The beginnings of Nordic scribal culture, ca 1050-1300; workshop on parchment fragments

Bergen 28-30 October 2005

WORKSHOP MATERIAL

by Åslaug Ommundsen
Contents

Introduction p. 5
Participants p. 6
Program p. 7
Unearthing medieval scribes – Norwegian efforts p. 8
The 2003 and 2005 Oslo Workshops p. 14
Fragment/manuscript material p. 17
Points for discussions p. 30
Bibliography p. 32
Appendix: Maps, Norwegian monasteries p. 33

For further information see the workshop website:
http://www.uib.no/cms/calendar/2005/Nordicscribalculture.htm
Introduction

The Centre for Medieval Studies (CMS) at the University of Bergen is delighted to welcome you to the workshop on medieval manuscript fragments 28-30 October 2005: The beginnings of Nordic scribal culture, ca 1050-1300; workshop on parchment fragments.

The elements of the workshop will be as follows:
1. status-reports from selected Nordic collections regarding their respective fragment projects.
2. study of specific fragments (mainly from copies and facsimiles).
3. discussions of different aspects of fragment research.

This meeting is in many ways a continuation and expansion of the international workshops in the National Archives, Oslo (August 2003 and March/April 2005). These workshops have been part of Andreas Haug’s initiative to register the Norwegian liturgical fragments, with funding from the Norwegian National Research Council. The work is done on the same model as the Swedish MPO-project (Medeltida Pergamentomslag) at the National Archives, Stockholm. The results of the workshops have been uplifting, and the palaeographical skills of the international scholars have brought the research many steps forward. In Norway there is now a growing awareness of the liturgical fragments as important sources for early Nordic scribal culture.

To find out where the Nordic region fits in the European puzzle, we need to investigate more closely the scribal practices and peculiarities of each country or region. However, many of the questions (and maybe answers) will probably be common to all of us. It is also important that the study of Latin does not constitute a world apart from the vernacular; after all they are two sides to the same story.

This new wave of Nordic fragment research basically started in Sweden one decade ago. At the initiative of the Swedish National Archives, a Nordic status-report of fragment registration was made at a conference in Stockholm in 1993 (Brunius 1994). Since then, much has been done in all the Nordic countries to register, organize and make this important source material available for research, and for the public. Now it is time for an update.
Participants

Attinger, Gisela Universitetet i Oslo
Björkvall, Gunilla Riksarkivet i Stockholm
Borgehammar, Stephan Lunds universitet
Conti, Aidan CMS, Bergen
Ganz, David King’s College, University of London
Gullick, Michael
Gunnlaugsson, Guðvarður Már Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi
Haugen, Odd Einar Universitetet i Bergen
Heikkilä, Tuomas University of Helsinki
Heitzmann, Christian Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
Karlsen, Espen NTNU, Trondheim/Riksarkivet i Oslo
Karlsson, Stefán Em. Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi
Kjeldsen, Alex S. Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Nordisk Forskningsinstitut, Københavns Universitet
Kyrkjebø, Rune Universitetet i Bergen
Louis-Jensen, Jonna Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Nordisk Forskningsinstitut, Københavns Universitet
Modalsli, Tone Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo
Munk Olsen, Birger Københavns Universitet
Nedrebø, Yngve Statsarkivet i Bergen
Petersen, Erik Det kongelige bibliotek, København
Pettersen, Gunnar Riksarkivet i Oslo
Rankin, Susan Emmanuel College, Cambridge
Svellingen, Ragnhild Universitetet i Bergen
Wellendorf, Jonas CMS, Bergen

Contacts, CMS:
Mortensen, Lars Boje CMS, Bergen (lars.mortensen@cms.uib.no)
Ommundsen, Åslaug CMS, Bergen (aslaug.ommundsen@cms.uib.no)
**Program**

We assume that most of the participants will arrive Thursday evening. You are all invited to dinner at 19.30.

**Friday 28.10**

09.00: Lars Boje Mortensen, CMS Bergen: *Welcome*
09.10: Åslaug Ommundsen, CMS Bergen: *Introduction*
09.30: Gunilla Björkvall, Riksarkivet i Stockholm: *Swedish fragments*
10.15: Coffee break
10.30: Erik Petersen, Det kongelige bibliotek, København: *Danish fragments*
11.15: *Looking at fragments (in facsimile)*

12.00-13.00: Lunch

13.00: Espen Karlsen, NTNU Trondheim/Riksarkivet i Oslo: *Norwegian fragments: The National Archives*
13.30: Tone Modalsli, Nasjonalbiblioteket Oslo: *Norwegian fragments: The National Library*
14.00: *Looking at fragments (in facsimile)*
15.30: Coffee break
15.45-17.00: Discussion: *Criteria for the determination of origin?*

19.30: Dinner

**Saturday 29.10**

09.00: *A visit to the University library to look at the fragment collection, including some fragments from the Regional State Archives.***

12.00-13.00: Lunch

13.00: Tuomas Heikkilä, University of Helsinki: *Finnish fragments*
13.45: Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi: *Icelandic fragments*
14.30: Discussion: Terminology
15.30: Coffee break
15.45-17.00: *Looking at fragments (in facsimile)*

19.30: Dinner

**Sunday 30.10**

10.00: Birger Munk Olsen, Københavns Universitet: *Fragments of classical Latin texts*
10.45: *Finishing discussions, conclusions, looking forward: A common Nordic venture for fragments?*

12.00: Lunch
Unearthing medieval scribes

– Norwegian efforts

Some effort has been made in the past to look more closely at early Norwegian scribes. In his Palaeography (1954) Didrik Arup Seip (1884-1963) identifies fourteen hands divided amongst eight Old Norse manuscripts for the period before ca 1225, and places the first four manuscripts (with four hands) in Nidaros, and the last four manuscripts (with ten hands) in Bergen. For the period between 1225 and 1300 he lists 27 of the most important Norwegian manuscripts.

Norsk historisk kjeldeskriftinstitutt (now Kjeldeskriftavdelingen, or the Department for Written Sources at the Norwegian National Archives) made a big contribution as far as liturgical manuscripts are concerned, with the three volumes in the series of liturgical books in the Nidaros arch see, Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi, which came out between 1962 and 1979. These books, furnished with plates, are phenomenal studies of Latin liturgical manuscripts in Norway, and they are also useful from a palaeographic point of view. In Manuale Norwegicum (1962), Seip identified three Norwegian hands from ca. 1200. Lilli Gjerløw’s two editions (Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae 1968, Antiphonale Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae 1979) also include palaeographical considerations. In her articles from 1970 and 1974 Gjerløw supplied Seip’s list of Norwegian hands before 1225 with nine hands. In all Gjerløw adds sixteen hands to Seip’s seventeen, giving us more than thirty presumed Norwegian scribes preceding 1225 or at least 1250, writing in Old Norse, Latin or both.

In her introduction to Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (1968) Lilli Gjerløw presents a few Norwegian scribes or scribal communities from ca. 1200-1300 (p. 34-38, plates below):

I: “A Bergen scriptorium” ca. 1200?
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 764 (Mi 38)
• AM 619, 4° (Gamalnorsk homiliebok, Bergen, four hands ca. 1200)
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1018 (Ant 7)

II: The Stavanger breviary-missal, ca. 1250

III: The Konungs Skuggsiá scribe, 1270’s
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 674 (Mi 28)
• AM 243b • fol. (Konungs Skuggsiá/Speculum regale, ca. 1275)
(See also Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 787 1 + 2, showing similar traits?)

IV: The St. Olav scribe, towards 1300
• Oslo, RA Old Norse fragment 47c (King Magnus Lagabøter’s Lawbook)
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1030 (Ant 17)
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1031 (Br 1)
In addition three works are known from the same scribe:
• MS Uppsala Delagardie 8 II = The legendary saga of St. Olav
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 72 (Mi 27)
• Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1028 (Man 1)
I: "A Bergen scriptorium" ca. 1200?

Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 764 (Mi 38) (Bergenhus len 1612)
Our oldest witness of the Nidaros Ordo in liturgical use, after 1225 (Gjerløw 1968, pp. 34-35). Family resemblance to the Old Norwegian Homily Book (ca. 1200-1220), according to Trygve Knudsen connected to Munkeliv, Bergen. Same hand wrote the oldest antiphonary following the ON (RA Lf. 1018), see below. (Gjerløw 1970, p. 109)

Left: AM 619, 4°
(Old Norw. Hom. Book, Bergen, 4 scribes ca. 1200)
From Haugen webp: http://gandalf.aksis.uib.no/menota/ENMF/intro.html
Below: RA Lat fragm. 1018 (Ant 7)
(Salten 1635), by the same scribe as RA 764? (see above, and see Gjerløw 1979 pp. 242-50).
II: The Stavanger breviary-missal, ca. 1250 (Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 668r)

III: The Konungs Skuggsía scribe, 1270’s (AM 243b a fol p. 37)
Picture taken from: http://gandalf.aksis.uib.no/menota/ENMF/intro.html
patre tua. Hominem magis voluistis et tibi: Sunt autem
nein cognita quod ad vert ad titum sita cubant immens:
Et de vestris: "Cedam et客车!" Considerate ita agrir,
quam daremiam et laboravisse nec non. Hic autem nobili
qui nec salomon constituit. Hic autem est hic tibi cuius
est qui habere est erat. Ita in eadem una
secundum sui: Non est uterque salutis: magis ut minima sider.
Hoc ergo salutari ut dicatur: "Manducabimus tunc
quid sitem? aut quippe: sitem aut generis iustum.
Sic eum qui illa in omnibus digest: Dicent ergo
sumit regnum det: "Omnibus cujus: Iecas omnia dicas.
Concede nobis dice: et be honos sit.
Nobis
futurum tempus munitione et cracio prehatur: p.
Moneamus ut sic sit et si laura.
ecetrum effecti. P. duc refer demum.
Cestum cur tres multis acta continuata mun
derznumper tempore: et presul: salua con
sidera: two temp suscru gubernetur. P. Iecas pape
iss: Osek vos nederat: ad effectum
Hunc cur seletur gemia sedat prem omni qui et
pro: quom aut peractum tu cum et non nominatur
ut ceces nobilis seminum: quod: tuer: solum
Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 674 (Mi 28) (Stavanger 1613)
Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 787 (Lec-Br 5) (Bergenhus len 1610)

Showing similar traits?
"The proficiency of the St. Olav scribe is matched by the correctness of his texts, but he had no sense of form or capacity for it. He does not write a beautiful hand." (Gjerløw 1968, p. 37)
The 2003 and 2005 Oslo Workshops

An international and interdisciplinary group with the core members Andreas Haug, Espen Karlsen and Gunnar Pettersen, Norway, and Tessa Webber, Susan Rankin, David Ganz, Michael Gullick, England, has met twice in the National Archives, Oslo, to discuss the origin of missal fragments. This year Christian Heitzmann was a welcome German addition. Other interested parties have joined the sessions both times. The first meeting was in August 2003, and a second one was arranged in March/April 2005. Of the ca 45 studied missal fragments, ca 20 have been assigned to local production, in a range from the late 11th to the mid 13th century. The rest of the fragments were from English, German and French imported manuscripts. The results show a local production at least from the late 11th century, imitating English manuscripts as well as models from the Continent, like the Lower Rheinland. The next pages will present a rough description of some of the workshop results.


National Archives, Oslo, March/ April 2005:

New additions to the group: Odd Einar Haugen (Prof. of Old Norse philology, Univ. of Bergen) studies in situ fragments with Gunilla Björkvall.

Lars Boje Mortensen (Prof. of Medieval Latin, CMS, Univ. of Bergen), Christian Heitzmann (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel), Roman Hankeln (Prof. of Musicology, NTNU, Trondheim).
I. Continental script and English neumes – “the first Norwegian scriptorium”?

A general rule from the workshop in August 2003 was put like this: “If the hand is continental and the neumes Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman, and the quality is not brilliant, the manuscript was probably produced in Norway.”

This rule applies to eight specific missal fragments from the late 11th or early 12th century (Mi 17, Mi 8b+Mi 10g, Mi 10b-f). The scribes in this group of fragments generally write a German Carolingian minuscule, and the music scribe writes what may be called “incompetent” English neumes. Since this combination is thought unlikely in a larger centre, these fragments are presumed to be from manuscripts produced in Norway. In fact, the Mi 10 fragments show several scribes with common training, sharing distinctive features, which places them in a more or less established scribal community. The provenance of the fragments are from the old “Vika” area, with the exception of Mi 10g, from Nordland’s Len. Although provenance is a highly uncertain tool for determining origin, the “cluster” of these early fragments in close proximity of one of the earliest church centres of Norway called for a workshop hypothesis, that there was possibly a scribal community in Oslo as early as the late 11th century, with influences from both Germany and England. For details, see Karlsen 2003.

II. English and Norwegian co-production

The fragments belonging to Mi 2 (RA 206, 209, 239) and Mi 5 (RA 204, 1-4+9-10) are written in the last half of the 11th century, and may show an early stage in the development of a local manuscript production. In both cases the scribes are probably local, but the music scribes are definitely English. The music scribes write the same type of neumes, the same size, and may have been working simultaneously in Norway (in the same centre?). This led to questions of what kind of centre would be required for two good “imported” music scribes? A fixed bishop’s see/a cathedral?

III. An English 11th century missal imported to Tønsberg

Ca 20 fragments are labelled Mi 14. At least six different scribes were working, apparently simultaneously, on different quires of the same manuscript. Because it is unusual for so many scribes to be working on the same manuscript, it was suggested that they were working under pressure to finish the book quickly. The book was corrected by at least two different correctors ca. 20 years later. It was concluded that the book was commissioned and written in England ca 1050-75, and corrected ca 1100 by Normans. The book was not necessarily imported to Norway at the time it was written. No complete English 11th century missal has in fact survived, making the fragments interesting not only as evidence of imported material, but as a source for English scholars in its own right.
IV. Different aspects of scripts, scribes and book production for further research

a. **A new scribal culture in the making – training and quality:** The fragments display a large variety in competence, from well trained scribes to pure autodidacts. It was indicated that fragments from the early 12th century show good quality local scribes, while the period 1180-1250 often shows rustic or clumsy traits, and a decreasing quality. The quality also differs with regard to tools and material, like parchment and ink. It has been remarked that in more cases than you would normally expect, good quality English scribes were writing on bad quality parchment (not imported books, but imported scribes?).

b. **Initials:** The decorated initials of medieval manuscripts tend to fall between to chairs, unless they’re of a historiated or inhabited kind. Decorative pen-flourishings have not been enough to engage art historians, and the palaeographers are too focused on the script. A closer study of initials could be useful in a search for “local symptoms”.

c. **Neumes – oral transmission:** The first generation of music scribes were taught by foreigners – abroad or in Norway in the late 11th, early 12th century. A closer study may reveal that a local form of writing developed, uncalligraphic but suitable to the purpose. A small community would be less suited to entertain an oral transmission of the melodies, and would therefore quickly absorb a feature like the staves. A manuscript with neumes would have no value whatsoever regarding the melody, without the cantor accompanying it.

d. **Old Norse and Latin palaeography – closing the gap:** Latin palaeography has not enjoyed a strong position in Norway, and the terminology of the Old Norse palaeography has not been particularly suitable for the Latin script, even in cases of the same scribe writing in Old Norse and Latin respectively. Even if it is desirable to discuss scribes rather than script, it may prove useful to have a set of terms for educational purposes, provided we avoid the trap of over classifying.

e. **Fragments in their historical setting:** After five different missal fragments had been assigned to Norwegian scribes around the mid 12th century, a very reasonable question was asked: “How many local centres could there possibly be ca. 1150?” The fragments are products of scribes in a specific historical situation, and it may be time to start comparing the evidence with the historical map.
Bergen University library 1550, 5. For larger picture, see the Fragment website, http://gandalf.aksis.uib.no/mpf/

To the left: Missal, 9. Sunday after Trinity + 4. Sunday after Trinity.
The Kvikne psalter (Norwegian national library MS 8vo 102), probably in Norway from the Middle Ages, still in medieval binding.
Jonna Louis-Jensen: **MS AM 98 8vo** from ca 1200 (here shown ff 24-27), "A small itinerant missal", Liturgica Islandica I, chapter 5, by Lilli Gjerlov suggested to be Icelandic. This origin is now being discussed as the ms is studied by a young musicologist.

Even though this is not a fragment, a discussion of origin would be interesting.
apli un solumma celebrantee purificattonem quod nisi nimium implorem. 

quum adlaturit. 

to domine suplletie grarit: utorem tum pastur esse non deseasit. 

remitto a praecione custodiat. 

et tandem eisdem rectoribus: 

qui optum unius: 

eisdem custodiit pcc pastores. 

vol qui tecum stat me sedeberit in per sedem. 

percepit domine sit enim supple 

er exorem ur mitigatione beato. 

apo tuo que pulchrum unam: 

m passione: nobilis: 

quis enim 

s. quin jam 

lam. 

ahmua apolorum morum. 

follet 

mitate leucos pia es ur quorum 

udendum manum instruam exempli. 

una die que apolorum morum. 

folletmitate deferim peccati. 

pice. 

mala omnia quernem aude. 

huius. 


...
Stefán Karlsson: These fragments come from AM 204 fol. (now in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi). AM 204 is one part of a larger saga manuscript from ca 1650, obtained by Árni Magnússon ca 1700. He divided the ms according to contents, and bound the pieces separately. These fragments come from the binding of AM 204 fol. The book was rebound in the Arnamagnean Institute in Copenhagen in 1978, and the older binding followed the manuscript when it was transferred to Iceland the same year.

The pieces have been identified by Jonna Louis-Jensen as parts of a Hebrew-Latin dictionary. It would be nice to have a discussion of their age and origin in the workshop.
Regarding the copies on the next three pages:

Stephan Borgehammar would be grateful if the workshop could help him improve the chapter marked 3. *Script and scribal errors* before the text is published.

Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Yc 4° 8. The MS has 72 folia, measuring 190 x 130 mm, in a medieval binding. From ff. 62-70 it contains a text by Radulfus (Ripensis episcopus?), *De calice spirituali ad sorores*. The *ex libris* reveals that the MS was in the Danish Cistercian monastery of Løgum (*Liber sancte Marie De Loco Dei*). The author Radulfus may be the bishop Radulfus of Ribe, who came to Denmark from England and is first mentioned in a document dated 1157-58. He first became bishop in 1162, and died in 1171.

3. *Script and scribal errors*

The script belongs to the 12th century. According to a letter from Monica Hedlund it is “typically transitional” and “completely normal for the last decennials of the 12th century or ca 1200”. It would appear the scribe is not a professional. The letters are quite uneven in size and the letterforms vary. Already in the first line two different kinds of *d* are used. An interesting feature is the sign for “et” which looks like 7, a sign more common in England than on the Continent. One may also wonder about the mistake *propsus* for *prorsus* by note 90. Could it possibly be that the scribe had a model with the Anglo-Saxon *r*, which resembles a *p*? In that case one might imagine that our bishop Radulfus, originally English, wrote a draft, later copied by a not so experienced scribe, who sometimes let the simple 7-sign be, and in one case misinterpreted one letter. But these are mere speculations, and according to Monica Hedlund one need not presume an English influence.

The text above has been shortened (apart from chapter 3) and translated to English by Åslaug Ommundsen.
...
Points for discussions

I. Criteria for determining a local origin
When studying manuscript fragments in Latin determining the origin is often a challenge. Some criteria have been suggested for the Norwegian fragments, and these should be subject to discussion. We also need to consider whether or not some of these criteria are common for all the Nordic countries.

1. The “ugliness” criterion: When the script is clumsy, the lines are crooked, the initials are “homemade” or missing, these might be signs to indicate a local origin?

2. The liturgical criterion A: Texts or songs in celebration of particular Norwegian saints or feasts, like Olav, Hallvard, Sunniva and the Seljumenn, or the Nidaros feast Susceptio Sanguinis. (A mere reference to Saint Olav bears no value, considering the wide dissemination of his cult).

3. The liturgical criterion B: Post ordinal-manuscripts in accordance with the Nidaros Ordo on characteristic points (Breviaries/antiphonaries are easier to determine. For missals and graduals: The Alleluia-verses between Pentecost and Advent?).

4. The “lectia” criterion: Gjerløw points out that Norwegian liturgical manuscripts seem to have a tendency to give the Norwegian a-ending to certain Latin female words with o-ending. A rubric with the words postcommonia (for postcommunion), prefatia (for prefatio) or lectia (for lectio) is likely to be of Norwegian origin (Gjerløw 1970, p. 107; 1979, p. 276).

5. The au-ligature criterion: Influences from the vernacular can also reveal a Norwegian origin, like the au-ligature, which sometimes made its way into the Latin mss.

6. The small caps criterion: It appears that there is a wider use of small capitals, especially R (Gjerløw 1979, p. 67), but also H, in manuscripts of such a late date that the reason seems to be influence from the vernacular. The capital R also appears in English manuscripts, and according to Albert Derolez the capital R never disappeared completely from the minuscule alphabet, but it came to play only a marginal role and mainly appeared at the end of a word or a paragraph, only rarely in the middle of a word (Derolez 2003, p. 63). The Oslo UB Lf. 5 from the early 13th century freely places the small capital R in words like poneRe, placare and ageRe.

II. Scandinavia missing in Derolez’ classification?
In his recent book, The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books, Albert Derolez claims that the immense mass of Textualis scripts of the Middle Ages, especially of the Formata and Libraria level can be subdivided into a Western and an Eastern group on the basis of a few letter forms. The Western group comprises England, France, The Low Countries and Western Germany; the Eastern group Eastern Germany, Austria, Central Europe and Scandinavia. The latter is distinguished by especially bold and angular forms and the typical vertical zigzag abbreviation, which is entirely absent from the Western group (Derolez 2003, p. 100-101). Can Scandinavia as a region be placed in any script group at all? How can we make Scandinavia more visible on the palaeographical map of Europe?
III. A palaeographical terminology

Can we agree on a common terminology for vernacular and Latin palaeography?

In the case of mss and documents in the vernacular Seip has divided the script into three periods: Before 1225, 1225-1300 and after 1300. Svensson names the time before 1300 a Carolingian-Insular period, and the time after 1300 the Gothic period. The outline of the vernacular periodisation will look like this:

The older Carolingian-Insular period (1150-1225)
The younger Carolingian-Insular period (1225-1300)
The Gothic period (1300-1550)

It seems that with this terminology, the same 13th century hand would be labelled "Gothic" by Latin palaeographers and "Carolingian-Insular" by Old Norse palaeographers. In a recent book, Handbok i norrøn filologi, Odd Einar Haugen has made an attempt to remedy this anomaly with a new division. He limits the Carolingian-Insular period to 1150-1200, and labels the century 12-1300 as “før-gotisk”, i.e. pregothic (Haugen 2004, p. 202).

For Latin palaeography the terminology would be:

Carolingian (ca 800-1100)
Pre-gothic (Derolez 2003)/Protogothic (Brown 1990) (ca 1100-1200)
Gothic (ca 1200 - )

The "typical" Carolingian script, introduced in the late eighth century, has letters with a round shape and minims without feet, a straight-backed $d$, short $r$, flat headed $t$ and ampersand for "et". It is written with a pen with a narrow nib. The ascenders were originally club-shaped, but were sometimes given a fork-shape in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Protogothic script is basically Carolingian letter-forms with a more oval, less round, shape (but without becoming angular), and with feet applied to the minims. The first hint of fusion, or biting, is introduced, but first only for $pp$ and $bb$, and sometimes the single serif over $ll$. The difference in length between ascenders, descenders and minims is somewhat reduced. The round $d$ is introduced, and the tironian note to a degree replaces the ampersand.

N. R. Ker, the English palaeographer sets the shift from Norman/Protogothic to Gothic script around 1180 for English mss. Derolez also sets the full development of the Gothic script to late twelfth century for England, France and the Low Countries. For the rest of Europe, however, he places the change into the thirteenth century, giving a "ca 1200" general date of introduction of Gothic script. At this point a few characteristic changes have occurred:
- The ae-ligature $e$ caudata, tailed $e$, began loosing its tail from ca 1150, and it disappeared by 1200 (cp. Gjerløw 1979, p. 228).
- The nasal abbreviation sign changed from a cup-shaped to a straight sign at the end of the twelfth century.
- Biting (or junction, or fusion) occurs from the end of the twelfth century when round shapes meet each other, and R-ligature occurs to other round letters besides O (=the rule of Wilhelm Meyer from 1897).
- The tironian note for "et" is crossed.

Before 1300 it is not unusual to see scripts with a general round aspect with the formal features of a Gothic textualis. These scripts will be labelled Gothic, and the roundness is explained by the level of execution: Formata – libraria/media – currens.

**Bibliography:**


Haugen, Odd Einar 2004: *Handbok i norrøn filologi*, Bergen.


Map IV  Monasteries and episcopal sees in North-Western Europe, c. 1200.
(Drawn by Inger Bjerg Poulsen.)

## Monastic communities in Norway in the Middle Ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>See</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Founder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>The first wave: The Benedictines.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidaros:</td>
<td>Nidarholm</td>
<td>1028-?</td>
<td>Knut den store (r. 1029-1030). Dubious?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nidarholm</td>
<td>ca 1100-1537</td>
<td>Sigurd Ullstreng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bakke*  (female)</td>
<td>ca 1150-1537</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen:</td>
<td>Seljø, Stadt</td>
<td>bef. 1100-1461/74</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munkeliv</td>
<td>ca 1110-1536</td>
<td>King Øystein Magnusson (r. 1103-1123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(taken over by Birgittines in the 1420’s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo:</td>
<td>Gimsø*, Skien</td>
<td>after 1111-ca 1540</td>
<td>Dag Eilivsson, Bratsberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonneseter*</td>
<td>ca 1150-1547</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stavanger:</td>
<td>St Olav’s</td>
<td>ca 1150-1272? (or possibly the oldest Augustinian monastery)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>The second wave: The Cistercians.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidaros:</td>
<td>Munkeby, Levanger, bef. 1180-1207?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tautra</td>
<td>1207-1532</td>
<td>?, with monks from Lyse, Bergen see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen:</td>
<td>Lyse, Os</td>
<td>ca 1146-1536</td>
<td>Bishop Sigurd of Bergen (d. 1156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonneseter*</td>
<td>ca 1150-1528</td>
<td>with monks from Fountains, Yorkshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(taken over by Antonites in 1507)</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo:</td>
<td>Hovedø</td>
<td>ca 1147-1532</td>
<td>Bishop Vilhjalm of Oslo? (d. 1157)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with monks from Kirkstead, Lincolnshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>The third wave: The Augustinians.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidaros:</td>
<td>Helgeseter</td>
<td>ca 1180-1537,</td>
<td>Archbishop Øystein (ab. 1158/59-1188)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reins*</td>
<td>after 1226-1532</td>
<td>Skule jarl Bاردsson (1189-1240)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen:</td>
<td>St. John’s</td>
<td>ca 1150 - 1489 (fire)</td>
<td>Erling Skakke (d. 1179)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. John’s, Halsnøy</td>
<td>1163/64-1536</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stavanger:</td>
<td>Utstein, Mosterö, after 1263-1537</td>
<td>King Magnus Lagabøter? (r. 1263-80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo:</td>
<td>Kastelle, Konghelle, ca. 1180-1529.</td>
<td>Archbishop Øystein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St Olav’s, Tønsberg, bef. 1190-1532</td>
<td>? (Premonstratensians)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dragsmark, Bohuslen, 1260-1532</td>
<td>Håkon Hákonsson (r. 1217-63) (Premon.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>The fourth wave: The Franciscans and the Dominicans.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidaros:</td>
<td>The Dominican convent, bef. 1234-1537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Franciscan convent, bef. 1472-1537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen:</td>
<td>The Dominican convent, 1243/47-1528.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Franciscan convent, 1240’s-1537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo:</td>
<td>The St Olav monastery, Dominicans, 1239-1537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Franciscan convent, Tønsberg, before 1236-1536</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Franciscan convent, Oslo before 1291-1537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Franciscan convent, Marstrand, before 1292-1532</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Franciscan convent, Konghelle, before 1272-1532</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamar:</td>
<td>The St Olav monastery, Dominicans, mentioned 1511.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Others.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varna, Østfold, Johanittes, late 12th century.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>