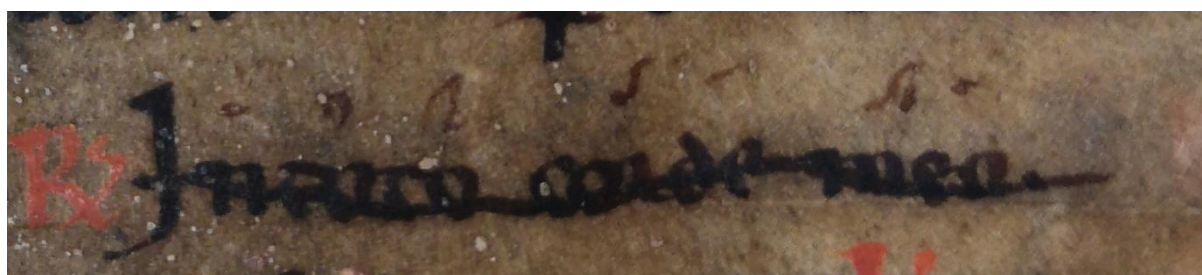
In fact, it emerges that Scribe A and Scribe C both express a different design language for these tails as the four images above demonstrate. I would suggest that one may reliably extrapolate that the ‘fish tails’ which led Ommundsen and Gullick to connect the fragments discussed by them to the *Lectionarium Lundense* II and thereby to Lund are a feature more closely linked to Scribe C. The various scenarios delineating the interactions between the scribes — concerning the question whether one influenced the other, or whether each was consistent in their own design, and the *Lectionarium* speaking to a collaboration — remain as yet somewhat unclear.

However, the evidence so far indicates a separation between the scribes along the lines of these initial tail designs.

Corrections: These have taken place with a lighter brown ink in a fine pen not unlike that which is used for the musical notation. It is worth noting that the emendations contain music as well. The incorrect text appears to have been noticed at the time of writing the notation, and relevant corrections were undertaken.



SRA FR 23621 fol. 1r, ls 12–3



SRA FR 23621 fol. 1r, l. 4 from lower margin. Note the dark ink used to cross through the text, as opposed to the light brown for the fine-nibbed pen used for the notation.

Music: Some of the chant melodies are incomplete. Note the usage of the horizontal *punctum*.

2.12.2. SRA FR 23594

Size: 32.5 x 20 cm

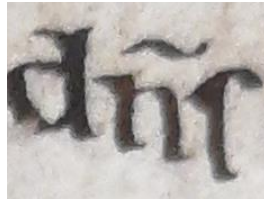
Origin: Denmark (Lund)

Secondary Provenance: 1579: Smålands handlingar, Mantalsregister på brudskatt av Kind och Ydre.

Ruling: dry-point.

Content: Fer. V in cena domini; Fer. VI p. palmas; Fer. VI p. palmas.

Script: The short wave suspension mark seemingly predominates this section of Scribe C's work. Sometimes it seems to want to extend towards the previous use of the long horizontal with ball ending, though only rarely. *i*-longa is absent from this sample of Scribe C's writing.



SRA FR 23594 fol. 1v l. 8:

Note how in common abbreviations such as *dominus* the habit of Scribe C's earlier abbreviation mark tends to resurface, unconsciously elongating the movement of the stroke, since he would have employed this extremely common abbreviations so many times that it is a mostly subconscious formation process. Furthermore, round **d** is used exclusively in chant texts.

Rubrics: Note the rubrics in fol. 1r l. 24a. Differently aging red ink has been used, as well as a far thinner nibbed pen, as a glance to the other column on the folio shows. Scribe C also seems to be the rubricator of this section of the breviary.

Music: Two different music scribes are active on this bifolium. The first music scribe's hand is very distinctive in that it lacks the horizontal *punctum* and shows a clear propensity for rather highly slanted *virga*, all seemingly very close to lying down. In general the spacing of the neumes is well organised, though graph formation is rather irregular.

On the final folio, fol. 2v we find the second music scribe. This scribe seems to employ not only the horizontal *punctum* but also the double *virga*. This hand may well be the same as the one inserting music in SRA FR 23621. Furthermore, this scribe and the music scribe of the group formed by SRA FR 23589, SRA FR 23591 and SRA FR 23592 seem to be highly similar, especially since they both use the same specific forms, at least in this case.

2.12.3. SRA FR 23695

Size: 32.5 x 20 cm

Origin: Denmark (Lund). Catalogued as German.

Secondary Provenance: 1581: Smålands handlingar, Årlig ränta (removed fragment).

Ruling: dry-point.

Content: Fer. V in cena domini. The content of this fragment shows the close proximity to SRA FR 23695, with the content of this fragment just preceding that bifolium.

Punctuation: Hyphens are medial.

Corrections: Note bottom third of fol. 1v where *asorti* is corrected five times to *absorbt* in a perhaps somewhat later hand, though dating a single graph is not really feasible in this case.

Music: The same scribe is responsible for this musical notation as that of the first three sides of SRA FR 23594, showing the flatly angled *virga* and lack of horizontal *punctum*.

2.13. Summary

This chapter has pieced together a puzzle the first fragments of which were discovered and discussed by Ommundsen and Gullick. The Access database proved a useful tool in order to facilitate the filtering of the fragments listed and reconstructed above from the hundreds of others in the Danish collections. By applying a careful chronological model of hand development, Scribe A's Pregothic script seems to undergo a number of changes, from the *i-longa* usage and the change in suspension mark to the overall increase in angularity seen in his late work. However, before further conclusions are drawn, one must address the question whether the division into eight manuscripts is indeed a correct one to make. When dealing with fragmentary manuscripts, as has been previously mentioned, it is often tempting to ascribe the surviving evidence to more manuscripts than is likely the case. The probability of fewer manuscripts surviving is always higher than more manuscripts, wherefore it is always wise to reduce the number of manuscripts surviving in order to establish a working hypothesis. In the case of Scribe A discussed in this chapter, I have chosen to discuss eight separate manuscripts, yet, it is worth exploring possible reductions in manuscript numbers by conflating the groups in question. With regard to MS 4, MS 5, and MS 7, the breviary fragments discussed by Ommundsen and Gullick, I have retained the division into the three separate manuscripts posited. Gullick had already reduced the number of breviaries the fragments in question belong to, yet a case can perhaps be made for MS 4 and MS 5 to belong to the same breviary, since Scribe A's hand in its transitioning form, as it is displayed in those fragments, could possibly occur in the space of one breviary. However, in the case of MS 7, the scribe exhibits his later hand, as has been seen in *Lectionarium Lundense* II, as well as in the following discussing concerning Ludwig II 3. These surviving complete codices by Scribe A display a scribal consistency which makes the inclusion of MS 7 into the hypothetical joint breviary of MS 4 and MS 5 highly unlikely. Therefore, since the evidence of MS 4 and MS 5 stemming from the same breviary is inconclusive either way, I have retained Gullick's manuscript divisions.

Reconstructing the manuscripts in this way has allowed for further placement of the different scribes in the overall system of the scriptorium, as will be discussed below. Furthermore, the range of manuscripts Scribe A was involved in truly emerges here.

Although the genres differ, the use for various liturgical practices dominates. Whilst Hand rub./8 and Hand f/4 feature in these manuscripts, they do so in correcting roles. If not for the breviary fragment DRA Lat. fragm. 8140, one would never have known that this scribe would also contribute to the actual primary writing process of this type of manuscript, as opposed to

the correctional work and the rubrication in MH 6. The extremely strong similarities between Scribe A and Scribe C are something which is unique in the Lund hands identified and discussed thus far.

Scribe C's hand does not appear in any of the multitude of corrections listed in this and the following chapter concerning the Lund gospel books, as well as not making any entries in the *Necrologium*. This is another important feature which he has in common with Scribe A, to whom the same applies. The indication of role distribution at Lund for these scribes will be discussed in the following chapter when the scribal clusters which emerge from the manuscript material related to Lund are analysed.

3. THE LUND GOSPEL BOOKS

The previous chapter discussed the work of Scribe A and argued from evidence which has either already been known of for a long time, such as the *Lectionarium Lundense* II, or from more recent publications such as the latest case studies concerning fragments at the DRA and SRA. By greatly expanding previous findings by incorporating the new fragment material in Danish collections, a timeline of Scribe A's work was constructed. The evidence set out above shows the progression of the hand of the scribe which took place. What was analysed is undeniably a process which did occur, yet until now no attempt has been made to ascribe any intentionality to the changes Scribe A's hand was undergoing. The transitional hand of Scribe A emerges clearly from the evidence of the range of surviving manuscript samples. The fact that the evidence of the evolution of Scribe A's hands spans fragments from various manuscripts, produced in different formats, for different purposes, and for different audiences, further strengthens the argument that the specific feature changes which Scribe A undergoes are applicable to all of his modes of writing. This cements the transition as a chronological one as opposed to adaption to situational changes.

The present chapter will introduce a new piece of work in of Scribe A's career, discussed separately from the fragmentary manuscripts. This new manuscript I will show to be ascribed to Scribe A is the gospel book Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67). This gospel book is inextricably tied to the other known gospel books with connections to Lund, for which reason these will also be re-evaluated.

During the course of the next case study, a number of new ideas and concepts will be explored which one might not only relate to the writings of Scribe A but also to other hands which can safely be located to Lund. To start with, I will extend the number of surviving gospel books written at Lund from one to two. It will be demonstrated in this chapter that the gospel book known as Ludwig II 3 was not only written at Lund but also served, for the most part, as exemplar to Thott 21 4to. A detailed analysis of the corrections in Thott 21 will follow. This will allow for insights into the scribal roles and their influences at Lund, as well as demonstrating that these corrections hold the key to unlocking the relationship between the gospel books. Moreover, a discussion will be opened concerning the differentiation between the cathedral chapter scriptorium and the one located at All Saints Monastery (Allhelgona) not far beyond the city walls of Lund. This argument will be based on the emerging relationship

between the various scribes at work in these gospel books and the fragmentary work discussed in the previous chapter.

Of All Saints Monastery no written evidence remains of the founding years. What little is known is mostly gleaned from information found in the *Necrologium Lundense*, recording monks and abbots of the monastery. By further exploring the roles of the scribes at work, one might be able to additionally ascertain the roles involved in the productions of the manuscripts and perhaps even discuss the concept of a ‘house style’, though this term is rather problematic to use with regard to Lund, as will be discussed below. For now, a grouping of scribal hands which can be shown to have some relationship to one another, either with regards to morphological features or ductus, shall be referred to as a ‘scribal cluster’. The gospel books which will be placed under close scrutiny in the following section have been well documented in one way or another for, in some cases, more than a century. The initial approach will therefore be to examine the previous analyses and discussions regarding the books, point out their strength and weaknesses, and then to contextualise them with the new findings I present here.

The manuscripts which will be discussed in this chapter are the following:

- Copenhagen, KB, Thott 22 4to: Germany? s. xi. At Lund during the twelfth century.¹³⁹
- Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 83: Helmarshausen, around 1140. Written for Lund, at Helmarshausen during the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁴⁰
- Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67) (1120–30).
- Copenhagen, KB, Thott 21 4to. Written at Lund around the middle of the twelfth century.

3.1. *Research history*

Already in 1906 the connections between the known Lund manuscripts were emerging in the work of Haselhoff.¹⁴¹ Only a few years later, Ellen Jørgensen’s extensive catalogue was published, which of course encompassed the manuscripts of the Thott collection.¹⁴² Varying degrees of attention were given Thott 21 and Thott 22, as well as C 83, with the localisations

¹³⁹ This manuscript, as well as Thott 21 4to can be found in digitised form on the website of the KB, <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/50/eng/> and <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/67/eng/>.

¹⁴⁰ C 83, as well as MH 5, MH 6 and MH 7 can be found in digitised form on the website of the Lund University Library, www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/home.

¹⁴¹ Haselhoff, ‘Litteraturberichte und Anzeigen’, p. 100.

¹⁴² Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum*, p. 11.

slowly agreeing on Germany for Thott 22, Lund for Thott 21, and Helmarshausen for C 83. However, no satisfying conclusions were found regarding the dating of these manuscripts. A mostly art-historical approach was taken, since the hands working in these manuscripts had not been fully understood to this point. Even in the latest extensive investigation by Hoffmann, which offers a wide ranging overview of the writings connected to the abbey of Helmarshausen, only tentative attempts were made to find a closer dating for Thott 21 and C 83.¹⁴³

The only truly detailed attempt made to discuss the Lund gospel books from a more palaeographic perspective is the extensive three-volume work produced by Ekkehard Krüger in 1972, particularly in the chapter auspiciously titled ‘Drei Evangeliare in der Nachfolge des Helmarshausener Goldschmiedes Roger’.¹⁴⁴ One will have to discuss his findings in greater detail, as it emerges that while Krüger was close to the truth of the matter, he nevertheless remained unaware of what I will argue to be the true relationship between Helmarshausen and the Lund gospel books.

Helmarshausen, a Benedictine foundation of the late tenth to early eleventh century, was by the twelfth century well on the way to becoming one of the most highly regarded ‘Schreiber- und Künstlerklöster des Hochmittelalters’.¹⁴⁵ The first peak of artistic endeavour can be found in the works of the famous Goldsmith Roger von Helmarshausen,¹⁴⁶ a monk whose fame was such that even a hundred years after his death his name was being invoked in forged charters by the abbey in order to make claims against Paderborn, for example.¹⁴⁷ By the second half of the twelfth century, the artistic scribes were in high demand, as can be seen by the request of Abbot Wibald of Corvey for the Charter of Konrad III., a stunning gold-lettered work on purple. The regular copies of the same charter, of less high standard and artistic effort, were copied by a local scribe in a Corvey hand.¹⁴⁸ The peak of manuscript production is regarded most commonly as the Hersfelder Gradual and Sacramentary, and the Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen, by the last third of the twelfth century. Helmarshausen served as a node of connections across Germany, exchanging art and scribes, as well as reaching beyond to the far north to Denmark. This most highly regarded institution, responsible for the creation of one of the gospel books in question, C 83, and having had an immediate or indirect role in the other two, Thott 21 and Ludwig II 3, can be identified as one of the possible direct sources of influence

¹⁴³ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden aus Helmarshausen und Corvey*.

¹⁴⁴ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 126.

¹⁴⁵ Freise, ‘Adelsstiftung, Reichsabtei, Bischofskloster’, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ For more on the discussions surrounding Roger, see Brandt, ‘Roger von Helmarshausen, zwischen Fakten und Fiktionen’.

¹⁴⁷ Freise, ‘Adelsstiftung, Reichsabtei, Bischofskloster’, p. 24.

¹⁴⁸ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden aus Helmarshausen*, p. 33.

on the hands of the scribes at Lund. Specifically, it will be explored if a tangible effect can be observed in the hand of one, if not the most prolific scribes active at the time, namely Scribe A.

In the course of the following discussion, the work of Krüger remains unique with regard to his analysis of the gospel books tied to Lund. Whilst the contribution of Eckhard Freise,¹⁴⁹ whose highly detailed investigations into Roger of Helmarshausen's life and cultural environment serves as the basis of the historiographical aspect of the discussion, Krüger employed a decidedly quantitative palaeographical method when discussing the Helmarshausen scriptorium. As it is the only extant study discussing the scribal hands at work in the books in question in painstaking detail, I will have to engage with his findings, since my work approaches the topic from a highly similar angle.

The chapter of Krüger's thesis, 'Drei Evangeliare in der Nachfolge des Helmarshausener Goldschmiedes Roger', gathers Thott 21 4to, Uppsala C 83 and Ludwig II 3 (known to Krüger as the 'Malvern Codex' of Dyson Perrins) into one group,¹⁵⁰ though the reasons for doing so are entirely different from those which led to my conclusions regarding these books. As such, Krüger's art-historical filiation work may offer a second route to placing these three works into the same, or a similar, grouping of historical relationships.¹⁵¹ Whilst his palaeographical analysis is by no means without its problems, particularly due to the quantitative approach taken, the filiation work done regarding the art-historical relationships between the gospel books is undoubtedly extremely detailed.

To conclude the commentary on Krüger's thesis, his daring equations of scribal concordance offer a rather unique methodology regarding the quantification of correlating features and the percentage of accordance of two given scribal samples. This alone warrants a closer look, since it may contribute towards discussions concerning quantitative palaeography in general. By employing probabilistic equations to give a numerical value to the likelihood of two scribal samples stemming from the same hand, Krüger runs into a number of problems. In order to weigh the relative importance of the value of the variables chosen, he makes arguably arbitrary value judgements. Whether Krüger's conclusion, for example, that the hand of C 83 has a non-correspondence with the gospel book Trier Domschatz 137 of 20.8 percent, has indeed been arrived at through an objective scientific approach, is debatable.¹⁵² It must be noted that whilst

¹⁴⁹ Freise, 'Roger von Helmarshausen in seiner monastischen Umwelt'.

¹⁵⁰ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, pp. 126–226.

¹⁵¹ The three gospel books are first linked together stylistically in a catalogue from 1906; see Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 126.

¹⁵² Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 162.

quite rudimentary from a mathematical perspective, Krüger may have been well ahead of his time. Recent work by Sergey Kulik and Denis Nikonets demonstrates the same approach as Krüger, though employing a far more advanced methodology.¹⁵³

Nevertheless, and I do not wish to mischaracterise Krüger's work, as he does make it clear that to be safe the deterministic methods used must show rather large percentages of either correlation or non-correlation, his approach is not without its own somewhat substantial problems.¹⁵⁴ Whilst issues of subjectivity are counter-balanced by the introduction of 'objektive Werte',¹⁵⁵ Krüger nevertheless falls victim to the allure of applying a methodology which, whilst quite attractive as an objective-seeming and scientific approach, may work on paper but perhaps not in actual application.

The above issues notwithstanding, Krüger's methods encourage the positive process of forcing the palaeographer to attempt to clearly quantify their own assumptions made through the subjective process of simple optical observations. However, at worst, this may simply offer a thin veneer of scientific credibility to the conclusions made, which, from a purely palaeographical analysis point, are by no means correct.

Of course it must be recognised that the *Forschungsstand* Krüger was working with is now rather outdated.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the accuracy of his palaeographic analysis should not necessarily rely on previous scholarship but on his own observations. The listing of hands working in Thott 21 shows how he at points conflates hands or overlooks them entirely, as will be shown below. Since this is the only attempt made at discussing Thott 21 from a palaeographer's viewpoint, it will be used as the starting point for the further discussion of the manuscript.

Gospel books, in a general sense, offer rather little typological variation, especially when confined to a comparatively short space of survey time, in the current case in and around the first half of the twelfth century. When investigating individual relationships between books whose content tends to be, for obvious reasons, highly uniform, it is nevertheless possible to delineate, in this case, five different data sets which will be discussed in turn.

¹⁵³ Kulik and Nikonets, 'Forensic Handwriting Examination and Human Factors', pp. 223–25.

¹⁵⁴ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 390.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

¹⁵⁶ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 74. Hoffmann convincingly shows the three Trier manuscripts TR 137, 138 and 139 to have been written by scribes of the Paderborn scriptorium. Krüger's extensive script comparisons between C 83 and those manuscripts must therefore be considered very carefully.

In order to come to a clear understanding of the relationship between the three manuscripts, Ludwig II 3, Thott 21 and Thott 22, it is necessary to compare and contrast the following elements of the manuscript:

1. Gospel Text

As has been stated, finding variance in the gospel texts seems initially a difficult endeavour. However, most of the discussion is assisted by making use of various layers of contemporary corrections in the manuscripts. Indeed, the strongest evidence for the new structure of manuscript relations and my argument for a Lund production of Ludwig II 3 lies therein.

2. Marginal References

These references, part of the Eusebian apparatus, allow for concordant passages of the gospels to be identified. As will be shown, the analysis thereof shows a critical point of change in the relationship between the manuscripts in question and indeed between the scribes responsible for the entries themselves.

3. Canon Tables

The Eusebian Canon Tables allow for a targeted investigation, in the case of the particular manuscripts here, into the stemmatic relationship between the codices, though as will be discussed, this approach is highly imperfect.

4. *Capitulare Evangeliorum*

Perhaps the most fruitful investigation will be that of the *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, the section at the end of most gospel books denoting the readings for the various days of the year. It is on this basis that the relationship between Thott 21 and Thott 22, with the later being the exemplar of the former, has until now been set in stone in the scholarly community.

5. Illumination and Art

The artistic embellishments, where found, from the canon tables to the Evangelist portraits and Incipit pages, offer far more information highlighting the individuality of these books compared to e.g. the canon tables. However, as will be shown, it will not be necessary to rewrite the current art-historical analyses, not only due to the emphasis placed by the current author on the previous four points but also due to the fact that the data gathered from these is far more reliable than what can be established through the discussion of the illuminations alone.

The discussion below will compare the data from Thott 21, Thott 22 and Ludwig II 3 with that of C 83. Not only does this manuscript offer the contrast of a Helmarshausen-produced manuscript, it clearly played an important role in Lund's history, and even for that single fact alone must be taken into consideration as well. An introduction to each manuscript will be given, regarding provenance, research history, and relevance to the study.

Following this, the five points above will be discussed in turn. Finally, conclusions will be drawn regarding the overall history of the relationship between Lund and Helmarshausen, the scribes at work and the further implications the results of this study have for the field in general.

3.1.2. *Copenhagen, KB, Thott 22 4to*

To start with Thott 22 4to (Fig. 15), Niblaeus is correct when commenting that it is 'the most mysterious of the Lund gospel books'.¹⁵⁷ This gospel book, rather simple in appearance, seemingly formed the foundation of gospel books in the early days of the cathedral chapter of Lund. Jørgensen first established the association between Thott 22 as exemplar to Thott 21.¹⁵⁸ Her authority has since not been questioned and the established relationship has been taken for granted ever since then.¹⁵⁹

The amount of scholarship, or at least the lack thereof, which has gone into the oldest of the gospel books, which until now has been regarded as sole exemplar of Thott 21, is astounding. The manuscript, written by one main hand, is in a clean German hand of the eleventh century, with very few corrections in the entire manuscript.¹⁶⁰ However, beyond these rather general statements not much can be said. Whilst the localisation by Niblaeus goes so far as to say that it is at least not likely to be southern German,¹⁶¹ few have dared to suggest any closer localisations than this. Nevertheless, this manuscript must have possessed a significant authority of its own, seeing as it was not only used in the creation of Thott 21 but also played an important role in the writing of Ludwig II 3. The authority of Thott 22 at Lund was not absolute, however, as a handful of changes were made to the gospel text by a hand which may be placed around the middle of the twelfth century. The further discussion will show that Thott

¹⁵⁷ Niblaeus, 'German Influence', p. 187.

¹⁵⁸ Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum*, 'Idem comes congruit cum comite codicis Thott 22 4to', p. 11.

¹⁵⁹ Petersen, *Living Words & Luminous Pictures II* (Catalogue), p. 16.

¹⁶⁰ Klemm places the manuscript in the early twelfth century and suggests an origin of perhaps Paderborn/Helmshausen through the context of the other gospel books, though there is no evidence that this may be the fact. See Klemm, *Canossa: 1077*, Katalog, No. 504, p. 417.

¹⁶¹ Niblaeus, 'German Influence', p. 188.

22 acted as exemplar to Ludwig II 3, at least for the most part, as well as for parts of Thott 21. Its influence can therefore be felt on several levels in these manuscripts.

3.2. *Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 83*

The second manuscript to be discussed, C 83 (Fig. 16), traditionally dated from 1140–45, is, like Thott 22, not of Lund production but German as well, in particular a product of the Benedictine abbey of Helmarshausen.

The gospel book C 83 has to this day been regarded as a keystone manuscript in the discussion concerning the confraternity agreement between Lund and Helmarshausen. It is not only a clear tour de force of the artistic accomplishment of Helmarshausen, and a valuable source of insight into that scriptorium, but C 83 also allows for the firm establishment of the link between the abbey and Lund.

In connection to this manuscript, the name of Findor enters the discussion, an ecclesiast who started his career as a deacon at the cathedral chapter of Lund and is since speculated to be the non-Helmarshausen hand working in C 83.

As mentioned above, the manuscript exhibits the talents of the Helmarshausen scriptorium during the first half of the twelfth century and has rightly garnered much attention from the art-historical world.¹⁶² However, for the purposes of the following discussion, it will be seen as a comparative reference point to the other gospel books under consideration. Acting as the clearest link between Helmarshausen and Lund, fol. 1v, a famous and much cited piece of evidence, shows St. Lawrence guarding a city (Lund?),¹⁶³ with the image of St. Jerome handing over his vulgate translation to Pope Damasus. Below this scene, ‘Martyr Laurenti precibus succurre petenti’ is written above a tonsured figure, which Borgehammar optimistically suggests might be the commissioner of the book, perhaps even Findor himself. The case is clear that this codex was made with Lund in mind, a stunning example of artistic expression by the Helmarshausen scribes. How C 83 and the confraternity agreement came to be may perhaps be explained through the story of the aforementioned Findor of Lund. Most recently and importantly, Borgehammar has undertaken a possible reconstruction of this key figure involved in the confraternity agreement between Lund and Helmarshausen, which whilst not in any

¹⁶² The connections between the manuscripts on an artistic level are discussed in a separate section below.

¹⁶³ Borgehammar, ‘Findor: Kanik i Lund’, p. 154. Klemm suggests that what we see depicted is church architecture, perhaps a cathedral. See *Canossa 1077: Katalog*, No. 503, p. 415.

sense complete, offers a chronological analysis and reconstruction of Findor's ecclesiastical career through the sparse evidence which survives.

3.2.1. *Helmarshausen, confraternity and Findor*

The focal point around which the discussion concerning the Lund gospel books revolves is that of the confraternity agreement made between Lund and Helmarshausen. Made at a point in time after 1136, it is possible to see the role that Findor played in the arrangement of it as instrumental. Already in 1981 Freise made the connection between C 83 and Findor and endeavoured, in a highly detailed manner, to place the sequence of events in chronological order.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Hartmut Hoffmann came to the same conclusions as Freise.¹⁶⁵ However, recently Borgehammar has made the largest advancements in reconstructing the life of Findor, which whilst not perfect, offers up valuable insight into the career of a person who may have been the key figure acting on Lund's behalf.

By triangulating the information found in the *Necrologium Lundense*, the *Liber Vitae* of Corvey, and the martyrology which replaced the *Necrologium*, the *Liber Daticus Vetustior* (MH 7), Borgehammar seems to be placing all the missing pieces together, though, as will be discussed below, his reconstruction leaves an obvious question rather open and unanswered. By coming as close as possible to an accurate reconstruction of the career of Findor, he shines a new light on the process which led to the creation of C 83 and Ludwig II 3.

Borgehammar follows the 'traditional' dating of 1123 of the *Consuetudines Lundenses*, as proposed by Weibull, though not in any strongly definite terms. Since the entry concerning the deacons is written by Hand f/4, the dating of said hand determines much of the chronological order of the writing of the *Necrologium*. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the scholarly field has been rather divided over where to place that date, be it the somewhat traditional 1123, or 1130, as Andersen proposes, or the latest dating proposed by Siegwart, 1140/45.¹⁶⁶ Whilst the discussions surrounding the dating might not find any clear resolution at this point in time, one must acknowledge the problem when applying the 1130–34 dating of the *Consuetudines*, as attractive as Andersen's proposal is. If indeed the connection to Hermann of Klosterrath is the appropriate one to make (as is discussed in the section dealing with the *Lectionarium* above), then the date of the entry of the deacon Findor inevitably gets called into question, and one therefore lacks the certainty of the 1123 dating, as the lists of *prebenda* on

¹⁶⁴ Freise, 'Roger von Helmarshausen', p. 220.

¹⁶⁵ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁶ Siegwart, *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes*, p. 89.

fol. 2–3 of MH 6 would therefore have to be treated as retrospective entries, with Borgehammar's chronology having to be treated somewhat more cautiously. However, as stated above, for current purposes the 1123 date will be used, wherefore by 1123 we find Findor as a deacon at Lund, before being elected provost at Dalby by 1136, a believable timeline as Borgehammar constructs it.¹⁶⁷ Findor's role at Dalby seems to be something which Borgehammar is first to note, and his engagement on Dalby's behalf seems to be foreshadowing his later role regarding the confraternity between the cathedral chapter of Lund and Helmarshausen.¹⁶⁸ Finding the first anchor point of Findor's activity at Lund is, however, not necessarily the most important data point in need of appraisal, as it is the final years of his career which require the most attention, as will be discussed below in the analysis of Hand c/19.

As provost of Dalby Findor would be responsible for the confraternity agreement between the cathedral chapter and the Benedictine foundation of All Saints Monastery and Dalby in 1136.¹⁶⁹ He then would leave Denmark behind for Helmarshausen at some point afterwards and die there before 1156. As Borgehammar notes, the death entry of Findor in the *Necrologium* and *Liber Daticus* states 'Findor, frater noster, presbiter et monachus sancti Petri in Helmwardis, qui dedit fratribus dimidium mansum in villa Hullogu'.¹⁷⁰ The bequeathing of real estate in Hyllie further cements this Findor to the 'presbiter et monachus sancti Petri in Helmwardis'. Freise observed in conjunction to the questions surrounding C 83 that a 'Findor' is found in the *Liber Vitae* of Corvey, listing the names of the departed from Helmarshausen, the entry which Freise already had so keenly connected to the Findor in question.¹⁷¹

The final traces of confraternity found in Lund manuscripts are the death notices of *Manegoldus* and *Walbertus*. Walbertus, who is recorded as a sub-deacon and monk on his death on 29 November in MH 7,¹⁷² and Manegoldus, who is only recorded in the *Necrologium*, as priest and monk,¹⁷³ are both noted as coming from Helmarshausen. Hoffmann considers Walbertus to be a Dane like Findor and cites Freise in this regard.¹⁷⁴ This is repeated by Freise not too long ago, as he suggests that Walbert might be a local (südschwedisch) though I am not

¹⁶⁷ Borgehammar, 'Findor: Kanik i Lund', p. 153.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁶⁹ Borgehammar, 'Findor: Kanik i Lund', p. 153; MH 6 fol. 182r.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154; MH 6 fol. 124v.

¹⁷¹ Freise, 'Roger von Helmarshausen', p. 210.

¹⁷² MH 6, fol. 169v; MH 7, fol. 129r.

¹⁷³ MH 6, fol. 160r.

¹⁷⁴ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 74.

able to reconstruct how he arrives at this conclusion.¹⁷⁵ This claim is repeated by Per Ekström in his discussion of Helmarshausen ties to Lund.¹⁷⁶

Conversely, Borgehammar makes the observation that these two monks may have constituted a delegation, or perhaps part of one, from Helmarshausen to Lund, citing Freise.¹⁷⁷ This idea is highly tempting to entertain, since it would offer a number of explanations which will later become relevant, as will be discussed below. Regarding Freise and the possible delegation from Helmarshausen, it would be reasonable to assume that Manegoldus and Walbertus would have stayed at the All Saints Monastery. The first abbot of All Saints who is recorded to have passed away ‘Anniversarius Hardwigi abbatis’ is connected by Freise to the same Hardwigus found in the necrology of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, an institution with which Helmarshausen had a longstanding confraternity agreement.¹⁷⁸ Freise further notes the connection between Pantaleon and Lund in the intriguing entry found in the memorial calendar ‘commemoracio fratrum Lubecensium et Lundoniensium cum vigilia et missa et pulsationes’, where he identifies *Lundoniensium* with the far more logical Lund, as opposed to London.¹⁷⁹ Since no recorded confraternity agreement between the cathedral chapter and St. Pantaleon is found in MH 6, however, All Saints is the far more likely link, as Abbot Hardwigus may indeed have originated from there. With the ties of both All Saints to St. Pantaleon, and St. Pantaleon to Helmarshausen, and finally Helmarshausen to the cathedral chapter, one can observe how interwoven Lund was, or perhaps attempted to be, with the wider sphere of the German church.¹⁸⁰

The fact that Manegoldus is missing from the *Liber Daticus* is explained away by Borgehammar by the hypothesis that he simply died before it came into use in 1145, when the obituaries were copied over from MH 6.¹⁸¹ The *Necrologium* continued to be in use up until 1170, with entries copied into it from the *Liber Daticus*.¹⁸² This hypothesis goes hand in hand with Gelting’s well thought-out argument concerning the differing roles these books played. The *Necrologium* served as an archival copy of sorts, since the dates of the departed follow a non-chronological order and are divided by hierarchy, as opposed to the *Liber Daticus*, which

¹⁷⁵ Freise, ‘Adelstiftung, Reichsabtei, Bischofskloster’, p. 24.

¹⁷⁶ Ekström, *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta liturgiska böcker*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁷ Borgehammar, ‘Findor: Kanik i Lund’, p. 153; no. 46. This, however, is not something that Freise seems to be suggesting.

¹⁷⁸ Freise, ‘Roger von Helmarshausen’, p. 274.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

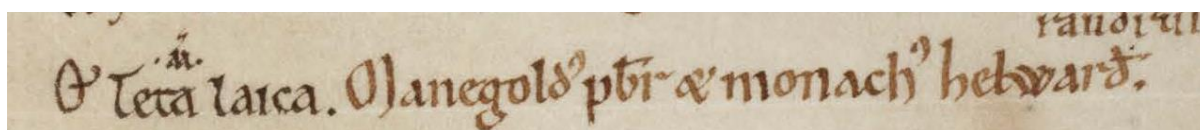
¹⁸⁰ For a comprehensive survey of the role of the German church in Scandinavia, see Niblaeus, ‘German Influence on Religious practice in Scandinavia 1050-1150’.

¹⁸¹ Borgehammar, ‘Findor: Kanik i Lund’, no. 38, p. 158.

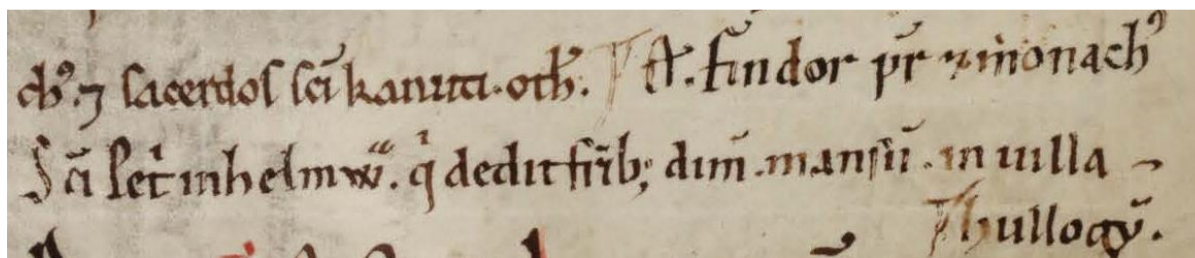
¹⁸² Niblaeus, ‘German Influence’, p. 191.

shows strong signs of intense use, again as opposed to the *Necrologium*.¹⁸³ What strengthens this argument is a closer look at the entries of Hand a/17. This hand, which is responsible for the three entries, shows two phases. Of course, the usual caveats apply to this sort of hand comparison, as the samples are rather limited; however, the difference is stark.

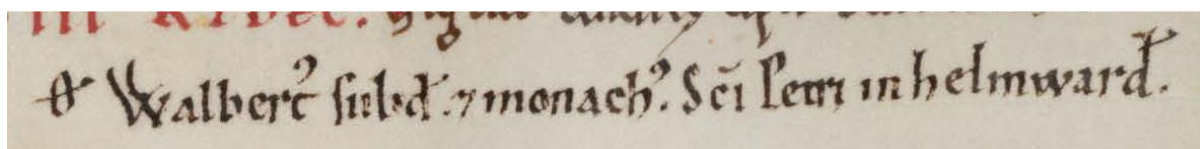
Findor and Walbertus seem to have been noted at around the same time, Manegoldus, however, not. That entry, on fol. 160r, seems to have been written at a different time. The usage of the tironian **et** in the Findor and Walbertus entries, as opposed to the ampersand, and of round-backed **d** are some of the obvious features which set these entries apart, as well as the change in ink and pen.



MH 6 fol. 160r: Manegoldus



MH 6 fol. 124v: Findor



MH 6 fol. 169v: Walbertus

It is a curious fact that these are the only instances of Hand a/17 in the *Necrologium*. Why exactly this hand knew when the three had passed away remains a mystery. Perhaps this was due to this particular hand having its own connections to Helmarshausen, perhaps through continued confraternity. What this may indicate is that all three of them had returned to Helmarshausen by the time of their death, since this would require such communication. One thinks of the art in Thott 21, done by an artist educated at Helmarshausen around 1150, and one is tempted to connect the dots. However, the need to communicate the death by the hand of one specific person may point towards the likelihood that either Walbertus or Manegoldus or both had as part of an initial delegation stayed at Lund in exchange, as was entirely possible and occurred frequently during these sorts of agreements.

¹⁸³ Gelting, 'Forholdet mellem Liber daticus og Memoriale fratrum'.

3.2.2. *The hands of C 83 and Hand c/19*

The hands of C 83 find a good analysis with Hoffman.¹⁸⁴ He identifies one main hand, working in classic Helmarshausen style, though with a decidedly sloppy aspect by the time it reaches the *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, a second hand, also a very well formed Helmarshausen hand, writing a few short sections and undertaking some correctional work, and finally a third Helmarshausen hand adding a section of Isidore's Etymologies on the final folio. As has been mentioned above, one of the key links connecting Findor to the confraternity agreement and C 83 is the appearance of Hand c/19 of MH 6 in the gospel book. This identification is carefully put by Niblaeus as 'strongly reminiscent of at least one Lund hand',¹⁸⁵ though it is without a doubt indeed Hand c/19. This is the same hand which is responsible for the addition of *Helmwardicensis* to the list of houses with which a confraternity agreement had been made.¹⁸⁶ To return to the timeline which Borgehammar constructs, the following open question must be considered. Whilst he discusses Findor's departure around 1136, and his death no later than 1155/6, an important piece of the data is disregarded, since he does not engage with all of the dated entries in the *Necrologium* by Hand c/19. In MH 6, we find five instances of Hand c/19, spanning the time from 1124–1145/46.¹⁸⁷

Considering that 1140 is the most cited date around which C 83 is estimated to have been written, as it is today in the description of the digitised version on the website of the Lund University Library, one will of course notice that this date falls into the phase of activity during which Hand c/19 was working in MH 6. Elisabeth Klemm, who takes an art-historical approach to this question, suggests a completion date for C 83 as late as 1145, connecting it with the consecration of the cathedral in Lund.¹⁸⁸ As will emerge from the evidence found in the other two gospel books below, Klemm's reasoning and dating is perhaps the most accurate. If one allows for a speculative timeline, we find the possibility that the following order of events occurs: Findor arrives at Helmarshausen and during the course of the agreement contributes to the work of writing the gospel book which clearly serves as an official statement of confraternity, and then returns to Lund by 1145 where he is able to present C 83, perhaps even to Archbishop Eskil himself, for the newly consecrated cathedral. Findor then records, and it is perhaps more than coincidence that it was he himself, the events surrounding the

¹⁸⁴ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 42.

¹⁸⁵ Niblaeus, 'German Influence', p. 187.

¹⁸⁶ MH 6 fol. 179v.

¹⁸⁷ In chronological order: fols. 161r, 125v, 144r, 181v–82v, 156r–57r, 175v, 176v, 179v.

¹⁸⁸ Klemm, 'Die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei', p. 478.

consecration in MH 6. He remains at Lund until at the earliest 1146 for his final entry in the *Necrologium*, and then returns to Helmarshausen where he remains until his death.

Whilst this is perhaps nothing more than a pleasing narrative, one might investigate the hand that has been possibly identified with him, Hand c/19. Extracting the samples from MH 6, there are dated entries from 1124, 1131, 1136, around 1138, and 1145–46. As discussed above, it is at some point in time between 1136 and 1145 that C 83 was written. Is it possible to determine a change in the execution of Hand c/19 from its time at Lund before the journey to Helmarshausen to the time afterwards, if that is indeed the timeline of events?

When comparing the surviving samples of Hand c/19, however, one must be aware that when and if changes are detectable, determining what their origin may be, and more importantly what the underlying causes for these changes are, is extremely difficult due to the small sample size, and the conclusions may remain on the speculative side.

The possibility and likelihood that the simple passage of time may play a role in perceived changes to a scribe's hand, whether any direct influences can be pinpointed or not, remains at the forefront of any such investigation. The issue of the relative fluidity and variability of the Lund hands is an important factor that must be taken on board as well.

3.2.3. *Hand c/19, Findor's hand?*

The following deconstruction of Hand c/19, the hand that may well belong to Findor, will highlight three phases of the hand. This analysis is made possible by the fact that the samples of the hand in the *Necrologium* are dated entries, of 1124 (fol. 161r), 1131 (fols. 125r/v, 144r), 1136 (fols. 180v–82v), no later than 1138 (fol. 175v), and 1145/46 (fols. 156r–57r, 175v, 176v, 179v). The only entry that is not accompanied by a date is that of around 1138. By constructing a model of the hand's development, one will then be able to compare the samples of the hand found in C 83. Borgehammar does not address the journeys which Findor made between Helmarshausen and Lund and when these occurred. As discussed, it is assumed that Findor left for Helmarshausen after 1136. However, the entries of 1145/46 in the *Necrologium*, one of the most important sections to be added to the manuscript, are undoubtedly written by Hand c/19. The events of 1145 and 1146, as told by Findor, cover the dedication of the cathedral and high altar, 'dedicata est maior ecclesia in ciuitate lundensi'¹⁸⁹ on the first of September 1145, by Archbishop Eskil, to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Lawrence. This was done with the assistance of the Bishops of Roskilde, Slesvig, Östergötland

¹⁸⁹ MH 6, fol. 156r.

and Västergötland. Following the list of relics of various saints, the report goes on to tell of the dedication of the right-hand altar by Gislo, the Bishop of Linköping in the same year, to the Saints Vincent and Alban, which again is followed by a list of relics. Following, the events of 1146 are told, with the left-hand altar being dedicated by Archbishop Eskil to Saints Stephen and Maurice, which is again followed by a list of relics. It is worth bearing in mind that MH 6 is a composite manuscript, and a linear chronological progression from cover to cover is not to be expected. The two large reports by Hand c/19 were inserted into the manuscript in a retrospective fashion between the surrounding quires (hence the later Hand c/19 of the mid 1140s being found on fols. 156–57 and the 1136 hand being found on fols. 181–82). It is worth noting how the entry of 1146 shows no difference in hue of ink or width of the nib of the pen, and no shift in aspect whatsoever compared to the 1145 entry. In contrast, a comparison of every other entry made by Hand c/19 in the *Necrologium* will show these differences clearly, as they are to be expected. This leads to the conclusion that the retrospective entries of 1145 and 1146 were made at the same time and not sequentially.

3.2.4. *A shift in hand*

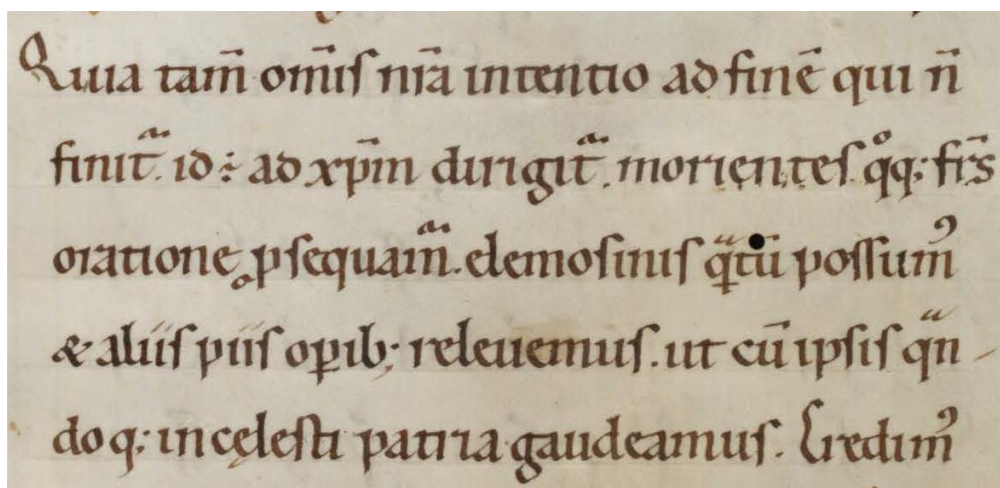
Hand c/19 undergoes a definite, clear change over time between 1124 and 1145/46. The general shift that seems to be occurring is the segmentation of graphs into more distinct minims, lending the hand the angularity of aspect that catches the eye in initial comparison. In the following, I will discuss the most important and telling features of the consecutive dated entries and how the shift is observable over time.

1124 fol. 161r: This marginal annotation offers but few details. The use of the upwardly curved, light bowl-shaped suspension mark and the **ct**-ligature that is almost joined together are the most notable markers. As with the following sample of 1131, these marginal annotations are difficult to classify. The nature of these additions can be seen in the somewhat more relaxed manner of the hand. The pronounced hairline extending from the final **i** minim, for example, is not unexpected in this kind of marginal annotation.

1131 fol. 144r: In contrast to the 1124 annotation, the **ct**-ligature is clearly and intentionally interrupted. Looking to the main, non-marginal entries, the hand takes on a clearly far more deliberate and careful approach. Fol. 125r shows a clearly intentionally linked **ct**-ligature and **i** minims which do not tick below the baseline. Fol. 125v shows the largest sample of this early hand. The belly stroke of the **a** is a round, curving stroke. The head stroke for the most part

also shows a rounded movement. The **ct**-ligature is clearly joined. The ampersand terminates in up-and-down turned strokes, showing variation even in a sample as small as this. The differentiation between thick and hairline strokes in **o** is not as pronounced as will be seen in the later samples. The examples of the hand in 1131, whilst quite small, show the starting point of the hand's development, before the first extensive entry, the two folios of 1136.

1136, fols. 180v–82v: The round aspect seen in 1131 clearly carries over into 1136. Note the continued occasional use of the round bowl-shaped suspension mark in conjunction with Hand c/19's far more typical horizontal line terminating at a right angle. The stroke forming the back of the bowl of the **g** tends to start in an angle closer to 90 degrees, placing the bowl further to the right of the head of the graph and closer to the baseline in general. Regarding **p**, the hand mostly goes through the motion of closing the body of **p** with a hairline. The hand generally employs a straight-shafted **t**, though some variation will be observed, e.g. fol. 182 l. 10. The obvious usage of round-backed **d** in all positions differentiates the 1136 hand from all other samples. Long **s** and **f** are placed consistently on the baseline. The aspect of the entire entry speaks of a more vertically compressed, perhaps slightly horizontally extended approach. The **ct**-ligature is consistently open. The ampersand is constructed in the manner that Hand c/19 will use from here on, excepting one notable instance on fol. 182r, a down-turned ampersand. The tironian **et** used by the hand is notably different from later examples, with a pronounced curved downward back stroke, as opposed to the rigidly kept straight stroke in 1145/46.



MH 6 fol. 180v ls. 11–5

1145/46, fols. 156r–57r: The latest example of Hand c/19 sees it at its most angular. This increase in angularity is caused by a number of subtle changes which the hand seems to have undergone at this point. The head of **a**, which in the early samples was rounded but not very

trailing, is here a predominantly angular, sharply barbed head. Further the belly stroke of **a**, which for the most part in earlier examples had a certain roundness of the stroke, is here constructed with a mostly straight stroke connected by two hairlines.

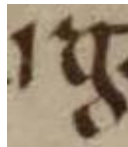


1136: fol. 180v l. 19

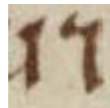


1145: fol. 156r l. 14

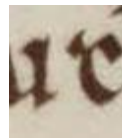
Long **s** ticks left below the baseline, not just in word-final or word-initial, but in all positions. One of the largest changes, and something that seems idiosyncratic to the hand, is the detachment of the head of **r** in most cases. No linking hairline is even hinted at in most instances. The head is instead attached to the following graph:



fol. 156v l. 16

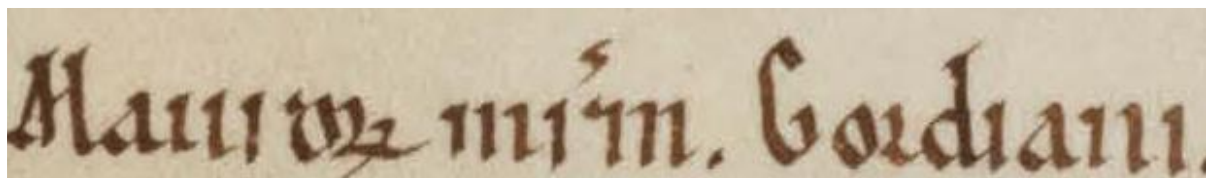


fol. 157r l. 18



fol. 157r l. 17

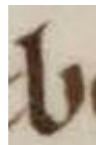
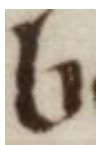
The other significant shift is the breaking of letterforms, with a strong tendency to separate graphs such as **m**, **n**, **u** into individual minims. This is perhaps the largest contributing factor to the increase in angularity of aspect.



Fol. 157r l. 19 Note the separation in **u**, **m**, and **n**.

This breaking does not take place consistently across every instance; however, a brief look towards the 1136 entry on fols. 180v–81r makes the difference starkly apparent.

The hand further finishes the process started with a few examples in 1136, that of not closing the bodies of **p** and **b**. Whilst some hairlines in 1136 show at least a hint of an intended movement towards closing the graphs, the 1145/46 samples for the vast majority do not have this.



1136: fol. 181v l. 9

fol. 181v l. 14

1145/46: fol. 156v l. 9

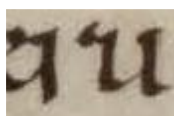
fol. 156v l. 21

Further, the difference between hairline strokes and nib-width strokes is generally more pronounced, as the comparison between the typical **o** of 1136 ad 1145/46 shows. Bearing this shift in hand in mind, the case of fol. 182v raises a number of questions.

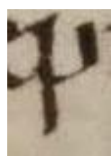
3.2.5. *Fol. 182v: 1136 or later?*

In the above analysis of the hand, one will notice the omission of fol. 182v. This is due to the incongruous nature of the hand witnessed there. As becomes immediately obvious, the entry dealing with the confraternity arrangements with Viborg was entered at a different time than the entries made on 181r–82r. The difference in ink, much darker than on fol. 182v, initially indicates the writing of the 1136 entries in two phases. However, such a difference in ink may well occur within the same week or the same day and is thereby nothing more than an indication that some space of time had elapsed. However, the specific features discussed above regarding the late hand of 1145/46 are present in this hand. The detachment of **r** and other features which contribute to the angularity of aspect all point towards 182v belonging to the same phase as the hand of the 1145/46 entries, not 1136.

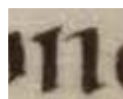
Fol. 182v:



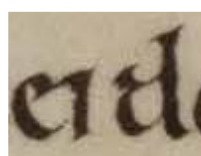
l. 5



l. 8



l. 6

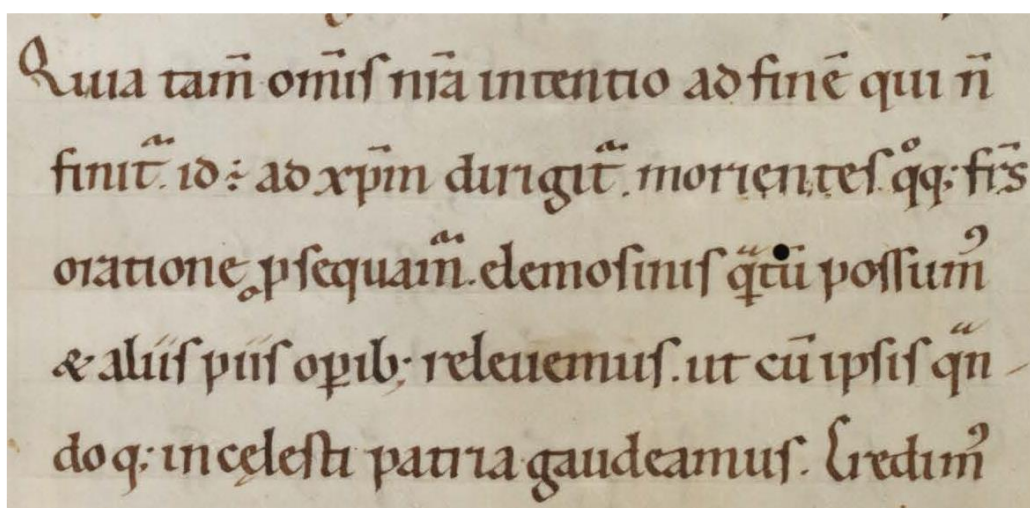


l. 12

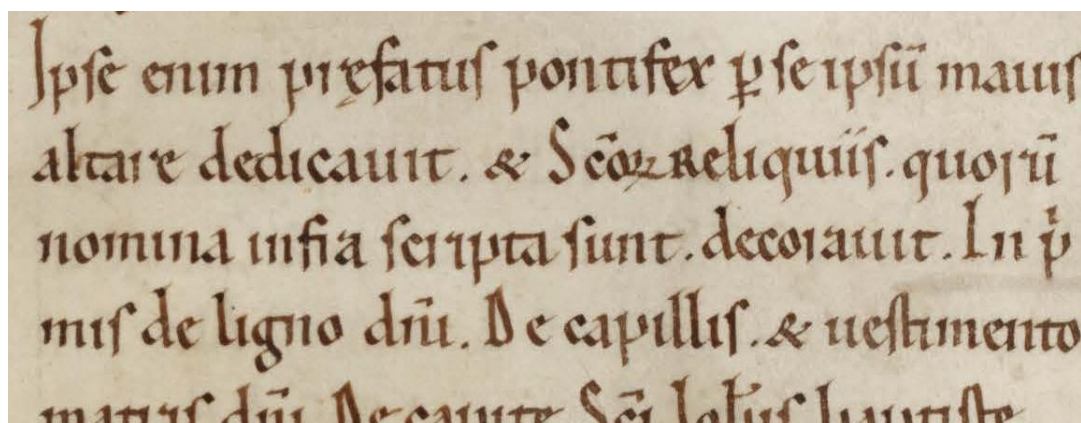
The reason that fol. 182v is dated at 1136 by Weibull and Kroman is logical. The previous entry is dated to 1136 and deals with confraternity, as does fol. 182v, though this is incidental evidence. The dating is supported by the fact that the listing of institutions with which Lund is connected in confraternity, written by Hand 8 on fol. 179v, contains ‘Wibergensis’.

Kroman states that Hand rub./8 appears around 1135.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, if *Wibergensis* is included by that hand in the list, it must have been written around that time, i.e. 1136.¹⁹¹ This, however, does not necessarily have to be the case. Hand rub./8 is active in later manuscripts written by Scribe A as shown in the previous chapter, as well as showing later activity in MH 6.

Bearing in mind the individual characteristics discussed above, the script samples below should indicate the stark differences between the 1136 hand, the 1145/46 hand, and fol. 182v, considering the previously discussed and highlighted issues.



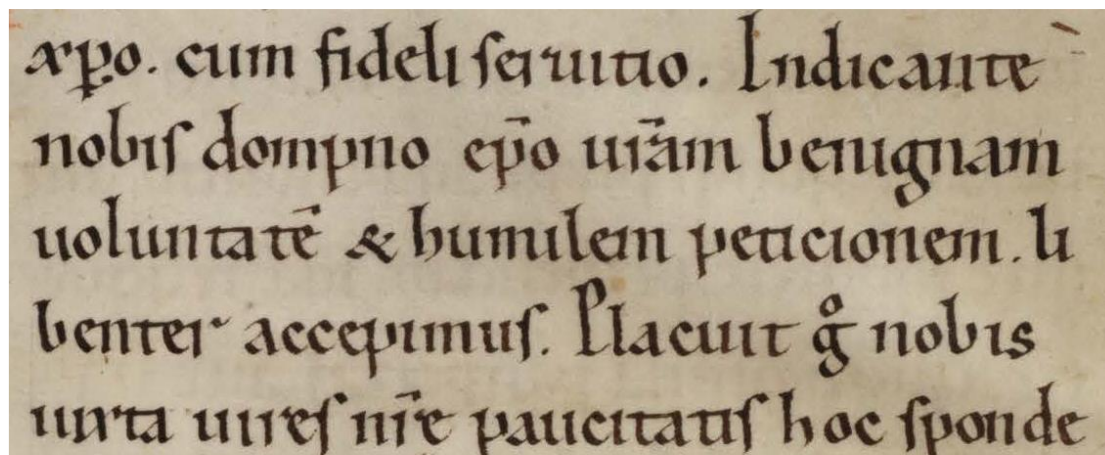
MH 6 fol. 180v ls. 11–5



MH 6 fol. 156r ls. 10–5

¹⁹⁰ *Necrologium Lundense*, ed. E. Kroman, p. XV.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. XVIII.



MH 6 fol. 182v ls. 6–10

3.2.6. *Hand c/19 in C 83*

The following list shows Hand c/19's activity in C 83:

Fol. 161v: Date and chapter reading is by Hand 1 (Main hand of C 83), then Hand c/19 starts the pericope and finishes the folio.

Fol. 163r l. 16: Hand c/19 finishes the last 13 lines of folio.

Fol. 168r l. 25: Hand c/19 writes the last five lines. However, Hand 1 finishes the pericope. The scribe is not looking at where he is writing, and his line keeping is quite inaccurate as he wanders up and down, after which Hand c/19 takes over. This may indicate something more than just the back and forth of the collaboration.

Fol. 168v: Hand c/19 writes the full folio. Note the mistake of 'Mensis iun. *In uigilia sancti Iohis*'.

Fol. 170r l. 25: Hand 1: 'Mense aug. Die. ii. msis. Natalis sancti' Hand c/19: 'Stephani pontificis'.

Fol. 170v: Hand c/19 continues until the last two entries. This folio contains the vigil of St. Lawrence.

Fol. 171r l. 3: In the middle of the sentence, Hand 1 is replaced by Hand c/19, until l. 11. At this point l. 11, Hand c/19 writes the date and reading, and Hand 1 takes over the rest of the pericope. It is possible that Hand c/19 wrote the full line, but Hand 1 erased a section and filled in the feast and reading. The transition from *ihc discipulis suis* shows an initial struggle in keeping the line, which is however remedied immediately.

Fol. 173r: Full folio by Hand c/19.

Fol. 174r: Full folio by Hand c/19.

Fol. 174v l. 20: Occasion and reading written by Hand 1. Pericope by Hand c/19, until the end of folio.

Fol. 175r: Hand c/19 writes until l. 9.

Fol. 175v l. 24: Hand c/19 completes the folio.

Fol. 176r: Full folio by Hand c/19.

Hand c/19's work in C 83 certainly is closer to the angularity seen in the 1145/46 hand, though the strong breaking of graphs does not yet occur. The interplay between the two scribes is remarkable. The sometimes rather arbitrary-seeming points at which they switch in the copying process as well as the intervals are perhaps telling. The time spent copying these sometimes quite short sections only makes sense with the two scribes working together simultaneously. Leaving off the copying work and having Hand c/19 finish the second half of a side, only to return again once Hand c/19 had finished his short stint, would speak of a quite random and inefficient work methodology unless the two more or less sat together in the scriptorium. The fact that Hand c/19 was responsible for copying the section of *Capitulare* containing the Vigil of St. Lawrence is perhaps more than a simple coincidence, the importance of which is obvious, since as the patron saint of the town and cathedral chapter, this particular feast would have received special attention. Nevertheless, these suppositions exist purely within the realm of speculation. What should be taken away from the analysis of Hand c/19 is the fact that the entries on MH 6 fol. 182v are quite atypical in execution compared to the other entries dated to 1136, and a case can be made for a retrospective nature of the entry of the confraternity agreement with Viborg. As will become clear below, this detailed discussion of Hand c/19 is necessary in order to understand the hand, and identity, of Scribe 3 in Thott 21.

3.3. *Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67)*

This gospel book is one of the best examples of the high art and manuscript illumination at the abbey of Helmarshausen (Fig. 17). The manuscript has over many years garnered much attention regarding the illuminations and the connection to the work of the goldsmith Roger of Helmarshausen. However, I will argue that this manuscript, whilst containing these extraordinary artworks, was in fact written at Lund by none other than Scribe A and Scribe T (the main Scribe of Thott 21, as will be discussed below), using Thott 22 as the exemplar. Not only is this manuscript therefore the earliest written gospel book in Denmark, but it is also written in the transitional hand of Scribe A. This most prolific of scribes has been shown in the

previous chapter to have written, or at least contributed to, eight different manuscripts of varying status, as is discussed in the section regarding his fragmentary work. Just who Scribe A was, who was entrusted with the creation of a codex containing art works which rival the most artistically accomplished gospel book connected to Lund, Uppsala C 83, is an intriguing question I will attempt to answer here. A close investigation and re-evaluation of the evidence associated with this manuscript will be necessary in order to find the place where Ludwig II 3 fits into the history of Lund, the career of Findor, the cathedral's connections to wider Europe, the evolution of Scribe A's hand, and the scriptoria at Lund in general.

Not much is known of this manuscript's provenance. Hans Kraus traces the codex back to ownership by a Norman nobleman during the sixteenth century, then to the possession of the archbishop of York in the seventeenth century.¹⁹² The manuscript continued to circulate in private collections in England until being purchased by Peter and Irene Ludwig. In 1983 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired their collection of around 144 codices which form the heart and foundation of the museum's collection to this day, and Ludwig II 3 has remained there ever since.

During the course of his examination of books related to Helmarshausen, Hoffmann discusses the main hand in a rather bemused fashion. Commenting that Ludwig II 3 was written almost entirely by one hand (his Hand B, our Scribe A), 'die nicht in Helmarshausen, sondern wohl weiter westlich (am Niederreihn? In Belgien?) beheimatet war.'¹⁹³ It is not to his discredit that Hoffmann did not catch the rather confusing transitional hand of Scribe A. Klemm hypothesises a hand that is strongly influenced by a westerly character as well and suggests that the manuscript could have been written for the area around Liège.¹⁹⁴ She argues this in light of Abbot Thietmar already having established firm ties with Abbot Stephen from St. Jacob there. Their collaboration on the *Vita* of St. Modoaldus, written at Helmarshausen and re-worked at Liège, further substantiates such a claim. The localisation of the manuscript towards Liège is also suggested by Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck. He hypothesises that the manuscript could have been written in the Rhein-Maaß area and then sent to Helmarshausen for artistic embellishment, perhaps in thanks or perhaps due to confraternity. The illuminated finished manuscript could then have been sent to St. Pantaleon, Liège or Deutz.¹⁹⁵ The argument relies mainly on an art-historical analysis, with the design of the Evangelist portraits

¹⁹² Kraus, *In Retrospect*, pp. 50–3.

¹⁹³ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 29; Transl. 'which was not located in Helmarshausen, but probably further west (on the Niederreihn? In Belgium?)'.

¹⁹⁴ Klemm, *Canossa 1077*, Vol. II Katalog, Nr. 502, p. 415.

¹⁹⁵ Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, 'Buchkultur im geistlichen Beziehungsnetz', p. 96.

leaning towards a style closer to the Rhein-Maaßland, as opposed to the manuscripts produced for Denmark (C 83/Thott 21) and Saxony. However, Wolter-von dem Knesebeck does not seem to be considering the overall layout of Ludwig II 3. As will be discussed below, the order of the writing of the manuscript is likely to be in reverse, with the art having come first and the writing of the gospel text afterwards.

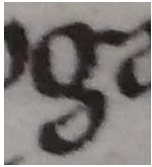
Commenting on the few examples of Helmarshausen script (Hoffmann's Hand A) in the manuscript, Hoffmann lists fols. 10v, 52v, 84v, 128v, the versos of the folios containing the illuminated initials, as well as in the Evangelist portraits and Incipits themselves. This leads to the conclusion that that particular hand is also that of the artist himself. Further, Hoffmann notes that there seemed to be an intent to leave the canon tables empty and let a 'Hilfskraft' finish them. What he did miss is the presence of a third hand, namely that of Scribe T, the main Thott 21 scribe, which finishes the marginal references as of fol. 107r.

Ludwig II 3 seems to most likely be based upon the gospel edition of Thott 22. The *Capitulare Evangeliorum* show some differences between the two, as will be discussed below. However, these differences are negligible, and the fact that this is without a doubt an abbreviated form of Thott 22 remains unshakeable.

3.3.1. *Script of Ludwig II 3*

The three scribal hands working in this manuscript are Scribe A, Scribe T and Scribe H (H standing for Helmarshausen). Next to the *Lectionarium Lundense* II, Ludwig II 3 offers the deepest insights in Scribe A's hand. Not only does he employ various morphologically distinct graph forms, one finds how the mode of writing affects the shaping of the letters, as can be seen when the line spacing varies as the available writing space changes due to the constraints of the spacing of the art, as will be discussed below.

Whilst this stage of Scribe A's hand is not the final one we see in MH 5, it is nevertheless quite close. The largest observable difference is the roundness of the hand, which places it closer to SRA FR 23589 than to the *Lectionarium*. The predominantly round shaft of **t** especially shows this, though the later more straight-shafted **t** is present as well. The treatment of feet shows Scribe A sometimes flattening the foot of the second minim of **m** and pulling in the legs of the final minims of **n** and **m** in a curving fashion. Scribe A's high variability shines through all of Ludwig II 3.



Ludwig II 3: Fol. 38v l. 18



Fol. 35r l. 25



Fol. 35r l. 23

A comparison with Scribe A's hand in SRA FR 23591 shows the same sort of variable **g** execution:



Fol. 1v l. 5a



Fol. 1rv l. 13b

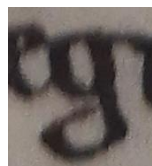


Fol. 2r l. 7a

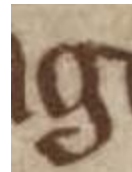


Fol. 2r l. 9a

Since Ludwig II 3 offers such a large sample size of Scribe A's transitional hand, we find later features as well, such as an execution of **g** more in line with his later hand in MH 5.



Ludwig II 3 fol. 44r l. 25



MH 5 fol. 14r l. 5












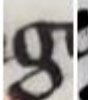








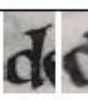














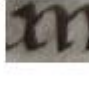
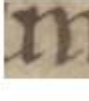
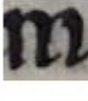

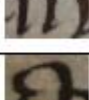
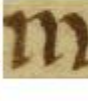

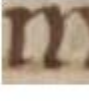














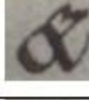



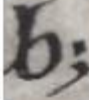
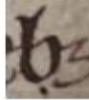
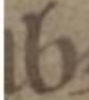

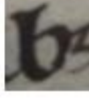


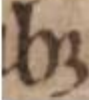
Graph	SRA FR 6786 2r	SRA FR 23591-92	KB Lat. fragm. 2857r	Ms. Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67) fol. 94r	SRA FR 23593	LUB Fragn. 5	SRA FR 23589	MH 5
a								
g								
d		 						
t			 					
m					 			
ct-lig.								
&				 	 			
-bus								

Table 3: Graphs showing the transition of Scribe A's hand.

The table above shows a series of graphs selected throughout the work of Scribe A in order to illustrate consistency in some cases (**ct**-ligature, **a**) and transition in others:

g: shifts from a figure-eight type to more straight-backed.

d: from mostly regular-height ascenders to a consistently mixed execution to the consistently compressed forms.

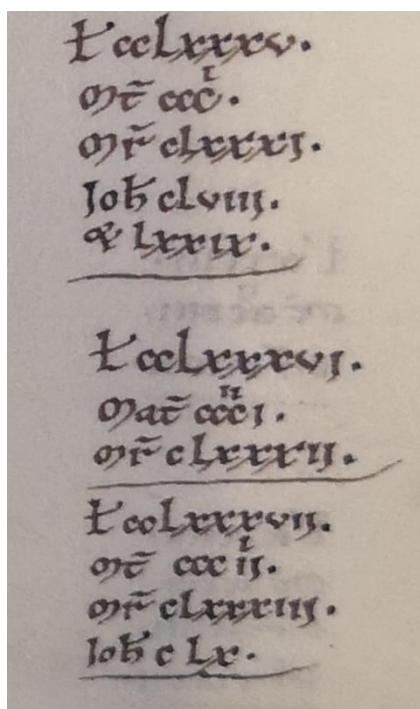
t: a mostly rounded shaft transitions to a mostly straight, angled minim.

m: The perhaps most consistent change is the gradual flattening of the feet of minims, most clearly exemplified by **m**. Furthermore, the final minim goes from a straight execution to an inward curve, though this change is not as consistent over time as the treatment of the feet.

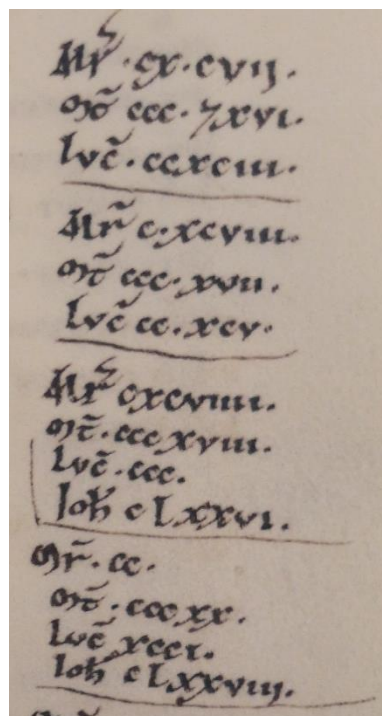
ct-ligature: This is a highly idiosyncratic feature of Scribe A's hand and as such is doubly important as an identifiable feature which connects all the various manuscripts and fragments to this one scribe.

&: The ampersand shifts from a more vertically compressed graph to a more upright stance. The arm of the graph maintains its height as the main body and raises up, with the arm eventually ending below the headline of the graph, as opposed to on the head line.

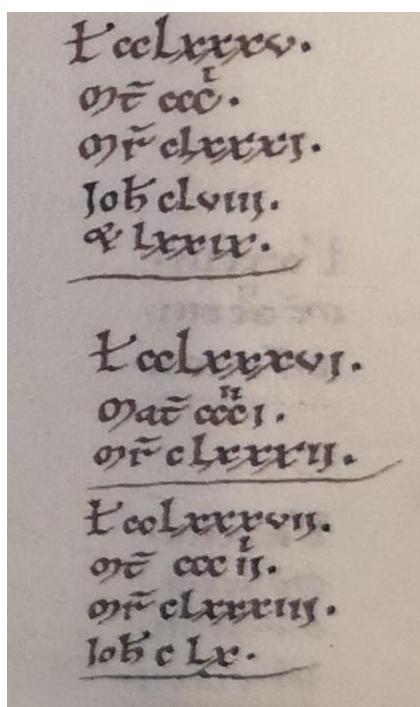
This table shows how Ludwig II 3 fits in within the wider range of Scribe A's work. As such it conforms to the transition of the hand as it is reconstructed in the previous chapter. As mentioned above, as of fol. 107r, we see a switch in hand in the marginal references of Ludwig II 3. Compared to Scribe T, Scribe A's marginal work is in general far more loose and relaxed, especially towards the final folios of his work copying the references.



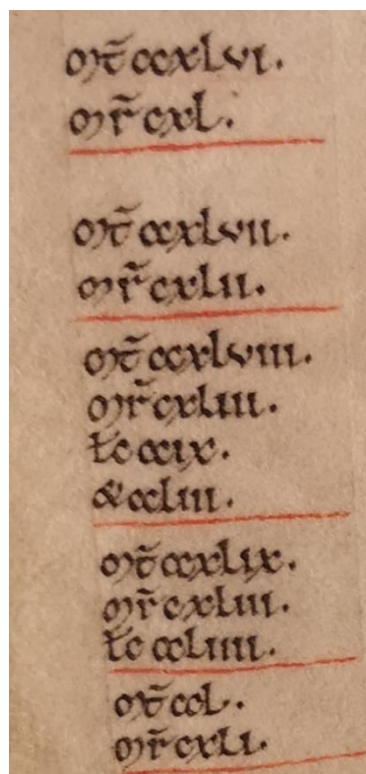
Ludwig II 3 fol. 122r: Scribe T



Ludwig II 3 fol. 76r: Scribe A



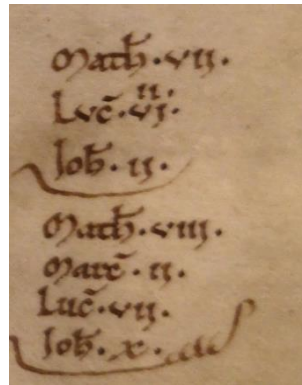
Ludwig II 3 fol. 122r: Scribe T



Thott 21 fol. 32r: Scribe T

It is clear that this is one and the same hand. The ampersand shows the same notable hairline upwards flicking foot at the bottom of the base shaft, with the arm ending in an up-turned stroke. Further, the execution of the left leg of **x**, which Scribe T executes as a simple line, is markedly different from the extended foot seen in Scribe A's hand. The only noticeable

difference between Scribe T's work in Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21 is the leftward-ticked feet of the final **i** minims. This is something which Scribe T does in the first few folios of the Gospel of Matthew in Thott 21 but drops very early on in the copying process. The abbreviations for the gospels themselves are also inconsistent on these first few folios, before Scribe T seems to find what he is comfortable with in copying the rest of the Gospel of Matthew.



Thott 21 fol. 7r: Note the final **i** minim.

3.3.2. *Hand H*

The Helmarshausen hand, and presumable artist, is identified by Hoffmann as the same hand responsible for KB Lat. fragm. 1703 (secondary provenance, St. Olav Church, Helsingør 1591–1592).¹⁹⁶ This fragment is part of the second book of Bede's 'In Proverbia Salomonis'. There is little to comment on beyond the fact that this hand consistently flattens the feet of **m** and **n** minims in a way that is highly similar to what is observed in the transition in Scribe A's hand.



Fol. 52v l. 14: Hand H

Regarding any notable differences between Hand H and KB Lat. fragm. 1703, we find the Helmarshausen hand using point-and-tick *punctus elevatus*, no sign of which can be found in KB Lat. fragm. 1703.

The most obvious difference is that of the execution of the ampersand. In Ludwig II 3 the graph is executed with the head lying on the arm, with the arm itself ending on a down-turned stroke,

¹⁹⁶ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 30.

in a very ‘non-English, likely German’ fashion. In KB Lat. fragm. 1703 we see the opposite execution, with the head not resting on the arm, which ends on an up-turned stroke.



Fol. 84v l. 11



KB Lat. fragm. 1703

Before further analysis can commence on the corrections and interrelations of Ludwig II 3, Thott 21 will be introduced and discussed in the section below. Following this, the corrections of both manuscripts will be analysed, as will the marginal references, *Capitulare Evangeliorum* and canon tables.

In conjunction with this fragment it must be noted that three more fragments, KB Lat. fragm. 3177–79, stem from Helmarshausen, as identified by Hofmann.¹⁹⁷ The fragments, stemming from the same manuscript but different quires,¹⁹⁸ are written by an exemplary Helmarshausen hand.¹⁹⁹ It is noteworthy that Hoffmann dates these fragments to the first third of the twelfth century. As Erik Petersen quite rightly points out, the problems of secondary provenance raise their head when discussing these fragments’ connections to Lund. With an account reference to Eidersted 1611 on KB Lat. fragm. 3179, the conflicting information with KB Lat. fragm. 1703 becomes obvious. Yet the dating to the first third of the twelfth century, while coincidental, aligns with the period of activity connecting Denmark to Helmarshausen. Whether these stem from manuscripts written specifically for Lund, as Wolter-von dem Knesebeck suggests, is perhaps impossible to tell.²⁰⁰

3.4. Copenhagen, KB, Thott 21 4to

Thott 21 4to (Fig. 18) has hitherto been regarded as the only surviving gospel book written at Lund. As has been pointed out in numerous publications and observations over a number of years, the text of this codex is a more or less verbatim copy of that found in Thott 22 4to.²⁰¹ The *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, the readings of specific sections of the gospels during the year, are close enough to be considered identical. Most importantly, the Vigil of St. Lawrence is

¹⁹⁷ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁸ Petersen, *Credo II*, Katalog, No. 300, p. 352.

¹⁹⁹ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 26.

²⁰⁰ Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, ‘Buchkultur im geistlichen Beziehungsnetz’, p. 99.

²⁰¹ Petersen, *Living Words & Luminous Pictures II* (Catalogue), p. 16.

emphasised with the red rubrication ink, further strengthening the Lund connection. However, I will show below that Thott 21 was in fact copied for the most part from Ludwig II 3 and not Thott 22 as was previously thought.

A number of hands have added, changed, and edited sections of the text in Thott 21, as will be discussed in more detail below. At first glance the large number of corrections gives the impression of an inaccurate, sloppy scribe in charge of the copying work. However, as will become apparent, he is in fact perhaps one of the more accurate copyists at Lund, as the corrections have in fact little to do with his own mistakes.

The important fact that these corrections are all seen as being later additions, if near contemporary, has ensured that these correcting hands have received little to no attention. In many ways the following discussion focuses on the work of the various amending scribes and not entirely on Scribe T. This will show that through a detailed analysis of the corrections made in the manuscript, a whole new picture of the relationship between the Lund gospel manuscripts emerges.

The extremely close and detailed observations made by Krüger concerning the scribal hand of Thott 21 fail to observe that next to the Helmarshausen-educated artist, two Lund scribes, are sharing the labour of writing the text, working contemporaneously. Krüger's comparison work done regarding Thott 21 and the hands of the *Necrologium* is, however, perhaps of more interest. One stand out conclusion concerns the similarity with Hand b/16,²⁰² which is a rather well placed observation, since this is one of the librarian hands, which will be discussed in more detail below.²⁰³ The emphasis on Hand b/16 clearly stems from the fact, however, that Krüger seems unable to separate the corrections made by Hand b/16 in Thott 21 from the main hand, especially since Hand b/16 is very likely Krüger's so-called *Nachtragehand* four. His second identification, that of Hand f/4 (the main hand of the *Consuetudines*, and possibly Hermann of Klosterrath), is farther from the mark, to say the least.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the description of the main hand of Thott 21 can only be described as a palaeographical dissection,²⁰⁵ which, it must be emphasised, offers an extremely detailed analysis of the features which make up the hand, and indeed little can be added to this. Whilst Krüger's

²⁰² Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 176.

²⁰³ Four *Armarius* hands have been identified in the *Necrologium*, due to their role in entering the names of the deceased, as this role is described in chapter 34 of the *Consuetudines Canonice*. It is worth noting that the much discussed Hand f/4 is the third of these. See *Necrologium Lundense*, ed. E. Kroman, p. XV.

²⁰⁴ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 176.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 165–74.

observational examination shows merit, the comparison work, especially internally to Thott 21, does not.

As mentioned above, at least four different hands (including that of the main scribe) can be observed in Thott 21, though Krüger mistakenly points out ‘Das Evangeliar ist von einer Hand geschrieben’,²⁰⁶ which is clearly not correct. Even Hoffmann covers himself with the rather careful expression that ‘der Codex ist im *wesentlichen* von einer Hand geschrieben.’²⁰⁷ Whilst that seems to take most eventualities into account regarding the hands in Thott 21, when Hoffmann does identify various hands, he will register and discuss them, which does not occur in his listed descriptions of manuscripts connected to Helmarshausen in the case of Thott 21. As it stands, three scribes are responsible for the primary creation of the codex. The first, the main hand, has been shown by Hoffmann to have written the text of the gospels first, with the illuminator, the scribe responsible for the illuminations and the artistic embellishment of the decorated initials, coming in second in the order of production.²⁰⁸ It must be noted that a analysis of the hands of Thott 21, whilst looking rather manageable in Krüger’s work, clearly would have overstepped the boundaries of what Hoffmann was intending with *Bücher und Urkunden*, as is clearly demonstrated below.

The main hand of Thott 21 (hereafter Scribe T) is a clear example of a Lund hand. Whilst a detailed description is offered by Krüger,²⁰⁹ a few features are worth pointing out. When it comes to the divide in the scribal hands operating at Lund, as roughly delineated as it is, Scribe T falls into the family of hands surrounding Scribe A, Scribe C and Hand b/16, as opposed to Scribe 3, Hand f/4 and Hand c/19. Note the round **t**, the short wave suspension mark and low angularity of aspect. The ruling of the main text block is done by a seemingly very sharp utensil. The dry ruled lines are so sharply engraved that a knife-like ruling tool seems to be the only option. The intersections of horizontal and vertical ruled lines are so clean cut that it does not look like the depression of a point, even a very sharp one. Instead, one observes clear bisecting cuts, especially where horizontal and vertical lines intersect, as opposed to indentations made by an acutely pointed utensil.

The marginal references are ruled variably by dry point or lead, e.g. fol. 59v, where the main text block is dry point ruled, with marginal reference space being lead ruled. There does not

²⁰⁶ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen I*, p. 165.

²⁰⁷ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 26. Emphasis mine.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen I*, pp. 165–74.

seem to be much of a consistent pattern in that regard, even when Scribe 3 takes over the marginal reference ruling.

On fol. 117r one sees that the decorated initial was pressured to minimize the *capitalis quadrata*, and then was followed with *capitalis rustica*, in order for the text to continue fluently with the following page written by the main scribe. This collision of scribal work distribution would only have occurred if the text of the gospels had already been written and laid out, so that it was the artist's task to adapt to the writing space and not the other way around, as is reasoned by Hoffman.²¹⁰ The artist's hand, which exhibits features of Helmarshausen script in the decorated initials, can be found in two rubrics, one on fol. 68r and the other on fol. 117v.

The fact that these rubrics were added by the artist indicates that he was at least educated at Helmarshausen, if not from there originally. Regarding the other hands within the manuscript, Krüger supplies a list of eight different *Nachtragehände*, in 16 instances, which correct the text. The list contains more than a few mistakes and oversights, as criticised above. Krüger points out that they are difficult to differentiate, since they apply the same 'Schrifttyp' as the main hand.²¹¹ Two of those eight are supplied with caveats that they are questionable. However, it will be shown that whilst Krüger's list offers a starting point, it remains no more than that. The list that Krüger supplies is as follows:²¹²

Corrections and additions by the main scribe of Thott 21:

Fol. 13r, fol. 19v, fol. 55r, fol. 66v, fol. 93v, fol. 132r.

Additional hands:

1: fol. 20v

2: fols. 23v, 24v, 26v (?), 32v, 40r

3: fols. 28r, 114r

4: fols. 79v, 129v, 130v

5: fols. 105v, 127v

6: fol. 119r

7: fol. 138r

8: fol. 140v

It is highly unclear whether the main scribe of Thott 21 ever made any of his own corrections. If he did, they take the form of crossed-through words or erasures, which are impossible to pinpoint to any one scribe. Instead, what emerges from the corrections is that various scribes

²¹⁰ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 25–6.

²¹¹ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* II, p. 878.

²¹² *Ibid.*

corrected errors of various natures, with various agendas. The tangle of corrections and hands in Thott 21 is a complicated web which I will clearly dissect below. In order to understand the processes which led to the manuscript in its current state, I will be discussing four different scribes. The main hand of Thott 21, Scribe T, the other scribe he cooperated with, Scribe 3, and the hands purely confined to correctional work, Hand b/16, and Hand f/4.

- Scribe 3: This scribe's hand shows a mixture of features. This hand seems to consistently use a straight-shafted **t** and a rather straight-backed, not overly far trailing-headed **a**, as well as the point-and-tick *elevatus* and a long **s** which tends to go below baseline in word-final position. The initial comparison between the lower marginal additions on fol. 23v and fol. 139v seems to show some rather obvious differences, such as the consistent use of the cup-shaped suspension mark, as opposed to the straight line, down-turned tick, which we see consistently on fol. 139v, where he also seems to be forking ascenders, as in *haberent*. However, one need only look to fol. 26v, where Scribe 3 employs both suspension marks in equal measure. Furthermore, note the non-figure-eight **g**, the regular **ct**-ligature, as well as the use of **v** for **u** in *ut* on fol. 40r. Note how Scribe 3 writes a sizable section on fol. 9r, indeed nine whole lines, on an erasure. The ruffled nature of the surface of the parchment is difficult to spot with the naked eye, but where some of the scrapes have strayed into the outer margin, they become somewhat more visible. While the first three lines initially follow the same sizing as the main hand, Scribe 3 compresses his hand, clearly forcing in more text than the space he has to work with allows. Through this process, he overcompensates, as one sees, in the final four words, which revert to size again, seeing as Scribe 3 has a whole line to fill, which remains more than halfway blank in the end. Not only is a clearly intended compression observable, the last four lines of Scribe 3's correction are written with a pen whose nib is slimmer than the pen used in the lines above, again, in an attempt to assist with space management, nevertheless the possibility of a re-sharpening of the same pen must be considered as well, though this is perhaps impossible to tell apart.

I count this scribe as Scribe T's collaborator, since he was responsible for writing the marginal references in the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John.

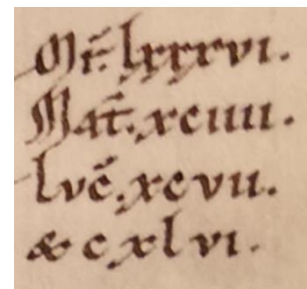
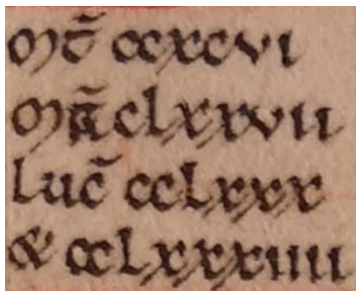
We can tell this by the distinctive ampersand the scribe employs in his corrections and marginal references:



Thott 21 fol. 23v: Ampersand taken from a correction in lower margin by Scribe 3.



Thott 21 fol. 58r: Ampersand taken from marginal reference by Scribe 3.



Left: Thott 21 fol. 37v: Marginal reference by Scribe T

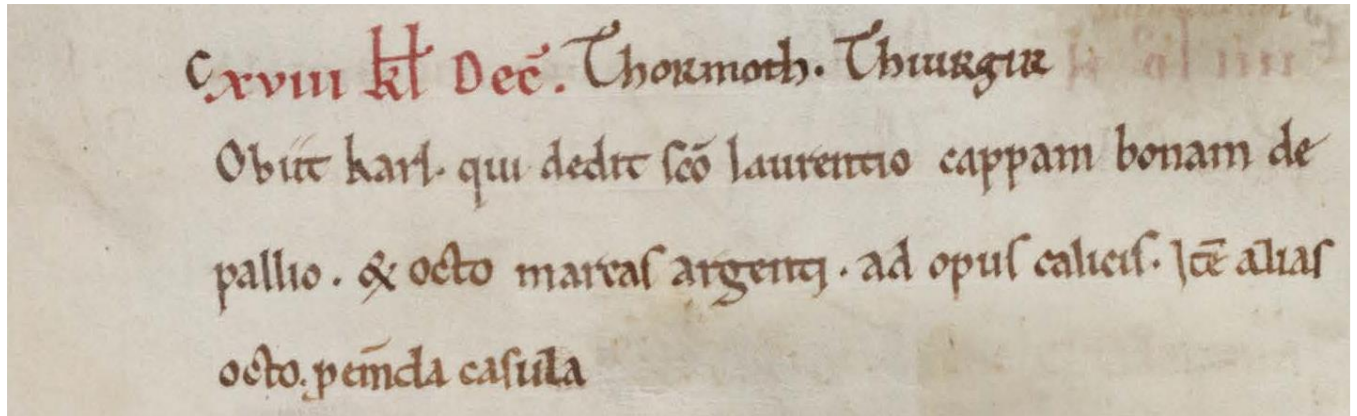
Right: Thott 21 fol. 56r:

Note the straight **t**, down-turned ampersand (as opposed to Scribe T's round up-turned variant) difference in **v** execution and the left leg of **x**, which Scribe T executes as a simple line, as opposed to the ticked foot of Scribe 3, all indicate that this is one and the same scribe.

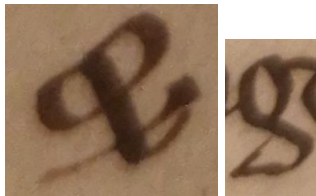
- Hand b/16: This hand shows a high degree of similarity to the first Armarius Hand identified by Kroman, namely Hand b/16, active in the *Necrologium* from 1125–30.²¹³ The bulk of the corrections are the work of this hand (as listed below). It shows a number of features that differentiate it from the more German-influenced hands we find at Lund. The **a** is so trailing-headed that it seems to be falling forward most of the time and the **g** is executed with a clear, though sometimes very angular, figure-eight ductus. The abbreviating suspension mark comes mainly in three forms, showing a mixture of the forms present at Lund. Most telling about this hand is the ampersand, which is constructed in such a way that the bottom end of the shaft, which forms the body of the end-stroke, protrudes far through the leg of the ampersand. This is a highly unusual form amongst the hands localised to Lund and seems to be constrained to Hand b/16 so

²¹³ *Necrologium Lundense*, ed. E. Kroman, p. XVII.

consistent as with Scribe 3. Note how within a short space of five words *Cum autem venissent ad eum* three different variants occur. Note the idiosyncratic ampersand in particular. In comparison, shown below is a sample of Hand b/16 in MH 6.



MH 6 fol. 167v ls. 2–5.

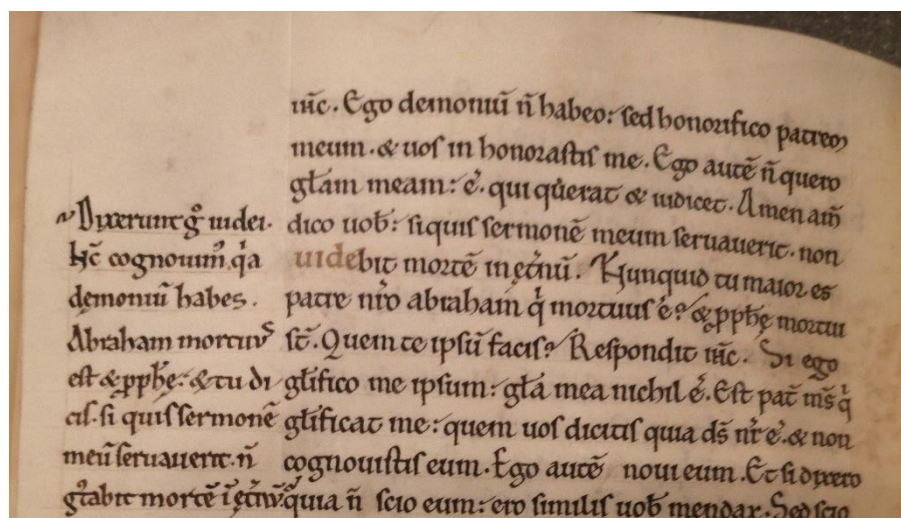


Thott 21 fol. 84v



MH 6 fol. 167v l. 4

The final clearly distinct correcting hand is Hand f/4, the main hand of the *Consuetudines Lundenses*. This hand only rarely intercedes in Thott 21 and in most cases is not afraid to erase sections of the main text and fill in the gaps. The reason why so few corrections by this hand are seen in the manuscript can possibly be found on fol. 130v:



Thott 21 fol. 130v

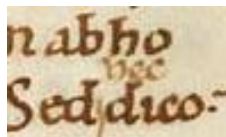
In this section of the Gospel of John Scribe T missed out the phrase:

Dixerunt ergo iudei. Nunc cognouimus quia demonium habes. Abraham mortuus est & prophete; & tu dicis. si quis sermonem meum seruauerit. Non gustabit mortem in eternum.

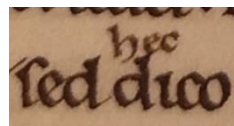
This is likely the result of eye skipping from one *si quis sermonem meum seruauerit* to the next in the copying process. However, when Hand b/16 added the correcting phrase he did not adjust the text in the main text to flow with the correction, i.e. changing the previous *gustabit* to *uidebit*. This interaction between the correcting hands points towards Hand b/16 having corrected before Hand f/4. It is not unreasonable to assume that this goes for the rest of the manuscript, which may offer up the explanation as to why so few Hand f/4 corrections can be found in Thott 21, since Hand b/16 would have completed most of the correctional work by then.

3.5. The corrections of Thott 22, Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21: A complex picture

As mentioned above, whilst Thott 22 can be seen in some ways as a foundational manuscript for Lund, the authority of the manuscript was not entirely absolute. A handful of changes were made to the gospel text by a contemporary hand in order to align it with the version of the gospel text found in C 83. This same corrector also worked in Thott 21 with the same goal in mind.



Thott 22 fol. 169r l. 4.



Thott 21 fol. 124r l. 21

Whilst Thott 22 was therefore not beyond correcting, the fact that it was used as exemplar for Ludwig II 3 and partially for Thott 21 does show that it was a fundamental manuscript. This is especially important due to the fact that by the time Thott 21 was written, C 83 had arrived in Lund and could have served a similar purpose, yet did not.

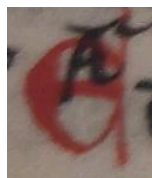
3.5.1. Corrections in Ludwig II 3

The correctional work done in this manuscript differs highly from that of Thott 22 and Thott 21. Four marginal corrections of sections missed out by Scribe A have been added by a

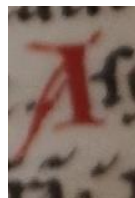
later hand closer to the thirteenth century. The sparse handful of other amendments were done most likely by Scribe A himself. The corrections take the form of very minor interpolations, with only minimal script samples, but there are no indications that this is any other hand than Scribe A.

The manner of these corrections seems to be as non-interventionist as possible, so as not to draw the eye to them. Indeed, they are in most cases so unobtrusive as to fly under the radar of someone actively looking for them. This points towards the retention of Ludwig II 3 as a high-status manuscript by Scribe A. For a complete list of these corrections see Appendix 1. Below a few salient instances will be discussed, as these are able to shed some more light on the nature of the manuscript. Moreover, the corrections seem all to have been made before the copying of Thott 21, as they are all taken on by Scribe T, with but one exception as will be discussed below.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 44r: A on rubricated *E* initial. This is the first contemporary correction in Ludwig II 3 beyond the crossing through of singular words. Instead of the more invasive approach in Thott 21, where the initials are simply overwritten, the case in Ludwig II 3 is more subtle. Since Scribe A was the rubricator for Ludwig II 3, and the correctional **A** does not look like his other majuscule **a**, this may indicate a corrector other than the main scribe, though the sample size is minimal. This correction occurred before the copying of Thott 21, as fol. 36v in that manuscript has *At*.



Ludwig II 3 fol. 44r



Ludwig II 3 fol. 49v

The most intriguing interaction taking place between the gospel manuscripts is seen in the case below.

In chapter 13 of the Gospel of Luke, the text of Ludwig II 3 follows the wording of Matthew 23. This indicates that the exemplar, at least for this section, was a different Vulgate recension than what is found in Thott 22 or C 83.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 109v: *ad te missi sunt*

Thott 21 fol. 98v: correction on erasure: *mittuntur ad te*

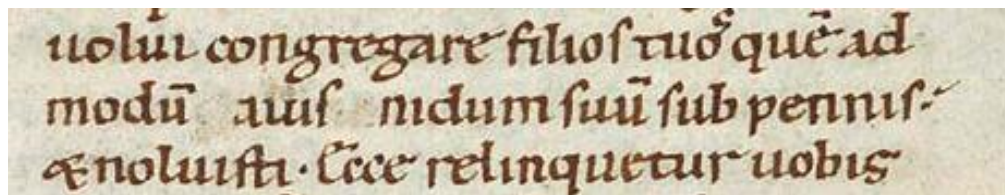
Thott 22 fol. 137v, C 83 fol. 110r: *mittuntur ad te*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 109v: ~~gallina~~ *auis nidum*

Thott 21 fol. 98v, C 83 fol. 110r: *auis nidum*

Thott 22 fol. 137v: *auis nidum*.

However, there is clear erasure surrounding the *auis*, with shadows hinting at *gallina*, and with modifications done to the graphs in *auis*. These seem contemporary to Thott 22, though it is difficult to tell from the poor image available to me.



Thott 22 fol. 137v ls. 14–7: The shadows of erasure before *auis* hint at a *g* with an *a* in the corresponding gap at the other end of the word.

The reason that this seems to point towards a different Vulgate recension emerges in Adolf Jülicher's work on manuscript versions of the four gospels.²¹⁵ This variation, as well as the case of the crossed-through *gallina*, is found in different recensions. As it emerges from Jülicher's edition, the phrasing seen in Ludwig II 3 is rare in his sample of eighteen manuscripts and editions used. The first variation corresponds with the *a te missi sunt* in Codex Usanianus Primus (TCD MS 55), the only recension to record this instance in Jülicher's edition, with the second variation concerning *auis* being restricted to the Codex Aureus Holmiensis (Kungl. Biblioteket Stockholm, A 135). This does not mean that the gospel books in question have any direct connection to those other manuscripts. However, it does indicate different gospel recensions. Only a little further in the text we find the following variation:

Ludwig II 3 fol. 110r l. 2, C 83 fol. 110v l. 5, Thott 21 fol. 99r l. 1: *ne forte*

Thott 22 fol. 138r l. 9: *ne fortio*²¹⁶

Ludwig II 3 fol. 110r ls. 16–7, Thott 21 fol. 99r l. 16: *non habent unde retribuere*

Thott 22 fol. 138r l. 28, C 83 fol. 110v l. 19: *non habent retribuere*

²¹⁵ Matzkow, W. and K. Aland, ed., *Itala: Das Neue Testament III*, 165.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 168. *Fortio* does not appear to be a specific manuscript variation. Jülicher's edition simply states *forte*.

This affects the relationship between Ludwig II 3, Thott 22 and Thott 21. Scribe A, in the course of copying Ludwig II 3, seems to be relying mainly on Thott 22. One must wonder why this variant phrasing occurs in his copying. One may suspect that there may be a somewhat more complex relationship between the manuscripts, with some sections having been written in a direct transmission relationship and some perhaps not. It is, however, inadvisable to draw any firm conclusions from these small samples.

Four instances of later marginal corrections can be found in Ludwig II 3. These are discussed in more detail in the following section regarding corrections of Thott 21. This is due to the fact that Ludwig II 3 is by no means an accurate copy of the Thott 22 gospel text.

3.5.2. *Corrections in Thott 21*

The nature of the corrections themselves shines a light on the relationship between various gospel books at Lund at the time of correction. To this end there is a brief apparatus, folio by folio, of the corrections in Thott 21, grouped by scribe and type (see Appendix 1 for a detailed listing of each correction and the corresponding variants and locations in Thott 22, Ludwig II 3 and C 83).

The corrections in Thott 21 are grouped in four distinct groups for ease of analysis:

1. Corrections made due to mistakes made by the Thott 21 scribe himself in the course of copying. The task of finding and correcting these errors seems to initially have fallen to Hand b/16. However, due to the large amount of unidentified corrections belonging to this category, the numbers may shift drastically if those are assigned to other secure scribal identities. The question of which version of the gospels these corrections used as exemplar is difficult to answer. For the most part the corrections follow the text found in Ludwig II 3, Thott 22 and C 83, with only a handful of differences in the punctuation.

One major difference found is in one of the larger emendations made by Hand b/16, correcting eye skip by Scribe T from from *tua* to *tua* on fol. 105v:

Hand b/16's correction: *fecit quinque mnas. Et huic ait. Et tu esto supra quinque ciuitates. Et **tercius** uenit dicens. Domine; ecce mna tua.*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 116v, C 83 fol. 117r, Thott 22 fol. 146v: *fecit quinque mnas. Et huic ait. Et tu esto supra quinque ciuitates. Et **alter** uenit dicens. Domine; ecce mna tua.*

The other discrepancy can be found on fol. 138r, Scribe 3 correcting in this instance:

Thott 21 fol. 138r: Eye skip from *pater in me est* to *pater in me est*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 150r, Thott 22 fol. 187r: *Uerba que ego loquor uobis; a me ipso non loquor. Pater autem in me manens; ipse facit opera. Non creditis quia ego in patre & pater in me est.*

C 83 fol. 150r: same text, except for *credis* instead of *credit*.

Except for these two variations, the exemplar for the source text of the corrections of the various scribes of the errors made by Scribe T cannot be differentiated between the manuscript versions. This is due to the fact that with such small samples, and relative text conformity, the likelihood of the errors corrected happening to correspond with divergences in the text is extremely low.

2. Corrections made which change the text to the version found in C 83. This is the largest group of corrections, which poses a number of interesting questions. There does not seem to be any particular corrector who is responsible for these changes, with the only differences between some of the corrections in Thott 21 and C 83 being minor variations in punctuation, such as e.g. on fol. 140v & *in illo die me non rogabit quicquam* whereas the C 83 fol. 152v has *Et in illo die. Me non rogabit quicquam*.
3. Corrections made that find no reflection in any of the other manuscripts and which rely on an entirely different recension of the gospels from the ones found in Thott 21, Thott 22, C 83 and Ludwig II 3. The source of these corrections is unclear. The corrections refer to a recension or recensions of the gospels which is not present in any of the manuscripts discussed.

One must be cognisant of the point that the other groupings of corrections may well overlap with this group. This unknown source or sources which give rise to Group 3 possibly reflect, at least in part, a version of the texts present in the manuscripts discussed here. However, since these recensions are known to us, the corrections are grouped accordingly to those manuscripts. The marginal entry on fol. 40r *ut ad impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem. Diuisertem sibi uestimenta mea. Et super uestem meam miserunt sortem*; by Scribe 3 gives the largest divergent section and indicates the existence of an unknown fifth gospel book that follows a different

recension.²¹⁷ The fact that these Group 3 corrections were not carried out by one scribe, who may have changed Thott 21 to suit his own preferred version, but by the others as well, speaks of this unknown, perhaps lost, recension of the gospels as having been present in the scriptorium at the same point in time as the other surviving manuscripts.

4. This group of corrections is perhaps the most important classification of emendations made in Thott 21. They represent changes made to the manuscript which clearly show and prove that the exemplar for Thott 21 was not in fact Thott 22 but Ludwig II 3. This is a complex group of scribal interactions and will be discussed in closer detail, as it is evident that Thott 22 was used at least in parts as exemplar for Thott 21, primarily for the marginal references in the gospels of Mark, Luke and John.

Within this grouping of corrections, it is important to differentiate between errors made by Scribe A in Ludwig II 3 which are corrected, and variations in the gospel text itself which Scribe T copied correctly but were corrected anyway. This is not an exhaustive collection of errors made by Scribe A which Scribe T carried over, since this list is based on the corrections made in Thott 21 and therefore for the most part covers only that which the correctors saw fit to change. Errors and variations which were overlooked by them are generally not listed. Appendix 1 further lists a number of four sub-groups of Group 4, grouping the sources of the corrections. Only a handful of errors made by Scribe A in Ludwig II 3 are corrected in the manuscript by a later hand, errors which were also corrected in Thott 21, but by the contemporary scribes and not noticeably later correctors. If the various scribes in question were changing the Thott 21 copy of the Ludwig II 3 recension of the gospels, what were they changing it to? Of the forty-seven instances of the text of Thott 21 being corrected from a faithful copy of Ludwig II 3, forty-one are emendations to a gospel recension which is indiscernible from C 83 or Thott 22.

The evidence supporting the above statement that Ludwig II 3 served as exemplar for Thott 21, at least for the main text, as well as for most of the marginal references of the Gospel of Matthew, is found in the shared errors these manuscripts contain. Whilst a handful of cases of

²¹⁷ For various recensions of the Gospel of Matthew following a twelfth-thirteenth century manuscript recension, discussing in particular this section of Matthew 27, see Valli, 'Il testo biblico nell'Evangelistario Ambr. A28', pp. 96–8.

eye skip may be shared by scribes working from the same exemplar, the sheer number of these cases stretches the possibility of coincidence far beyond the believable. However, whilst a large part of these corrections in Thott 21 are indeed corrections of errors made by Scribe A in Ludwig II 3, such as eye skipping sentences and even paragraphs, either omitting or doubling them, a large proportion are also formed by simple variation of text such as:

Thott 21 fol. 30v: *illos* on erasure

Ludwig II 3 fol. 37v: *eorum*

Thott 22 fol. 52v, C 83 fol. 44v: *illos*

However, not all such variation is corrected:

Ludwig II 3 fol. 129v, Thott 21 fol. 118v: *Quem scripsit moyses in lege et prophetis*

Thott 22 fol. 162r: *Quem scripsit moyses in lege et prophete*

These instances highlight a complicated issue. It is clear that Ludwig II 3 served as exemplar to Thott 21 for the most part, at least for the main text of the gospels. What follows is the question of what the exemplar to Ludwig II 3 was. It stands to reason that Thott 22 would be the most likely candidate for this role. The comparison of *Capitulare Evangeliorum* bears this out, as does the concordance of the main text of the gospels. However, the canon tables and marginal references show some more major differences, which may be put down to scribal error, though it would be inadvisable to completely dismiss these cases with such an ad hoc explanation. The corrections of G4 do almost entirely follow the gospel recensions found in Thott 22 and C 83. Even though the gospel recensions of C 83 and Thott 22 are so different, the number of these instances shows in this example that even if the general gospel recensions are rather divergent, the amount of variation which can occur in the small space of a few words, or even phrases, is minimal. This is why of all the G4 corrections only seven instances occur where the corrections of the group G4 do not agree with both the Thott 22 and C 83 gospel recensions:

3.5.3. Corrections along the C 83 recension

Thott 21 fol. 36r: & (erasure) *uenimus*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 43r: & *non uenimus*

Thott 22 fol. 59v: & ~~non~~ *uenimus*

C 83 fol. 50r: & *uenimus*

This is some a rather anomalous correction. Not only was Thott 21 edited, but Thott 22 was also amended as well.

Thott 21 fol. 141v: The section of Hand f/4 on erasure in Thott 21 follows the C 83 version. Thott 22 is very close to this, with a difference in word order. Ludwig II 3 has something else entirely, which would fit in exactly underneath the erasure in Thott 21. Text in bold is Hand f/4 correcting:

Thott 21 fol. 141v: *Ut dilectio **qua** dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in **ipsis ec cum dixisset Ihc egressus est cum discipulis**...* The *ec* is meant to be *Hec*, with the capital *H* missing at the left margin, unlike in Thott 22 and C 83.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 154r: *Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in ipsis. Egressus est Ihc cum discipulis...*

C 83 fol. 153v: *Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in ipsis. Hec cum dixisset Ihc. Egressus est cum discipulis...*

Thott 22 fol. 192r: *Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in ipsis. Hec cum dixisset; egressus est Ihc cum discipulis...*

3.5.4. Corrections aligning text to Ludwig II 3 recension

Thott 21 fol. 63v: Intralinear *bi*, *habebitis*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 73v: *habebitis*

Thott 22 fol. 94r, C 83 fol. 77v: *habetis*

Thott 21 fol. 83v: On erasure: *condemnare* (Hand 4/f)

Ludwig II 3 fol. 94v: *condemnare*

Thott 22 fol. 118v, C 83 fol. 96r: *condempnare*

3.5.5. Correction to Thott 22 recension

Thott 21 fol. 75v: Intralinear *multitudo*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 87: No *multitudo*

Thott 22 fol. 109v: *multitudo*

C 83 fol. 89r: *multitude*

Thott 21 fol. 100r: erasure *imponit*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 111r: *conponit*

Thott 22 fol. 139v: *imponit*

C 83 fol. 111v: *inponit*

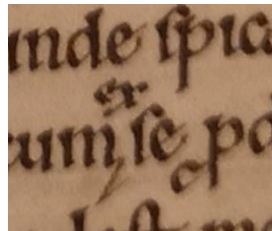
Thott 21 fol. 136v: Eye skip by Scribe A carried over into Thott 21 by Scribe 3.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 148r: jumped from *misit me* to *misit me*. This eye skip led to the omission of *Et qui uidet me. Uidet eum qui misit me* the marginal correction in Thott 21.

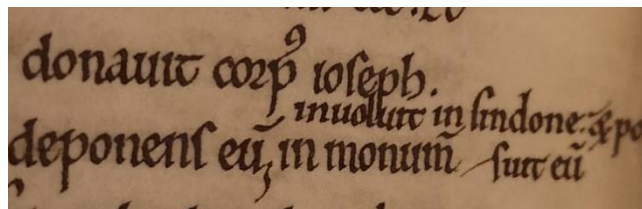
Thott 22 fol. 185r: *Et qui uidet me. Uidet eum qui misit me*

C 83 fol. 148r: slight variation in word order: *Et qui uidet me. Uidet eum qui me misit*

It becomes clear that there are several processes at work. One notable issue is that at least one of the correctors has changed the text to follow the version found in C 83. Sometimes, however, the corrections, whilst close to C 83, are not always perfectly concordant with that version. The instances of amendments are colour-coded below in order to group them clearly in a visually striking manner. The two columns on the right-hand side, simply termed ‘hook’ and ‘line’, are intralinear corrections, so numerous and clearly denoted by the diacritic used.



Thott 21 fol. 49v: 20 corrections use this diacritic, warranting their own subgrouping.



Thott 21 fol. 66v: Note the hooked diacritic between *eum* and *in*. This correction shows that the many intralinear corrections with script samples too small to firmly ascribe to one hand or another using this same diacritic are those of Hand b/16, as the use of the distinct ampersand in this example shows.

What emerges from the tables below is a complex picture. It is striking that no type of correction is entirely confined to one particular hand. This tells us that the scribes, for instance dealing with the direct comparison between Thott 21, and its exemplar, were not confined to simply ensuring that the copied text followed the exemplar. They all took a hand in the various changes shown by Groups 2 and 3.

Below, the corrections grouped according to the four groups discussed above by scribe:

Hand b/16: **G1** (x14–5) **G2** (x7) **G3** (x18–20) **G4** (x9): 48–51 (includes Hook diacritic)

Hand f/4: **G1** (x2) **G2** (x4–6) **G3** (x2–3) **G4** (x4): 12–5

Scribe 3: **G1**(x5) **G2** (x2) **G3** (x3–4) **G4** (x6): 16–7

Line diacritic **G1** (x1) **G2** (x9) **G3** (x8) **G4** (x4): 22

Unidentified: **G1**(x25) **G2** (x55) **G3** (x30) **G4** (x29): 135 A large number of these are impossible to identify, such as erasures, deletions, or punctuation changes.

Total number of corrections: **G1** (47), **G2** (79), **G3** (65), **G4** (52)

(?): The table below indicates that the correction is likely identified with the correct scribe, but sample size necessitates caution in absolute attribution. Numbers in brackets give the multiples of the same correctional group on the same folio.

Folio	Scribe T	Hand b/16/Armarius	Scribe H	Scribe 3	Hook	Line	Unidentified
1R							
1V							
2R							
2V							
3R							
3V							
4R							
4V							
5R							
5V				G4			
6R							G1
6V							
7R							
7V							
8R							
8V							G2
9R				G4			
9V							

10R							
10V				G2			
11R							
11V							G1/G2(x3)
12R							
12V				G3 (?)		G1	
13R				G3		G3	G3 (Thin Pen)
13v							
14R							
14V							
15R						G2	
15V							
16R							
16V		G4 (x2)					
17R							G1/G2(x2)
17V							
18R							G3
18V							G2
19R							G3
19V				G1			
20R							
20V				G4			
21R							
21V							
22R							
22V							
23R							
23V				G1			
24R							
24V				G2			
25R							G3
25V							
26R							
26V				G4			
27R							
27V							
28R			G4				
28V							G2
29R							G2
29V							
30R				G1			G4
30V							G4
31R							
31V							
32R							
32V				G4			G2
33R							

33V							
34R							G4
34V							
35R							G4
35V							
36R							G4
36V							
37R							G2
37V							
38R							
38V							
39R			G2(?)				G2/G2 (thin pen)
39V							G1
40R				G3			
40V							
41R							G2
41V							G3 (thin pen)
42R							
42V							
43R							
43V							
44R							
44V							
45R							
45V							G3
46R					G3		
46V				G3	G3		G1/G3
47R		G3					
47V							
48R							G1
48V		G3					
49R							
49V		G1/G3				G3	
50R							
50V		G1/G3					
51R		G1					
51V		G3					G2/G3
52R						G2	G1
52V					G3		G3/G2
53R							G2
53V							G3/G2
54R							G1
54V							G2
55R		G2					
55V							G2
56R							G1/G3/G4

56V							G3/ G1
57R							G1 (x2)
57V							G1
58R						G2	G1
58V						G3	
59R							G1
59V							
60R							
60V							G2
61R					G3		G3
61V					G3		
62R							
62V							
63R							
63V						G4	G1/ G3
64R		G1					
64V							
65R					G3/ G2		
65V							
66R					G2		G3
66V		G1					
67R							G2/ G1
67V							G1
68R							
68V							
69R							
69V							
70R							
70V							
71R							
71V							
72R							
72V							
73R							
73V							
74R							
74V							G4
75R							G1
75V							G4
76R							G1
76V							
77R							
77V							
78R							G2
78V							
79R							G2
79V			G3				
80R					G2		

80V							
81R							G2
81V							
82R							
82V			G2(?)				
83R							G2
83V			G4		G1		
84R							
84V		G4					
85R							
85V							
86R		G1(?)G3(?)					
86V							
87R							G2/G4
87V							G2 (x2)
88R							
88V		G1			G1		
89R							
89V							G1
90R							G3/G2
90V							
91R							G3
91V						G3	
92R						G3	
92V							
93R				G1			G2
93V		G1					
94R							G3/ G2
94V							
95R							
95V							
96R							
96V							G3
97R							
97V							
98R							G2
98V			G3(?)				G4
99R						G2	G4 (x2)
99V							
100R						G2	G4
100V							G3
101R							
101V							G4
102R							G2
102V							
103R					G2		
103V					G2		G4
104R		G1					G4

104V							
105R							
105V		G1					
106R					G3		G4
106V							G2
107R							
107V							G2 (x2)/ G4 (x2)
108R							
108V							G4
109R							
109V							
110R							
110V			G1				
111R							G4
111V						G2	G1
112R			G2				
112V							G4
113R							
113V							
114R		G3					G2
114V		G3					G2
115R							
115V							
116R							
116V							
117R							G4
117V						G4	
118R		G3 (?)					
118V							G2/ G4
119R							G4
119V							
120R							
120V							
121R					G3		
121V							
122R							G3/G2 (x2)
122V							
123R							
123V							
124R						G3 (x2)	G2
124V							G2
125R							G3
125V					G2		G3 (x2)
126R							G2
126V		G3					
127R							G2 (x2)

127V		G4			G4		
128R							
128V							
129R					G2		G3/ G1
129V		G4					G2
130R		G4					
130V		G1 (x2)	G1				
131R					G4		G2
131V							G2
132R		G4					
132V			G4				
133R							
133V							G2
134R			G3				G2
134V							G3
135R						G2/ G4	G4
135V						G2 (x2)	
136R					G3		G2
136V							G4
137R							
137V							
138R		G1					
138V							
139R							
139V				G4			
140R					G3		
140V			G2				G3
141R							G1
141V			G2/ G4				G4
142R				G1			G4
142V							G2
143R			G2				G2
143V						G4	
144R							G2
144V							G1
145R							
145V							G3
146R							G3 (x2)
146V						G3	G1
147R							
147V							

Table 4: Corrections in Thott 21

The analysis of the corrections in the gospel recension of Thott 21 has shown that the main text is seemingly based on that of Ludwig II 3 and not that of Thott 22. However, the issue of the

marginal references complicates the picture. Furthermore, it will be shown below that the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* in Thott 21 were copied from Thott 22 and not Ludwig II 3. Thott 21 therefore seems to be an amalgamation of these manuscripts. The process which led to the decisions being made by the individual scribes regarding which manuscript to use as exemplar is intriguing. Scribe 3, who was responsible for the marginal references of most of Thott 21, as discussed above, used Thott 22 as exemplar, which will be explained in greater detail in the section dealing with marginal references below.

3.5.6. *The 'Helmarshausen Pages' in Ludwig II 3*

The comparison of the four respective folios written by the Helmarshausen scribe in Ludwig II 3 with the other manuscripts tells an interesting story. Since Thott 21 was being written with multiple exemplars in the scriptorium, one must ask the question whether there was any awareness by the scribes working on the manuscript, Scribe T and Scribe 3, of how the different gospel books varied in text and importance to the Lund scriptorium, as the correctors clearly expressed some form of such an awareness.

The evidence strongly indicates that the art was created at Helmarshausen, since the gospel text used on the verso of the folios follows a recension which seems close to C 83, as opposed to Thott 22. Below the variations of these four folios are highlighted. As is shown, it emerges that whilst the page was copied faithfully from Ludwig II 3 into Thott 21 in the case of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, the equivalent folio in the Gospel of Mark has been copied from Thott 22.

Matthew:

Marginal references:

The first marginal references of the gospel of Matthew show these differences:

Ludwig II 3, Thott 21: Missing Mat. 1

Thott 22: Mat. 1

C 83: Mat. 1,

Luc. xiiii(iii)

Ioh. 1.

Thott 21 fol. 5v: marginal addition *de rachab*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 10v: no *de rachab*

C 83 fol. 18v, Thott 22 fol. 20v: *de rachab*

Thott 21 fol. 5v: *Achaz autem Ezechiam.*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 10v: *Achaz autem Ezechiam*

Thott 22 fol. 20v, C 83 fol. 18v: *Achaz autem geuit Ezechiam*

Thott 21 fol. 5v: *in transmigrationem babilonis*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 10v, C 83 fol. 18v: *in transmigrationem babilonis*

Thott 22 fol. 20v: *in transmigratione babilonis*

Mark

Marginal references:

Since it is clear that this folio in Thott 21 was copied from Thott 22 and not Ludwig II 3, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that the marginal references are the same in the two manuscripts, except for the sixth, Ioh. v/x. It is worth noting the red alternates in brackets are not copied in Thott 21. Ludwig II 3, however, is missing the first sixteen references.

Thott 21 fol. 45v	Thott 22 fols. 69v–70r	Ludwig II 3 fols. 52v–53r	C 83 fols. 58r–59r
Mar. i	Mat. (Mar <i>c</i>) i		Mar. i
Solus	Solus (<i>x</i>)		Mat. c iii (<i>ii</i>)
Mar. ii	Mar. ii		Luc. L xx
Mat. v iii	Mat. v iii (<i>i</i>)		Mar./Mat. v iii (<i>i</i>)
Luc. v ii	Luc. v ii		Luc. v ii
Ioh. v	Ioh. x		Ioh. x
Mar. iii	Mar. iii		Mar. iii
Mat. v iiiii	Mat. v iiiii (<i>vi</i>)		Mat. v iiiii (<i>vi</i>)
Mar. iiiii	Mar. iiiii		Mar. iiiii
Mat. x i	Mat. x i (<i>i</i>)		Mat. x i (<i>i</i>)
Luc. x	Luc. x		Luc. x
Ioh. x ii	Ioh. x ii		Ioh. x ii
Mar. v	Mar. v		Mar. v
Mat. x iiiii	Mat. x iiiii (<i>i</i>)		Mat. x iiiii (<i>i</i>)
Luc. x iii	Luc. x iii		Luc. x iii
Ioh. x v	Ioh. x v		Ioh. x v
Mar. v i	Mar. v i	Mar. v i (Helm.)	Mar. v i
Mat. x v	Mat. x v (<i>ii</i>)	Mat. x v (<i>ii</i>) (Helm.)	Mat. x v (<i>ii</i>)
Luc. x v	Luc. x v	Luc. x v (Helm.)	Luc. x v
Mar. v ii	Mar. v ii	Mar. v ii (Helm.)	Mar. v ii

Mat. x v ii	Mat. x v ii (vi)	Mat. x v ii (vi) (Helm.)	Mat. x v ii (vi)
Mar. v iii	Mar. v iii	Mar. v ii	Mar. v iii
Mat. x v iii	Mat. x v iii (iii)	Mat. ii x v ii	Mat. x v iii (iii)
Ioh. xx v i	Ioh. xx v i	Mar. v iii	Ioh. xx v i
Mar. v iiii	Mar. v iiii	Mat. iiii x v iii	Mar. v iiii
Mat. xx	Mat. xx (vi)	Ioh. xx v i	Mat. xx (vi)
Mar. x	Mar. x	Mar. i x	Mar. x
Mat. xx i	Mat. xx i (ii)	Mat. vi xx	Mat. x iii (ii)
Luc. xxx ii	Luc. xxx ii	Mar. x	Luc. xxx ii
		Mat. ii xx i	
		Luc. xxx ii	

Table 5: Comparison of marginal references in Thott 21 fol. 45v

Thott 21 fol. 45v: Erasure between *Ecce* and *mitto*.

Thott 22 fol. 69v: *Ecce ego mitto*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 52v, C 83 fol. 58v: *Ecce mitto*

Thott 21 fol. 45v: l. 2: *uiam tuam ante te*

Thott 22 fol. 69v: *uiam tuam ante te*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 52v, C 83 fol. 58v: *uiam tuam*

Thott 21 fol. 45v: *Ueni& fortiori*. **T** stroke may have been changed and included in this ampersand; very skilled correcting work.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 52v, Thott 22 fol. 69v, C 83 fol. 58v: *Uenit*

Thott 21 fol. 45v: *ab iohanne*

Thott 22 fol. 69v: *ab iohanne*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 52v, C 83 fol. 58v: *a iohanne*

Luke

The ‘Helmarshausen page’ of Ludwig II 3 contains no marginal references, so no comparison of this part of the text is possible. The first two chapters of the Gospel of Luke do not have many references in general. It is worth noting that Ludwig II 3 is missing the first five references from Thott 22 fol. 111r, only commencing again with Luc. vi, something which Thott 21 does not do, as evidenced on fol. 77r.

Thott 21 fol. 73v l. 3: *assecuto*

Thott 22 fol. 106r, C 83 fol. 86v: *assecuto*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v: *assequito*

Thott 21 fol. 73v l.4: *omnia*. The *a* looks like a correction. A **-bus** abbreviation might have fit in the space before.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v, Thott 22 fol. 106, C 83 fol. 86v: *omnibus*

Thott 21 fol. 73v l. 10: *incedentes*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v, C 83 fol. 86v: *incedentes*

Thott 22 fol. 106r: *incedentibus*

Thott 21 fol. 73v l. 14: *fungeretur Zacharias. in ordine*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v, C 83 fol. 86v: *fungeretur Zacharias. in ordine*

Thott 22 fol. 106r: *fungeretur. in ordine*

Thott 21 fol. 73v l. 16: *sacerdotu forte exit ut incensum poneret. Ingressus*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v, C 83 fol. 86v: *fungeretur Zacharias. in ordine*

Thott 22 fol. 106r: *sacerdotu. surrexit ut incensum poneret. Ingressus*

Thott 21 fol. 73v ls. 17–8: *multitudo populi erat*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v, C 83 fol. 86v: *multitudo populi erat*

Thott 22 fol. 106r: *multitudo erat populi*

Thott 21 fol. 73v l. 22: *oratio*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v: *oratio*

Thott 22 fol. 106v, C 83 fol. 86v: *deprecatio*

Thott 21 fol. 73v l. 24: *erit tibi gaudium*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 84v: *erit tibi gaudium*

Thott 22 fol. 106v, C 83 fol. 86v: *erit gaudium tibi*

John

The marginal references in this gospel are a curious case. Unlike the other ‘Helmarshausen pages’ in Ludwig II 3, the incipit of John and the verso page were not given the references by

the Helmarshausen scribe. Instead, Scribe T added the references at the Incipit and the following side of the folio.

The comparison of this folio across the four manuscripts shows an unclear picture. The first error of the repeated *mundus* in Ludwig II 3 is not copied over to Thott 21, whereas the other two variations are.

Thott 21 fol. 117v l. 10: *mundus per ipsum factus*

Thott 22 fol. 160v, C 83 fol. 128v: *mundus per ipsum factus*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 128v: *mundus per ipsum mundus factus*

Thott 21 fol. 117v: line four from lower margin: ~~nisi~~

Thott 22 fol. 160v: No *nisi*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 128v, C 83 fol. 128v: *nisi*

Thott 21 fol. 117v: Intralinear *est*

Thott 22 fol. 160v, C 83 fol. 128v: *est*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 128v: no *est*

Furthermore, the marginal references in Ludwig II 3 fol. 129r are missing Ioh. x, Mat. viii, Mar. ii and Luc. v ii. These are not lacking on fol. 118r of Thott 21, showing that these were copied from a different source, most likely Thott 22. The red alternate numbers are, however, missing in Thott 21 as opposed to Ludwig II 3, which has them.

Moreover, Ludwig II 3 lacks the last twenty-two references on fol. 159r found in both Thott 21 and Thott 22. Instead, the only reference found, the last two in Ludwig II 3, are:

Thott 21 fol. 146v/ Thott 22 fol. 198r: *Et nemo audiebat* Ioh. cc xx iiiii

Solus

Ludwig II 3 fol. 159r: *Et nemo audiebat* Ioh. cc xx iii

Luc. x cc

The aspect and nature of the hand adding these references speak of a different impetus that gave rise to them, if we compare them to previous references. The exemplar for Thott 21's marginal references at this point must have been Thott 22, as will be discussed below, since

such a large number of references are missing from Ludwig II 3. C 83 was not used to supplement these, as those references show stark differences to the other manuscripts. A clear example of this is Ludwig II 3 fol. 123v. The text lacks Ioh. c L xxx iiii, which both Thott 22 fol. 154v and Thott 21 fol. 112v have.

3.5.7. *Corrections painting a more complex picture*

Beyond the instance of correction in Thott 22 mentioned above, two more striking interventions can be found:

Thott 21 fol. 19v: *seminatus*. The **s** is on an erasure, as one can see the shadow of the **m** beneath.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 25v: *seminatum*

Thott 22 fol. 38r: *seminatus*, changed to *seminatum*. The **-us** abbreviation is clearly visible beneath the bar drawn on top.

C 83 fol. 32v: *seminatus*.

However, it is worth noting, that just three lines above *seminatus*, we find *parabolam* in Ludwig II 3, with Thott 21 and Thott 22 having the same form. However, C 83 shows the plural form *parabolas*.

Thott 21 fol. 36r: erasure in l. 3 between & and *uenimus*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 43r: & *non uenimus*

Thott 22 fol. 59v: & ~~non~~ *uenimus*

C 83 fol. 50r: & *uenimus*

Whilst the first correction seems to be following the C 83 recension, the second does not. When and why these changes were made, and most importantly by whom, is difficult to tell. Regarding the correction in Thott 22 highlighted above (in the Thott 22 section), that emendation points towards at least one scribe acting on the urge to — in a sense — ‘standardise’ the recensions. However, since these interventions are so few and far between, the sporadic nature of them does not speak of any actual concerted effort to that end.

Thott 21 fol. 28v: Correction on erasure, *Turba autem*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 35v: *Turbe (e caudate) autem*

Thott 22 fol. 50r, C 83 fol. 42r: *Turba autem*

Thott 21 fol. 48r, l. 21: *mitter&*. Final *e* of *mittere* changed to ampersand. Likely the same correcting hand as the correcting ampersand on fol. 45v.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 55v, C 83 fol. 61v: *mitteret*

Thott 22 fol. 73r: *mittere*

This is one of the very few instances where the correction takes place in order to shift the version from one closer to Thott 22 to the Ludwig II 3 or C 83 recensions.

Thott 21 fol. 53v: *est* (erasure before word)

Ludwig II 3 fol. 61v: *est*

Thott 22 fol. 80v: *abest*

C 83 fol. 67r: *abest*

This is an instance where one may observe two different corrections overlaying each other. One corrector may have changed the *est* of Ludwig II 3 to a more preferred *abest*, followed by one of the other correctors eliding the previous correction. However, as with so many of these individual cases regarding erasures, it may simply be impossible to tell.

Thott 21 fol. 104v: erasure after **m** in *Omnia*. The error in Ludwig II 3 may have caused Scribe T to make a similar mistake. However, since the **n** is not a correction, he did not copy the same error as it is found in Ludwig II 3.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 115v: *Omnisa*

Thott 22 fol. 144v: *Omnia*

C 83 fol. 115v: *Omnia*. Erasure of the last graph, and **a**, and the second to last graph is changed to an **a**, making it *omnia*. This may possibly have been a correction of *omnisa* as well.

Thott 21 fol. 119r: This marginal correction, whilst showing similarities with Hand b/16, such as the trailing-headed **a** and mostly rounded **t** differs from the other correcting hands of Thott 21. The long **s** differs in design, and most noticeably the feet of the minims are far sharper in execution than anything Hand b/16 tends to write. The breaking of graphs is quite noticeable, e.g. the **u** in *impleuerunt*, where the graph consists of two clear minims connected with flicks of the pen, highly reminiscent of Hand c/19 in MH 6 fol. 182v (see more on these strong similarities below).

Thott 21 fol. 126v: Marginal late addition of an entry not in Ludwig II 3 fol. 137r or Thott 22 fol. 171r. A very similar hand made the same addition in C 83 fol. 137v, and erased the *enim*

in *Caro enim meam*. Whilst the dating of the hands may be similar, they are two different hands.

Thott 22 fol. 174v: Marginal addition of *scripturas* in an insecure and unprofessional-looking hand. Since Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21 both do not contain this error, we can assume that the correction was made before the copying of those manuscripts.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 139v, Thott 21 fol. 128v; C 83 fol. 139v: *scripturas*

Thott 21 fol. 138v: *Pacem relinquo uobis; pacem meam do uobis. Quo* is a correction on erasure. This is an instance where Thott 21 follows the Thott 22 fol. 188r/C 83 fol. 150v recension more closely than Ludwig II 3, since they have the same word order as Thott 21. The order of the phrases is reversed in Ludwig II 3.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 150v: *Pacem meam uobis; pacem reliquo uobis*.

Thott 21 fol. 107v: *sequis*. **i** changed to **e**, abbreviation mark, but not the usual suspension, for **n**, changing the word to *sequens*. The **i** would not have to have been changed, yet it was. Perhaps a case of two different correctors, one not understanding the abbreviation in question. Ludwig II 3 fol. 118v: *sequis*, intralinear *en* above *i*, no *punctus delens* or anything denoting the **i** as being incorrect. This correction in Ludwig II 3 is as non-interventionist as the other contemporary ones. This is the only case where the intralinear corrections were not copied over to Thott 21.

Thott 22 fol. 149r, C 83 fol. 118v: *sequens*

From the evidence presented thus far it emerges that Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21 have in fact a much closer relationship to each other than either has to Thott 22, at least regarding the main text of the gospels. The directionality of transmission, from Ludwig II 3 to Thott 21, and not the other way around, is shown clearly by the correctional work done. However, the correctional analysis relies primarily on the main text of the gospels. The following discussion of the marginal references, the canon tables and *Capitulare Evangeliorum* will show a somewhat more nuanced and less clearly delineated stemma than a simple one such as:

Thott 22

I

Ludwig II 3

I

Thott 21

3.5.8. *Marginal references*

The next part of the analysis of the relationship of textual transmission between the three gospel books concerns the marginal references of the Eusebian apparatus. Due to the large number of entries, especially cross-referenced between three manuscripts (for the Gospel of Matthew alone almost 3,000), the sample size is restricted to the references of the Gospel of Matthew, and a section of the Gospel of John. The references in the Gospel of Matthew are the only ones written by Scribe T and are compared to Thott 22 and the references in Ludwig II 3 written by Scribe A. Conversely, the references in the Gospel of John offer an example of Scribe 3's work, which is then compared to Scribe T's work in Ludwig II 3. Furthermore, as will be shown below, the marginal references of the Gospel of Matthew in Thott 21 contain perhaps a critical transition in the scribal process, namely a switch of exemplar from Ludwig II 3 to Thott 22.

The table below (Table 6) exemplifies the complexity of ascertaining which sections of the text recorded in Thott 21 stem from Ludwig II 3 and which from Thott 22. Highlighted sections show readings which disagree with the other two in the same bracket. As is established in the section dealing with the corrections of Thott 21, the main text of the gospels seems to stem almost entirely from Ludwig II 3. However, the marginal references complicate this already somewhat confusing picture even more.

Out of the 933 individual references in Thott 22 (including *solus* in the entry count) the table below shows the variety of divergences of Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21. Both manuscripts are not consistent in the copying of the red alternate numbers, as will be discussed in relevant instances below. A high proportion of these are missing in this examined section in Ludwig II 3, though Thott 21 is not consistent either, for which reason I do not count the varying lack of them in the table.

One has to be aware that there are two exemplars which are being used during the copying process of the marginal references of the Gospel of Matthew. Delineating where and when which was used, and to what degree, will allow for closer insight in the roles which were ascribed to these manuscripts by the scribes themselves.

Furthermore, the weight of variances must be measured relative to one another. Discrepancies of minim count, such as **iii** or **iiii**, if occurring, are relatively likely to be simple scribal errors and do not necessarily say much about the relation between the manuscripts during the copying procedure. Instance 75 sees Scribe T miscounting an **viii** as **ix**. The manuscript used as a source for this miscalculation could be either of the exemplars. These types of instances will therefore not be factored into the quantitative results below. However, the opposite case weighs

differently, with the directionality of error transmission reversed. The simple scribal errors by Scribe A, such as numbers 108–10, are not carried over by Scribe T. It is highly unlikely that the scribe would be so firm in his Eusebian apparatus as to recognise such errors, as evidenced in his other copying mistakes.

Cases of information which is lacking in one of the exemplars and is nevertheless found in Thott 21 are the most telling regarding the scribes' source of information. One may be able to tell which exemplar was preferred over the other for either reasons of access or relative importance. Entries highlighted in yellow indicate the divergent entry from the other two in the same bracket. Those marked in green indicate references where Thott 21 follows Thott 22 and not Ludwig II 3.

	Ludwig II 3	Thott 21	Thott 22
1	Ioh. L xxx iii	Ioh. L xxx iii	Fol. 6r: Ioh. L xix iii
2	Mat. x v iii	Mat. x v iii	Fol. 8r: Mat. x iii
3	Fol. 13v: Marc. x (ii)	Fol. 8r: Marc. x (iii)	Fol. 24r: Marc. x (ii)
4	Fol. 15v: Mat. x L ii	Fol. 10r: Mat. x L ii	Fol. 26v: Mat. x L i
5	Fol. 16r: Luc. c x c i	Fol. 11r: Luc. c L c i	Fol. 28v: Luc. c x c i
6	Fol. 18r: Mat. L x v iii	Fol. 12v: Mat. L x iii	Fol. 29v: Mat. L x iii
7	Fol. 18r: Luc. c v x (v)	Fol. 12v: Mat. L x v (ii)	Fol. 29v: Mat. L x v (ii)
8	Fol. 18r: Mat. L x v	Fol. 12v: Mat. L x v i	Fol. 29v: Mat. L x v i
9	Fol. 18r: Luc. c L xx ii	Fol. 12v: Luc. L x v i	Fol. 29v: Luc. L x v i
10	Fol. 18r: Marc. x v (ii)	Fol. 12v: Marc. x v (v ii)	Fol. 29v: Marc. x v (ii)
11	Fol. 19r: Mat. L xx	Fol. 13v: Mat. L xx v	Fol. 30v: Mat. L xx
12	Fol. 19r: Marc. xx (i)	Fol. 13v: Marc. xx i (ii)	Fol. 30v: Marc. xx (i)
13	Fol. 19r: Mat. L xx i	Fol. 13v: Missing	Fol. 31r: Mat. L xx i
14	Fol. 19r: Marc. xx (i)	Fol. 13v: Missing	Fol. 31r: Marc. xx (i)
15	Fol. 19r: Luc. xxx v iii	Fol. 13v: Missing	Fol. 31r: Luc. xxx v iii
16	Fol. 19r: Ioh. xxx v iii	Fol. 13v: Missing	Fol. 31r: Ioh. xxx v iii
17	Fol. 21r: Mat. L xxx v iii	Fol. 15v: Mat. L xxx v iii	Fol. 33r: Mat. L xxx v iii
18	Fol. 21v: Luc. x L	Fol. 16r: Luc. c x L	Fol. 33v: Luc. c x L
19	Fol. 22r: Mat. xx v ii	Fol. 16r: Mat. x c v ii	Fol. 33v: Mat. x c v ii
20	Fol. 22v: Luc. L x v iii	Fol. 16v: Luc. L x v iii	Fol. 34r: Luc. L x v iii
21	Fol. 23r: Mat. cc x	Fol. 17r: Mat. c x	Fol. 35r: Mat. c x
22	Fol. 23r: Ioh. L xxx v iii	Fol. 17r: Ioh. L xxx v ii	Fol. 35r: Ioh. L xxx v ii
23	Fol. 23v: Mat. c x v	Fol. 17v: Missing	Fol. 35v: Mat. c x v
24	Fol. 24r: Luc. xx v i	Fol. 18r: Luc. c xx v i	Fol. 36r: c xx v i
25	Fol. 24r: Mat. c xx i	Fol. 18r: Mat. c xx	Fol. 36r: Mat. c xx i
26	Fol. 24r: Mat. c xx ii	Fol. 18r: Mat. xx ii	Fol. 36r: Mat. c xx ii
27	Fol. 24r: Mat. c xx iii/Solus	Fol. 18v: Missing	Fol. 36v: Mat. c xx iii
28	Fol. 24v: Mat. c xxx v i	Fol. 18v: Mat. c xx v i	Fol. 36v: Mat. c xx v i
29	Fol. 25v: Mat. c xxx ii	Fol. 19r-v: Missing	Fol. 37v: Mat. c xxx ii
30	Fol. 25v: Luc. L xxx i	Fol. 19r-v: Missing	Fol. 37v: Luc. L xxx i
31	Fol. 29r: Mat. c L v i	Fol. 22v: Missing	Fol. 42r: Mat. c L v i
32	Fol. 29r: Luc. L v ii (v)	Fol. 22v: (v)	Fol. 42r: Luc. L v ii (v)
33	Fol. 30v: Mat. c L xx i	Fol. 24r: c L xx ii	Fol. 44r: c L xx i

34	Fol. 31r: Mat. c L xx ii	Fol. 24v: Mat. c iii	Fol. 44r: Mat. c L xx ii
35	Fol. 31r: Marc. L xx v ii	Fol. 24v: Missing	Fol. 44r: Marc. L xx v ii
36	Fol. 31r: Luc. x c v iii	Fol. 24v: Luc. L xx i	Fol. 44r: Luc. x c v iii
37	Fol. 31v: Mat. c L xx v ii/Solus	Fol. 25r: Missing	Fol. 45v: Mat. c L xx v ii/Solus
38	Fol. 32r: Mat. c L xx v iii	Fol. 25v: Missing	Fol. 45v: Mat. c L xx v iii
39	Fol. 32r: Marc. x c v	Fol. 25v: Missing	Fol. 45v: Marc. x c v iii
40	Fol. 32r: Luc. c ii	Fol. 25v: Missing	Fol. 45v: Luc. x c v ii
41	Fol. 33v: Luc. cc x v i	Fol. 27r: Luc. cc x v	Fol. 47v: Luc. cc x v i
42	Fol. 33v: Mat. c x c	Fol. 26v: Mat. x c x	Fol. 47v: Mat. c x c
43	Fol. 35v: Luc. cc xxx iii	Fol. 28v: Luc. cc x iii	Fol. 50r: Luc. cc xx iii
44	Fol. 37r: Luc. cc x L i	Fol. 30r: Luc. cc L x L i	Fol. 51v: Luc. cc x L i
45	Fol. 38v: Missing	Fol. 31v: Mat. cc xx iii	Fol. 53v: Mat. cc xx iii
46	Fol. 38v: Missing	Fol. 31v: Mat. c xxx i	Fol. 53v: Mat. c xxx i
47	Fol. 39r: Luc. cc L x v i	Fol. 32r: Luc. cc x L v i	Fol. 54r: Luc. cc x L v i
48	Fol. 39v: Luc. xxx v	Fol. 32v: Luc. c xxx v	Fol. 54r: Luc. c xxx v
49	Fol. 40r: Mat. cc L x L i	Fol. 33r: Mat. cc x L i	Fol. 55v: Mat. cc x L i
50	Fol. 40r: Luc. cc x L v iii	Fol. 33r: Luc. cc x L i x	Fol. 56r: Luc. cc x L v iii
51	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33r: Mat. cc x L iii	Fol. 56r: Mat. cc x L iii
52	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33r: Marc. c xxx v iii	Fol. 56r: Marc. c xxx v iii
53	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33r: Luc. cc L	Fol. 56r: Luc. cc L
54	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33r: Ioh. c x L I & c x L ii	Fol. 56r: Ioh. c x L I & c x L ii
55	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc x L v i	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc x L v i
56	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L
57	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc x L v ii	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc x L v ii
58	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L ii	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L ii
59	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc x L v iii	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc x L v iii
60	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L iii	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L iii
61	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Luc. cc i x & cc L iii	Fol. 56v: Luc. cc i x & cc L iii
62	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc x L i x	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc x L i x
63	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L iii	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L iii
64	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Luc. cc L iii	Fol. 56v: Luc. cc L iii
65	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc L	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc L

67	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L i	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L i
68	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc L i	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc L i
69	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L v i	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L v i
70	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Luc. cc L v	Fol. 56v: Luc. cc L v
71	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Mat. cc L ii	Fol. 56v: Mat. cc L ii
72	Fol. 40v: Missing	Fol. 33v: Marc. c x L v ii	Fol. 56v: Marc. c x L v ii
73	Fol. 41v: Mat. cc L x ii	Fol. 34r: Mat. cc L ii	Fol. 57v: Mat. cc L x ii
74	Fol. 41v: Mat. cc L x iii	Fol. 34v: Mat. cc L (x) iii	Fol. 57v: Mat. cc L iii
75	Fol. 43v: Marc. c x c v iii	Fol. 36v: Marc. c x c i x	Fol. 60r: Marc. c x c v iii
76	Fol. 44r: Marc. c L x ii	Fol. 36v: Marc. c L x	Fol. 60v: Marc. c L x (ii)
77	Fol. 44r: Luc. cc L x v iii	Fol. 36v: Luc. x c L x v iii	Fol. 60v: Luc. cc L x v iii
78	Fol. 44v: Mat. cc L xxx v iii	Fol. 37r: Missing	Fol. 61r: Mat. cc L xxx v iii
79	Fol. 44v: Marc. c L x v iii	Fol. 37r: Missing	Fol. 61r: Marc. c L x v iii
80	Fol. 44v: Luc. cc L xx v	Fol. 37r: Luc. cc xx v	Fol. 61r: Luc. cc L xx v
81	Fol. 44v: Ioh. c L v ii	Fol. 37r: Luc. c L v i	Fol. 61r: Luc. c L v i
82	Fol. 44v: Marc. c L xxx iii	Fol. 37v: Marc. c L xx iii	Fol. 61v: Marc. c L xx iii
83	Fol. 44v: Mat. x c v i	Fol. 37v: Mat. cc x c v i	Fol. 62v: Mat. cc x c v i
84	Fol. 45v: Marc. c L xxx iii	Fol. 38r: Marc. c L xx iii	Fol. 62r: Marc. c L xxx iii
85	Fol. 45v: Luc. cc L xxx v ii	Fol. 38r: Luc. cc L xxx c	Fol. 62: Luc. cc L xxx cr
86	Fol. 45v: Ioh. c L x	Fol. 38r: Ioh. c L xx	Fol. 62r: Ioh. c L xx
87	Fol. 45v: Marc. c L xx v ii	Fol. 38r: Marc. c L xx v i	Fol. 62r: Marc. c L xx v ii
88	Fol. 45v: Marc. iii c L xxx v iii	Fol. 38r: Marc. c L xxx v iii	Fol. 62v: Marc. c L xxx v iii (iii)
89	Fol. 45v: Marc. vi c x c	Fol. 38r: Marc. c x c	Fol. 62v: Marc. c x c (vi)
90	Fol. 45v: Marc. i c x c i	Fol. 38v: Marc. c x c i	Fol. 62v: Marc. c x c i (i)
91	Fol. 46r: Marc. vi c x c ii	Fol. 38v: Marc. c x c ii	Fol. 62v: Marc. c x c ii (vi)
92	Fol. 46r: Mat. cc x ii iii	Fol. 38v: Mat. cc x ii	Fol. 62v: Mat. cc x ii
93	Fol. 46r: Marc. c x c iii	Fol. 38v: Marc. c x c iii	Fol. 62v: Marc. c x c iii (ii)
94	Fol. 46r: Mat. ccc x iii	Fol. 38v: Missing	Fol. 62v: Mat. ccc x iii

95	Fol. 46r: Marc. i c x c iii	Fol. 38v: Missing	Fol. 62v: Marc. c x c iii (i)
96	Fol. 46r: Luc. cc x c iii	Fol. 38v: Missing	Fol. 62v: Luc. cc x c iii
97	Fol. 46r: Ioh. c L xx ii	Fol. 38v: Missing	Fol. 62v: Ioh. c L xx ii
98	Fol. 46r: Marc. i c x c v	Fol. 38v: Marc. c x c v	Fol. 62v: Marc. c x c v (i)
99	Fol. 46r: Marc. ii c x c v iii	Fol. 38v: Marc. c x c v ii	Fol. 63r: Marc. c x c v (ii)
100	Fol. 46r: Luc. cc x c v	Fol. 38v: Luc. cc x c iii	Fol. 63r: Luc. cc x c iii
101	Fol. 46r: Marc. ii cc x c v iii	Fol. 38v: Marc. cc x c v iii	Fol. 63r: Marc. cc x c v iii (ii)
102	Fol. 46r: Marc. i c x c ix	Fol. 38v: Marc. c x c v ix	Fol. 63r: Marc. c x c v iii (i)
103	Fol. 46r: Missing	Fol. 38v: Luc ccc	Fol. 63r: Luc ccc
104	Fol. 46v: Ioh. c L xx v iii	Fol. 39r: Ioh. L xx v iii	Fol. 63v: Ioh. (c) L xx v iii
105	Fol. 46v: Mat. ccc xx i	Fol. 39r: Missing	Fol. 63v: Mat. ccc xx i
106	Fol. 46v: Marc. cc i iii	Fol. 39r: Missing	Fol. 63v: Marc. cc i (iii)
107	Fol. 46v: Ioh. c x c ii & c L xxx	Fol. 39r: Missing	Fol. 63v: Ioh. c x c ii & c L xxx
108	Fol. 47r: Ioh. c L xxx v iii	Fol. 39v: Ioh. c L xxx iii	Fol. 64r: Ioh. c L xxx iii
109	Fol. 47r: Mat. ccc xx v	Fol. 39v: Mat. ccc xx v i	Fol. 64r: Mat. ccc xx v i
110	Fol. 47r: Ioh. c L xxx v iii	Fol. 39v: Ioh. c L xxx v iii	Fol. 64r: Ioh. c L xxx v iii
111	Fol. 47v: Marc. cc ix	Fol. 39v: Marc. cc x	Fol. 64v: Marc. cc x
112	Fol. 47v: Luc. ccc x v	Fol. 39v: Luc. ccc x v iii	Fol. 64v: Luc. cc x c v iii
113	Fol. 47v: Ioh. c x c v i	Fol. 39v: Ioh. c x c v ii	Fol. 64v: Ioh. c x c v ii
114	Fol. 47v: Marc. cc xx v	Fol. 40r: Marc. cc x v	Fol. 64v: Marc. cc x v
115	Fol. 47v: Mat. ccc L x i	Fol. 40r: Mat. ccc x L i	Fol. 65r: Mat. ccc x L i
116	Fol. 48v: Mat. ccc L i	Fol. 41r: Mat. ccc L ii	Fol. 66r: Mat. ccc L ii

Table 6: Marginal references of the Gospel of Matthew in Thott 21, Thott 22 and Ludwig II 3

Instances 1–2: Here we find the first major divergence amongst the references. The error which occurred in Ludwig II 3 was copied into Thott 21. However, the last two instances show a more complex process in the copying of the references.

Instances 38–40: These occurred due to Scribe A copying the same block of references twice, missing out on the information given in Thott 22. Thott 21 avoids this issue by simply skipping over this block. If this omission was indeed intentional, because Scribe T realised the mistake by Scribe A, then it can safely be said that Thott 22 was not present at this point in the copying process.

Instances 45–6: The reason Scribe A missed copying these entries may be due to the mistake of the missing rubricated **P** in *Phariseis*. Without this strong visual cue, the point at which Thott 22 and Thott 21 place these entries, Scribe A may have overlooked these references. The important fact remains that there is no indication that these entries were made at a later date in Thott 21's production, so one must assume that access to Thott 22 was available at this point of the process. Therefore, Thott 22 was available to Scribe T at this point at the very latest, access to which was not necessarily a part of the transition process when Scribe 3 took over the task of copying the references.

Scribe T is highly inconsistent in copying the alternate numbers. Considering the single **v** on Thott 21 fol. 22, which is consistent with where it would be placed in relation to the other references in the manuscript and in the other two as well, perhaps one may speculate about the order of the scribe's work. Were the initials placed in the red rubrication ink, when other rubrication work was being done on that specific folio? If so, it would speak of a more efficient workflow. Further evidence speaking to this scenario is the consistent placement of the rubricated numbers. Thott 21 fol. 23 exemplifies this approach rather clearly. The numbers are placed in a consistent column, in a straight line beneath each other. Compared to Ludwig II 3 and Thott 22, which place theirs in relation to the written main reference, it is likely that the workflow was reversed in the section of references written by Scribe T.

Instances 45–6 mark the first time Scribe A omits information needed by Scribe T. This may have caused him to resort to Thott 22 from here on out as will be discussed below.

Instances 51–72: The references in Ludwig II 3 fol. 40v seem to have been skipped entirely by Scribe A. These are found error-free in Thott 21.

Instance 74: This is a curious case of perhaps the only instance of the marginal reference having been corrected after the fact in Thott 21, possibly by Hand b/16. This hand identification rests upon the diacritic used to insert the **x** in the reference. It is curious that this reference would be corrected. As Thott 22 does not have this numbering, it seems that the exemplar used was Ludwig II 3.

Instance 76: From fol. 44r–7r, Scribe A does something atypical, and that is including the alternate numbering in the main reference where it is found in Thott 22 (numbers in bold). The

table does not list the ones found on Ludwig II 3 fol. 47r, since the ones listed illustrate the point well enough.

Instances 81–6: The variance found between the manuscripts here is restricted to rather minor scribal oversights. However, spanning a range of both sides of a folio, Thott 21 does not copy any of these mistakes, implying usage of Thott 22 as exemplar.

Instances 94–7: Scribe T copied the previous block of references twice, hence missing the actual references found in the two other manuscripts.

Instance 104: Thott 22 sees a correcting *c* above the reference. This is something which Scribe A copied intentionally. Scribe T, however, does not. It is unclear whether this instance alone can say much about the order of corrections. If Scribe T was copying from Thott 22 at this point, it would be clear to him that it is a correction, unlike in Ludwig II 3.

Instances 105–7: Scribe T copied the same block of references twice, thereby missing the correct entries.

Instances 111–14: Scribe A repeats the same four entries in Ludwig II 3, with Scribe T copying the correct ones in Thott 21.

The analysis of the marginal references in the gospel of Matthew has shown the point of transition from Ludwig II 3 to Thott 22 as exemplar for the Eusebian apparatus around fol. 31v of Thott 21.

This conclusion is substantiated by two factors. Firstly, until this point in the process, the variances listed in Thott 21 are all in the range of simple scribal error as they were copied from Ludwig II 3, with no issues of lack of information. Secondly, as of these missing references it becomes clear that Thott 22 was used as exemplar. Scribe T supplements the lacking references and does not copy the mistakes in Ludwig II 3. The case of the correction in Thott 22 in instance 104 corroborates this as well.

An equivalent comparison of the three manuscripts' marginal references in the gospel of John clearly illustrates the different work method of Scribe 3. The examples below show that with even a more limited sample size, the equivalent of only twenty folios in Ludwig II 3, a clear result is achieved, as opposed to the more complex one found in the table above.

	Ludwig II 3	Thott 21	Thott 22
1	Fol. 129r: Missing	Fol. 118r: Ioh. x	Fol. 161r: Ioh. x
2	Fol. 129r: Missing	Fol. 118r: Mat. v iii	Fol. 161r: Mat. v iii
3	Fol. 129r: Missing	Fol. 118r: Marc. ii	Fol. 161r: Marc. ii
4	Fol. 129r: Missing	Fol. 118r: Luc. v ii	Fol. 161r: Luc. v ii
5	Fol. 130r: Marc. xx v ii	Fol. 119v: Marc. L xx v ii	Fol. 163r: Marc. L xx v ii
6	Fol. 130r: Missing	Fol. 119v: Ioh. xx iii	Fol. 163r: Ioh. xx iii
7	Fol. 132r: Missing	Fol. 121r: Ioh. xxx i/Solus	Fol. 165r: Ioh. xxx i/Solus
8	Fol. 133r: Missing	Fol. 122v: Ioh. xxx iii	Fol. 167r: Ioh. xxx iii
9	Fol. 133r: Missing	Fol. 122v: Mat. x v iii	Fol. 167r: Mat. x v iii
10	Fol. 135v: Ioh. xx v i	Fol. 124v: Ioh. x L v i	Fol. 169v: Ioh. x L v i
11	Fol. 135v: Missing	Fol. 124v: Ioh. x L v iii	Fol. 169v: Ioh. x L v iii
12	Fol. 135v: Missing	Fol. 124v: Mat. c x L v ii	Fol. 169v: Mat. c x L v ii
13	Fol. 135v: Missing	Fol. 124v: Marc. L x iii	Fol. 169v: Marc. L x iii
14	Fol. 135v: Missing	Fol. 124v: Luc. x c iii	Fol. 169v: Luc. x c iii
15	Fol. 137r: Luc. c x v iii	Fol. 126r: Luc. c x v iii	Fol. 171v: Luc. c x v iii
16	Fol. 137v: Luc. c L iii	Fol. 127r: Luc. c x iii	Fol. 172v: Luc. c x iii
17	Fol. 138v: Missing	Fol. 128r: Ioh. L xx v i	Fol. 173v: Ioh. L xx v i
18	Fol. 138v: Missing	Fol. 128r: Mat. c x ii	Fol. 173v: Mat. c x ii
19	Fol. 138v: Missing	Fol. 128r: Luc. c x v iii	Fol. 173v: Luc. c x v iii
20	Fol. 135r: Missing	Fol. 135r: Ioh. x c v	Fol. 182v: Ioh. x c v
21	Fol. 135r: Missing	Fol. 135r: Mat. c x v ii	Fol. 182v: Mat. c x v ii
22	Fol. 135r: Missing	Fol. 135r: Marc. xx v i	Fol. 182v: Marc. xx v i
23	Fol. 146r: Ioh. c x v i	Fol. 135r: Ioh. x c v i	Fol. 182v: Ioh. x c v i
24	Fol. 146r: Luc. c L c	Fol. 135r: Luc. c L x	Fol. 182v: Luc. c L x
25	Fol. 146v: Ioh. c x v iii	Fol. 135r: Ioh. x c v iii	Fol. 183r: Ioh. x c v iii
26	Fol. 147r: Luc. xxx iii	Fol. 135v: Luc. cc xx iii	Fol. 183v: Luc. cc xxx iii
27	Fol. 147v: Missing	Fol. 136r: Ioh. c v iii/Solus	Fol. 184r: Ioh. c v iii/Solus
28	Fol. 148r: Mat. xxx iii	Fol. 136v: c xxx iii	Fol. 184v: Mat. c xxx iii
29	Fol. 149v: Mat. c x ii	Fol. 136v: Mat. c x i	Fol. 185r: Mat. c x i

30	Fol. 149r: Missing	Fol. 137r: Ioh. c x v ii/Solus	Fol. 185v: Ioh. c x v ii/Solus
31	Fol. 149r: Mat. x c /Solus	Fol. 137r: Solus	Fol. 186r: Solus

Table 7: Comparison of marginal references in Thott 21 fols. 118r–37r

Scribe 3 consistently does not include any of the rubricated alternate numbers, which is in line with the hypothesis regarding the workflow of Scribe T. It quickly becomes apparent that Scribe 3 is rather more accurate in his copying of the references. Of the approximately 339 references found in Thott 21 in this range of folios, I have only detected one error, that of a repeated minim in instance 15 above. Furthermore, in this section of the Gospel of John, Ludwig II 3 lacks twenty references outright. The picture that emerges is clear: Scribe 3 did not use Ludwig II 3 as a source for the marginal references and instead referred to Thott 22 directly. However, as it emerges in the previous table concerning the Gospel of Matthew, Scribe 3 was not responsible for the switch to Thott 22 as exemplar.

3.5.9. *Canon tables*

Unfortunately the canon tables of Thott 21 no longer survive. A complete comparison and analysis was nevertheless undertaken of the ones found in Ludwig II 3, Thott 22 and C 83. The comparison of the Eusebian canon tables between those two manuscripts and C 83 shows a further tightening of the relationship between the first two manuscripts.

When discussing the relationship between the canon tables, two premises must be made clear. The approach taken in the tables below is that of Thott 22 serving as base text and Ludwig II 3 and C 83 showing the variance where it occurs. The main goal of this analysis is to observe whether Ludwig II 3's tables are closer to those found in Helmarshausen, which one would expect if these entries were made at that scriptorium, or indeed if Ludwig II 3 is closer to Thott 22.

So far, all signs point towards Thott 22 serving as exemplar to Ludwig II 3. As has been discussed and shown above, Scribe A was not the most accurate of copyists, especially regarding the frequency of errors in the marginal references, since the roman numerals can easily be confused. The study below focuses on the numbers themselves and not the art of the canon tables, as this is discussed below in the section dealing with the art of the gospel books. It is worth noting, however, that the question of scribal accuracy is a fraught one. As Carl Nordenfalk emphasises, whilst early philologists were of the opinion that the more 'sumptuous a manuscript from the point of view of its decoration, the more likely it is to have corrupt text',

it can be shown that in his experience ‘the most splendid canon-tables are as a rule the ones in which the numbers are copied with most care’.²¹⁸

As well as investigating the relationship between Ludwig II 3 and Thott 22, I use C 83 as a third comparative manuscript, since the Helmarshausen origins of the gospel book made for Lund offered itself as a good contrasting source. This is of particular importance, since the final table of Ludwig II 3 was filled in by a Helmarshausen hand, presumably that of the artist himself.

These divergences have to be evaluated and classified according to their respective weight. Whilst some entries may say something about the relationship between the three manuscripts, the difference between e.g. ccviii and ccvii may be due to simple scribal error.

If one, as is the case here, is attempting to look at the three manuscripts’ canon tables through the lens of a relationship between them, with **L** (Ludwig II 3) following **T** (Thott 22), and **C** (C 83) exemplifying Helmarshausen, then how is one to separate linking cases of variance, which may stem from **L** being influenced by **T**, or which may be simple scribal errors which may occur independently? The analysis below makes use of a fourth source in order to contextualise these findings, **V**, the *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgata Versionem*,²¹⁹ which offers one of the best instruments for critical research on the Eusebian canon tables and allows one to see where scribal errors cause divergence from the correct Eusebian numbers. The edition of the *Biblia Sacra* proved to be a highly useful resource even though the gospel books in question are far removed in time from the manuscripts used in the edition. This is evident by the fact that there are only three instances in which only three out of four manuscripts disagreed, and none where all four of them did.

Below is a listing of all the concordances among the variances, the places where two manuscripts agree and one disagrees. By conducting this survey of the canon tables, we observe something rather surprising.

TC concordances: 27. Of these, only once does **L** follow **V**. In the other instances **T** and **C** follow **V**. Many of the cases here seem to be due to inaccurate copying by Scribe A, with many cases of missing minims. The variants only rarely are more divergent than that.

LC concordances: 39. Ten of these are cases of **T** following **V**. This is a far higher number than the same cases in **TC**. The shared mistakes may be something which tie **L** and **C** together,

²¹⁸ Nordenfalk, ‘The Eusebian Canon Tables’, p. 97.

²¹⁹ *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Fischer et. al.

since those ten instances are cases in which **T** may be correct but where **L** and **C** share the other errors.

TL concordances: 16. Three cases of **C** following **V**.

The inclusion of **V** as a comparison source clearly illustrates, in the case of the **TC** concordances, that Scribe A is not very accurate in his copying. This is of course shown by the cases where he seems to be misaligning columns for no real reason, as he simply starts the tabulation of the numbers either too high up the space or too low. The treatment of the canon tables in Ludwig II 3 is perhaps not surprising considering the lack of signs of usage. If one entertains the idea that the manuscript was never intended for regular usage, then the viability of the canon tables is not something that may be particularly important. Conversely, it must be noted that in the case of *Canon Quintus* Scribe A seems to be following a layout which resembles that of Thott 22, with one column of numbers per assigned space, as opposed to the two as we see in C 83. By blithely following a single-column layout, he abruptly runs out of space not just once but twice. In order to compensate for the bad layout and lack of planned writing space, he is forced to come up with his own partitions. One need only to look at the flower-head design to see that Scribe A is not the artist, as he executes them rather haphazardly four different times. *Canon Quintus* in C 83 shows a similar design, something which Scribe A may have been aiming for in his own attempts. If one compares the shade of all the red ink applied by the artist on fol. 4v, the two partitioning lines are a lighter shade than the rest of the page. It is the same shade of ink used to partition the numbers in groups of five. In contrast, the final table, the one filled in by the artist, is partitioned with black ink. This, coupled with the most important fact, that the relationship between the lines and the numbers on the page could only exist the way it does, shows that the four partitions are Scribe A's handy work.

As the numbers above show, Ludwig II 3 and C 83 share the largest amount of agreement in variance, as opposed to the instances of **TL** groupings. **T** however, seems to be the consistently closest to **V**.

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the study of the canon tables. Indeed, it is questionable whether any accurate data can emerge from this, as scribal error in these cases of repetitive numerical copying skews the results quite heavily. Which of the variance cases are to be discounted as such simple errors is perhaps impossible to tell. Where concordance is found one must consider independent mistakes, which are more common with the copying of numbers as opposed to text. Nevertheless, I would be remiss in ignoring the data offered in these tables, as anything that may contribute to establishing the relationship between the manuscripts in question must be considered.

3.5.10. *Capitulare Evangeliorum*

To conclude the direct comparison of the textual content of the Lund gospel manuscripts, the critical information found in the *Capitulare* will be discussed. This has seemingly served as the main, if not only, piece of cited evidence which supported the hypothesis that Thott 21 was wholly copied from Thott 22.

This section of the gospel books is the most telling, from the perspective of the content itself, regarding how the books might relate to one another and to the wider traditions surrounding them. The Sanctoral initially offers the most information regarding local variations and traditions, which may vary from church to church and is one of the more reliable data points. The case of St. Lawrence with regard to Lund exemplifies this particularly well, as it is used as one of the main links between, C 83, Thott 21 and the cathedral chapter. Regarding the *Capitulare* in general, Theodor Klauser's study remains perhaps the most extensive of *Capitulare* types and serves as a solid reference point when commencing a comparative study of gospel books.²²⁰

Building upon Klauser, Krüger's own comparison of the *Capitulare* of a number of gospel books, amongst which we find C 83 and Thott 21, comes to an interesting conclusion. It must, however, first be noted that Krüger was working under the assumption that Bistumsarchiv Abt. 95 Nr. 425 (olim Dombibliothek Ms. 137), Bistumsarchiv Abt. 95 Nr. 426 (olim Dombibliothek Ms. 138) and Bistumsarchiv Abt. 95 Nr. 427 (olim Dombibliothek Ms. 139) stem from Helmarshausen. Whilst it is acknowledged that they may originate, in the case of Ms. 137 and Ms. 138, in Abdinghof, or Paderborn,²²¹ Krüger settles on Helmarshausen due to the lack of information about the Paderborn scriptorium.

The manuscript grouping which emerges from his comparison is as follows:²²²

Group 1: TR 137, TR 139 and Thott 21

Group 2: TR 138, TR 142 and UPS C 83

The connection between the gospel books among the second group is especially tight, as 'UPS C 83 wiederholt in gleicher Anordnung den Text von TR 138 bis auf wenige Ausnahmen fast wortgetreu', with TR 142 also being highly similar, excepting cases where pericope texts had been shortened.²²³ It is further noted that none of these come anywhere close to Klauser's four

²²⁰ Klauser, T., *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*.

²²¹ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 125.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

²²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13. Transl. 'UPS C 83 repeats the text of TR 138 in the same order almost verbatim with a few exceptions'.

identified *Capitulare* types. Regarding Group 1, the classification which they most likely adhere to is that of Klauser's type 'π'.

Most intriguing is the connection shown between the *Capitulare* of TR 137 and Thott 21. Krüger comments on the fact that the two manuscripts share a large amount of concordances, 'bis hinein in den Wortlaut'.²²⁴ Whilst he, of course, acknowledges the strong relationship between Thott 21 and Thott 22, the question is raised as to whether a gospel book similar to Thott 22 or Thott 21, as the case may be with TR 137, could have led to the text found in Ludwig II 3. Krüger's cross-comparison of the *Capitulare* only spans from Christmas to Easter Sunday, which nevertheless offers enough information to place Ludwig II 3 at a distance from Krüger's first group and bind it far more tightly to Thott 22 and Thott 21.²²⁵

Firstly, the cases of divergences between Thott 22 and by extension Thott 21, and Ludwig II 3, will be discussed. Excepting perhaps one or two scribal errors, Thott 21's *Capitulare* can be said to be an exact copy of Thott 22. However, the question concerning Ludwig II 3 is perhaps the most important one regarding the relationship between the two manuscripts, especially since this will offer stronger evidence of the manuscript having been written at Lund and not Helmarshausen.

The following *Capitulare* show the cases of divergent content between Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21 and Thott 22.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 160r:

1. In die Natalis domini. Statim ad sanctum Petrum	J.	i (no number given in Ludwig II 3) Pericope: In principio. <i>Usque plenum gre. Et viritatis.</i>) Same as Thott 22
2. In natalis sancti Stephani Protomartyris	Mat.	cc x L (no number in Ludwig II 3) Pericope: <i>Ecce ego mitto ad uos prophetas. Usque; Benedictus qui uenit</i>

²²⁴ Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen* I, p. 213.

²²⁵ For a discussion on the art in TR 138 and TR 139, see Bücheler, 'Clothing Sacred Scripture', and Klemm 'Die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei' for discussions regarding Klemm's idea that TR 138 was composed of Helmarshausen Art and Paderborn scribes' text around 1100. This is one, more local and a tad earlier, example of the art in Helmarshausen, though in this case on leaves which are not part of text quires, being sent to other institutions for completion into whole gospel books.

		<i>in nomine domini.</i> Same as Thott 22
3. In Theophania	Mat.	vi (iiii in suprascript) just iiii in Thott 22 and Thott 21

In this case Scribe A commences with the wrong pericope, *Defuncto Herode*, which he subsequently has to cross out. The reason for this mistake is obvious when looking at Thott 22. The layout works out in such a manner that the previous pericope and chapter number begin at the exact same place but two lines above where Scribe A should be copying. Further, since both readings are according to Matthew, the chapter number error is due to the same line skip.

4. Dominica. I post natis domini (was copied as Dominica ii , with one i erased. Dominica ii in Thott 22 and Thott 21)	Luc.	iii
5. Dominica ii post natis Domini domini (was copied as Dominica iii , with one i erased. Dominica iii in Thott 22 and Thott 21)	J.	x v iii
6. Dominica iii post natis (Dominica iiii in Thott 21, Thott 22)	Mat.	L x iii

The case of the first four Sundays after Christmas is perhaps the most editorially invasive regarding the copying of the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* in Ludwig II 3. The changes are difficult to explain and not, seemingly, logical. The first Sunday is located on fol. 160r, with the following three on fol. 160v. The second and third Sundays have both had one minim erased, moving these down the list of Sundays. The pericopes and readings remain the same, however. These changes were made most likely by the scribe himself, since when he comes to copying the fourth Sunday after Christmas, he intentionally copies it as the third Sunday, so no erasure is necessary. The only, admittedly somewhat contrived, explanation for such a change may have been a confusion with the count of Sundays *post Theophania*. This count can be found in gospel books of the time, for example, one may look to the *Capitulare* of TR 138 and TR 142. Following a *Capitulare* of that type will lead to the listing of *Dom. i. post th.* as opposed to *Dom. ii. post nat. dom.* with this initial listing of the Sundays ending at *Dom. iii. post th.*, again

as opposed to *Dom. iiii post. nat. dom.* For such confusion to arise, the scribe must have been either confronted with two different traditions, either in the exemplar or through his own experience. Whether this actually did occur is probably impossible to tell.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 165v:

7. Feria v (vi in Thott 22 and Thott 21)	Luc.	xxx vi
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Regarding the other variances listed above, if entertaining the possibility of scribal error for the first two variances of omission, and the edited Sundays *post Theophania*, only one, maybe two, stand-out differences can be found in the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* of Ludwig II 3. To start with number seven above, the omission of a minim **i** is something that Scribe A's copying is clearly capable of. What remains is the second reading given for *Theophania*, Mat. **vi**. This is the only supplementary information given by Scribe A. As is witnessed by the *defuncto Herode* on the same folio, mistakes were amended in the *Capitulare*. The nature of the suprascript **iiii** seems intentional, though where this variation came from is unclear.

Nevertheless, considering the nature of the seven variations in the *Capitulare* of Ludwig II 3 in relation to the Thott manuscripts, the comparison with Klauser's work places the variations in stark contrast. A much higher degree of divergence is found within his groupings of *Capitulare* than is found in the Ludwig II 3, Thott 21 and Thott 22 group. The variances seem almost negligible in comparison, and as has been discussed, may be mostly down to scribal error. It is likely, however, that Thott 21 copied the *Capitulare* directly from Thott 22. Petersen points out the important detail that both Thott 22 and Thott 21 contain the same wrong numbering for the reading of the Vigil of St. Lawrence, 'Mat. L xx',²²⁶ a salient feature which can also be found on Ludwig II 3 fol. 168r.

However, Petersen also comes to an odd conclusion, namely that the differences in *Capitulare* in C 83, as compared to Thott 21 and Thott 22, are due to liturgical changes at Lund. As he states 'Tatsächlich scheint aber C 83 das jüngste der drei Bücher zu sein.'²²⁷ This, however, does work together in conjunction with the evidence presented so far. The differences in *Capitulare* are simply due to the fact that they were copied at Helmarshausen, and Hand c/19 did not bring his own exemplar of *Capitulare* with him in order to copy them in alignment with what was done at Lund. The exemplar of C 83 would be found at the Helmarshausen

²²⁶ Petersen, No. 299, in *Credo II*, Katalog, p. 349.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* Transl. 'Indeed, it seems that C 83 is the younger of the three books'.

scriptorium, acting in a manner normative to that abbey. This is after all one of the causes that gave rise to the writing of Thott 21, to possess a gospel book in accordance with Lund rites. Because Ludwig II 3 abbreviates heavily in this section, as well as shortens the pericopes, one may assume that space may have been a consideration. Furthermore, bearing that in mind, one may consider the purpose and usage of Ludwig II 3 in this context, as will be discussed in the conclusion below.

3.5.11. *Illumination and art*

One of the most obviously impressive features of the Lund gospel books is their illuminations. Executed with the highest degree of artistic skill, the awe-inspiring images and illustrations have been discussed and covered extensively by scholarship regarding Helmarshausen. Since the beginning of the twelfth century the abbey saw the creation of an artistic centre of international renown, a process which has been well documented thus far. Klemm suggests 1107 as the commencement date for the abbey's artistic upswing,²²⁸ though Heidi Gearhart proposes an earlier date of 1100–05, since metalwork objects emerge around this time.²²⁹ It is only around twenty years later that the art of Ludwig II 3 is proposed to have been created (1120–30). Whilst the abbey's own library did not withstand the rigours of history, it is through the exchange of artistic services with other centres that the witnesses we have today survive. This can first be seen in the three manuscripts that were preserved at Trier (Trier, Domschatz 137/138/139). As Hoffmann has pointed out,²³⁰ those were most likely written at Paderborn, whereas the art itself was inserted as separate leaves.²³¹ These are samples of some of the earliest illumination produced at Helmarshausen, though Ludwig II 3 is still considered to be the true beginnings of Helmarshausen manuscript illumination in fully developed Romanesque style.²³² Klemm reiterates time and again that due to the recto of the Evangelist portraits being written by the main scribe (Scribe A), the scribe and the artist worked together, in tandem at the same place.²³³ As has been discussed above, Klemm's hypothesis concerning the origins of the main hand is centred around Liège.²³⁴ Seeing Ludwig II 3 as the beginning, C 83 is the next artistic evolution of Helmarshausen, to which Thott 21 is closely adjacent.²³⁵

²²⁸ Klemm, 'Die Anfänge der Romanischen Buchmalerei', p. 476.

²²⁹ Gearhart, 'From Divine Word to Human Hand', p. 432.

²³⁰ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, p. 74.

²³¹ Klemm, 'Die Anfänge der Romanischen Buchmalerei', p. 467.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 473; Gearhart, 'From Divine Word to Human Hand', p. 431.

²³³ Klemm, No. 502, in *Credo II*, Katalog, p. 413.

²³⁴ Klemm, 'Die Anfänge der Romanischen Buchmalerei', p. 477.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

The most detailed study of the art in Ludwig II 3, that done recently by Gearhart, takes a more in-depth, interpretative approach. Agreeing with the usual dating of Ludwig II 3, that of 1120–30,²³⁶ it is emphasised just how divergent the art is, differentiating itself from the other illuminations produced at Helmarshausen.²³⁷ The detailed and extensive discussion of the canon tables of Ludwig II 3, and the wide-ranging connections made to any gospel book that may be drawn into a comparative discussion, highlights the distinct difference of the illumination in Ludwig II 3. In particular the winged Evangelist symbols of *Canon Decimus*, the canon listing the biblical stories which are unique to each gospel, seem to break away from the tradition. The exegetical implications of the evangelist symbols and interactions differentiate between the depiction of the worldly in the first nine canons and the otherworldly one of the winged beasts, which fully take up the Tympanon space (Fig. 19). This jarred Klemm so much that the idea of a different artist was suggested, perhaps from Paderborn, being responsible for designing those images.²³⁸ The Evangelist portraits themselves further emphasize the difference between worldly and the divine word as the canon tables already suggest it. It is highly unusual for the Evangelists to have shod feet. Usually they are either bare or wearing sandals in order to depict their poverty, their sanctity. This coupled with Ludwig II 3's sumptuous highly ornate evangelist setting places the Evangelists in a worldly realm (Fig. 20).²³⁹ Furthermore, the depiction of each of the Evangelists at a different stage and accompanied by the relevant scribal tool leads Gearhart to conclude that the canon tables suggest disruption, highlighting a dissemblance of sacred content and physical text, 'as shown by the speaking evangelical beasts, the laborious authors, the golden words hovering over textile patterns, words may differ and the texts of scripture may differ.'²⁴⁰ Gearhart concludes that these differences seen in Ludwig II 3 seem intentional and conceptually loaded, reflecting concerns about the status of the written word and how it is represented, echoing the scholarly concerns of the time.²⁴¹

The most detailed comparison work between Ludwig II 3 and the other Lund gospel books was done by Krüger, though it is worth noting that he seems to be cited when it comes to his palaeographical work and not the art-historical comparisons. Whether this is telling or not remains to be seen. Regardless, his filiation diagrams of the gospel books is highly detailed

²³⁶ Gearhart, 'From Divine Word to Human Hand', p. 431.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

²³⁸ Klemm, 'Die Anfänge der Romanischen Buchmalerei', p. 476.

²³⁹ Gearhart, 'From Divine Word to Human Hand', p. 448.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 449–50.

work in its observational methodology. However, the conclusions drawn may be informed by the state of scholarship he was familiar with and must therefore be treated carefully. Regarding the gradual size reduction of script in the Incipit pages, Krüger points towards direct influence from Ludwig II 3 to C 83.²⁴²

Regarding the relationship between C 83 and Thott 21, Krüger is quite emphatic, stating that the correspondence between the art of the two manuscripts 'ist so groß, daß mit Sicherheit angenommen werden kann, der Maler des späteren Evangeliars habe das frühere bei seiner Arbeit neben sich liegen gehabt.'²⁴³ Furthermore, Krüger posits that the older influences found in Ludwig II 3 may have influenced Thott 21, though the influences are small, seen in the hair of the evangelists and their robes' sleeves, which may have been transmitted to the Thott 21 artist via other means than direct transferal. The corresponding details emerging through the filiation diagrams made by Krüger allow him to argue that Thott 21 artist had been able to at least take a look at Ludwig II 3.²⁴⁴

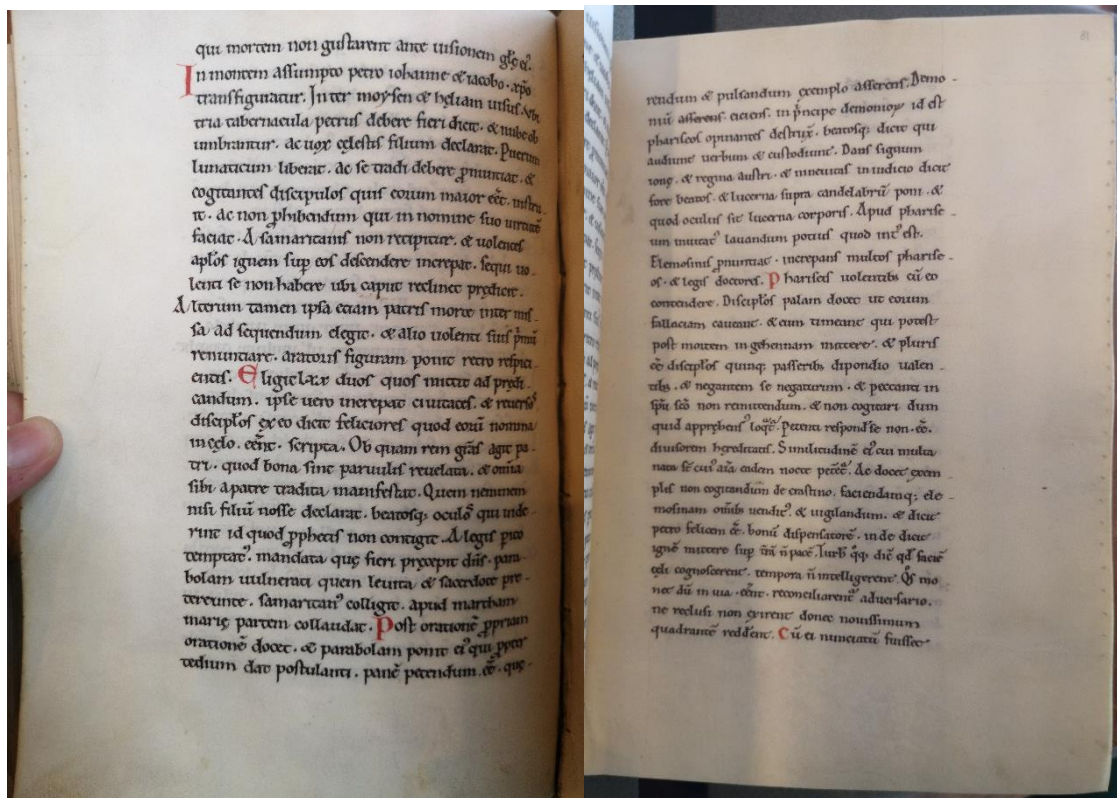
Whilst Krüger's opinions on direct transmission and influence between the manuscripts are stated in stronger terms than later art-historical views, it is interesting to note his thoughts on Ludwig II 3 and Thott 21. He acknowledges that Thott 21 may well have been made at Lund, together with a Helmarshausen-educated artist, and he insists that Ludwig II 3 must have been made at Helmarshausen, same as the view that is still held today. He is the only one to place those two manuscripts in such a direct relationship, via the artistic transmission. Whilst the evangelist hair and sleeves do not make for the strongest of foundations for such direct transmission of artistic inspiration, I have shown above that the main text of Thott 21 is indeed based on that of Ludwig II 3. This further enforces the point that Thott 21 was made at Lund and illustrated by a scribe educated at Helmarshausen. However, this view is not held by all. Wary of the fact that the art followed the text in Thott 21, Wolter-von dem Knesebeck argues that it is likely that it was written at Lund and then brought to Helmarshausen for illuminating,²⁴⁵ following a similar process to the order of illumination in Ludwig II 3.

²⁴² Krüger, *Die Schreib- und Malwerkstatt der Abtei Helmarshausen I*, p. 180.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* Transl. 'Is so large that it can be assumed with certainty that the painter of the later Gospel had the earlier one lying next to him during his work'.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

²⁴⁵ Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, 'Buchkultur im geistlichen Beziehungsnetz', pp. 99–100.

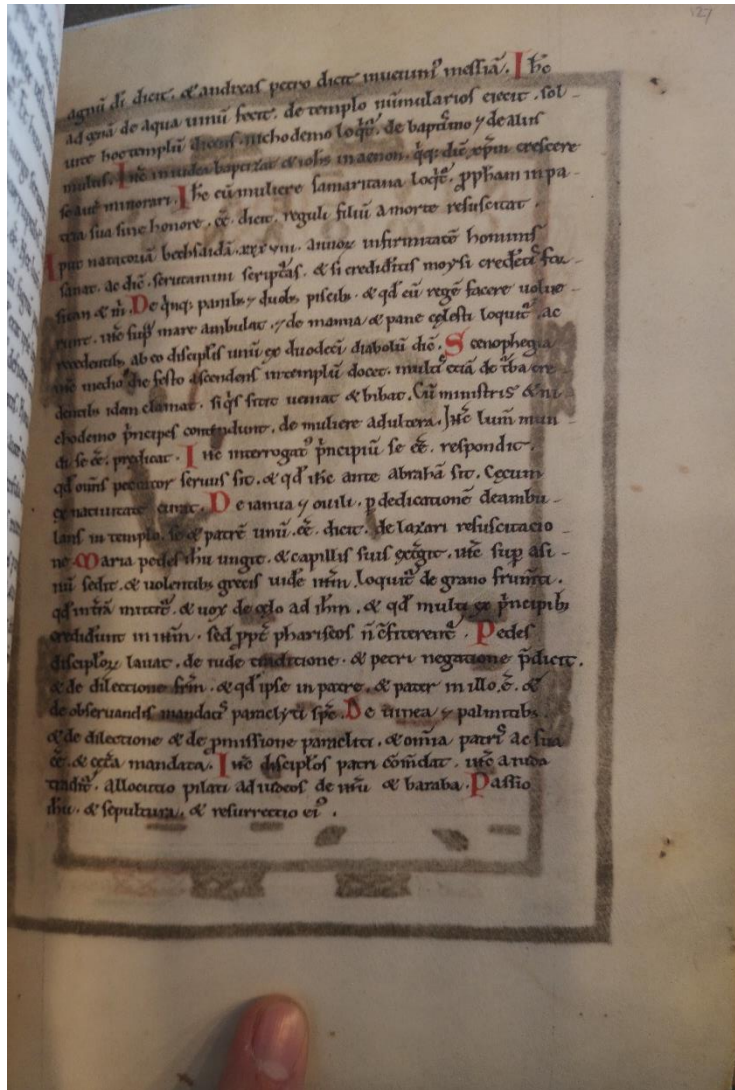


Ludwig II 3 fol. 80v: 28 lines of text

Ludwig II 3 fol. 81r: 27 lines of text

As has been mentioned above, the reason I am able to conclude that the art predates the writing of Ludwig II 3, the opposite process of Thott 21, is due to the manner in which the surrounding text is adapted to the placement of the illuminations. Note how the *textbild* shifts, as Scribe A realises that he has more available writing space than text, before the next Evangelist portrait on fol. 83v, by shortening the line length and reducing the number of lines per folio.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 126v–27r: In contrast, note how tight and abbreviation heavy Scribe A's hand gets in order to fill in the text that is needed before the illumination. It is interesting that this is the first illumination to come up since Scribe T took over the marginal references. Is it a coincidence that the Helmarshausen hand does not write any references on either side, with Scribe T doing so instead?



Ludwig II 3 fol. 127r

3.6. Summary

This chapter has highlighted a number of new discoveries regarding the gospel books related to Lund and the scribes responsible for them. Ludwig II 3 is shown to have been copied for the most part from Thott 22, yet a handful of divergences between the texts may indicate a somewhat more complex process, though the evidence is sparse. Thott 21, conversely, was copied from Ludwig II 3 with regards to the main gospel text, barring the instance discussed above regarding the ‘Helmarshausen pages’. Furthermore, towards the end of the Gospel of Matthew, the marginal references in Thott 21 are copied from Thott 22, as are the *Capitula Evangeliorum*. The analysis of the various corrections made in Thott 21 also highlights the complex nature of the scriptorium at Lund.

The implications of these findings are wide-ranging and will be discussed below with regard to the new light shone on the relationship between Helmarshausen and Lund, as well as the scribes active at the time, along with their role at the scriptorium.

4. FRAGMENTS, GOSPEL BOOKS AND THEIR SCRIBES

The final chapter will focus in more detail on the scribes and hands discussed in the previous chapters, and it will assess whether any firmer conclusions can be drawn with regard to their identity and role at the scriptorium, be it at the cathedral chapter or All Saints Monastery. Furthermore, a wider view will be taken regarding the features found in the hands of Lund scribes, and scribal clusters will be identified. Finally, the implications of the study for the fragment collections in Copenhagen will be considered.

4.1. *The case of Scribe 3 and Hand c/19*

The following comparison between script samples will demonstrate that Hand c/19, i.e. the hand that Borgehammar suggests may be Findor himself, and the hand of Scribe 3, the second Lund scribe working in Thott 21, are in fact one and the same. A number of issues must be considered when embarking upon the comparison between these writing samples. As is discussed with regard to Hand c/19 in the previous chapter, the evidence that survives is highly affected by its purpose. The 1131 and 1136 examples in MH 6 display this contrast nicely. Though the 1131 sample on fol. 125v is quite limited compared to the 1136 sample size spanning fols. 180v–82r, variation in ampersands, for instance, among other graphs, can be observed. The less formal entry of 1131 lends itself to a more relaxed attitude on the part of the scribe. On the other hand, the 1136 entry shows a strong internal consistency within Hand c/19. This coherency stretches to more than just that one graph, with a strong sense of formality inherent in the entry. This is not surprising, since the important events documented there were meant for the records of the cathedral, as Gelting's theory of the purpose of MH 6 indicates. Furthermore, the samples of Hand c/19 in C 83 show another feature of the hand. It is less formal than the 1136 sample and, as has been discussed, displays some issues of copying, with the line keeping not as consistent as it could be. Once again one may look to the 1136 entry for perfectly clean line keeping.

Bearing these varying purposes in mind, internal differences and fluctuations within Hand c/19 complicate a picture which is already difficult to construct. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence can be found to support the theory of these separate scribal hands being one and the same. Below (Table 8), a number of graphs, and some word segments that lend the graphs some

environmental context, are extracted from various writing samples, which will show that such an identification is not only possible but likely. It will be seen that the hand of Scribe 3 is perhaps closer to Hand c/19 during the '1136' phase of writing and can perhaps be placed between those samples and those of 1145/46.

Such a graph extraction must be done carefully and in a representative manner, which I endeavour to show below. Short commentaries will be given regarding some of the more pertinent features observable in the following table. The discussion of the graphs regards both Scribe 3 and Hand c/19 samples. Where differences are noticeable they will be pointed out, whilst particularly noteworthy consistency across script samples will be highlighted as well.

a: The head is almost entirely short and more on the compressed side, with the back of the graph mostly vertical. The bowl of **a** is consistently shaped in a mostly triangular fashion, with the bowl attaching predominantly about halfway to a rare maximum of two-thirds up the back shaft of the graph.

b: The ascender terminates for the most part in a triangular wedge, with some forking evident, in particular in the 1145 samples. Note the tendency to leave the body of the graph not quite closed, with at most a hairline connecting it to the shaft.

d: not much forking is observed, though wedging occurs frequently. There seems to be a propensity for the stroke of the belly of the graph to commence slightly to the right of the shaft.

h: The ascender terminates in an angled wedge with occasional forking. The foot of the shaft at times terminates in a flat hairline, with the arch of the bow of **h** for the most part descending below the base of the ascending shaft.

g: The bowl of the graph is predominantly closed. The back of the graph is straight, with a 140° angle as measured from above and below the ruled line. The 1136 sample of **g** tends to be more acutely angled, with a 130° angle in evidence, which sets it apart internally within Hand c/19.

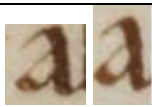
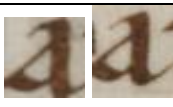

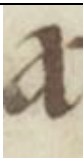
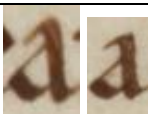
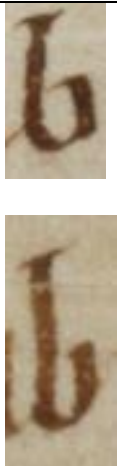
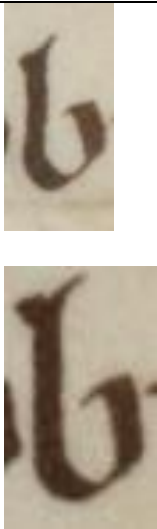

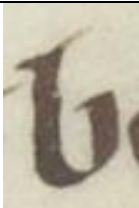
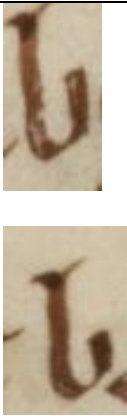
n: The **n** is formed with the first minim terminating at the top with an angled wedge. As was pointed out in the discussion of Hand c/19 above, the hand tends to segment the graph into two minims with a hairline connection, which in many late 1145/46 cases is lacking entirely. The samples in C 83 are perhaps slightly rounder in appearance, which places it perhaps closer to the 1136 hand than to the 1145/46.

p: The shaft of the descender terminates in the same angled wedge which tends to crown **b** or **h**. As is the case with **b**, the belly of the graph tends to be left either connected by a hairline or unfinished in later examples. Across all samples the descender at times terminates in a clean slightly angled cut off or a light flick to the left.

r: This graph is somewhat more complex. As discussed above, Hand c/19 develops a detached-headed **r** in the 1145/46 script samples. Excepting those, the **r** tends to be connected with a hairline to an arm which is constructed of a waving up-down-horizontal stroke. The angle between shaft and arm of the **r** is therefore more than 90° (for an acute 90° **r**, Hand f/4 shows hard angles, and e.g. Scribe A shows a round bend in arm which is at a right angle). Hand c/19 further at times adds a hairline on the ascending part of the wave forming the arm of the graph, giving it a so-called ‘horned’ appearance.²⁴⁶ This is something which Scribe 3 samples also show.



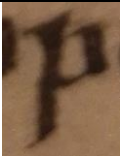



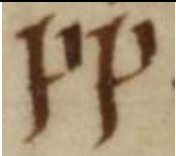
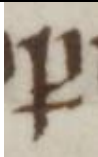

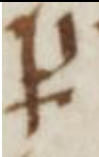

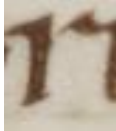
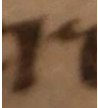

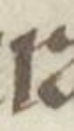
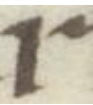
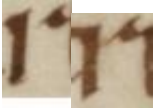
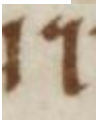
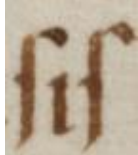
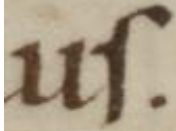
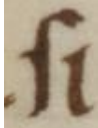
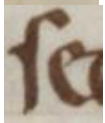


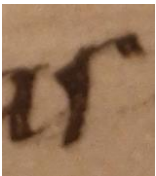
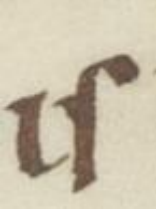
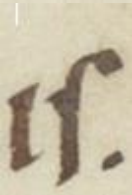
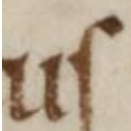

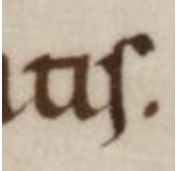
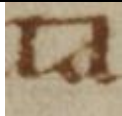
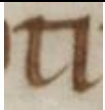

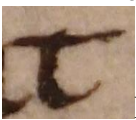
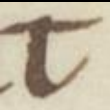
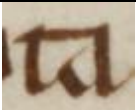
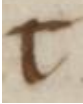
s: Hand c/19 fluctuates with extending the shaft of **s** below baseline, with a tendency perhaps more so in the 1145/46 samples. Scribe 3 samples have a tendency to go below the baseline as well, with a general inconsistency found across all the samples.

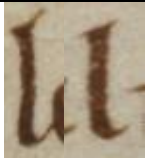
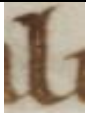

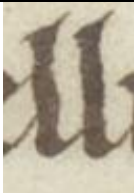
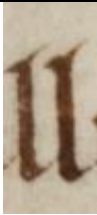
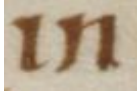
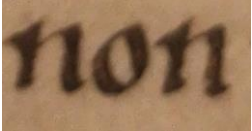
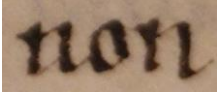
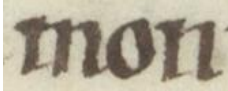
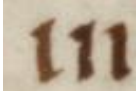
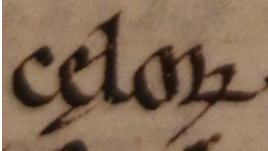
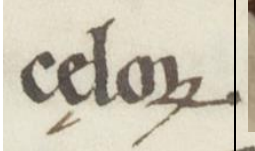

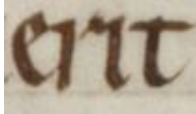
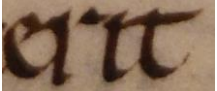
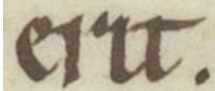
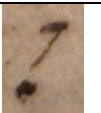



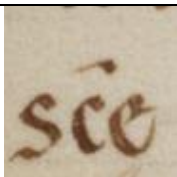
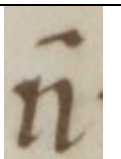
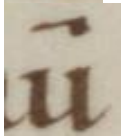
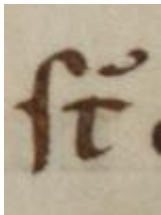



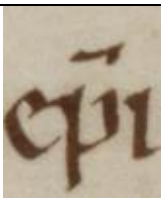
t: the shaft of **t** is consistently straight, with the head peaking slightly above the cross bar.

Hand c/19 1131	Hand c/19 1136	Scribe 3 in Thott 21	Hand c/19 C 83	Hand c/19 1145/46
MH Fol. 125v	MH 6 Fol. 180v			
		 Fol. 139v Fol. 9r	 Fol. 176r	
		 Fol. 139v	 Fol. 176r	

²⁴⁶ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 63.

				
		Fol. 9r		
	 	 		
		Fol. 139v	Fol. 161v	
		Fol. 9r		
		 		
		Fol. 139v	Fol. 176r	
		Fol. 9r		
		 		
		Fol. 9r	Fol. 176r	
	 		 	
		Fol. 9r	Fol. 176r	
			Fol. 161v	

		 Fol. 139v   Fol. 9r	 Fol. 168r	
			 Fol. 176r	
		 Fol. 139v  fol. 9r	 Fol. 176r  Fol. 161v	 
	  	 Fol. 9r  Fol. 9r  Fol. 139v	  Fol. 168r	  
		 Fol. 139v  Fol. 9r	 Fol. 176r	 

		 Fol. 9r	 Fol. 176r	
		 Fol. 139v  Fol. 9r	 Fol. 161v	
		 Fol. 9r	 Fol. 168r.	
		 Fol. 9r	 Fol. 176r	
		  Fol. 9r		 fol. 157r  fol. 156v
	  	 Fol. 139v  Fol. 9r	 Fol. 161v	 Fol. 156v

				
		Fol. 66r		
				
		Fol. 9r		fol. 156r
				
		fol. 9r		fol. 156v
				
			Fol. 176r	Fol. 156r
				
		Fol. 9r		
				

Table 8: Graphs extracted from samples of writing of Scribe 3 and Hand c/19

Two particular issues arise regarding this identification. As can be observed from the samples above, the abbreviating nasal suspension which is predominantly used by Hand c/19 is a straight horizontal bar terminating in a downward stroke at a 90° angle. This is used by Scribe 3 as well, though there tends to be an upward slant to the bar. Furthermore, the most sizable continuous sample of Scribe 3, the one found on the erasure of Thott 21 fol. 9r, does not employ this abbreviation. As is evident, there the use of consistent cup-shaped suspension is employed. However, as the marginal references show, Scribe 3 uses both abbreviations rather interchangeably. Furthermore, as the entry by Hand c/19 in the 1136 entry on fol. 180v in MH 6 shows, some usage of the cup-shaped abbreviation can be found in those samples as well. Further, perhaps the largest difference between the Scribe 3 and Hand c/19 samples is the execution of the ampersand. As can be observed above, Scribe 3 consistently finishes the graph

on a downward stroke. Hand c/19 for the most part terminates the ampersand in an upward stroke. However, as the 1131 entry shows, Hand c/19 also employs the downturned terminating stroke as well, though these are the only samples found, with a clear favouritism towards the upward stroke in all the other samples.

Nevertheless, so far there has not been a truly different feature found in these samples, with the number of similarities being overwhelming. Indeed, in some of the examples above, it is impossible to tell Scribe 3 and Hand c/19 apart.

As demonstrated above, the case for the identification of Scribe 3 as Hand c/19 is a strong one. Moreover, from a historiographical standpoint it is not an unlikely development. Who would be better placed to work on a Lund-Helmarshausen collaborative gospel book at Lund than Hand c/19?

The consistency of the pattern is an enticing one. With Ludwig II 3 having been written by Scribe A and Scribe T, and Scribe T going on to write Thott 21 with Hand c/19, who himself had already worked in C 83, it is a closed circle of scribes associated with each other. Moreover, the timeline of events fits together well around this.

The art in Thott 21 has generally been described as being closely related, inspired or even derivative of C 83, as has been discussed above. Whilst it is truly on the more speculative side of the discussion, the return of Hand c/19 from Helmarshausen to Lund with C 83 could have been more than the sealing of the confraternity agreement between the two institutions. It stands to reason that Hand c/19 could have also spent time at Helmarshausen for educational purposes, and perhaps received artistic training as well. As Hoffmann has pointed out, the art of Thott 21 was created after the writing of the main text.²⁴⁷ This coincides with the writing of the marginal references and Scribe 3 finishing the writing work of Thott 21. This further assists in the dating of Thott 21, if the identification with Hand c/19/Scribe 3/Findor is indeed correct, as this work could only take place before Findor returned to Helmarshausen where he would spend the rest of his life, giving the manuscript an *ante quem* reference point.

4.2. Scribal clusters

Having determined the likelihood of Scribe 3 and Hand c/19 being the same scribe, the following analysis will investigate whether any discernible patterns can be found within the

²⁴⁷ Hoffmann, *Bücher und Urkunden*, pp. 26–7.

hands of the other scribes discussed in the previous chapters. It will be seen that some of these scribes operating at Lund during the timeframe in question show some discernible unifying features in their hands when viewed as a scribal cluster.

The first issue to tackle is that at the current state of scholarship it is unclear which scriptorium can be discussed, as it is not possible to clearly differentiate between that at the cathedral chapter itself or the one at All Souls Monastery.²⁴⁸ Of the first, a relatively large amount is known and has been reconstructed above. Of All Souls Monastery, next to no evidence has survived. Bearing this issue in mind, the hands discussed in the previous chapters will be grouped according to features which I believe link at least some of them in a 'scribal cluster'. The label 'house style' will not be used, as such loaded terminology evokes a far more organised and streamlined scribal practice, along with an intentional scribal hand coherence which is difficult to ascertain regarding Lund. The few surviving manuscripts and fragments do not allow one to infer any such canonisable script. Furthermore, a number of factors complicate the differentiation between scriptoria. Since it is known that the personnel between the two were in exchange, a scribe whom we identify with one particular scriptorium may well be working elsewhere. Furthermore, compared to institutions such as Helmarshausen, whose far more streamlined scribal hands demonstrate what house styles look like, the one thing that Lund hands have in common is that they have little in common. This mixture of features, which individually are difficult to pinpoint, may itself be a key defining factor when discussing local scribal practice.

Below (Table 9), a number of graphs are taken from various scribal samples, where it will be shown that three to four of the scribes may be grouped together (Scribe A, Scribe C, Scribe T, and Hand b/16) with Hand rub./8 and Hand c/19/Scribe 3 seeming to fall outside of that cluster.

²⁴⁸ See Ekström 'Skriptoriet i Laurentiusklostret' for a speculative view of what the scriptorium at St. Lawrence may have looked like.

Scribe A	Scribe C	Scribe T	Hand b/16	Hand rub./8
SRA FR 23589	SRA FR 23621	Thott 21 fol. 84v	Thott 21 fol. 84v	DRA Lat. fragm. 8140v
				
				
 	 			
				
				
				
				 MH 5 fol. 22r
	 SRA FR 23695			



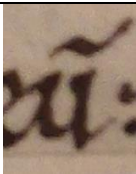
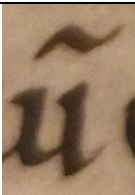

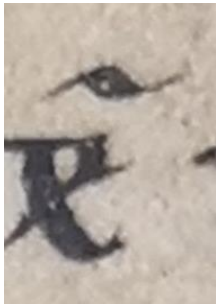
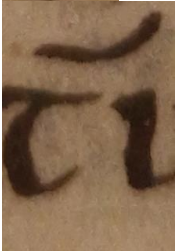
	 SRA FR 23621			
	 SRA FR 23695			

Table 9: Graphs taken from hands of confirmed Lund scribes

The features which link Scribe A and Scribe C are the most immediately obvious connections between hands. As has already been discovered, the initials found in both scribes' work speak volumes of the interconnectedness of these two hands.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, the **ct**-ligature in particular is a shared idiosyncrasy, a highly rare occurrence, as well as the use of **i**-longa in non-double **ii** position, something which Hand f/4 may be connected with. Furthermore, the issue of the 'short wave' abbreviation which comes to supersede any other in Scribe A's work can be seen to emerge in Scribe C's hand. Due to the purely fragmentary evidence of that scribe's work, the picture may be somewhat deceiving. Since SRA FR 23621 does not show any 'short wave' abbreviations, and it seems to come more and more into force in the other fragments ascribed to Scribe C, one may be tempted to see a similar chronological progression. However, that would be pure speculation, since no other features seem to be progressively changing in the scribe's hand. The unusually close relationship between these two hands may lead one to think about the second hand in SRA FR 23593. The presence of that completely inexperienced scribe encourages a discussion regarding a teacher-student relationship not unlike that which springs to mind regarding Scribe A and Scribe C. However, this presupposes a very linear transmission of style. As Michelle Brown puts it, playing that sort of 'generation game' can be rather dangerous.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Ommundsen, 'Danish fragments in Norway', pp. 194–95.

²⁵⁰ Brown, 'House Style in the Scriptorium', p. 137.

Scribe T, similar to later Scribe A, uses the ‘short wave’ abbreviation exclusively, whereas Hand b/16 shows usage of various abbreviation marks, amongst which we do find the ‘short wave’ feature.

Regarding the ‘short wave’ abbreviations, these initially rather insignificant-seeming suspension marks possess a disproportionate weight for purposes of the present analysis. Since these are some of the most commonly used strokes by scribes in general they are near subconscious in creation. Therefore, when one observes such changes and shifts, these carry a non-trivial weight.

Observed in isolation, the ‘short wave’ abbreviation may well arise due to independent developments in scribal hands. However, taking Scribe A and Scribe C’s close connection into account, as well as the transition observed in Scribe A’s work, the interconnectivity of these scribes can be observed on this granular level. Coupled with the fact that the evidence, which emerged in the previous chapters, proves that these scribes worked together, observing this proximity in their hands may not come as a surprise.

Nevertheless, Hand b/16 above stands out rather more amongst the grouping of the other three scribes. Whilst the general aspect may not seem too different, the distinct ductus of **g** as well as the idiosyncratic ampersand and far forwardly trailing-headed **a** create some distance between that hand and those of the other scribes. This mixture of features in general makes Hand b/16 one of the most idiosyncratic hands and may be perhaps used as an exemplary Lundensian hand which defies classifications with regard to regional Pregothic mainland European hands.

However, a comparative look at Hand rub./8 and Hand c/19/Scribe 3 shows that Hand b/16 finds itself closer to the group shown above, with the straight-shafted **t** found in Hand rub./8 and Hand c/19/Scribe 3 lending them a distinctly more German appearance. Hand rub./8 in particular is a curious one, since we see such features as the straight-shafted **t** next to the figure-eight style **g** which is so distinctive to that scribe.

With the chronology established through Scribe A’s work, Hand c/19/Scribe 3, Hand rub./8 and Hand b/16, one perhaps has sufficient data points to reconstruct some of the timeline and role distribution of the scribes in question, and the Lund scriptoria in general. This analysis is tied to the dating of the various manuscripts connected to the cathedral chapter as well as the relative chronology of Scribe A’s hand development.

The gospel books in particular create a complex set of relationships. Hand b/16/Scribe 3 may hold the key to dating Thott 21, or at least to giving the manuscript an *ante quem* of as early as 1145/46. This is admittedly a tentative dating method, since it relies on the shift observed in

the scribe's hand between the 1136 and 1145/46 entries in the *Necrologium*. Nevertheless, it is perhaps the closest one has arrived at for a firm dating of the manuscript. This dating pushes Thott 21 closer to C 83 in time, with perhaps not much time at all elapsing between that manuscript arriving at Lund and the writing of Thott 21. As was discussed above concerning the purpose of Thott 21, it seems to have been created with a more concrete daily usage in mind, since the multitude of corrections and alterations would only have been made for that reason, as opposed to the complete lack of contemporary corrections in Ludwig II 3. One might wonder why so many gospel books were present at Lund around 1140. Yet each had a different role to play at the cathedral, from the pristine display of Ludwig II 3, to the no less impressive the confraternity affirming C 83, which, however, followed a different usage, to Thott 21 which, whilst based mostly on Ludwig II 3, was amended into a composite text of various gospel recensions. Moreover, one must not forget the further question of the Group 3 of corrections found in Thott 21, which may even speak of a fifth gospel recension present at the scriptorium at Lund.

As to which scriptorium the scribes were working at, the gospel books seem to tie Scribe A and Scribe T firmly to the cathedral. Hand rub./8 as well as Hand b/16 seem to be firmly placed there due to their roles in the scriptorium seen in the *Necrologium*. Only Hand c/19/Scribe 3 is not in a firm position at the cathedral due to the role he played regarding Helmarshausen. The roles of these scribes are, however, not equal. Scribe A is, without a doubt, the most prolific of these scribes. The survival rate of two complete manuscripts and eight fragmentary manuscripts is unlike anything I have been able to find in the Nordic fragment collections. The work of copying Ludwig II 3 must have fallen to one of the most senior scribes available. At the time of the writing of that manuscript, the surviving fragments of Scribe A's work already speaks of at least four or five manuscripts, one of which was a grand folio-size lectionary (MS 2), having been penned by him. However, as the multitude of corrections show, Scribe A was perhaps not the most accurate of scribes, as was demonstrated by the discussion of Thott 21 above. It is interesting that in the case of Ludwig II 3, speed of writing seems to have been valued over accuracy of copying.

Of the other known Lund hands, only DRA Lat. fragm. 8140 speaks of Hand rub./8 writing ecclesiastical books intended for daily usage, as opposed to the *Necrologium* and Colbaz Annals, as well as his correctional interpolations. Going by Weibull's dating of the *Necrologium* of 1123, Hand rub./8 is active from that time until the writing of the *Lectionarium Lundense* II. The dating of that manuscript is somewhat tentative and dependent on the transition rate of Scribe A's hand. With Ludwig II 3 predating C 83, the date for that manuscript

can be placed in a range from 1136–1140 at the latest. Scribe A's hand development at that point may be halfway to where it eventually ends up in the *Lectionarium*. Therefore, a very conservative *post quem* of 1140 may be applied to that codex. However, considering Scribe A's hand development, a date of 1145–50 is far more realistic, since these changes do not occur from one day to another. The intervening time sees Hand rub./8 still at Lund. Though the breviary fragment DRA Lat. fragm. 8140 cannot be given a firm date, MS 2 of Scribe A shows correction work done by that hand. Once again using Ludwig II 3 as a point of relative chronology, MS 2 would predate that manuscript somewhat since it shows Scribe A in a very early stage of his hand. Further Hand rub./8's role in the *Colbaz Annals* would have taken place at some point in between those chronological anchor points around 1130. The approximate work period for Hand rub./8 would therefore range from 1123 to around 1145.

Hand b/16 is first found in 1125–30, as the first librarian hand in the *Necrologium*,²⁵¹ with the latest known entries known being the corrections in Thott 21, a minimum span of 15 years working at Lund.

Hand c/19/Scribe 3/(Findor?) first appears in the *Necrologium* in 1124, with the final known entries the records of the events of 1145/46. Scribe A's period of work can be safely assumed to span from the early 1130s to 1145–50 at the very latest, a period of approximately 25 years. Due to the developmental shift observed in his hand, one must space out the surviving manuscripts along that timeline, wherefore one may assume that this timespan encompasses the active working period of Lund's most prolific scribe.

It can safely be said that the period of approximately 1130–45 saw a large amount of activity at the Lund scriptoria. It seems that for the most part, the manuscripts that were produced were for usage in liturgical settings. Patristic texts for example are conspicuous in their absence. The focus of the scriptorium lay on necessity, with the likely imports, such as KB Lat. fragm. 3177–79 and KB Lat. fragm. 1703, the fragments of Helmarshausen manuscripts at the Royal Library in Copenhagen filling that role. As discussed above, the period of 1130–45 saw a large amount of activity at Lund Cathedral outside of the scriptorium. It is not surprising that the expansion under Archbishop Eskil is mirrored in the sheer amount of manuscripts produced, some of which were of very high status and quality.

²⁵¹ *Necrologium Lundense*, ed. E. Kroman, p. XVII.

5. CONCLUSION

From the above study of the four gospel books associated with the cathedral chapter of Lund, we can make three firm conclusions.

Firstly, Scribe A was tasked with copying Ludwig II 3 from Thott 22 using the stunning art supplied by Helmarshausen. This scribe clearly already had a large amount of experience, judging from the sizable amount of surviving fragmentary evidence. It is therefore unsurprising that he would be given such a great responsibility. He and his assistant Scribe T copied the gospels from Thott 22. One might speculate that Scribe T may have been a student, a more junior scribe, as he was entrusted with only a limited role in Ludwig II 3. This theory stands up from a chronological standpoint as well. If 1120–30 sees Scribe T in a junior role to Scribe A, then by the 1140s he would most likely have been in a position to take the leading scribe role which we see that he has in Thott 21.

Secondly, the scribes at Lund were aware of the differences between what they used as normative gospel texts, such as differences between Thott 22 and the Helmarshausen recension of C 83. This is expressed through the layers of corrections and interpolations in Thott 21. Since Ludwig II 3 did not seem to see much actual usage from a practical liturgical point of view, no contemporary corrections were undertaken as they were in Thott 21. The fact that none of the correcting hands are restrained to a particular strand of emendations shows that the scribes took care to bring in every version available to them, especially considering the tantalising evidence supplied by correction group G3, which does not seem to refer to any of the other known gospel recensions. Whether this is evidence of another unknown gospel book is, however, mostly speculation, though what other explanations could there be?

Thirdly, the purpose of the manuscripts becomes apparent as well. Ludwig II 3 served as a display manuscript or prestige manuscript of a kind, since it shows remarkably few signs of regular usage. The abbreviated pericopes and lack of any contemporary corrections of the many major errors of the manuscript both support this theory. The reason behind the creation of Thott 21 may therefore perhaps have been the purpose of a manuscript which may serve a more practical use.

The analysis presented in this thesis raises further questions concerning the role of C 83 and its place in the chronology of manuscripts. As an official-seeming commission, perhaps gift, and statement of confraternity between the two ecclesiastical centres, did it precede Ludwig II 3, or did it follow? The art-historical argument places Ludwig II 3 before C 83. What has been

argued concerning the unusual, perhaps even experimental, art before the Helmarshausen scriptorium settled into their particular style of the time leads to the likelihood of Ludwig II 3 indeed preceding C 83. Did the possible delegation from Helmarshausen, Manegoldus and Walbertus, as is speculated, have anything to do with this? Did an initial request from Lund for the artists of Helmarshausen to provide the illuminations spark such a strong reaction in Lund once they beheld the codex that was to become Ludwig II 3 that a certain Findor was tasked with establishing a confraternity agreement with the powerful and influential Benedictine abbey? These hypotheses clearly live in the realm of speculation, though their possibility is a strong one.

The further question the above conclusions lead to regards the reason for this activity. As is discussed in the section dealing with the historical implications of these gospel books, they appear to be but one aspect of a larger amount of activity surrounding the archdiocese of Lund itself. Thus far, the focus has been on the manuscripts, their fragments, and the scribes responsible for creating them. These activities, however, do not take place in isolation, and a wider view of the time and milieu is necessary in order to contextualise the findings made in the previous chapters. The important dates which have thus far emerged are:

1123: Consecration of the crypt of Lund Cathedral, dating of the *Necrologium Lundense* (MH 6).

1120–30: The approximate date range given for the art of Ludwig II 3.

1136: The date of the confraternity agreement between the Lund cathedral chapter and Helmarshausen.

1140–45: Traditional dating of C 83.

1145: Consecration of the high altar of Lund Cathedral.

1145: Beginning of usage of *Liber Daticus Vetustior* (MH 7).

These dates span a somewhat unsettled time at Lund, with external and internal power struggles at play. Lund acquired Metropolitan authority over Scandinavia in 1103/4, with Bishop Asser raised to the archbishopric. On 30 June 1123, Archbishop Asser was able to triumphantly consecrate the altar of the crypt.²⁵² However, it was only ten years later, in 1133 that the Metropolitan see of Hamburg-Bremen under Archbishop Adalbero reclaimed primacy, at least until 1138.²⁵³ Archbishop Asser passed away on 5 May 1137,²⁵⁴ after which his nephew Bishop

²⁵² Harrison, 'Lund och dess ärkebiskopar', p. 19.

²⁵³ For a detailed discussion of the wider church-political events occurring at the time, see Niblaeus, 'German Influence', pp. 149–53.

²⁵⁴ Gelting, 'Da Eskil ville være ærkebiskop', p. 190.

Eskil deftly manoeuvred his way through the tempestuous political currents of the time in order to follow him as archbishop of Lund, with the metropolitan see being reinstated in 1138.²⁵⁵

As such the Lund gospel books C 83 and Thott 21 would have come into being under Eskil, building upon the confraternity agreement of 1136. However, Ludwig II 3 shows that the connection with Helmarshausen goes back much farther. Following the art-historical arguments above, the manuscript's creation predates the confraternity agreement by six to sixteen years. The gospel book would therefore have been commissioned before the official agreement took place; indeed, it may have even led to the agreement being made in the first place and Hand c/19/Scribe 3/Findor being sent to Helmarshausen. This is a circumstantial argument but an entirely plausible one. With Eskil becoming archbishop, and Lund reclaiming its place, as well as the cathedral seeing expansions completed, and acquiring number of important relics, the increase in manuscript production goes hand in hand with these prestigious events.

Additional supporting evidence for this scenario is provided by the reconstructed manuscripts MS 2, MS 3 and MS 8. Those two large lectionaries and bible, manuscripts in folio size, utilizing high-quality parchment, were intended for some more prestigious uses, as opposed to the *Lectionarium Lundense* II for example. The fact that those two fragmentary lectionaries, of roughly the same size, bookend Ludwig II 3 with regard to Scribe A's chronological hand development implies that these productions were not necessarily impacted by the archiepiscopal changes at Lund.

The evidence presented thusly in this thesis argues for local — that is, Lund — productions of the fragmentary manuscripts of Scribe A and Ludwig II 3. The reason that this model stands up to a counter paradigm is due to a number of factors. In order to clearly define the strongest counterargument to be made, and why it does not hold water, one must re-visit the analysis of Klemm and Wolter-von dem Knesebeck.

As they have suggested, Liège may have been the origin of the main hand of Ludwig II 3, building on Abbot Thietmar's (1080/81–1115/20) connections as discussed above. Furthermore, Hoffmann pointed in that direction as well, an opinion not easily disregarded. Moreover, it is known that that area produced at least Hermann of Klosterrath (who arrives early 1130s at Lund and dies latest 1151), who went on to have a successful(ish) career in Denmark and Lund. It stands to reason that he may not have necessarily been alone and might have had a scribe accompanying him who years earlier worked on Ludwig II 3 and thereafter

²⁵⁵ Niblaeus, 'German Influence', p. 151.

spent the rest of his life in Denmark. Moreover, as mentioned regarding the *Liber Daticus*, the origin of that manuscript covers a similar geographic range, namely the Low Countries, eastern France, Belgium and the Rhineland. The connections are tangible, and this may explain the origin of Scribe A. However, the firm anchor points for my model are built on a solid foundation on a number of facts. For one, the fragmentary manuscripts are distributed between Denmark and Sweden (as discussed above, the two fragments in Norway arrived there during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The breviary fragments seem to have been used by churches in southern Sweden, anchoring those fragments to a likely production in that locality.²⁵⁶ The distribution of the fragments in Denmark is harder to explain, with a detailed study of secondary provenance distributions still awaiting. Nevertheless, it decreases the likelihood of these manuscripts being imports from a scribe based in the geographical areas mentioned above. Furthermore, Ludwig II 3 stems from around the middle of Scribe A's hand development. This additionally supports the argument that it would have been written in Lund and not elsewhere, which would be a rather different case if it stemmed from one end or the other of the chronology. Lastly, the presence of Scribe T's hand in Ludwig II 3 further increases the probability of a local production. Taking all of these factors into consideration, the possibility of a Liège production of Ludwig II 3 is highly unlikely. Finally, barring a few discrepancies, Ludwig II 3 is based on Thott 22, with the *Capitula Evangeliorum* firmly securing that model of transmission, as well as Thott 21 being predominantly based on Ludwig II 3. Thott 22 is firmly anchored to Lund, as well as Thott 21 having been written there based on Ludwig II 3.

Without the creation of my fragment database, the context of Scribe A's work and that of the scribes connected to him would have remained opaque, and the scale of the library at Lund around the 1130s would not have been as apparent. Considering the output of one single identified scribe, not to mention the various others discussed above, the archdiocese established in the early twelfth century had by the 1120s, started to truly expand its scribal capabilities. From simple breviaries perhaps designated for local churches, to, by the 1140s, possessing three stunning gospel books, two of which had been written at Lund, and one of which may even have been illuminated there, as well as the wide range of lectionaries, the scribes can be seen to have been rather busy.

One must also not forget that most of the manuscripts ascribed to Lund have to be seen through the lens of the fragmentary evidence. So much of Scribe A's work survives perhaps due to him

²⁵⁶ Niblaeus, 'German Influence', p. 251.

being the most prolific and senior scribes at the time. Whilst the considerable losses of manuscripts must be considered, the fragment collections in Copenhagen undoubtedly contain more evidence which can be connected to Lund and the wider web of scribes, with more detailed work awaiting. By laying bare the fragmentary manuscripts tied to Lund, instead of working from secondary provenance to original provenance, the difficult, frustrating, and mostly impossible process discussed above, it will be possible to work from original provenance to secondary provenance, using the firmly located fragment groups to expand a framework of distribution. During the course of my research, I have assembled dozens of fragment groups, some of which, even at a cursory glance, show rich promise for closer examination. Indeed, whilst Ommundsen's study started to uncover the maze of fragments associated with Scribe A, so has my own work barely begun uncovering the interconnected web of fragmentary manuscripts in Copenhagen that hold such rich potential for future work. For example, one may look for fragments of works by already identified scribes, such as the so-called Benedict Scribe, who has been determined to have translated the Rule of St. Benedict into Old Norwegian.²⁵⁷ Fragments of his works have already been pinpointed in collections of the NRA and the KB. DRA Lat. fragm. 5777–78 undoubtedly can be ascribed to him as well.

Another example of a fragment that would reward further analysis is DRA Lat. fragm. 5769, a calendar fragment which I date to around the middle of the twelfth century, containing the first ten days of August and September. This may possess strong Lund connections, with the two important dates September 5 (St. Bertin) and September 9 (St. Ansgar) surviving. The feast day of St. Ansgar was kept on this date only at the metropolitan see of Hamburg-Bremen, the archdiocese of Lund and the diocese of Ribe.²⁵⁸ However, St. Bertin was not celebrated at Hamburg-Bremen. The titles of the months point towards a French connection of this calendar, with adaptations made for likely Lund usage, as the bright rubrication of *Passio Sancti Laurentii Archidiaconi* indicates. An argument for a Norwegian context for this fragment may also be made, as the feast of St. Bertin, having arrived there via England, was also in observance in Norway.

As opposed to the single fragment DRA Lat. fragm. 5769, a third example exists in the final group that exemplifies the depth of the manuscript material in Copenhagen. This large assortment of fragments encompasses a sizable amount of pieces scattered across the

²⁵⁷ Gullick and Ommundsen, 'Two Scribes and one Scriptorium', pp. 38–48.

²⁵⁸ Helander, *Ansgarskulten i Norden*, pp. 53–4.

collections, ranging from small removed pieces to large, rare, in situ bifolia. This group encompasses:

KB Lat. fragm. 67–71

KB Lat. fragm. 517–523

KB Lat. fragm. 2829

DRA Lat. fragm. 576–78

DRA Lat. fragm. 3994–95

DRA Lat. fragm. 4001–04

DRA Lat. fragm. 5096

DRA Lat. fragm. 5460

DRA Lat. fragm. 8197

Palaeographic criteria indicate an origin of this fragment group around the late twelfth century, perhaps the very early part of the thirteenth, approximately 1180–1220, written by a Scandinavian scribe. These fragments, likely stemming from a legendary containing saints' lives and related texts, contain a rather early recension of the text of Benedict of Peterborough's listing of the Miracles of Thomas Becket. Considering the date of composition of the original text, which was finished by 1179 at the earliest, this falls just within the bounds set by the palaeographic analysis.²⁵⁹ Benedict composed the original three books by 1173–74, and the existing fragments span these three books, from the Prologue to chapter 71, missing only the last seven chapters.²⁶⁰ This points towards the exemplar of the text having made its journey to Scandinavia before 1179, before the final book was finished, though this is not a given, since the picture may be skewed due to accident of survival. The small removed fragments in the KB stem from a section of this manuscript which deals with a text concerning St. Trophimus, patron saint of Arles, namely the B version of the *Sermo Trophimi*. This version of the *Sermo*, a slightly later recension than the primary A version, has been well documented by Anke Krüger, especially the three separate textual traditions of the *Sermo* B.²⁶¹ While the so-called 'Berlin' version exists only in a late-fifteenth century northern German manuscript, the fragments KB Lat. fragm. 69–71 can be considered the earliest extant version of the Berlin recension of *Sermo* B.

The dating of the other surviving saints' lives and related sermons (in the case of St. Eustace) recorded in the fragments span the following range:

²⁵⁹ Staunton, *Thomas Becket and his Biographers*, p. 50.

²⁶⁰ Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket II*, pp. 21–220.

²⁶¹ Krüger, *Südfranzösische Lokalheilige*, pp. 49–51.

St. Eustace: November 2
St. Martin: November 11
St. Nicholas: December 6
St. Eugenia: December 25
St. Anastasius: December 25
St. Thomas Becket and St. Trophimus: December 29
St. Ecgwine: December 30

The final piece of this legendary, DRA Lat. fragm. 8197, a small strip of the Second Book of Miracles of the Life of St. Ecgwine of Evesham Abbey (Prologus, Book 2), in particular points towards the exemplar of this manuscript being of English provenance. Moreover, the early role Evesham Abbey played in the history of the Danish church immediately springs to mind in this context. The hand of the scribe himself is somewhat reminiscent of the scribe Gullick has identified in association with the nunnery at Vreta.²⁶² Whilst this localisation would place this group in a Swedish context, this is a rather tentative connection, requiring a deeper palaeographic study of the hands in question.

The examples of fragment groups above barely scratch the surface of the material I have thus far identified in the Danish collections, and whilst future projects have their work cut out for them, the wealth of evidence in fragmentary form is well on its way to revealing its secrets. Thusly, the final missing piece of the puzzle of the interconnected web of Nordic manuscript fragment collections may be set in place with an effort to integrate the ones in Copenhagen.

I have hereby demonstrated that this is necessary in order to fully understand the evidence supplied by the material retained in the other Nordic collections. With digitisation efforts coming to fruition in recent years, and interconnectivity never having been simpler due to systems such as IIF, a project dealing with the fragments of the DRA and to some extent the KB has never been as feasible as it is now. As I have demonstrated what may be achieved by but one person, one might only imagine what the future will bring for the field.

²⁶² Gullick, 'The Nunnery at Vreta', pp. 177–90.

APPENDIX 1: CORRECTIONS IN THOTT 21 AND LUDWIG II 3:

Below the four groups of errors and corrections found in Thott 21 which are discussed in Chapter Three are listed, followed by those in Ludwig II 3. The readings and their locations of the other three gospel books are supplied as well. Where pertinent, a short commentary is made on the nature of the visual cues offered by the diacritic used to denote the insertion of the correction, as well as other factors such as ink hue etc. Where certain, the scribes responsible have also been supplied. Singular graphs which have been inserted or otherwise amended are in **bold**.

Group 1: Errors by Scribe T

1. Thott 21 fol. 6r: Intralinear *uenerunt* (light brown, comma with round curve and flat head).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 11r, Thott 22 fol. 21v, C 83 fol. 19r: *uenerunt*.
2. Thott 21 fol. 11v: Intralinear *n* changing *faciat* to *faciant* (Dot comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 17r, C 83 fol. 25r, Thott 22 fol. 28v: *faciant*.
3. Thott 21 fol. 12v: Intralinear *in domo*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 18r, Thott 22 fol. 29v, C 83 fol. 25v: *in domo*.
4. Thott 21 fol. 17r: *Tunc coepit exprobare* (Dot comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 22v, Thott 22 fol. 34v, C 83 fol. 30r: *Tunc coepit exprobrare*.
5. Thott 21 fol. 19v: Marginal correction *et oculos clauseverunt* (Scribe 3).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 25v and Thott 22 fol. 38r: contain the phrase.
6. Thott 21 fol. 23v: Eyeskip from *sumpsistis* to *sumpsistis*, marginal correction (Scribe 3).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 30r and Thott 22 fol. 43v: contain the missing phrase.
7. Thott 21 fol. 30r: Marginal addition *Primus* (Scribe 3).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 36v and Thott 22 fol. 51v, C 83 fol. 43v: *Primus*.
8. Thott 21 fol. 39v: Intralinear *posuerunt*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 47r, Thott 22 fol. 64r, C 83 fol. 53r: *posuerunt*.

Mark

9. Thott 21 fol. 46v: *loquebatur* erasure between *a* and *t*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 54r, C 83 fol. 60r, Thott 21 fol. 71r: *loquebatur*.

10. Thott 21 fol. 48r: Intralinear *ni Simoni* (Forked comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 55v, Thott 22 fol. 73r, C 83 fol. 61v: *Symoni*.
11. Thott 21 fol. 49v: Correction on erasure: *Sic est regnum dei* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 57v, Thott 22 fol. 75r, C 83 fol. 62v: *Sic est regnum dei*.
12. Thott 21 fol. 50v: marginal *impetu* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 58v, Thott 22 fol. 76r: *impetu*.
13. Thott 21 fol. 51r: Correction on erasure, *sana a plaga* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 59r, Thott 22 fol. 77r: *sana a plaga*.
14. Thott 21 fol. 52r: Intralinear *i* correcting *Herodiadis*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 60r and Thott 22 fol. 78v, C 83 fol. 65v: *Herodiadis*.
15. Thott 21 fol. 54r l.7: *facitis; & advocatis*. Added comma.
Ludwig II 3 fol. fol. 62r and Thott 22 fol. 81v, C 83 fol. 68r: *facitis. Et advocatis*.
16. Thott 21 fol. 56r: ~~*inuenientes*~~.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 64v, Thott 22 fol. 83r, C 83 fol. 69v: No *inuenientes*.
17. Thott 21 fol. 56v: Intralinear *sunt*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 65v, C 83 fol. 70v: *sunt*.
Thott 22 fol. 84v: no *sunt*.
18. Thott 21 fol. 57r: ~~*ad eum*~~.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 65v, Thott 22 fol. 84v, C 83 fol. 70v: no *ad eum*.
19. Thott 21 fol. 57r: Intralinear *autem* (Dot comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 65v, Thott 22 fol. 85r, C 83 fol. 70v: *autem*.
20. Thott 21 fol. 57v: Intralinear *pedes*. (Long insertion).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 66v, Thott 22 fol. 85v, C 83 fol. 71r: *pedes*.
21. Thott 21 fol. 58r: intralinear *ad* (Dot comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 66v and Thott 22 fol. 86v, C 83 fol. 71v: *ad*.
22. Thott 21 fol. 59r: *de* on erasure.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 68v, C 83 fol. 73r and Thott 22 fol. 88r: *de*.
23. Thott 21 fol. 63v: Rubricated initial *Ut* is overwritten with *A* in black ink, changing it to *At*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 74r and Thott 22 fol. 94v, C 83 fol. 78r: *At*.
24. Thott 21 fol. 64r: marginal *autem*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 74r and Thott 22 fol. 95r, C 83 fol. 78r: *autem*.
25. Thott 21 fol. 66v: Marginal and intralinear correction. Scribe T jumped from *eum* to *eum* and missed: *in uoluit syndone; & posuit eum*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 77v, Thott 22 fol. 99r: Do not omit this line.

26. Thott 21 fol. 67r: Red initial *E*. (*Et*) rubbed out.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 78r, Thott 22 fol. 99v, C 83 fol. 81v: Initial *A* (*At*).

Luke

27. Thott 21 fol. 67v: Eye skip from *scriberet* to *scriberet*. Intralinear correction adding in the missing *et in quo electus scriberet*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 78v and Thott 22 fol. 100v, C 83 fol. 82v: *et in quo electus scriberet*.

This line in C 83 is a correction on erasure.

28. Thott 21 fol. 75r: Intralinear *ilico*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 86r, Thott 22 fol. 108v, C 83 fol. 88r: *ilico*.

29. Thott 21 fol. 76r: Intralinear *fecit* & (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 87r, Thott 22 fol. 109v, C 83 fol. 89r: *fecit* &.

30. Thott 21 fol. 83v: Intralinear *trabem*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 94v, Thott 22 fol. 119r, C 83 fol. 96v: *trabem*.

31. Thott 21 fol. 86r: *ad* on erasure (Hand b/16?).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 97r, C 83 fol. 98v and Thott 22 fol. 122r: *ad*.

32. Thott 21 fol. 88v: *dari* (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 99v, Thott 22 fol. 125r, C 83 fol. 100v: *dari*.

33. Thott 21 fol. 89v: ~~*alie*~~.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 100v, Thott 22 fol. 126r, C 83 fol. 101v: no *alic*.

34. Thott 21 fol. 93r: *Cotidie* on erasure (Scribe 3).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 104r, Thott 22 fol. 130v, C 83 fol. 104v: *cotidie*.

35. Thott 21 fol. 93v: *erat eicens demonium et illud erat mutum*. Scribe eyeskipped one line down, from *Et* to *Et*. The layout in Ludwig II 3 is highly conducive to this mistake (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 104v, Thott 22 fol. 131r, C 83 fol. 105r: Has same version as in the Thott 21 correction.

36. Thott 21 fol. 104r: *ad illum* &, some erasure (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 115, Thott 22 fol. 144v, C 83 fol. 115v: *ad illum* &.

37. Thott 21 fol. 105v: Eyeskip, from *tua* to *tua* (Hand b/16).

Marginal correction: *fecit quinque mnas. Et huic ait. Et tu esto supra quinque ciuitates. Ettercius uenit dicens. Domine; ecce mna tua.*

Ludwig II 3 fol. 116v, C 83 fol. 117r, Thott 22 fol. 146v: *fecit quinque mnas. Et huic ait. Et tu esto supra quinque ciuitates. Et alter uenit dicens. Domine; ecce mna tua.*

38. Thott 21 fol. 110v: *ministrat* on erasure (Hand f/4).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 121v, Thott 22 fol. 152r, C 83 fol. 121r: *ministrat*.

39. Thott 21 fol. 111v: Black initial A on red capital E. Changing *Et ille* to *At ille*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 122v, Thott 22 fol. 153v, C 83 fol. 122v: *At ille*.

John

40. Thott 21 fol. 146v: Intralinear corrections in bold: Exiuit **ergo** sermo **iste** inter (thin pen).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 159v, Thott 22 fol. 198v, C 83 fol. 159r: Exiuit ergo sermo iste inter.

41. Thott 21 fol. 129r: intralinear &.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 140r, Thott 22 fol. 175r, C 83 fol. 140r: have it in text.

42. Thott 21 fol. 130v: *uide* on erasure, likely changing *gustabit* to *uidebit*. This is because Scribe T skipped from one *si quis sermonem meum seruauerit* to the next.

Marginal correction in Thott 21: *Dixerunt ergo iudei. Nunc cognouimus quia demonium habes. Abraham mortuus est & prophete; & tu dicis. si quis sermonem meum seruauerit. Non gustabit mortem in eternum.* Instance of two different corrections. *Uide* is corrected by Hand f/4, whereas the marginal correction is by Hand b/16. The need to adjust the text to the correction arose after Hand b/16 stepped in. Therefore, Hand f/4 corrected after Hand b/16 did.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 141v: *Dixerunt ergo iudei. Nunc cognouimus quia demonium habes. Abraham mortuus est & prophete; & tu dicis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit. Non gustabit mortem in eternum.* The only difference beyond abbreviation use is the lack of punctuation after *tu dicis*. Thott 22 fol. 177r has the same version as Ludwig II 3 has. C 83 fol. 141v has the same version as is in Thott 21, with the punctuation after *tu dicis*.

43. Thott 21 fol. 130v: *Si ego* on erasure.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 141v, Thott 22 fol. 177r, C 83 fol. 141v: *Si ego*.

44. Thott 21 fol. 138r: Eye skip from *pater in me est* to *pater in me est*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 150r: *Uerba que ego loquor uobis; a me ipso non loquor. Pater autem in me manens; ipse facit opera. Non creditis quia ego in patre & pater in me est* (Scribe 3).

Thott 22, fol. 187r: Has the same as Ludwig II 3.

C 83 fol. 150r has a variation, the *credit* is *credis*. It seems that this corrector, Scribe 3 in Thott 21, is perhaps not using the version that is so close to C 83 that Hand b/16 may be using.

45. Thott 21 fol. 141r: *quia que uerba dedisti* (erasure) *mihi*.

The second case where word order shows slight variation:

Ludwig II 3 fol. 153r, Thott 22 fol. 191r: *quia uerba que dedisti mihi*.

C 83 fol. 153r: Same as Ludwig II 3 and Thott 22: *Quia uerba que dedisti michi*.

46. Thott 21 fol. 142r: line four: *autem* & on erasure (Scribe 3).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 154r, Thott 22 fol. 192r, C 83 fol. 154r: *autem* &.

47. Thott 21 fol. 144v: intralinear *plenam* (Long insert).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 156v, C 83 fol. 156v, Thott 22 fol. 195v: *plenam*.

48. Thott 21 fol. 146v: Intralinear corrections in bold: Exiuit **ergo** sermo **iste** inter...

Ludwig II 3 fol. 159v, Thott 22 fol. 198v, C 83 fol. 159r: Exiuit ergo sermo iste inter...

Group 2: Corrections aligning text with a C 83 type recension

1. Thott 21 fol. 8v: erasure in first line.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 13v, Thott 22 fol. 24r: & *patre*.

C 83 fol. 21v: no & *patre*.

2. Thott 21 fol. 10v: ~~ergo~~, marginal *autem* correction (Scribe 3).

Thott 22 fol. 27r, Ludwig II 3 fol. 16r: *ergo*.

C 83 fol. 23r: *autem*.

3. Thott 21 fol. 11v: Intralinear *re* changing *metietur* to *remetietur*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 17r, Thott 22 fol. 28r: *metietur*.

C 83: fol. 24v: *remetietur*.

4. Thott 21 fol. 11v: Intralinear *fratris* and *i* on erasure in *tui* (Long insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 17r, Thott 22 fol. 28r: no *fratris*, *tuo*.

C 83: fol. 24v: *fratris tui*.

5. Thott 21 fol. 11v: l. 3 from lower margin: *Quam*. Erasure and abbreviation added.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 17r, Thott 22 fol. 28v: *Quia*.

C 83 fol. 25r: *quam*.

6. Thott 21 fol. 15r: intralinear *et Symon cananeus* (Possible Scribe 3).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 20v, Thott 22 fol. 32v: do not contain this.

C 83 fol. 28: *et Symon cananeus*.

7. Thott 21 fol. 17r: Intralinear *in* (Round stroke thin comma insertion mark).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 23r, Thott 22 fol. 34v: No *in*.
 C 83 fol. 30r: Has *in*.
8. Thott 21 fol. 17r: end of second to last line erasure after *leue*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 23r, Thott 22 fol. 35r: *leue est*.
 C 83 fol. 30v: *leue*. No *est*.
9. Thott 21 fol. 18v: Intralinear *s*. pluralising *phariseis* (perhaps same corrector as the *illos* on 30v).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 24v, Thott 22 fol. 36v: *pharisei*.
 C 83 fol. 31v: *phariseis*.
10. Thott 21 fol. 24v: Marginal correction: *et ducit illos in montem excelsum seorsum* (Scribe 3).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 31v, Thott 22 fol. 43v: Do not contain this phrase.
 C 83 fol. 37v: *et ducit illos in montem excelsum seorsum*.
11. Thott 21 fol. 28v: Intralinear *audierunt*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 35v, Thott 22 fol. 50r: *audientes*.
 C 83 fol. 42r: *audierunt*.
12. Thott 21 fol. 29r: l.4 from lower margin, *lactaentium*, head of *e* added to back of second *a*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 36r, Thott 22 fol. 51r: *lactantium*.
 C 83 fol. 43r: *lactentium*.
13. Thott 21 fol. 32v: ~~*autem*~~.
 Thott 22 fol. 55r, Ludwig II 3 fol. 39v: *autem*.
 C 83 fol. 46v: no *autem*.
14. Thott 21 fol. 37r l. 15: erasure between *uos* and *scandalum*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 44v: *uos*; *scandalum*.
 Thott 22 fol. 62r: *uos*: *scandalum*.
 C 83 fol. 51r: *uos scandalum*.
15. Thott 21 fol. 39r: light, thin pen corrections: *quod ad preciauerunt*, changed to *quem appreciauerunt*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 46v, Thott 22 fol. 63v: *quod ad preciauerunt*.
 C 83 fol. 53r: *quem appreciauerunt*.
16. Thott 21 fol. 39r: marginal *hodie* (Hand f/4).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 47r, Thott 22 fol. 64r: no *hodie*.

C 83 fol. 53v: *hodie*.

17. Thott 21 fol. 41r: *sedebat*. Erasure and intralinear *bat*.

Thott 22 fol. 66r, Ludwig II 3 fol. 48v: *sedit*.

C 83 fol. 55r: *sedebat*.

Mark

18. Thott 21 fol. 51v: *faber filius*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 51v, Thott 22 fol. 77v: *fabri filius*.

C 83 fol. 65r: *faber filius*.

19. Thott 21 fol. 52r: Intralinear *resurrexit*. (Line comma insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 60r, Thott 22 fol. 78r: *surrexit*.

C 83 fol. 65v: *resurrexit*.

20. Thott 21 fol. 52v: *Et ascendentes*. Erasure and intralinear.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 60v, Thott 22 fol. 79r: *Et ascendens*.

C 83 fol. 66r: *Et ascendentes*.

21. Thott 21 fol. 53r l.5: *Per* quinquagenos.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 61r, Thott 22 fol. 79v: no *per*.

C 83 fol. 66r: *per*.

22. Thott 21 fol. 53v: *enim* on erasure.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 61v, Thott 22 fol. 80r: *autem*.

C 83 fol. 67r: *enim*.

23. Thott 21 fol. 54v: *cum IHC. nec haberent*. Erasure and punctus inserted on erasure.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 63r, Thott 22 fol. 81v, C 83 fol. 68r: *cum IHC & nec haberent*.

24. Thott 21 fol. 55r: Marginal addition: *Et Statim ascendens nauem. cum discipulis uenit in partes dalmanutha* (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 63r, Thott 22 fol. 82r: do not contain this phrase.

C 83 fol. 68v: *Et statim ascendens nauim. Cum discipulis suis. Uenit in partes dalmanutha*.

25. Thott 21 fol. 55v: *Uos uero quem me...* Semicolon after *uero* is erased.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 64r, Thott 22 fol. 83r: *Uos uero; quem me*.

C 83 fol. 69r: no punctuation.

26. Thott 21 fol. 58r: Intralinear *dilexit eum* (Line comma insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 67r and Thott 22 fol. 86v: do not contain this.

C 83 fol. 72r: *dilexit eum*.

27. Thott 21 fol. 60v: *Interogabo*. Correction from *interrogo* to *interroga*, and intralinear *bo*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 70r, Thott 22 fol. 90v: *Interrogo*.
C 83 fol. 74v: *Interrogabo*.
28. Thott 21 fol. 65r: Intralinear *ei* (Hook comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 76r Thott 22 fol. 97r: No *ei*
C 83 fol. 80r: *ei*
29. Thott 21 fol. 66r: Intralinear *audientes* (Hook comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 77r, Thott 22 fol. 98v: Do not contain this.
C 83 fol. 81r: has *audientes*.
30. Thott 21 fol. 67r: *precedit* changed to *precedet*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 78r, Thott 22 fol. 99v: *precedit*.
C 83 fol. 81v: *precedet*.
- Luke*
31. Thott 21 fol. 78r, last line: *ioseth* changed to *ioseph*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 89v, Thott fol. 112v: *ioseth*.
C 83 fol. 91v: *ioseph*.
32. Thott 21 fol. 79r: *Et regressus*. **r** is a correction (Long insertion).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 90r, Thott 22 fol. 113v: *egressus*.
C 83 fol. 92r: *regressus*.
33. Thott 21 fol. 80r: Intralinear *sis* (hook comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 91r, Thott 22 fol. 114v: No *sis*.
C 83 fol. 93r: *sis*.
34. Thott 21 fol. 81r: Missing *P* initial from *Per*. Intralinear *legis doctors* (tironian insertion).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 92r, Thott 22 fol. 116r: No *legis doctoris*.
C 83 fol. 94v: Has *legis doctores*.
35. Thott 21 fol. 82v: Marginal *de* (possibly Hand f/4).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 93v, Thott 22 fol. 117v: No *de*.
C 83 fol. 95v: *de*.
36. Thott 21 fol. 83r: Intralinear *est* (same as thin pen hand).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 94r, Thott 22 fol. 118r: no *est*.
C 83 fol. 95v: *est*.

37. Thott 21 fol. 87r: Correction on erasure *Enauigauerunt*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 98r, Thott 22 fol. 123v: *Et nauigauerunt*.
C 83 fol. 99v: *Enauigauerunt*.
38. Thott 21 fol. 87v: **a** changed to **e** with punctus delens, *uinciabatur* to *uinciebatur*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 99v, Thott 22 fol. 123v: *uinciabatur*.
C 83 fol. 99v: *uinciebatur*.
39. Thott 21 fol. 87v: correction on erasure, *ascendens*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 99r, Thott 22 fol. 124r: *descendens*.
C 83 fol. 100r: *ascendens*.
40. Thott 21 fol. 90r l.2: On erasure *facta est*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 101r, Thott 22 fol. 126v, C 83 fol. 102r: *factum est*.
41. Thott 21 fol. 93r: *ut* on erasure.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 104r, Thott 22 fol. 130v: *et*.
C 83 fol. 104v: *ut*.
42. Thott 21 fol. 94r: *ponet*. Punctus delens under **e**, suprascript **i**: *point*. Presumably same corrector as other delens.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 105r, Thott 22 fol. 132r: *ponet*.
C 83 fol. 106r: *ponit*.
43. Thott 21 fol. 98r: Erasure of **n**: *Dicebat*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 109r: *Dicebant*.
Thott 22 fol. 136v, C 83 fol. 109v: *Dicebat*.
44. Thott 21 fol. 99r: Intralinear *ei* (Line comma insertion).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 110r, Thott 22 fol. 138v: No *ei*.
C 83 fol. 110v: *ei*.
45. Thott 21 fol. 100r: intralinear *utile est* (Line comma insertion).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 111r, Thott 22 fol. 139r: no *utile est*.
C 83 fol. 111v: has *utile est*.
46. Thott 21 fol. 102r l. 18: Erasure, *possunt* changed to *possint*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 113r, Thott 22 fol. 142v: *possunt*.
C 83 fol. 113v: *possint*.
47. Thott 21 fol. 103r: Intralinear *sub* (Hook comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 114r, Thott 22 fol. 143r: no *sub*.
C 83 fol. 114r: *sub*.
48. Thott 21 fol. 103v: intralinear *ueniens* (Hook comma).

- Ludwig II 3 fol. 114v, Thott 22 fol. 144r: No *ueniens*.
C 83 fol. 115r: *ueniens*.
49. Thott 21 fol. 105v l.2: *dixit* on erasure.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 116r, Thott 22 fol. 146r: *Ihc*.
C 83 fol. 116v: *dixit*.
50. Thott 21 fol. 106r: On erasure *descendentium* (Line comma).
Thott 22 fol. 146v, Ludwig II 3 fol. 117r: *discipulorum*.
C 83 fol. 117r: *decendentium*.
51. Thott 21 fol. 106v, upper margin: *Dico vobis*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 117r, Thott 22 fol. 147r: No *dico vobis*.
C 83 fol. 117v: *dico vobis*.
52. Thott 21 fol. 107v: *ut*. Changed to *et* with *punctus delens* under *u*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 118v, Thott 22 fol. 148v: *ut*
C 83 fol. 118v: *&*.
53. Thott 21 fol. 107v: *esse* on erasure.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 118v, Thott 22 fol. 149r: *inter se*. Fits well into the space underneath *esse* in Thott 21.
C 83 fol. 118v: *esse*.
54. Thott 21 fol. 111v: Intralinear *bi* changing the verb to *respondebitis* (Line comma insertion).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 122v, Thott 22 fol. 154r: *repondetis*.
C 83 fol. 122v: *respondebitis*.
55. Thott 21 fol. 112r: intralinear *&* *scribe*. (Hand f/4).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 123r, Thott 22 fol. 154v: No *&* *scribe*.
C 83 fol. 123r: *&* *scribe*.
56. Thott 21 fol. 114r l. 6: Intralinear *r* for *regressu*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 125r, Thott 22 fol. 156v: *egressu*.
C 83 fol. 125r: *regressu*.
57. Thott 21 fol. 114v: l. 7: squeezed in point-and-tick punctuation between *uidisse* and *qui*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 125v, Thott 22 fol. 157v: no punctuation.
C 83 fol. 125v: a simple punctum.

John

58. Thott 21 fol. 118v: Intralinear *primum*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 129v, Thott 22 fol. 162r: no *primum*.
C 83 fol. 129v: has *primum*.
59. Thott 21 fol. 122r: *adorant*. The second **a** is a correction on erasure. Difficult to tell which hand corrected.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 132v, Thott 22 fol. 166r: *adorent*.
C 83: fol. 132v: *adorant*.
60. Thott 21 fol. 122r: l. 3 from lower margin: *congregat*. Erasure at the end of the word, changing the ending, in this case the tense.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 133r, Thott 22 fol. 166v: *congregabit*.
C 83 fol. 133r: *congregat*.
61. Thott 21 fol. 124r: Intralinear *haec*.
Thott 22 fol. 169r: Intralinear *haec*. The same hand that corrected Thott 21 inserted the *haec* in Thott 22 as well.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 135r: does not have the *haec*.
C 83 fol. 135r: *haec*.
62. Thott 21 fol. 124v l. 6 from lower margin: erasure between *autem* and *proximum*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 135v, Thott 22 fol. 169v: has *autem in proximum*.
C 83 fol. 135v: no *in*.
63. Thott 21 fol. 126r: Intralinear & between *prophetis* and *Erunt* (Thin pen).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 137r, Thott 22 fol. 171v: Do not have &.
C 83 fol. 137r has *Et erunt*.
64. Thott 21 fol. 127r: Intralinear round s added to the end of *manifesta*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 138r: *manifesta*.
Thott 22 fol. 172v: Long s added to the end of *manifesta*.
C 83 fol. 138r: *manifestas*.
65. Thott 21 fol. 127r: Ending of *Iscariothis*. In bold is on erasure.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 137v, Thott 22 fol. 172v: *Iscariothen*.
C 83 fol. 138r: *iscariothis*.
66. Thott 21 fol. 129r: Intralinear *Ihc*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 140r, Thott 22 fol. 175r: No *Ihc*.
C 83 fol. 140r: *Ihc*.
67. Thott 21 fol. 129v: intralinear & (Thin pen hand).

- Ludwig II 3 fol. 140v, Thott 22 fol. 175v: No &.
- C 83 fol. 140v: has the & in text.
68. Thott 21 fol. 131r: *Ille autem dixit eis*. Erasure between *autem* and *dixit*.
 Thott 22 fol. 178r, Ludwig II 3 fol. 142r: *Ille autem; dixit eis*. Note punctuation.
 C 83 fol. 142r: Has no punctuation like the correction in Thott 21.
69. Thott 21 fol. 131v: *Respondit ille. it* on erasure.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 143r, Thott 22 fol. 178v: *Respondens ille*.
 C 83 fol. 143v: *Respondit ille*.
70. Thott 21 fol. 133v: Intralinear *domine*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 144v, Thott 22 fol. 180v: no *domine*.
 C 83 fol. 144v: *domine*.
71. Thott 21 fol. 134r: *Punctus elevatus* elided in multiple places.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 145v: has *punctus elevatus* at those locations.
 C 83 fol. 145v: does not have *elevatus* in those places.
72. Thott 21 fol. 135r: intralinear *unguenti* (Line comma).
 C 83 fol. 146v: *ungenti*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 146v, Thott 22 fol. 183r: no *ungenti*.
73. Thott 21 fol. 135v: Intralinear *rex israhel* (Line comma).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 147r, Thott 22 fol. 183v: no *rex israhel*.
 C 83 fol. 147r: *rex israhel*.
74. Thott 21 fol. 135v: l. 7 from lower margin; tironian *et* before *rogabant* in the margin.
 C 83 fol. 147r: & *rogabant*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 147r, Thott 22 fol. 184r: no *et* before *rogabant*.
75. Thott 21 fol. 136r: Intralinear *qui est in celis* (Long insertion).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 147v, Thott 22 fol. 184r: does not contain this phrase.
 C 83 fol. 147v: has *qui est in celis*.
76. Thott 21 fol. 140v: Marginal correction by Hand f/4: & *in illo die me non rogabitis quicquam*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 152v, Thott 22 fol. 190v: Do not contain this line.
 C 83 fol. 152v: *Et in illo die. Me non rogabitis quicquam*.
77. Thott 21 fol. 142v: intralinear additions changing *cale fiebant* to *cale faciebantse* (sic).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 154v, Thott 22 fol. 193r: *cale fiebant*.
 C 83 fol. 154v: *cale faciebantes*.
78. Thott 21 fol. 143r l. 2 from lower margin: *capiti* on erasure (Hand f/4).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 155v, Thott 22 fol. 194r: *super caput*.

C 83 fol. 155v: *capiti*.

79. Thott 21 fol. 144r, l. 3 from lower margin: erasure between *diligebat* and *dicit*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 156v, Thott 22 fol. 195v: *diligebat ihc, dicit*.

C 83 fol. 156v: *diligebat. dicit*.

Group 3: Corrections finding no reflection in the other gospel recensions

1. Thott 21 fol. 12v: Intralinear *constitutes*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 18r, Thott 22 fol. 29v, C 83 fol. 25v: do not contain *constitutus*.

2. Thott 21 fol. 13r: intralinear *in mundos* (Line comma).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 18v, C 83 fol. 26r, Thott 22 fol. 30r: do not contain this.

3. Thott 21 fol. 13r: *ipse portauit* on erasure (Thinner pen).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 18v, Thott 22 fol. 30r, C 83 fol. 26r: just *portauit*.

4. Thott 21 fol. 13r: marginal *Erat uero uentus contrarius eis*. (Scribe 3, but using a diacritic that is mainly used by Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 18v, C 83 fol. 26r, Thott 22 fol. 30r: Do not contain this.

5. Thott 21 fol. 18r: *blasphemiae*, **e** appended to the **a**.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 24r, C 83 fol. 31v, Thott 22 fol. 36v: *blasphemia*.

6. Thott 21 fol. 19r: erasure between *meus* and *frater*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 25r, C 83 fol. 32r, Thott 22 fol. 37v: *meus & frater*.

7. Thott 21 fol. 25r: Intralinear **d** for *illud*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 31v, Thott 22 fol. 45r, C 83 fol. 38r: *illum*. The suspension bar in Thott 21 was changed to a **d**.

8. Thott 21 fol. 40r: *Ut ad impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem. Diuisertem sibi uestimenta mea. Et super uestem meam miserunt sortem;*

Not in any of the other manuscripts.

9. Thott 21 fol. 41v: intralinear *per* (Thin pen long insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 48v, Thott 22 fol. 66r, C 83 fol. 55r: no *per*.

10. Thott 21 fol. 45v: *Ueni&fortiori*. **T** stroke may have been changed and included in the ampersand. If that is the case, it is skilfully done.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 52v, Thott 22 fol. 69v, C 83 fol. 58v: *Uenit*.

Mark

11. Thott 21 fol. 46r: *terram et*. Intralinear correction (Hook comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 53v, Thott 22 fol. 71v, C 83 fol. 59r: Do not contain this.
12. Thott 21 fol. 46v: Intralinear *hoc* (Hook comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 53v, Thott 22 fol. 71r, C 83 fol. 59v: no *hoc*.
13. Thott 21 fol. 46v: Marginal addition: *eos domus* (Scribe3).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 54r, Thott 22 fol. 71r, C 83 fols. 59v–60r: no *eos domo*.
14. Thott 21 fol. 46v: *eicit* erasure between **i** and **c**.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 53v, C 83 fol. 59v, Thott 21 fol. 71r: *eiecit*.
15. Thott 21 fol. 47r: Correction on erasure and into margin: *bibit magister uero? oc* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 54v, Thott 22 fol. 72r, C 83 fol. 60r: *bibit. Hoc*.
16. Thott 21 fol. 49v: Intralinear *ex* (Line comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 57v, Thott 22 fol. 75r, C 83 fol. 63r: Do not contain this.
17. Thott 21 fol. 48v: Marginal addition, and erasure: *mater mea est*. Missing following *E* initial (Hand b/16?).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 56v, Thott 22 fol. 74r, C 83 fol. 62r: *Mater est*.
18. Thott 21 fol. 49v: Correction on erasure: *quod non in palam* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 57v, Thott 22 fol. 75r, C 83 fol. 62v: *Sed ut in palam*.
19. Thott 21 fol. 50v: **a** on erasure, *a finibus*. (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 58v, Thott 22 fol. 76r, C 83 fol. 64r: *de finibus*.
20. Thott 21 fol. 51v: *Date illi* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 59v, Thott 22 fol. 77v, C 83 fol. 65r: *dari illi*.
21. Thott 21 fol. 51v: *Tabitacumi*. Correction on erasure in the middle of the word.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 59v, Thott 22 fol. 77v: *Tauthacumi*.
C 83 fol. 64v: *Talitacumi*.
22. Thott 21 fol. 52v: Intralinear tironian *et*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 60v, Thott 22 fol. 79r, C 83 fol. 66r: no *et*.
23. Thott 21 fol. 52v: Intralinear *uos* (Hook?).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 60v, Thott 22 fol. 79r, C 83 fol. 66r: no *uos*.
24. Thott 21 fol. 53v: ~~*sunt*~~.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 61v, Thott 22 fol. 80v, C 83 fol. 67r: *sunt*.
25. Thott 21 fol. 56r: Erasure between *Tibi unum. Moysi*.

Thott 22 fol. 83v, C 83 fol. 70r, Ludwig II 3 fol. 64v: Ampersand between *unum* and *Moysi*.

26. Thott 21 fol. 56v: *Qui respondens dixit*, followed by erasure.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 65r, Thott 22 fol. 84v, C 83 fol. 70v: *Qui respondens dixiteis*.

27. Thott 21 fol. 58v: intralinear *populi* (Thin line insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 68r, Thott 22 fol. 87v, C 83 fol. 72v: No *populi*.

28. Thott 21 fol. 61r: Correction on erasure: *cesarian non* (*dabimus* has been erased).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 70v, Thott 22 fol. 90v, C 83 fol. 75r: *cesari an non dabimus*.

29. Thott 21 fol. 61r: Intralinear *simlr* (Hook).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 71r, Thott 22 fol. 91r, C 83 fol. 75r: Do not contain it.

30. Thott 21 fol. 61v: Intralinear *deus* (Hook).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 71v, Thott 22 fol. 90v, C 83 fol. 75v: no *deus* in text.

31. Thott 21 fol. 63v: Initial of *Vesper autemis* erased.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 74r, Thott 22 fol. 94v, C 83 fol. 78r: have the initial.

32. Thott 21 fol. 65r: intralinear *con intro* (Hook).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 75v, C 83 fol. 79v, Thott 22 fol. 96v: Do not contain the phrase.

33. Thott 21 fol. 66r: *lamazabactani*. Was changed from *lamazaptani*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 77r, Thott 22 fol. 98v, C 83 fol. 81r: *lamazaptani*.

Luke

34. Thott 21 fol. 79v: Marginal addition: *Dixerunt pharisei ad Ihm* (Hand f/4).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 90v, Thott 22 fol. 114r, C 83 fol. 92v: Do not have this phrase.

35. Thott 21 fol. 86r: *ciuitates. & castelles*. Endings on erasure changing to plural forms (Trailing **a** round **s**).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 97r, C 83 fol. 98v, Thott 22 fol. 122r: *ciuitatem. & castellum*.

36. Thott 21 fol. 90r: marginal *erant: & qui erant cum illo* (reminiscent of Hand f/4, but the **a** does not fit. Does also not entirely conform to Hand b/16 or Scribe 3).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 101r, Thott 22 fol. 126v: no *erant: & qui cum illo*.

C 83 fol. 102r: *et qui cum eo erant*.

37. Thott 21 fol. 91r: Intralinear tironian *et* (Long insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 102r, Thott 22 fol. 128r, C 83 fol. 103r: No *et*.

38. Thott 21 fol. 91v: intralinear *ti* for *somitis* (Line insert).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 102v, Thott 22 fol. 128v, C 83 fol. 103v: *sodomis*.

39. Thott 22 fol. 92r: intralinear tironian *et* (Line insert).

- Ludwig II 3 fol. 103r, C 83 fol. 103v, Thott 22 fol. 129r: No *et*.
40. Thott 21 fol. 94r: *plusquam*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 105r, Thott 22 fol. 132r, C 83 fol. 106r: *plusquam*.
41. Thott 21 fol. 96v: Intralinear *ut*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 108r, Thott 22 fol. 135v, C 83 fol. 108v: no *ut*.
42. Thott 21 fol. 98v: intralinear *deserta* (perhaps Hand f/4).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 109v, Thott 22 fol. 139v, C 83 fol. 110r: No *deserta*.
43. Thott 21 fol. 100v: *exmercenariis*. Changed from *de mercenariis*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 111v, Thott 22 fol. 140r, C 83 fol. 112r: *de mercenariis*.
44. Thott 21 fol. 106r: Intralinear *et habundabit* (Hook).
Thott 22 fol. 146v, Ludwig II 3 fol. 116v, C 83 fol. 117r: No *et habundabit*.
45. Thott 21 fol. 114r: Marginal correction *Non est hic sed resurrexit* (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 125r, Thott 22 fol. 156v: Do not contain this line.
C 83 fol. 124v: *Non est hic sed surrexit*, not *resurrexit*.
46. Thott 21 fol. 114v, l.15: *coegertum* awkward correction in middle of word (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 125v, Thott 22 fol. 157v, C 83 fol. 125v: *coegerunt*.

John

47. Thott 21 fol. 118r: marginal *ecce* (Hand b/16?).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 129r, Thott 22 fol. 161r, C 83 fol. 129r: no *ecce*.
48. Thott 21 fol. 121r: Intralinear *autem* (Hook).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 132r, Thott 22 fol. 165r, C 83 fol. 131v: No *autem*.
49. Thott 21 fol. 122r: Squeezed in tironian *et*. (Flat head, long descender).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 133r, Thott 22 fol. 166r, C 83: fol. 133r: no linking of sentences by *et*.
50. Thott 21 fol. 124r: Intralinear *e* changing *venit* to *veniet* (Line comma insert).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 134v, Thott 22 fol. 168v, C 83 fol. 134v: *venit*.
51. Thott 21 fol. 124r: An *s. (sed)* inserted between *quicquam.(s.) Sicut audio*. (Line comma).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 134v, Thott 22 fol. 168v, C 83 fol. 134v: do not have any abbreviation after *quicquam*.
52. Thott 21 fol. 125r: intralinear *etduobus paschibus* (Long tironian insert, flat top, long descender).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 135v, Thott 22 fol. 170r, C 83 fol. 136r: do not contain that phrase.

53. Thott 21 fol. 125v: Intralinear **a**, *me* (is group2), *meis*. (*me* by hook insert, *meis* by forked comma. Two different hands).
Not in Ludwig II 3 fol. 136r, Thott 22 fol. 170r.
C 83, fol. 136r: does not have the **a** from *a naues* or the C 83 fol. 136v *meis*. But C 83 fol. 136v **has** the *me*.
54. Thott 21 fol. 125v: Intralinear *a*, *me* (is group2), *meis*. (*me* is a hook insert) (*meis* the forked comma. Two different hands)
Not in Ludwig II 3 fol. 136r, Thott 22 fol. 170r.
C 83, fol. 136r: does not have the **a** from *a naues* or the C 83 fol. 136v *meis*. But C 83 fol. 136v **has** the *me*.
- This entry doubled in order to keep an accurate count of corrections.**
55. Thott 21 fol. 126v: *Sicut misit me pater meus ueniens*. There is an intralinear *meus* added between *pater* and *ueniens* in Thott 21. This is not found in the other three manuscripts. The word order indicates this instance is a variation which places Thott 21 closer to Ludwig II 3 than Thott 22. The correction itself, however, belongs into G3 (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 137v: *Sicut misit me pater ueniens*.
Thott 22 fol. 172r: *Sicut misit me ueniens pater*.
C 83 fol. 137v: *Sicut misit me ueniens pater*.
56. Thott 21 fol. 129r: & on erasure (Arm of ampersand jagged like Hand f/4, but foot does not curve.)
Ludwig II 3 fol. 140r, Thott 22 fol. 175r: *aut*.
C 83 fol. 140r: *aut*.
57. Thott 21 fol. 134r: l. 6 from lower margin: Ending of *s* is added to change *plorante* to *plorantes*, followed by *in* (Hand f/4).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 145v, Thott 22 fol. 182r, C 83 fol. 145v: *plorantes. fremuit*.
58. Thott 21 fol. 134v: Intralinear *adversus Ihesum*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 146r, Thott 22 fol. 182v, C 83 fol. 146r: no *adversus Ihesum*.
59. Thott 21 fol. 136r: Intralinear *dicens* (Hook).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 147v, Thott 22 fol. 184r, C 83 fol. 147v: no *dicens*.
60. Thott 21 fol. 140r: intralinear *coniam* (Hook insertion, same as *con iam* fol. 65r).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 152r, Thott 22 fol. 189v: no *con iam*.
C 83 fol. 152r: *iam*.
61. Thott 21 fol. 140v: Intralinear *quia* (Long insert).

- Ludwig II 3 fol. 153r, Thott 22 fol. 191r, C 83 fol. 153r: Do not contain this.
62. Thott 21 fol. 145v, l. 8: *un* on erasure.
- Ludwig II 3 fol. 158r, Thott 22 fol. 197r, C 83 fol. 157v: *una*.
63. Thott 21 fol. 146r, l. 7: intralinear *autem*.
- Ludwig II 3 fol. 158v, Thott 22 fol. 197v, C 83 fol. 158r: no *autem*.
64. Thott 21 fol. 146r, l. 2 from lower margin: intralinear *autem*.
- Ludwig II 3 fol. 159r, Thott fol. 198r, C 83 fol. 158v: no *autem*.
65. Thott 21 fol. 146v: Intralinear *ba* changing tense *dat* to *dabat* (line comma).
- C 83 fol. 158v: *dedit*.
- Ludwig II 3 fol. 159r, Thott 22 fol. 198r: *dat*.

Group 4: Corrections of mistakes made in Ludwig II 3, or variations, not in Thott

22

Of all groups, this particular one underlines the fact that Thott 21 was copied from Ludwig II 3 and not Thott 22 regarding the main text of the gospels. The four subgroups below divide these instances into the following groupings:

G4a: Corrections of errors made by Scribe A in Ludwig II 3 that were carried over by Scribe T:

2; 6; 10; 11; 12; 19; 29; 37; 39; 40; 41; 43; 47; 48

G4b: Corrections of variations:

3; 4; 8; 9; 13; 14; 20; 21; 22; 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 44; 45; 50.

G4c: Corrections which cannot be clearly classified:

1; 5; 7; 17; 38; 42; 46; 52;

G4d: Corrections aligning text in Thott 21 to recension found in Ludwig II 3:

15; 18

1. Thott 21 fol. 5v: marginal addition *de rachab* (Scribe 3).
Ludwig II 3 fol.10v: no *de rachab*.
C 83 fol. 18v, Thott 22 fol. 20v: *de rachab*.
2. Thott 21 fol. 9r: The correction on erasure of 9 lines: (Scribe 3).
Non ueni legem soluere. Sed ad implere. Amen quippe dico uobis. donec transeat celum & terra²⁶³. iota unum aut apex unus²⁶⁴ non preteribit a lege donec omnia fiant. Qui ergo²⁶⁵ soluerit unum de mandatis istis minimis. Et docuerit sic homines; minimus uocabitur in regno celorum. Qui autem fecerit et docuerit.²⁶⁶ Hic magnus uocabitur in regno celorum.²⁶⁷ Dico autem²⁶⁸ uobis. Quia nisi abundauerit iusticia uram plusquam scribarum & phariseorum. non intrabitis in regnum celorum.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 14v: contains the error of the skipped lines in Thott 21. Thott 22 fol. 25r and C 83 fol. 22r do not contain the error. There is slight variation in usage of *enim* and *autem* and *ergo*.
3. Thott 21 fol. 16v: *agitatam* on erasure (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 22v: *moueri*.
C 83 fol. 29v, Thott 22 fol. 34r: *agitatam*.
4. Thott 21 fol. 16v: *uestitum* bold is on erasure, followed by punctuation, and space left at the end of the line. Blank space left, due to erasure (Hand b/16).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 22v: *uestimentis indutum*.
Thott 22 fol. 34r, C 83 fol. 29r: *uestitum*.
5. Thott 21 fol. 20v: marginal correction *educentes* (Scribe 3).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 27r: does not have *educentes*.
Thott 22 fol. 39v, C 83 fol. 34r: *educentes*.
6. Thott 21 fol. 26v: Marginal correction: *Redde quod debes. Et prociens conseruus eius. Rogabat eum dicens* (Scribe 3).
Ludwig II 3 fol. 33r: Is lacking the same phrase. Eyeskip from *dicens* to *dicens*.
Thott 22 fol. 47r, C 83 fol. 40r: Contain the phrase.

²⁶³ Ludwig II 3: *terram*.

²⁶⁴ Ludwig II 3, Thott 22, C 83: *aut unus apex*.

²⁶⁵ Ludwig II 3, Thott 22: *Qui enim*.

²⁶⁶ Ludwig II 3: does not contain clause.

²⁶⁷ Ludwig II 3: does not contain clause.

²⁶⁸ Ludwig II 3, Thott 22, C 83 *Dico enim*.

7. Thott 21 fol. 28r: *Quid vis ait. Ait illi. Dic ut.* Correction on erasure, going into margin. (Capital initial **T** for *Tunc* is missing in l. 6 from lower margin, the marginal references as well.) (Hand f/4).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 35r: Missing *Quid vis ait. Ait illi.*
 C 83 fol. 42r, Thott 22 fol. 49v: Contain the phrase.
8. Thott 21 fol. 30r, l. 9 from lower margin: ~~eum~~.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 37r: *eum*.
 Thott 22 fol. 52r, C 83 fol. 43r: No *eum*.
9. Thott 21 fol. 30v: *illos* on erasure.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 37v: *eorum*.
 Thott 22 fol. 52v, C 83 fol. 44v: *illos*.
10. Thott 21 fol. 32v: *vae vobis scribae et Pharisei hypocritae quia mundatis quod de foris est calicis et parapsidis*. Then eyeskip to next *parapsidis* continuing with *ut fiat* (Scribe 3).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 39v: shares this same eyeskip, which is corrected in Thott 21 fol. 32v by the marginal correction.
 Thott 22 fol. 55r, C 83 fol. 46v: Have same correct version.
11. Thott 21 fol. 34r: *Sicut autem in diebus noe*. This line is repeated in Thott 21, and is duly corrected by crossing through.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 41v: Has same mistake, not corrected.
 Thott 22 fol. 57r: Does not have this error.
12. Thott 21 fol. 35r: Intralinear: *quia super pauce fuisti fidelis* (Thott 21 Scribe?).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 42v: Missing same phrase, and is corrected in the margin.
 Thott 22 fol. 58v, C 83 fol. 49r: Contain the phrase, no error.
13. Thott 21 fol. 36r: & (erasure) *uenimus*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 43r: & *non uenimus*.
 Thott 22 fol. 59v: & ~~non~~*uenimus*.
 C 83 fol. 50r: & *uenimus*.

Mark

14. Thott 21 fol. 56r ls. 8–9: *confitebitur*. Unusual **f** and hooked **r**, correction on erasure.
 Thott 22 fol. 83v, C 83 fol. 69v: *confitebitur*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 64v: *confundetur*.
15. Thott 21 fol. 63v: Intralinear *bi, habebitis* (Line insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 73v: *habebitis*.

Thott 22 fol. 94r, C 83 fol. 77v: *habetis*.

Luke

16. Thott 21 fol. 74v: Erased *H* from *Helisabeth*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 85v: *Helisabeth*.

Thott 22 fol. 107v, C 83 fol. 87v: *Elisabeth*.

17. Thott 21 fol. 75v: Intralinear *multitudo*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 87: No *multitudo*.

Thott 22 fol. 109v: *multitudo*.

C 83 fol. 89r: *multitude*.

18. Thott 21 fol. 83v: On erasure: *condemnare* (Hand f/4).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 94v: *condemnare*.

Thott 22 fol. 118v, C 83 fol. 96r: *condempnare*.

19. Thott 21 fol. 84v: Correction on erasure: (Hand b/16).

Cum autem uenissent ad eum uiri. Dixerunt Iohannes baptista misit nos ad te dicens. Tu es qui uenturus es. an alium expectamus? In ipsa autem hora curauit multos a langoribus. & plagis. & spiritibus malis; et

Ludwig II 3 fol. 97r: is missing the section from *expectamus* to *expectamus*. The corrector in Thott 21, by adding in the missing part, had to add two extra lines, hence 29 lines, as opposed to the 27 we find on 84r for instance.

Thott 22 fol. 120v: Same version as the correction.

C 83 fol. 97v: Similar version, but is missing *baptista*.

20. Thott 21 fol. 87r: Correction on erasure: *surgens. Increpauit uentum*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 98r: *surgens. Imperauit uentum*.

Thott 22 fol. 123v, C 83 fol. 99v: *surgens. Increpauit uentum*.

21. Thott 21 fol. 98v: on erasure: *mittuntur ad te*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 109v: *ad te missi sunt*.

Thott 22 fol. 137v, C 83 fol. 110r: *mittuntur ad te*.

22. Thott 21 fol. 99r, l. 16: *non habent unde retribuere*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 110r ls. 16–7: *non habent unde retribuere*.

Thott 22 fol. 138r l. 28, C 83 fol. 110v l. 19: *non habent retribuere*.

23. Thott 21 fol. 99r: **A** written on top of the red *Et* initial changing it to *At*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 110r: *Et*.

- Thott 22 fol. 138v, C 83 fol. 110v: *At*.
24. Thott 21 fol. 100r: erasure *imponit*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 111r: *conponit*.
 Thott 22 fol. 139v: *imponit*.
 C 83 fol. 111v: *inponit*.
25. Thott 21 fol. 101v: Intralinear & (Thin pen hand).
 Thott 22 fol. 141r, C 83 fol. 113r: &.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 112v: no &.
26. Thott 21 fol. 103v: marginal *re, reuerebatur*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 114v: *uerebatur*.
 Thott 22 fol. 144r, C 83 fol. 115r: *reuerebatur*.
27. Thott 21 fol. 104r: *Afferebant*. The capital **A**, written by the same hand that corrected various other initials throughout Thott 21, covers the original red initial. It is difficult to ascertain whether there was an **O** underneath. However, it seems to look more like an **E**.
 Thott 22 fol. 144v, C 83 fol. 115v: *Afferebant*
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 115v: *Offerebant*
28. Thott 21 fol. 106r: Erasure in *Abierunt*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 117r: *Abiecerunt*.
 Thott 22 fol. 146v, C 83 fol. 117r: *Abierunt*.
29. Thott 21 fol. 107v: *sequis*. **i** changed to **e**, abbreviation mark, but not the usual suspension, for **n**, changing the word to *sequens*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 118v: *sequis*, intralinear *en* above **i**, no punctus delens or anything denoting the **i** as being incorrect. The corrections in Ludwig II 3 are as non-interventionist as the other contemporary ones. This is until now the only case where the intralinear corrections were not copied over to Thott 21.
 Thott 22 fol. 149r, C 83 fol. 118v: *sequens*.
30. Thott 21 fol. 107v: *Filius* changed to *filus*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 118v: *filius*.
 Thott 22 fol. 149r, C 83 fol. 118v: *filus*.
31. Thott 21 fol. 108v: erasure after **i** in *habundanti*.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 119v: *habundantia*.
 C 83 fol. 119v, Thott 22 fol. 149v: *abundanti*.
32. Thott 21 fol. 111r: ~~*uenit*~~.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 122r: *uenit*.

C 83 fol. 121r, Thott 22 fol. 153r: no *uenit*.

33. Thott 21 fol. 112v: *crucifigeretur* (ending on erasure).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 123v: *crucifigerent*.

C 83 fol. 123v, Thott 22 fol. 155r: *crucifigeretur*.

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34. Thott 21 fol. 117v: intralinear *est* (line).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 128v: no *est*.

Thott 22 fol. 161r, C 83 fol. 128v: *est*.

35. Thott 21 fol. 118r: first word of folio, *eum* on erasure.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 129r: *Iohem*.

Thott 22 fol. 161r, C 83 fol. 129r: *eum*.

36. Thott 21 fol. 118v: Erasure changing *Iohanna* to *iona*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 129v: *Iohanna*.

Thott 22 fol. 162r: *Iona*.

C 83 fol. 129v: *Iohanna*.

37. Thott 21 fol. 119r: Marginal addition. Scribe T copied the faulty text from Ludwig II 3 with the same errors. Ludwig II 3 fol. 130r is missing the same lines: *Dixit eis Ihs. Implete ydrias aqua. Et impleuerunt eas usque ad summum.*

This is one of the later marginal corrections in Ludwig II 3. The *Dicit eis Ihs* in Thott 21 was then changed to *Et dicit*, so that the text can align with the inserted changes. This was not done in Ludwig II 3.

Thott 22 fol. 162v, C 83 fol. 130r: have the correct text.

38. Thott 21 fol. 127v: intralinear *uobis* (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 138v: no *uobis*.

Thott 22 fol. 173r, C 83 fol. 138v: *uobis*.

39. Thott 21 fol. 127v: Marginal addition of: *Respondit turba & dixit. Demonium habes quis te querit interficere* (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 138v: does not have this line in text. Ludwig II 3 scribe eyeskipped from *Respondit* to *Respondit*.

Thott 22 fol. 173r: *Respondit turba & dixit. Demonium habes; quis te querit interficere.*

C 83 fol. 138v: *Respondit turba & dixit. Demonium habes. Quis te querit interficere.*

40. Thott 21 fol. 129v: Faulty text copied from Ludwig II 3 fol. 140r/v. Scribe A jumped from *non potestis uenire* to the next *non potestis uenire*. The eye skip from sentence ending to sentence ending led to this error (Hand b/16).

Dicebant ergo iudei. Numquid interfici& se ipsum. quia dicit. Quo ego uado. Uos non potestis uenire.

This is, however, not the version found in Thott 22 fol. 175v, which is: *Dicebant ergo iudei. Numquid interficiet semetipsum. quia dicit quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire.*

C 83 fol. 140v: *Dicebant ergo iudei. Numquid interficiet semetipsum. quia dicit. quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire.*

C 83 version has the same punctuation found in the correction in Thott 21. However, there seems to be an abbreviation missing above the *se ipsum* in Thott 21.

41. Thott 21 fol. 130r: ls. 5–6 from lower margin: *Quis ex uobis arguet me de peccato*. On erasure as of the s of *quis* (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 141r: Scribe made the mistake and repeated the line *Qui est ex deo; uerba dei audit*. This is due to eye skip from the ending of the respective endings of the previous sentence: *...non credistis mihi*.

C 83 fol. 141r, Thott 22 fol. 176v: Have the correct version.

42. Thott 21 fol. 131r: Intralinear *eius* in last line (Hand b/16).

Thott 22 fol. 178r, C 83 fol. 142v: *eius*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 142: no *eius*.

43. Thott 21 fol. 132r: Large error copied over from Ludwig II 3 fol. 143r. Scribe A jumped from *alienorum* to *alienorum*, missing out a line (Hand b/16).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 143r: *Quia sciunt uocem alienorum. Hic prouerbum...* Correcting *eius* intralinear between *uocem* and *alienorum*.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 143r: Later correction in margins: *Alienum autem non secuntur sed fugiunt ab eo. Quia non nouerunt uocem*.

Thott 21 fol. 132r: *alienorum* presumably erased, *eius* on the erasure. Marginal correction:

Alienum autem non sequuntur. sed fugiunt ab eo. Quia non nouerunt uocem alienorum.

C 83 fols. 143r/v: *Alienum autem non sequuntur sed fugiunt ab eo. Quia non nouerunt uocem alienorum*. No punctuation after *sequuntur* like the Ludwig II 3 correction. Note that Thott 21 version of correction has the punctum after *sequuntur*.

Thott 22 fol. 179r: *Alienum autem non sequuntur. sed fugiunt ab eo. Quia non nouerunt uocem alienorum*.

44. Thott 21 fol. 132v: *Nemo tollit eam a me. Eam a me* is correction on erasure (Hand f/4).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 143v: *Nemo tollit a me animam meam.*
 Thott 22 fol. 179v, C 83 fol. 143v: *Nemo tollit eam a me.*
45. Thott 21 fol. 135r, l. 11: erasure before *ut apprehendant eum.*
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 146v: *Sit ut apprehendant eum.*
 Thott 22 fol. 183r, C 83 fol. 146v: *ut apprehendant eum.*
46. Thott 21 fol. 135r: intralinear *ad* (Hand b/16).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 146v: no *ad*.
 Thott 22 fol. 183r, C 83 fol. 146v: *ad*.
47. Thott 21 fol. 136v: Another eye skip by Scribe A carried over into Thott 21 (Scribe 3).
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 148r: jumped from *misit me* to *misit me*. This eye skip led to the omission of ‘*Et qui uidet me. Uidet eum qui misit me*’ the marginal correction in Thott 21.
 Thott 22 fol. 185r: *Et qui uidet me. Uidet eum qui misit me.*
 C 83 fol. 148r: slight variation in word order: *Et qui uidet me. Uidet eum qui me misit.*
48. Thott 21 fol. 139v: Marginal addition: *Nunc autem. Excusationem non habent de peccato suo. Qui me odit. & patrem meum odit. Si opera non fecissem in eis que nemo alius fecit. Paccatum non haberent* (Scribe 3).
 Ludwig II 3 scribe eye skipped from *haberent* to *habent*, missing out a sizable portion of text.
 Thott 22 fol. 189r, C 83 fol. 151v: *Nunc autem. Excusationem non habent de peccato suo. Qui me odit. & patrem meum odit. Si opera non fecissem in eis que nemo alius fecit. Paccatum non haberent.*
49. Thott 21 fol. 141v, l. 7: *eis*. The **e** is on erasure.
 Ludwig II 3 fol. 153v: *his*.
 Thott 22 fol. 191v, C 83 fol. 153v: *eis*.
50. Thott 21 fol. 141v: Larger section, with three variants. The section of Hand f/4 on erasure in Thott 21 follows the C 83 version. Thott 22 is very close to this, there is a difference in word order. Ludwig II 3 has something else entirely, which would fit in exactly underneath the erasure in Thott 21.
 Text in bold is Hand f/4 correcting:
 Thott 21 fol. 141v: *Ut dilectio **qua** dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in **ipsis ec cum dixisset Ihc egressus est cum discipulis**...* The *ecis* meant to be *Hec*, with the capital **H** missing at the left margin, unlike Thott 22 and C 83.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 154r: *Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in ipsis. Egressus est Ihc cum discipulis...*

C 83 fol. 153v: *Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in ipsis. Hec cum dixisset Ihc. Egressus est cum discipulis...*

Thott 22 fol. 192r: *Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit; & ego in ipsis. Hec cum dixisset; egressus est Ihc cum discipulis...*

51. Thott 21 fol. 142r: In the last four lines, we see erasure of the **h** of forms of *hostium*, four cases have been changed to remove the **h**.

Ludwig II 3 fol. 154v: has forms of *hostium* with **h**.

Thott 22 fols. 192v–93r, C 83 fol. 154v: *ostium* etc. consistently without **h**.

52. Thott 21 fol. 143v: line 2: *uobis* squeezed in between *adduco* and *eum* (Line insertion).

Ludwig II 3 fol. 155v: *adduco eum*.

Thott 22 fol. 194, C 83 fol. 154v: *adduco uobis eum*.

Corrections in Ludwig II 3

1. Ludwig II 3 fol. 24r: ~~*stabit*~~. Mistake not copied into Thott 21 fol. 18v.
Thott 22 fol. 36v, C 83 fol. 31v: Do not contain this.
2. Ludwig II 3 fol. 41v: *anoein archam*. Error writing **a** instead of **n** and correction by Scribe A.
Thott 21 fol. 34r: *noe in archam*.
Thott 22 fol. 57v: *in archam noe*.
3. Thott 21 fol. 35r: Intralinear: *quia super pauce fuisti fidelis*.
Ludwig II 3 fol. 42v: Missing same phrase, and is corrected in the margin.
Thott 22 fol. 58v, C 83 fol. 49r: Contain the phrase, no error.
4. Ludwig II 3 fol. 44r: **A** on rubricated **E** initial.
This correction occurred before the copying of Thott 21, as fol. 36v has *At*.
Thott 22 fol. 60v, C 83 fol. 50v: *At*
5. Ludwig II 3 fol. 57v: ~~*contra*~~
Thott 21 fol. 50r, C 83 fol. 63r, Thott 22 fol. 75v: do not contain *contra*.
6. Ludwig II 3 fol. 61v: suprascript **m**, changing *panibus* to *manibus*. Scribe A does not erase at all in Ludwig II 3. The sentence ends on *panes*, so perhaps that is why the scribe may have had bread on his mind.

- Thott 21 fol. 53v, Thott 22 fol. 80r: *manibus*.
7. Ludwig II 3 fol. 68r: *sænioribus*.
Thott 21 fol. 58v, Thott 22 fol. 87v, C 83 fol. 72v: *senioribus*.
8. Ludwig II 3 fol. 75v: Intralinear *in*.
Thott 21 fol. 65r, Thott 22 fol. 96v: *in*.
C 83 fol. 79v: no *in*.
9. Ludwig II 3 fol. 81r: ~~*afferens*~~.
Thott 21 fol. 69v, Thott 22 fol. 103r: do not contain *afferens*.
10. Ludwig II 3 fol. 88r: ~~*Hierusalem*~~
Thott 21 fol. 76v, Thott 22 fol. 110v, C 83 fol. 90r: no error
11. Ludwig II 3 fol. 91v: *stamtes*. Error perhaps with a contemporary correctional diacritic.
Thott 21 fol. 80v, Thott 22 fol. 115r, C 83 fol. 93v: *stantes*.
12. Ludwig II 3 fol. 92r: Intralinear *ut*.
Thott 21 fol. 81r, Thott 22 fol. 115v, C 83 fol. 94r: *ut*.
13. Ludwig II 3 fol. 103r: Etiam *patere* (erasure); *quoniam*.
Thott 22 fol. 129r, Thott 21 fol. 92r: *Etiam pater quoniam*.
C 83 fol. 104r: *Ita pater quia*.
14. Ludwig II 3 fol. 108v: ~~*ueni pacem*~~
Thott 22 fol. 136r, Thott 21 fol. 96v, C 83 fol. 109r: no *ueni pacem*
15. Ludwig II 3 fol. 109v: *ad te missi sunt*.
Thott 21 fol. 98v: correction on erasure: *mittuntur ad te*.
Thott 22 fol. 137v, C 83 fol. 110r: *mittuntur ad te*.
16. Ludwig II 3 fol. 109v: ~~*gallina*~~ *auis nidum*
Thott 21 fol. 98v, C 83 fol. 110r: *auis nidum*
Thott 22 fol. 137v: *auis nidum*. However, there is clear erasure surrounding the *auis*, with shadows hinting at *gallina*, with modifications done to the graphs in *auis*. However, these seem contemporary to Thott 22. Though it is difficult to tell from the poor image available to me.
17. Ludwig II 3 fol. 114r: Intralinear **a. a** *Phariseis*
Thott 21 fol. 103r, Thott 22 fol. 143r, C 83 fol. 114v: **a**
18. Ludwig II 3 fol. 124r: Intralinear *fac*. Scribe A correction.
Thott 21 fol. 113r, Thott 22 fol. 155v, C 83 fol. 124r: *fac*.
19. Ludwig II 3 fol. 125r: *cognouisti* (erasure).
Thott 21 fol. 114r: *cognouisti* (erasure).

- Thott 22 fol. 157r: *cognouisti* (erasure). Perhaps *cognouistis* originally.
- C 83 fol. 125r: *cognouisti*. No erasure. This may be a case of all three gospel books being changed to suit C 83.
20. Ludwig II 3 fol. 108v: ~~*ueni pacem*~~.
- Thott 21 fol. 97r, Thott 22 fol. 136r, C 83 fol. 109r: no *ueni pacem*.
21. Ludwig II 3 fol. 129v: The repeated three lines of *Sed ut manifestur...*, which Scribe A eye skiped, from *Sed ut* to *Sed ut*. Scribe T did not copy this mistake. Those superfluous lines are crossed through in Ludwig II 3.
22. Ludwig II 3 fol. 130r: missing *Implete ydrias aqua. Et impleuerunt eas usque ad summum*. Discussed above in Thott 21 fol. 119r corrections.
23. Ludwig II 3 fol. 143r: Marginal addition. *Quia sciunt uocem alienorum. Hic prouerbum...* Correcting *eius* intralinear between *uocem* and *alienorum*.
- Later correction in Ludwig II 3 in margins: *Alienum autem non secuntur sed fugiunt ab eo. Quia non nouerunt uocem*.
- See Thott 21 fol. 139v above.
24. Thott 21 fol. 133v: *suscitem illum*.
- Ludwig II 3 fol. 145r: *suscitem illud/m*. *Illud* changed to *illum*.
- Thott 22 fol. 181r, C 83 fol. 145r: *suscitem eum*.
25. Ludwig II 3 fol. 143v: ~~*Numquid*~~ *haec*.
- Thott 21 fol. 132v, Thott 22 fol. 179v, C 83 fol. 143v: *Haec*.
26. Ludwig II 3 fol. 143r: Marginal correction by late hand. Discussed above in Thott 21 corrections.
27. Ludwig II 3 fol. 142v: intralinear *fu* changing *erat* to *fuerat*.
- Thott 21 fol. 131v, Thott 22 fol. 178r, C 83 fol. 142v: *fuerat*.
28. Ludwig II 3 fol. 141v: Intralinear *aut*.
- Thott 22 fol. 177r, C 83 fol. 142r, Thott fol. 130v: *aut*.
29. Ludwig II 3 fol. 130r: Marginal correction by late hand, no diacritic. Discussed above in Thott 21 corrections.
30. Ludwig II 3 fol. 123v: intralinear **n**, pluralising *inualescebant*.
- Thott 21 fol. 112v, Thott 22 fol. 155r, C 83 fol. 123v: *inualescebant*.

APPENDIX 2: CONTEMPORARY CORRECTIONS IN LECTIONARIUM LUNDENSE II (MH 5)

Fol. 4r: *peregrinum*, correction on erasure, Hand f/4?

Fol. 4r: *uestra*, correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 8v: *Punctus elevatus* and ampersand inserted by Hand f/4.

Fol. 11v: *di: Et ad*. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 14v: *uobis*. Contemporary correction on erasure, possibly Hand rub./8.

Fol. 15v: Contemporary series of **q** corrections on erasure.

Fol. 16r: point-and-tick punctuation added, correction, and long **s** on erasure.

Fol. 16r: **t**, point-and-tick correction, followed by *punctus interrogativus* added on line below, both in light brown ink.

Fol. 16r: Same corrector as on the rest of the folio, light brown ink, **o**, point-and-tick punctuation, **s** at various points in light brown ink on erasure.

Fol. 16r: *est* on erasure in light brown ink.

Fol. 18r: Marginal addition, by Hand f/4.

Fol. 18v: Correction in rubric, *Post Epiphania*, by Hand f/4.

Fol. 21r: Correction in rubric, *Lectio Epistole*, by Hand f/4.

Fol. 21v: *uram. Quia*. Correction on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 22r: *Et uos*. On erasure and intralinear correction by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 22r: *A uobis enim...in or*. Marginal correction by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 22v: *sapientes...et ign*. Correction on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 23r: *deus. Et ea*. Correction on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 24r: *aversatrix*. **a** is correction by unidentified hand.

Fol. 25r: *praeter*. **P** is correction by unidentified hand.

Fol. 26v: *eos*. Possible correction on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 26v: *Punctus interrogativus. Per iehsum christum (point-and-tick) dominum nostrum.* Correction by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 27v: Correction of Rubric, *Feria iiii* by unidentified hand.

Fol. 30r: *facis* on erasure, later seeming correction by unidentified hand.

Fol. 30v: *point-and-tick* added, followed by *per* in darker ink, by unidentified hand.

Fol. 31r: *uisitat*, interlinear correction by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 32r: Correction in rubric by unidentified hand.

Fol. 32v: *Alia*. Correction in rubric by unidentified hand.

Fol. 32v: *mihi domine (point-and-tick) tolle*. Correction by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 34r: *& iusticiam (point-and-tick)*. Marginal correction by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 34v: Rubric correction, *Libri de uetero nomii*. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 36v: *&* on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 37r: Rubric correction, *uacat. Lectio*, by Hand f/4.

Fol. 38v: *usq; ad diem inq daturus*. Correction on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 42v: *illi*. Interlinear correction, possibly by Hand f/4. Note this same corrector using the same diacritic in Thott 21, designated in Appendix 1 as ‘Comma’.

Fol. 46v: Intralinear *&* by Hand f/4.

Fol. 47v: *dedi...saeculorum/ in terra quam*. Marginal corrections by Hand f/4.

Fol. 51r: *est ergo populous*, correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 51r: *cuncupiscentia sub/filiabus*. Sections in bold seem like redrawn by unidentified hand.

Fol. 56r: *eum*. Interlinear correction by Hand f/4. The diacritic used to denote the location of the correction is consistent with that of the hand.

Fol. 58r: *& germinare eam facit*, intralinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 62v: *percutiamus*, correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 63r: *filiis israhel in helim ubi errant*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 64v: *ad statuarium. Et precidi uirgam meam secundam*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 65r: *oneris*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4. **Omnis/ne/et**, letters in bold likely corrections by same hand.

Fol. 65v: & *familie*. Interlinear correction by Hand f/4. This is an example of the darker ink used in this round of corrections by Hand f/4, where the scribe is correction between lines as opposed to erasing and writing on the erasure in a lighter brown ink.

Fol. 67r: *Alia*, correction of rubric by unidentified hand.

Fol. 75v: *que*. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 83v: Rubric *.ii. per albas*. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 84v: *autem*. The **a** follows an erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 85r: *gelificent dominum*. interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 86v: *Per ihesum christum dominum nostrum*. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 87r: *diebus illis: Respondens petrus dixit ad populum. Cum*. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 88r: *postoli & seniors fratres*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 91r: & *per quem omnia*. Marginal correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 91v: *mortis imperium*. **Idem** *dia*. Two correctors. Italics are Hand f/4, in bold is Hand rub./8. This instance shows that hand rub./8 is working after Hand f/4.

Fol. 91v: & *auxiliari*. Corrections by Hand f/4.

Fol. 94r: *tasses utique in pace super terram. Disce ubi sit sapientia*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 95r: *atulit*. Interlinear correction by Hand rub./8?

Fol. 97v: *uenerat (point and tick) sed*. correction on erasure by Hand rub./8.

Fol. 98v: *multi*. correction on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 101v: *gentium*. Interlinear correction by unidentified hand.

Fol. 102v: **q**. lighter brown ink on erasure. Perhaps correcting the majuscule as in previous instances.

Fol. 103v. *quis*. Interlinear correction. Dark ink, style and hand point towards Hand f/4.

Fol. 106r: *intraueris*. Correction on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 106v: Rubric correction *utero* on erasure by unidentified hand?

Fol. 109r: *meum*. Interlinear correction using same diacritic as Hand f/4.

Fol. 109r: *prescientiam*. Interlinear *ci* by Hand f/4.

Fol. 109r: *quia*. **q** is correction on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 110r: &, intralinear *ei* by Hand f/4.

Fol. 111r: *grarum*, correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 111v: & on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 113r: *roget quis*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 113r: *domini*. Interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 113v: *sensum*. Interlinear correction possibly by Hand f/4, but atypical.

Fol. 113v: *uirum*. Interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 113v: *uitam ... nostro*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 116v: *alii*. Series of **a** corrected similar to the **q** corrections elsewhere.

Fol. 117r: Series of **a** corrected similar to the **q** corrections elsewhere.

Fol. 118r: *Mortuus...quam*. Four lines on erasure by Hand 4/f.

Fol. 119r: *in lapidibus ..gloria*. Correction on erasure by Hand 4/f.

Fol. 119v: *dei*. Marginal correction by unidentified hand.

Fol. 121v: *non*. Correction on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 122r: & by Hand f/4 linking clauses.

Fol. 122v: *Propter*. Correction on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 123r: *eius* on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 123v: *agimus*. Likely correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 124v: **q** on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 126r: *&/enim* by Hand f/4.

Fol. 127r: *&* on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 127v: *que*. Intralinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 128r: *est*, intralinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fols. 128v–29r: *Veritatem...cum* az. Correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 129v: *tempus* interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 130v: *consoletur* correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 131v: *gratias*. **g** correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 134r: *carnis*. interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 135r: *&* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 135r: *ad*, interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 136r: *haec*, interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 136v: *do*, interlinear correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 137r: *&* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 138v: *alteri*, correction after punctuation on erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 139r: *non*, correction after punctuation on erasure by angular hand.

Fol. 141r: *&* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 141v: *os qui eum* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 146v: *templum* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 147r: Marginal addition and rubrics by Hand f/4.

Fol. 147v: *&* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 153r: *Ex...milia sig*. Marginal addition by Hand f/4.

Fol. 156r: *am non estis* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 158v: & on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 158v–59r: *it...glabitus*. Hand f/4 corrects eleven lines on erasure, note the biting **pp** in *populi*.

Fol. 161v: *donec*, correction on erasure after punctuation, possibly Hand f/4.

Fol. 162r: *saluatorem meum ... &*. Correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 165r: *stultici*. Interlinear correction, above erasure by unidentified hand.

Fol. 169r: *quasi libanus* on erasure, possibly by Hand f/4.

Fol. 170r: & on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 171r: *uideat* on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 171v: *de* on erasure possibly by Hand f/4.

Fol. 171v: *tribuum ... tres*. Three lines on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 172v: *gentium in*, marginal correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 173r: *fiduciam in fide que em*, correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 175r: *point-and-tick non*. The **n** is corrected a few times, once again only after punctuation. Possible that this corrector is also responsible for these point and tick corrections.

Fol. 176v: *quem*. Correction on erasure by the corrector who is consistently changing the punctuation and graph after punctuation.

Fol. 177r: *parentibus/ affectione*, corrections on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 177r: *alia*, rubric correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 177v: *proditores*, correction on erasure after punctuation, likely Hand f/4.

Fol. 178r: *fili*. Interlinear correction, unclear which hand.

Fol. 178r: *pro*. correction on erasure after punctuation, likely Hand f/4. The fact that this is the *pro* used by Hand f/4, points towards the corrector who is responsible for changing punctuation and the following graph being the same hand.

Fol. 178r: *hieremiam*, correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 180v: *impietates/nobis contumeliam*, correction on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 181v: *per/* intralinear & by Hand f/4.

Fol. 183r: *radix ... erit*, marginal correction by Hand f/4.

Fol. 183r: & on erasure by Hand f/4.

Fol. 184v: *mihi/semini* corrections by Hand f/4.

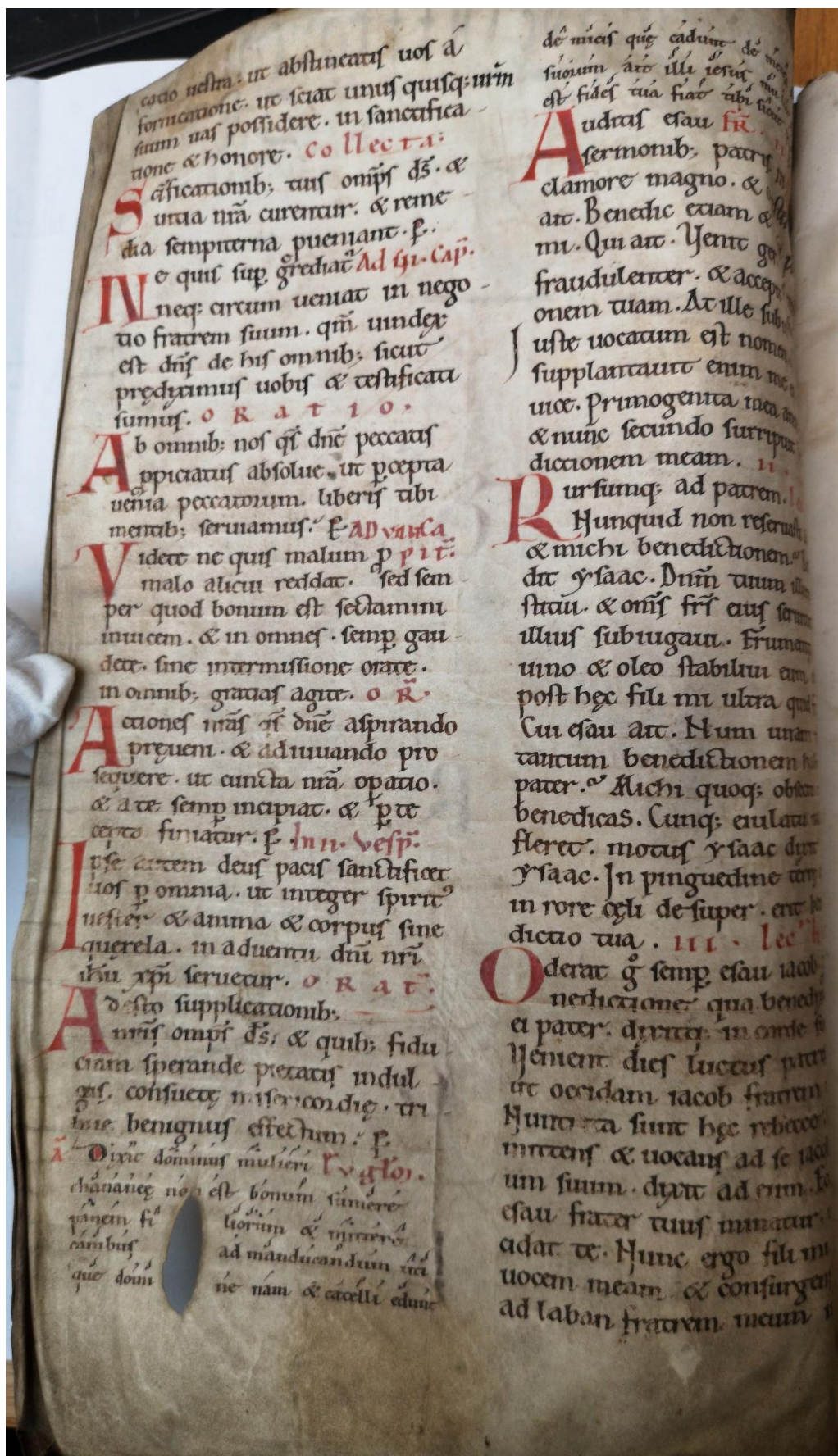


Fig. 1 SRA FR 6786 1v

actibus nostris moribusque recolamus. cuius semper obsequium omnia corporis nostri membra mancipemus. ad eius implendam voluntatem totam mentis nostrae dirigamus inuicem. Si quoque preceptis eius muneribus gratias recte ut uerbo reddamus. ut ad maiora percipienda. digni esse mereamur. Precemur sedulo cum beata dei genitrice MARIA. ut fiat nobis secundum uerbum eius. Illud uidelicet uerbum. quo rationem suae incarnationis ipse exposuit ait. Sic enim diligit deus mundum. ut unigenitum filium suum daret. ut omnis qui credit in ipsum non peccet. sed habeat uitam eternam. Nec dubitandum quin nos de profundis ad se clamantes. et eius exaudire dignabitur. Propter quos. uicem suam se cognoscentes. ipse ad profundam hanc conuallem lacrimarum descendere dignatus est. Ihesus christe deus uir. qui uiuisti et regnasti cum patre.

Incipit. Lectio sancti Evangelij.

Scriptura. Lucan.

Millake. Exurgens MARIA abiit in montana cum festinatione in ciuitatem iuda. et intrauit in domum Zacharie. et salutauit helisabeth. ELAL.

Oratio. Venerabilis beati patris.

DE EADEM LECTIOHE.

LECTIO Quia audiuimus

sancti euangelij. et redemptionis nostrae. nobis semper ueneranda primordia predicat. et salutaria semper imitanda humilitatis remedia commendat. Nam quia peste superbie ac tunc genus humanum perierat. decebat ut medicamentum humilitatis quo sanaretur prima moris incipientis salutis tempore. precenderent. Et quia per ueneratam seducte mulieris mors in mundum introierat. congruum fuit ut in iudicium uitae reuerterent. mulie-

ra se de uero humilitatis ac pietatis in uicem praeuenerent obsequium. Prior ergo nobis beata dei genitrix ad humilitatem patris ecclesiae iter ostendit. humilitatis. non minus religionis quam castitatis exemplo uenerabilis. Siquidem gloria uirginis et intemerata corporis. qualis sit uita superne ciuitatis ad quam suspiramus insinuat. ubi neque nubent. neque nubentur. sed sicut sicut angeli dei in caelis. Ac uirginitatis meritis. quae ad hanc peruenire debemus. nunciat. namque sicut praecedens sancti euangelij lectione cognouimus. postquam angelica uisione et allocutione meritis. humilitatis. postquam se ecclesiae non standam parca didicerat. nequaquam se de domo ecclesiae quasi a se sece essent exaltat. sed ut magis magis. domus esse apta diuinis. in custodia humilitatis gressus mentis fixit. Ita euangelizans sibi archangelo respondit. Ecce ancilla domini. fiat michi secundum uerbum tuum. **V**t uero ex hodierna lectione audiuimus. eandem quam angelo exhibuerat humilitatem. hominibus quoque curare exhibere. Et quod maioris est uirtutis. hoc etiam minoribus. Quis enim uisitat uirginem deo consecratam. muliere deo dedita. gradum habere potioris. quis dubitet matrem regis suum iure matri mulieris esse preferendam. **A**c tamen ipsa minor scripturae praecipiente. quanto magis et humilia et in omnibus. **N**ox angelus qui loquebatur ei. ad ecclesiam rediit. surgit. de montana descendit. gestansque in utero domini. seruos dei habitacula peccati. de regno alloquitur. **E**t apertae post uisionem angelus. in montana subire. quae gustata suauitate super nox enim humilitatis se gressibus. ad uir-

Fig. 2 KB Lat. fragm. 2857

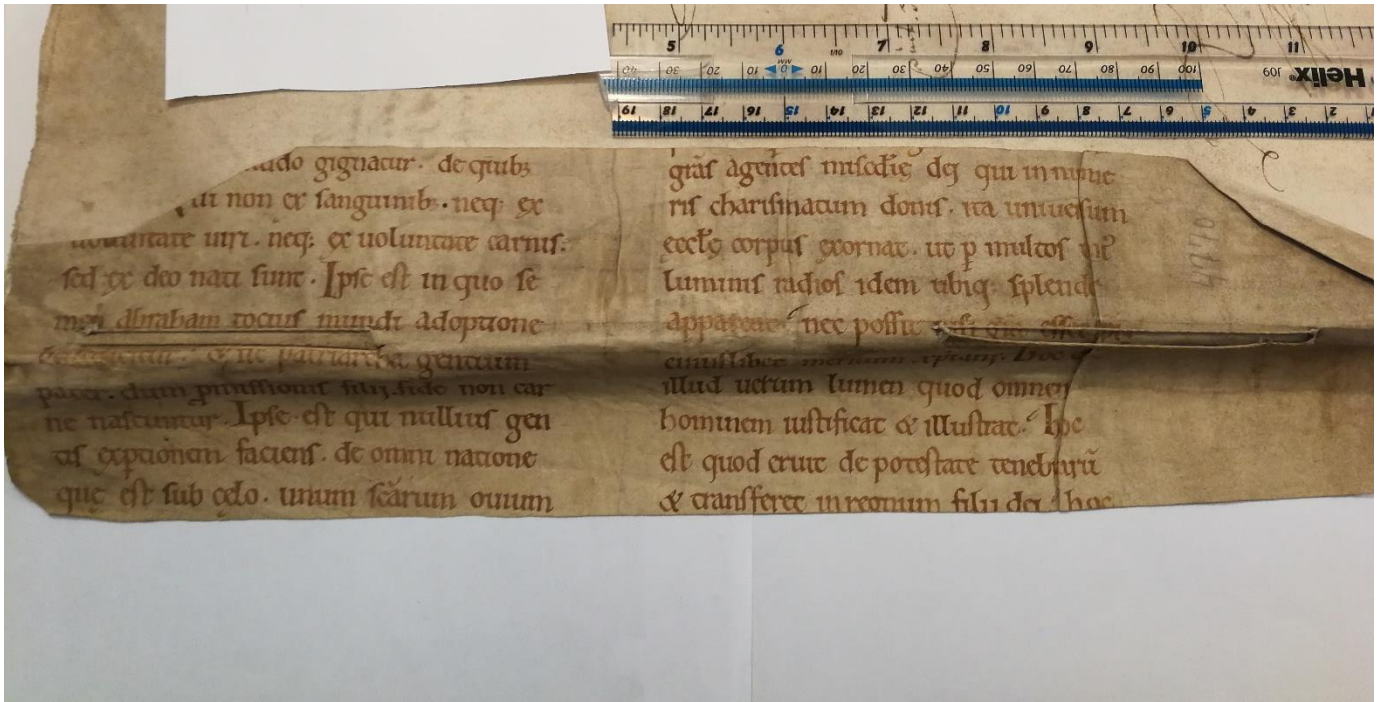


Fig. 3 DRA Lat. fragm. 4770

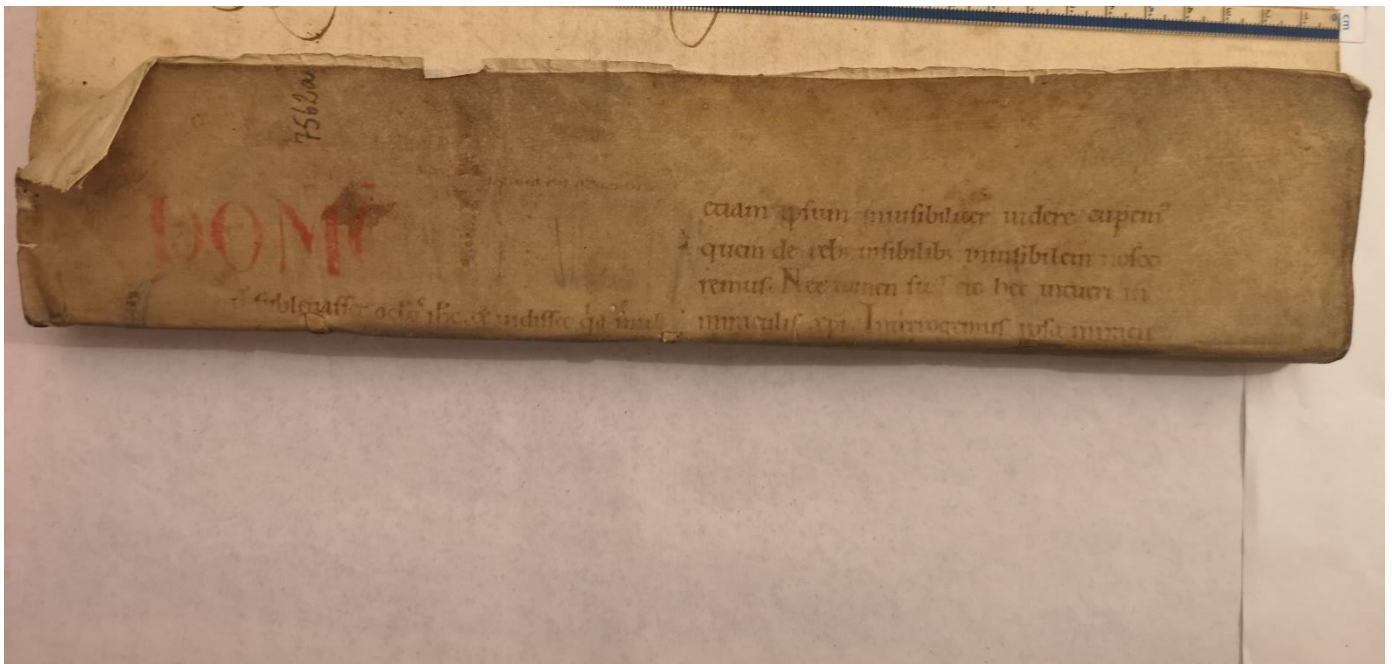


Fig. 4 DRA Lat. fragm. 7562a

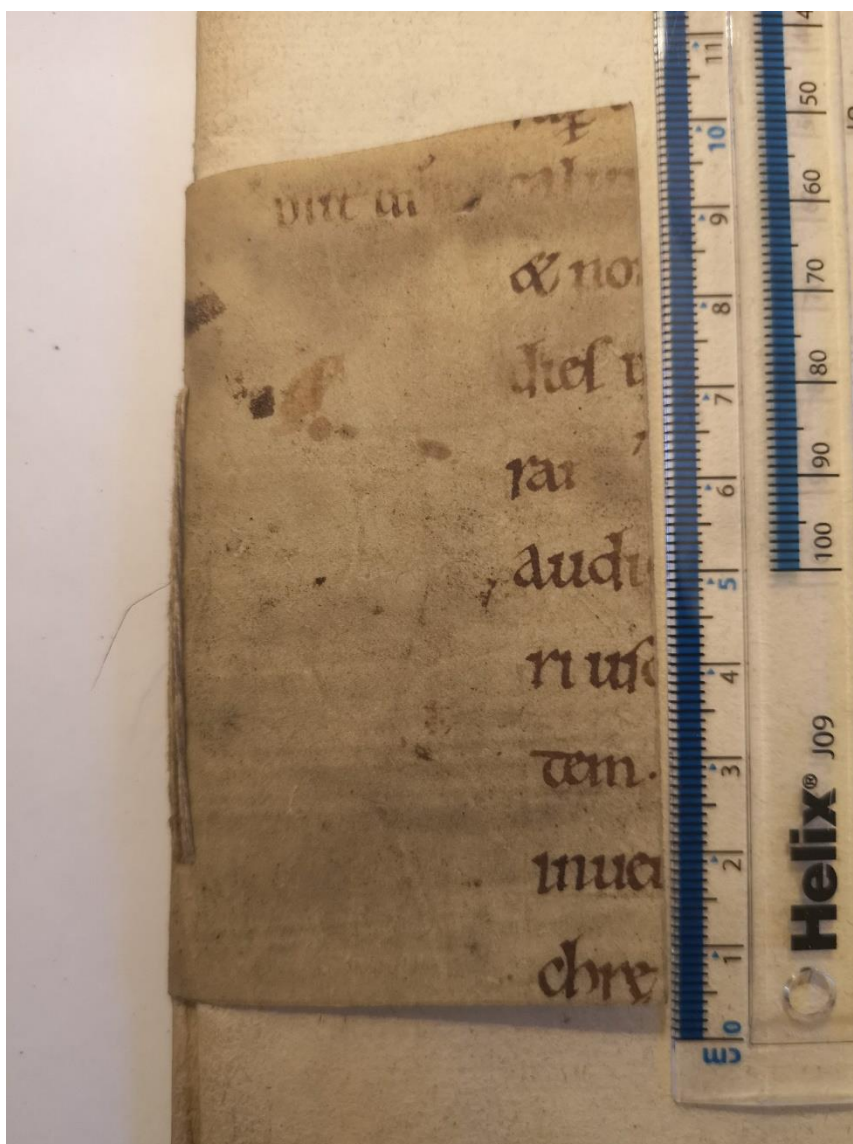


Fig. 5 DRA Lat. fragm. 4188

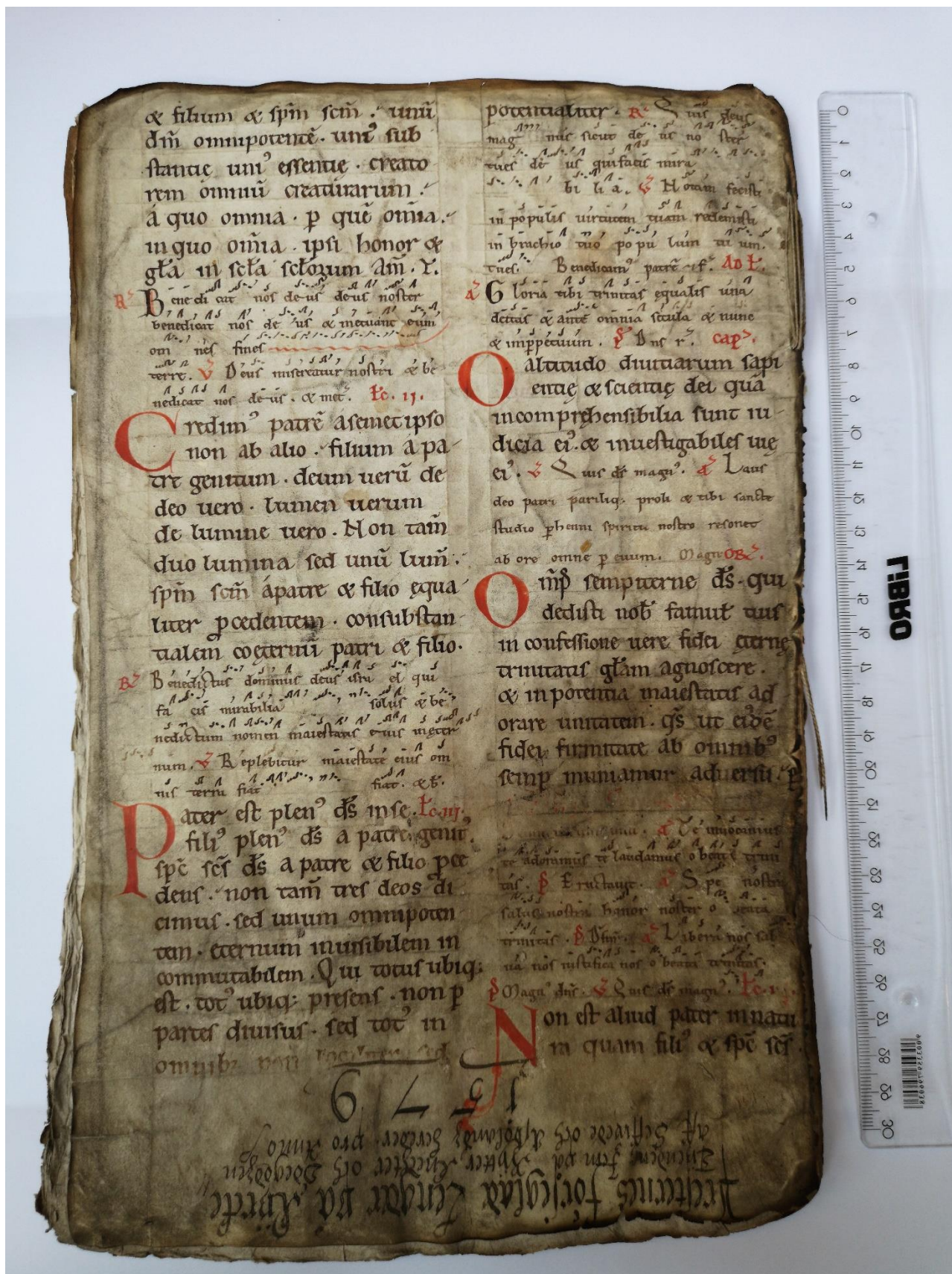


Fig. 6 SRA FR 23591

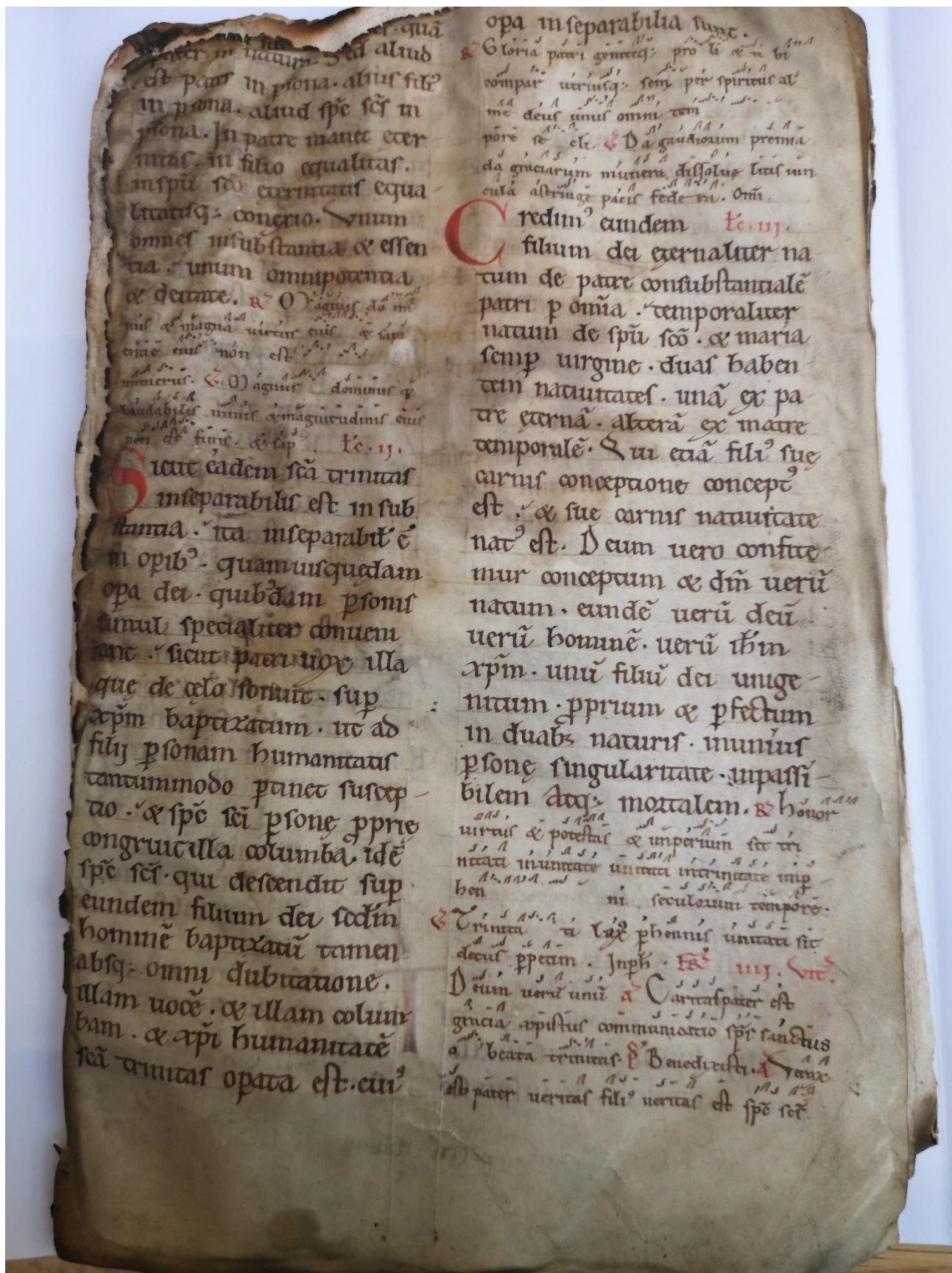


Fig. 7 SRA FR 23592

runt. in resurrectionem
 iudicii. **Super flumina**
 babilonis. **Lo** nis illic
 se dimul & fle u
 dum recordare
 syon.
Domine
 deus noster qui in his
 potius creaturis quas ad
 fragilitatis nre subsidium
 contulisti. tuo quoque no
 mine munera iusti dicanda
 constitui. tribue quesum?
 ut & uite nob' presentis
 auxilium. & eternitatis effi
 ciant sacramentum. p.
Memento uerbi tui seruo tuo
 domine in quo michi spem dedis
 te hec me consolata est in huius
 uita te me a. **post. a.**
 quod ore sumpsi dñe
 mente capiamus. &
 de munere temporali. fiat
 nobis remedium sempiternū. p.
Esto q's dñe p'piti
 plebi tue. ut que tibi
 dar quoniam
 domine spau non a
Cordibz nris
 infunde. ut
 castigatione
 bentes. tempora
 maceremur. q
 cū deputemur
 H diebus ill.
Dixit hieremi
 qui te derelin
 dentur? Reced
 terra scribentur
 dereliquerunt
 uiuentium dñi
 dñe & sanabor
 fac & saluus e
 laus mea tu es
 dicunt ad me.
 bum dñi. Yer
 non sum tur
 torem sequens.
 nis non deside
 Quod egressum e
 meis. rectum
 tuo fuit. H
 tu formidini.

Fig. 9 LUB Fragn. 5

in se confidebant tamquam iusti.
 & aspernabantur ceteros parabolam
 istam dicent. Duo homines ascen-
 debant in templum. ut orarent.
 Et al. *oat. te. eide.*
Quia parabolam dñi qua semp
 erare & non deficere doce-
 bat. ita conclusit ut diceret. ut
 niente iudice difficile fidem in
 terra repiendam. ne quis sibi for-
 te desup uacua fidei cogitatione.
 uel etiam confessione blandiretur.
 Inq; altera iuncta parabola. dili-
 gentius ostendit. adeo fidei non
 uerba grammatice. sed opa. Inq;
 q; minime opa. maxime reg-
 nat humilitas. *te. viii.*
Unde & supra cum fidem gra-
 no synapsi minuto quidem
 sed ex contritione flagrant compa-
 raret. quasi exponendo subiunxit.
 Cum feceritis omnia que pre-
 cepta sunt uob. dicite. serui in-
 utiles sumus. Cui contra supbi.
 cum nequaquam omnia. sed mo-
 dicum. quid eorum que precep-
 ta sunt. faciant. non solum inq;
 de sua iusticia presumunt. sed
 & infirmos quosq; despiciunt.
 atq; ideo quasi fide uacui cum
 orauerint non gaudentur.
Duo homines *viii.*
 ascenderunt in templum
 ut orarent. unus phariseus. &
 alter publicanus. Publicanus

in se confidebant tamquam iusti.
 & aspernabantur ceteros parabolam
 istam dicent. Duo homines ascen-
 debant in templum. ut orarent.
 Et al. *oat. te. eide.*
Quia parabolam dñi qua semp
 erare & non deficere doce-
 bat. ita conclusit ut diceret. ut
 niente iudice difficile fidem in
 terra repiendam. ne quis sibi for-
 te desup uacua fidei cogitatione.
 uel etiam confessione blandiretur.
 Inq; altera iuncta parabola. dili-
 gentius ostendit. adeo fidei non
 uerba grammatice. sed opa. Inq;
 q; minime opa. maxime reg-
 nat humilitas. *te. viii.*
Unde & supra cum fidem gra-
 no synapsi minuto quidem
 sed ex contritione flagrant compa-
 raret. quasi exponendo subiunxit.
 Cum feceritis omnia que pre-
 cepta sunt uob. dicite. serui in-
 utiles sumus. Cui contra supbi.
 cum nequaquam omnia. sed mo-
 dicum. quid eorum que precep-
 ta sunt. faciant. non solum inq;
 de sua iusticia presumunt. sed
 & infirmos quosq; despiciunt.
 atq; ideo quasi fide uacui cum
 orauerint non gaudentur.
Duo homines *viii.*
 ascenderunt in templum
 ut orarent. unus phariseus. &
 alter publicanus. Publicanus

Fig. 10 SRA FR 23589

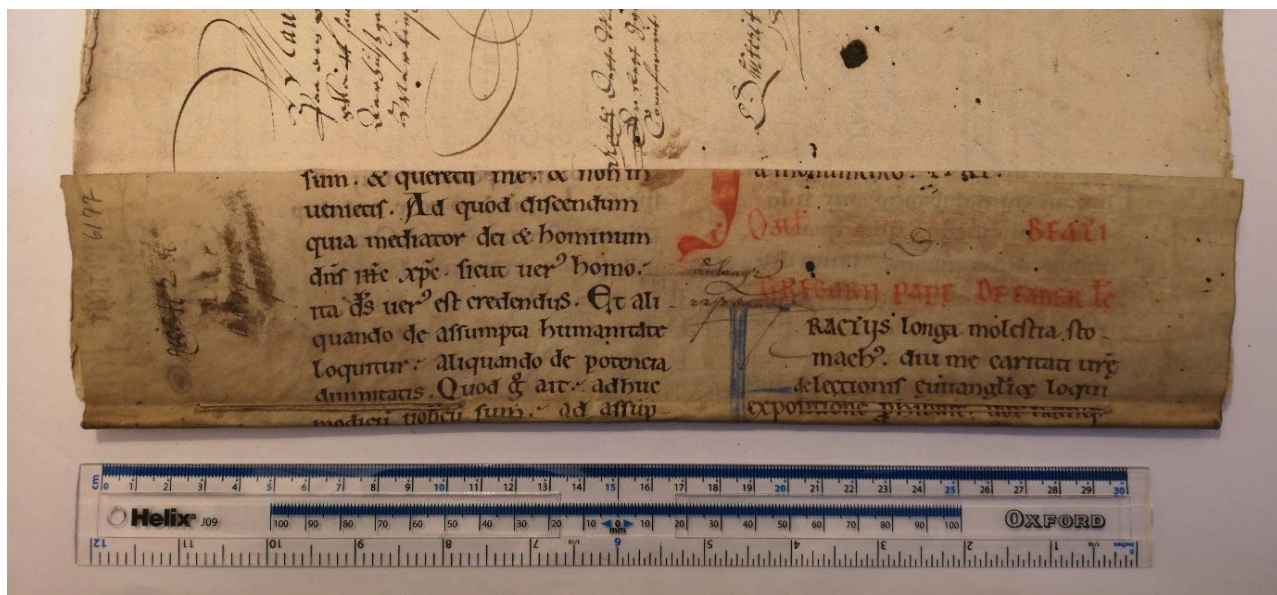


Fig. 11 DRA Lat. fragm. 6177

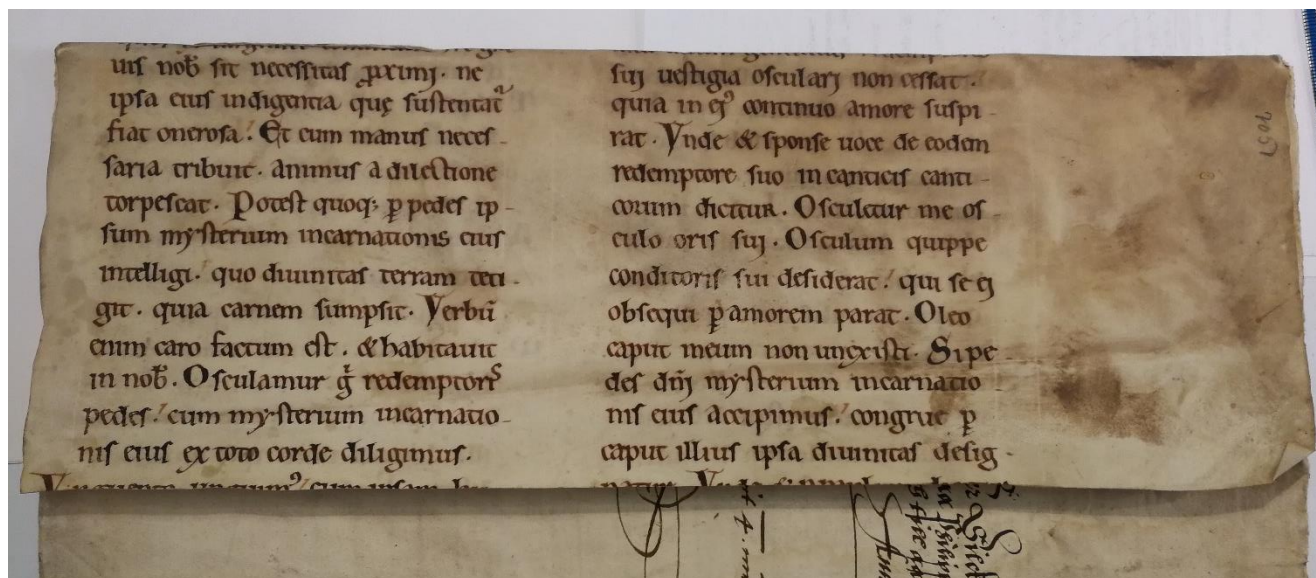


Fig. 12 DRA Lat. fragm. 7051

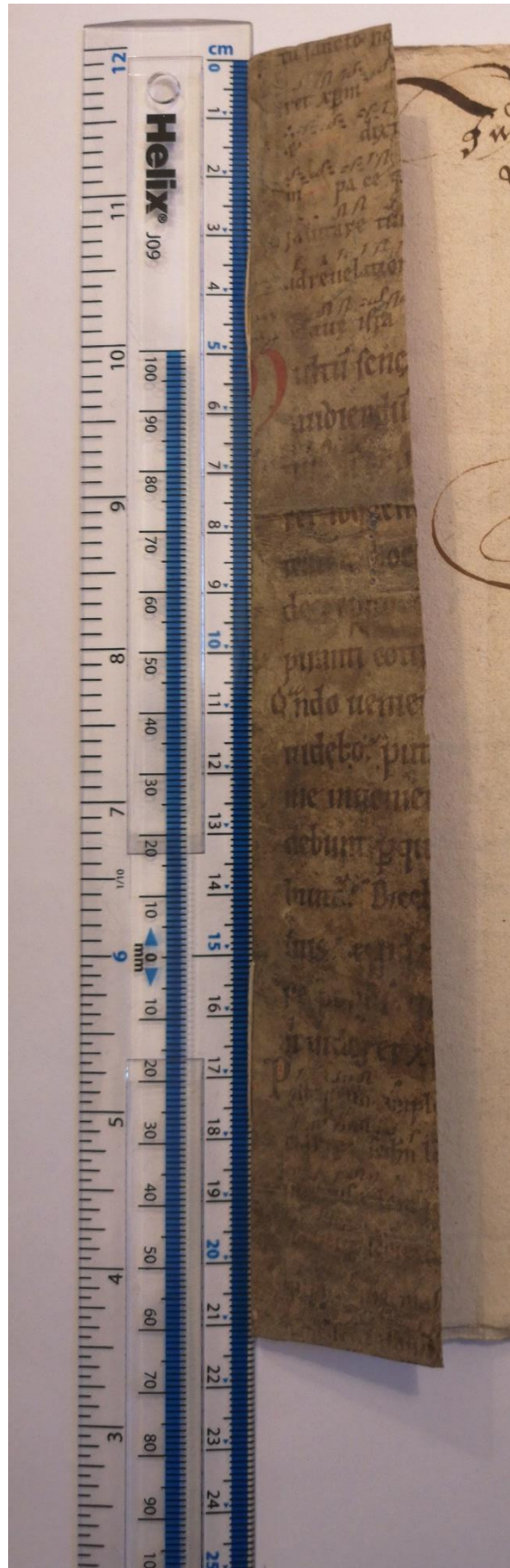


Fig. 13 DRA Lat. fragm. 8140

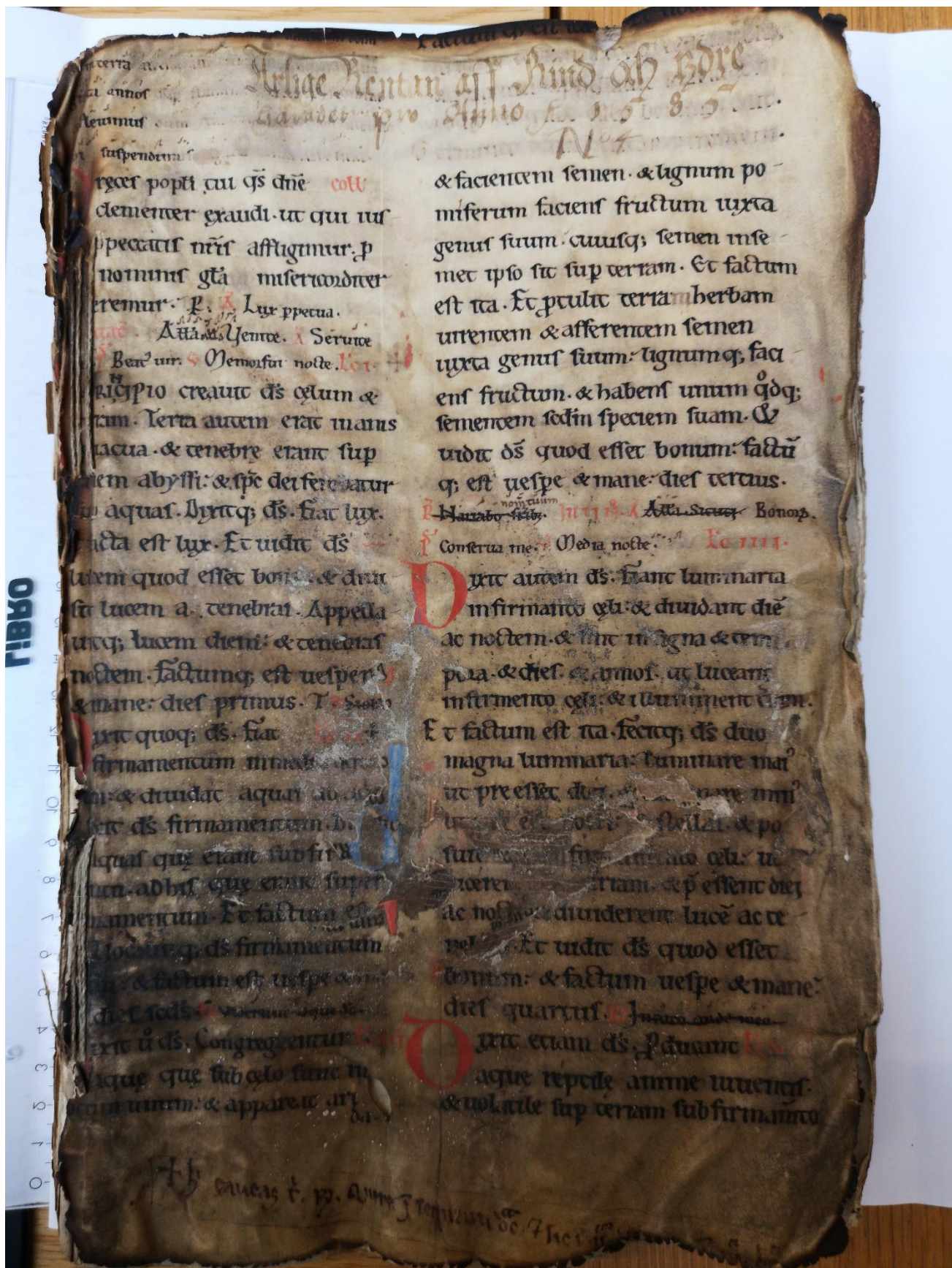


Fig. 14 SRA FR 23621

math. i.

INITIV EVANGELII SCDO
IBERGE MATHEVO.
nerationis ihu xpi filii da
uid. filii abraham. Abrahā
genuit isaac. isaac autē genu
it iacob. iacob autē genuit iudā et
fr̄s eius. iudas autē genuit phares et
zara de thamar. Phares autē genuit es
rō. esrom autē genuit aram. Aram
autē genuit aminadab. aminadab
autē genuit naason. Naason autē gen
salmon. salmon autē genuit booz
de rachab. Booz autē genuit obet ex
ruht. obet autē genē iesse. iesse autē
genē dauid regē. dauid autē rex genē
salemone ex ea que fuit urie. Sale
mon autē genuit roboā. roboā autē
genuit abia. Abia autē genuit asa.
asa autē genuit iosaphat. iosaphat
autē genuit iorā. iorā autē genē ozia.
Ozias autē genuit ioathā. ioathā autē
genuit achaz. Achaz autē genuit eze
chia. ezechias autē genuit manassen.
manasses autē genē amon. amon autē
genuit iosiam. iosias autē genuit iecho
niā & fr̄s eius. in transmigratione ba
bilonis. Et post transmigrationē ba
bilonis. iechonias genuit salathiel.

Fig. 15 KB, Thott 22 4to fol. 20v

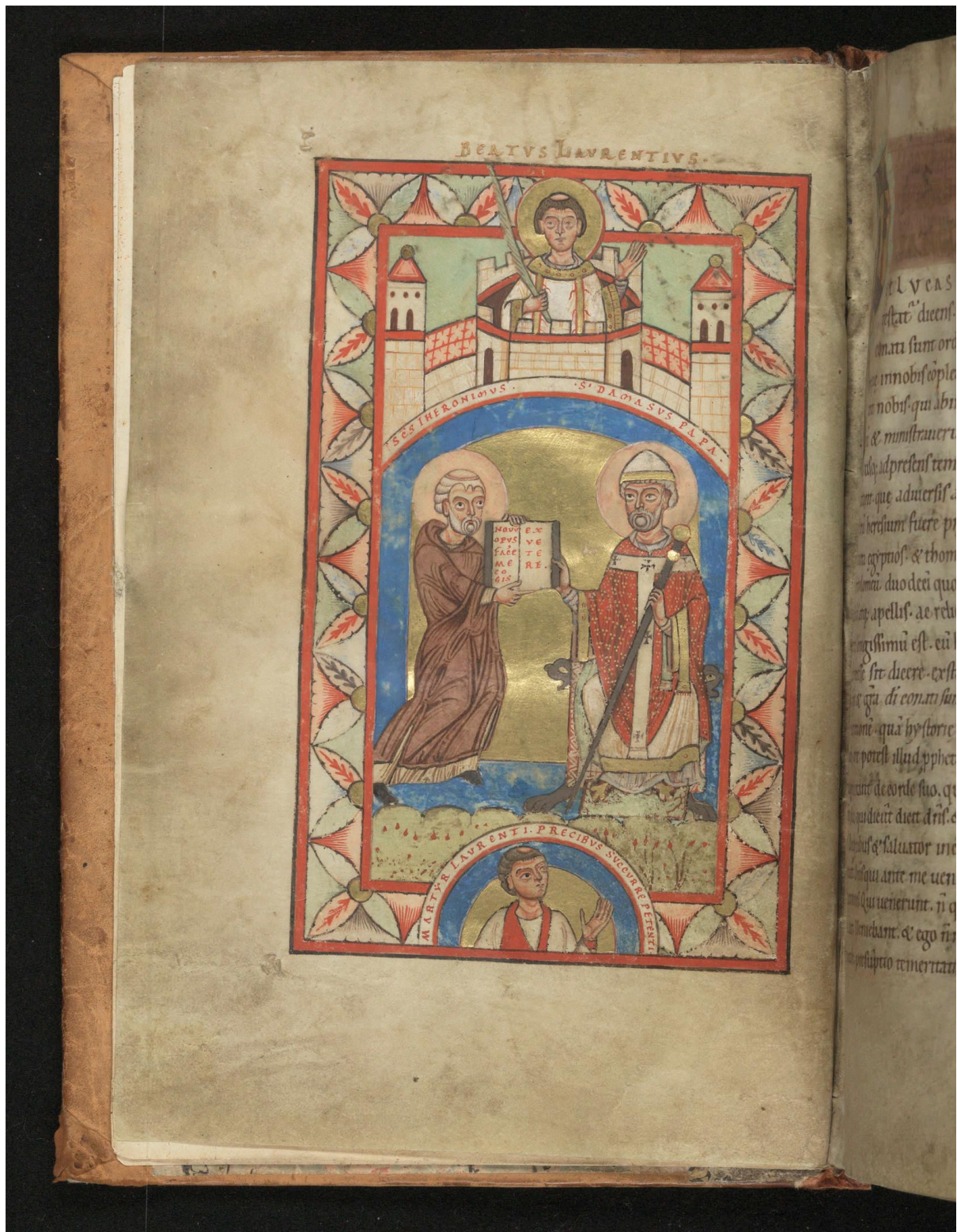


Fig. 16 Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 83 fol. 1v

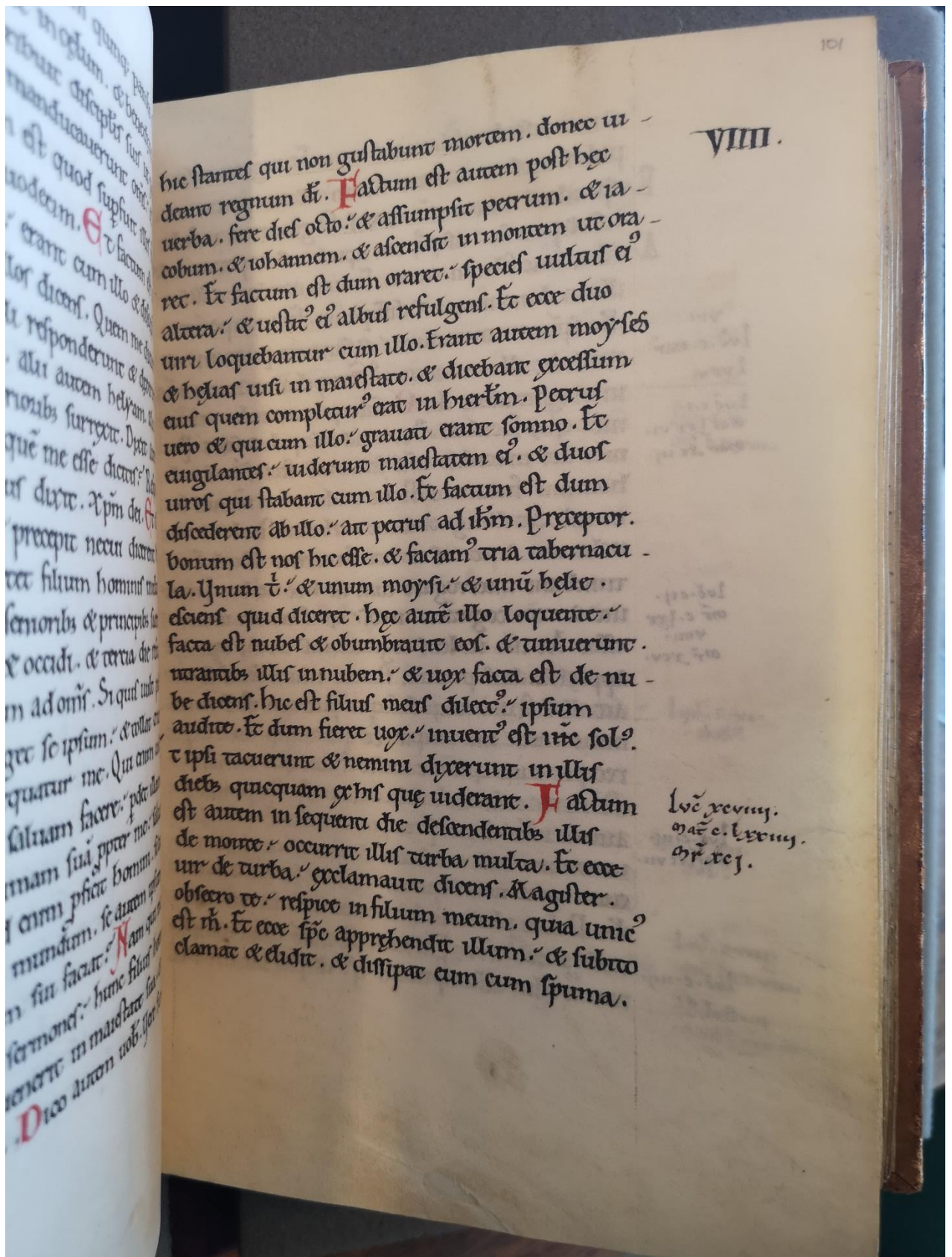


Fig. 17 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 3 (83.MB.67) fol. 101r

in doctrina ei: quia in potestate erat sermo ip-
 sius. **E**t in synagoga erat homo habens demo-
 nium in mundum: & exclamauit uoce magna
 dicens. Sine: quid nob & tibi ihu nazarene. ue-
 nisti perdere nos: Scio te qui ^{sis} es dei. & increpauit
 illu ihu dicens. Obmutescere: & exi ab illo. Et cum
 percussisset illum demoniu in medium: exiit ab illo
 nichilq; illum nocuit. Et factus e. pauor in oibz:
 & colloquebant ad inuicem dicentes. Quod est
 hoc uerbum quia in potestate & uirtute ipso
 in mundis spiritibz & exiunt: Et diuulgabant
 fama de illo: in omne locum regionis. **S**urgens
 autem de synagoga: introiit in domu simonis.
 Socrus autem symonis. tenebat magnas febriles.
 Et rogauerunt illum p ea. Et stans sup illam.
 impauit febrim: & dimisit illam. Et continuo sur-
 gens. ministrabat illis. Cum sol autem occidisset:
 omnes q habebant infirmos uariis languoribz.
 ducebant illos ad eum. At ille singulis manus.
 imponens: curabat eos. **E**xiebant autem demo-
 nia a multis clamantia & dicentia: quia tu es
 filius dei. Et increpans n sinebat ea loqui: qia
 sciebant ipsum ee xpm. **F**acta autem die.
 egressus ibat in desertum locum. Et turbe req-
 rebant eum. & uenerunt usq; ad ipsum: & deti-
 nebant ipsum ne discederet ab eis. Quibz ille ait.
 Quia & aliis ciuitatibz oportet me euangelizare

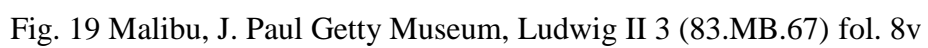
Luc. xxv.
 Mat. xiii.

Luc. xvi.
 Mat. lxxv.
 Mat. xv.

Luc. xxvii.
 Mat. xvi. &
 xxviii.

Luc. xxviii.
 Mat. xvii.

Fig. 18 KB, Thott 21 4to fol. 80r



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