

The French Connection

Norwegian Manuscript Fragments of French Origin and their
Historical Context

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Abstract

(English)

This thesis examines medieval Latin manuscript fragments of French origin in the Norwegian National Archives. The fragments in the Archives' collection come from parchment manuscripts that were cut up and repurposed, used primarily as binding material for tax accounts in the 16th and 17th centuries. Few Norwegian medieval manuscripts have survived intact, and the fragments are therefore a valuable source for the scholar seeking to investigate early Norwegian book culture.

The aim of the thesis has been twofold: to identify and examine the fragments of French origin, and to examine the context in which books could be brought from France to Norway in the Middle Ages. The identification and examination of fragments from Latin manuscripts of French origin shows that there is a correlation between the fragments and what the historical sources tell us of French-Norwegian connections in the Middle Ages: the number of French-origin fragments that can be dated prior to 1150 is relatively modest compared to those that can be dated to the second half of the 12th century or later. This corresponds to a growing amount of evidence of French-Norwegian contacts: Norwegians travelling through France, Norwegians studying in Paris, Norwegian clergy and court members interacting with their French peers, and French influence on Norwegian church organisation, liturgy, and literature.

The manuscript fragments are challenging to work with, as they are only pieces from what used to be entire books. Still, the overarching impression of the material is that it reflects connections that were created and maintained by religious ties, diplomatic and political ties, and intellectual ties between France and Norway from the 11th to the 14th centuries.

(Norwegian)

Denne avhandlinga tek føre seg fragment frå mellomalderhandskrifter med fransk opphav i Riksarkivet. Fragmentsamlinga i Riksarkivet kjem frå bøker skrivne på pergament, som vart skorpe opp og brukt til andre føremål, hovudsakleg som

innbindingsmateriale for skattelister på 15- og 1600-talet. Få norske mellomalderhandskrifter har overlevd i intakt tilstand, og fragmenta er difor ei viktig kjelde for den som vil forska på tidleg norsk bokkultur.

Målet for avhandlinga har vore todelt: å identifisera og undersøkje fragmenta med fransk opphav, og å undersøkje konteksten for korleis bøker kunne takast med frå Frankrike til Noreg i mellomalderen. Identifiseringa og undersøkinga av fragmenta frå latinske mellomalderhandskrifter av norsk opphav viser at det er ein korrelasjon mellom fragmenta og det historiske kjelder fortel oss om fransk-norsk samkvem i mellomalderen: talet på franskætta fragment som kan daterast til før 1150 er relativt lågt samanlikna med dei som kan daterast til andre halvdel av 1100-talet eller seinare. Dette svarer til ei aukande mengd av opplysingar om fransk-norske kontaktar: nordmenn som reiser gjennom Frankrike, nordmenn som studerer i Paris, norske geistlege og aristokratar som omgåst franske likemenn, og fransk påverknad på norsk kyrkjeorganisasjon, liturgi og litteratur.

Handskriftsfragmenta byr på utfordringar, sidan dei er berre bitar av det som ein gong var heile bøker. Alt i alt gjev likevel materialet det inntrykket at det speglar relasjonar som vart skapte og haldne ved like gjennom religiøse band, diplomatiske og politiske band, og intellektuelle band mellom Frankrike og Noreg frå tida etter kristninga til tidleg 1300-tal.

Contents

SCIENTIFIC ENVIRONMENT.....	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	5
ABSTRACT.....	6
CONTENTS.....	8
INTRODUCTION.....	14
1. MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS: A WIDER CONTEXT FOR PALAEOGRAPHY	18
1.1 DRAWING CONCLUSIONS FROM INCONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE	20
1.1.1 <i>Palaeography and subjectivity</i>	20
1.1.2 <i>How much can we infer from the fragments?</i>	25
1.1.3 <i>Criteria for assessing origin</i>	28
1.2 THE FRAGMENT MATERIAL	32
1.2.1 <i>Medieval book collections</i>	33
1.2.2 <i>The reuse of Norwegian books and the problem of provenance</i>	36
1.2.3 <i>Fragment research</i>	42
1.3 DEFINING THE CORPUS	45
1.3.1 <i>Defining the terms</i>	46
1.3.2 <i>Selecting the fragments</i>	48
2. THE INTRODUCTION OF LATIN BOOK CULTURE IN NORWAY	52
2.1 THE EARLY NORWEGIAN CHURCH	53
2.2 THE NORWEGIAN RELIGIOUS HOUSES.....	58
2.3 CONCLUSION.....	69
3. THE EARLY DAYS: POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND NORWAY 1030–1153/54	70

3.1	NIDARHOLM AS AN ALLEGED CLUNIAN HOUSE	70
3.2	EARLY FRENCH MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS IN NORWAY	75
3.2.1	<i>An early missal</i>	75
3.2.2	<i>A northern French lectionary?</i>	79
3.2.3	<i>A fragment of Moralia in Job</i>	85
3.3	CONCLUSION.....	89
4.	THE ROAD TO PARIS: 1152/53–1217	90
4.1	NORWAY AND THE AUGUSTINIAN MOVEMENT	91
4.1.1	<i>Norwegians in France</i>	91
4.1.2	<i>An Augustinian “wave” in Norway</i>	101
4.2	FROM FLANDERS TO PARIS: SELECTED FRAGMENTS.....	111
4.2.1	<i>The Flemish Dragon Psalter</i>	111
4.2.2	<i>An antiphoner in Trondheim</i>	114
4.2.3	<i>Honorius in Norway</i>	117
4.2.4	<i>The Glossed Psalms of Gilbert of Poitiers and Peter the Lombard</i>	120
4.2.5	<i>Stephen of Tournai</i>	126
4.3	CONCLUSION.....	129
5.	KING HÅKON'S REIGN AND LEGACY: 1217–1319	130
5.1	FRENCH-NORWEGIAN ALLIANCES AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES	132
5.1.1	<i>Traces of French cultural influence in Norway: three lead crosses and a gold ring</i> 133	
5.1.2	<i>A chronicle, a psalter, and a Bible</i>	136
5.2	FRAGMENTS OF A 13 TH CENTURY BOOK CULTURE.....	144
5.2.1	<i>A Parisian Bible</i>	145
5.2.2	<i>Two graduals</i>	149

5.2.3	<i>A Stavanger Decretum</i>	154
5.2.4	<i>Thomas Aquinas and Hippocrates</i>	158
5.2.5	<i>A breviary from St Olav's in Tønsberg?</i>	167
5.3	CONCLUSION.....	170
6.	MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS OF FRENCH ORIGIN.....	172
6.1	INTRODUCTION TO THE CORPUS.....	172
6.1.1	<i>Lat. Frag. 13a, 1</i>	174
6.1.2	<i>Lat. Frag. 27, 1-2</i>	176
6.1.3	<i>Lat. Frag. 33, 1</i>	180
6.1.4	<i>Lat. Frag. 41, 1</i>	182
6.1.5	<i>Lat. Frag. 42, 1-2</i>	184
6.1.6	<i>Lat. Frag. 46, 1-2</i>	186
6.1.7	<i>Lat. Frag. 47, 1-2</i>	188
6.1.8	<i>Lat. Frag. 49, 1-2</i>	190
6.1.9	<i>Lat. Frag. 50, 1-2</i>	192
6.1.10	<i>Lat. Frag. 57, 1</i>	194
6.1.11	<i>Lat. Frag. 70, 1</i>	196
6.1.12	<i>Lat. Frag. 73, 1-6</i>	198
6.1.13	<i>Lat. Frag. 90, 1-2</i>	200
6.1.14	<i>Lat. Frag. 96, 2-27 + 97, 1-2</i>	202
6.1.15	<i>Lat. Frag. 128, 1</i>	204
6.1.16	<i>Lat. Frag. 133, 1-2</i>	206
6.1.17	<i>Lat. Frag. 159, 1-5</i>	208
6.1.18	<i>Lat. Frag. 160, 1</i>	210

6.1.19	<i>Lat. Frag. 165, 1–2</i>	212
6.1.20	<i>Lat. Frag. 168, 1–5</i>	214
6.1.21	<i>Lat. Frag. 170, 1–2</i>	216
6.1.22	<i>Lat. Frag. 171, 1–3</i>	218
6.1.23	<i>Lat. Frag. 173, 1</i>	220
6.1.24	<i>Lat. Frag. 188, 1</i>	222
6.1.25	<i>Lat. Frag. 245, 1</i>	224
6.1.26	<i>Lat. Frag. 251, 1–2</i>	226
6.1.27	<i>Lat. Frag. 257, 1–3 + Unnumbered Box III, [19], 1–2</i>	228
6.1.28	<i>Lat. Frag. 265, 1</i>	230
6.1.29	<i>Lat. Frag. 272, 1–3</i>	232
6.1.30	<i>Lat. Frag. 292, 1–2 + 328, 1–6 + 348, 1–2</i>	234
6.1.31	<i>Lat. Frag. 296, 1</i>	238
6.1.32	<i>Lat. Frag. 340, 1–2</i>	240
6.1.33	<i>Lat. Frag. 343, 1–2</i>	242
6.1.34	<i>Lat. Frag. 395, 1</i>	244
6.1.35	<i>Lat. Frag. 408, 1–4</i>	246
6.1.36	<i>Lat. Frag. 426, 3</i>	248
6.1.37	<i>Lat. Frag. 485, 1–9, 11–12, 14–16</i>	250
6.1.38	<i>Lat. Frag. 495, 1</i>	254
6.1.39	<i>Lat. Frag. 500, 1–2</i>	256
6.1.40	<i>Lat. Frag. 659, 1–2</i>	258
6.1.41	<i>Lat. Frag. 663, 1–4</i>	260
6.1.42	<i>Lat. Frag. 665, 1–2</i>	262

6.1.43	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 704, 1–2	264
6.1.44	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 721, 1–2	266
6.1.45	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 730, 1 + 868, 1 Nordmøre 1642.....	268
6.1.46	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 789, 1–4	270
6.1.47	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 798, 1–2	272
6.1.48	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 801, 1–2	274
6.1.49	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 851, 1–2	276
6.1.50	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 853, 1	278
6.1.51	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 857, 1 + 900, 1–4.....	280
6.1.52	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 859, 1	284
6.1.53	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 861, 1–2	286
6.1.54	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 862, 1–4	288
6.1.55	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 863, 1–8	290
6.1.56	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 864, 1–2	294
6.1.57	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 883, 1–2	296
6.1.58	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 891, 1–2	298
6.1.59	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 906, 1–2	300
6.1.60	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 914, 1–3 + 1004, 1–2.....	302
6.1.61	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 924, 1	306
6.1.62	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 943, 1–2	308
6.1.63	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 956, 1–2	310
6.1.64	<i>Lat. Frag.</i> 1073, 1–3 + 1095, 1–13.....	312
6.1.65	<i>Lat. Frag. Box</i> 45, XI, 1–8.....	316
6.1.66	<i>Lat. Frag. Box</i> 45, XII, 1	318

6.1.67	<i>Lat. Frag. Box 52, 2, 1</i>	322
6.1.68	<i>Lat. Frag. Box 53, Bech 1</i>	324
6.1.69	<i>Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III, 6, 1–2</i>	326
6.1.70	<i>Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III, 30, 1–2</i>	328
7.	CONCLUDING REMARKS	330
7.1	SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS	330
7.2	ANSWERS, OR MERELY NEW QUESTIONS?	334
8.	APPENDIX	337
8.1	NORMAN FRAGMENTS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	337
8.2	REJECTED FRAGMENTS.....	340
8.2.1	<i>Fragments listed as French or possibly French in Gullick (2015)</i>	340
8.2.2	<i>Fragment rejected on the basis of provenance</i>	342
8.2.3	<i>Fragments without localisation in Gullick (2015)</i>	342
	BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES	353

Introduction

This Ph.D. dissertation is part of the larger project “From Manuscript Fragments to Book History” at the University of Bergen. As the name of the project indicates, the aim is to investigate manuscript fragments as a source of book history in its widest sense. The subject of the present work has been fragments from manuscripts of northern French origin in the Norwegian National Archives. The aim has been to not only map out, describe, and inventory the French-origin fragment material, but also to situate the fragments in their historical context, in the hopes that one might shed light on the other. This aim is reflected in three general questions that the thesis endeavours to explore and answer insofar as is possible:

- How many fragments in the National Archives come from French manuscripts?
- Who could have brought the manuscripts here?
- What was the use and purpose of the manuscripts?

While none of these questions can be answered in a once-and-for-all definitive manner, studying the fragment material along with historical evidence of French-Norwegian contact has allowed for a greater understanding of the concerns raised. The main findings indicate that fragments from non-liturgical, i.e. “learned” books are well represented amongst the French material, which fits with our established knowledge of Norwegian students in Paris and Orleans. However, many of the fragments show similarities to manuscripts of the regions north of Paris, regions through which historical evidence shows us Norwegians travelled. This suggests that a greater focus on northern France and the Low Countries as sources of influence on Norwegian book culture could bear fruitful results.

I have chosen to divide the study into three main periods. The first one is the time from the early “missionary” period until 1153/54, when Norway became an independent archbishopric. The second period is from 1153/54 to 1217, the first year

of Håkon IV Håkonsson's reign. The third period is from 1217 to 1319, when Håkon's great-grandson Håkon V Magnusson, the last king of independent Norway, died.

This division into three periods has three functions. First, it permits a rough sorting of the manuscript fragments into three main groups that can be compared to one another in terms of number but also in terms of content. Second, it allows us to see how French-Norwegian contacts went from being virtually non-existent before the 1150s to becoming quite extensive, politically as well as culturally, by the early 14th century. Third, and resultingly, it helps us link these two aspects – the manuscript fragments and the historical context – together, as individual fragments can be seen as representatives of growing contact, a contact that was reflected in Norwegian medieval book collections.

The thesis is outlined as follows. This introduction presents a summary of the corpus, that is to say the collection of fragments assembled and examined by me over the course of my project. While these fragments are inventoried in Chapter 6, the summary of the corpus material and its distribution throughout the period will provide a useful framework for the thesis.

After this introduction, Chapter 1 discusses theoretical and methodological concerns involved in studying manuscripts in general and fragments in particular. It presents the historical background of the Norwegian fragments and the research that is being conducted on these, before accounting for the selection of the corpus of the present study.

Chapter 2 provides the historical background for the arrival and development of Norwegian book culture, including an overview of monasteries and convents, which were crucial institutions in the development of this culture.

Chapters 3–5 examine each of the periods outlined above. The first part of each chapter discusses historical evidence (or lack thereof) for French-Norwegian contact in the period in question. The second part of each of these chapters is devoted to

individual fragments as case studies. Various aspects of these fragments – their palaeography, their provenance, their contents – are discussed, with emphasis differing according to which of their individual traits are of most interest.

Chapter 6 is a list of all the fragments in the corpus, while Chapter 7 contains concluding remarks and suggestions for further studies.

Finally, the appendix includes lists of fragments that were rejected from the study, as well as a presentation of two Norman fragments that while not part of the corpus might be of interest to those studying the manuscript cultures of the “triangle” of Norway, England, and France.

*The corpus*¹

The corpus consists of 70 fragments.² I do not claim that it is an exhaustive or definitive list of all the French-origin fragments in the National Archives with a post-medieval provenance, but it is my hope that it may serve as basis for further research. The basic information is provided alongside one or more picture(s) of each fragment.

While I divided the historical periods according to specific years (the foundation of the archdiocese in 1152/53, the start of Håkon IV Håkonsson’s reign in 1217, the death of Håkon V Magnusson in 1319), I have used round numbers in the tables; however, the categories refer to the same periods.

¹ Defining the corpus – that is to say, determining which fragments are of probable French origin and worthy of inclusion – has formed a large part of this project, as there was no ready-made list of French fragments in the National Archives. I used Michael Gullick’s handlist over the Norwegian fragment material as a starting point, including most of the fragments he had suggested to be French, excluding others, and making suggestions for a French origin myself in many cases. See Chapter 1.3.

² I use “fragment” in the sense of “codicological unit” here; i.e. two fragments that have been identified as coming from the same book are defined as “a fragment” for the purpose of the list. Throughout the study I reserve the term *fragment* for the numbered unit and use *piece* for the physical units making up the fragment. E.g. Lat. Frag. 50, 1–2 is a fragment (unit) made up of two pieces (physical units or “fragments” in a strict sense).

Period	Total	Liturgical books and Bibles	Non-liturgical books
Before 1150	14	13	1
1150–1220	31	25	6
1220–1320	25	11	14
Total	70	49	21

Table of all the fragments with dating and book type

While we should be careful about placing too much importance on “trends”, given the modest sample as well as the caveats (for instance, we cannot know when the books came to Norway), it is still interesting to note that the number of fragments is more than doubled from the first period to the second, going from a total of 14 books to a total of 31. Since many of the fragments placed in the “before 1150” category are close to 1150 and the datings are approximate, the real increase might be even larger. As will be seen in chapters 3–5, this corresponds to a rise in the historical evidence of contacts between France and Norway.

A note on names

I have used the traditional English names for historical personages that may be said to be part of the “pan-European elite” of the Middle Ages, e.g. *Hugh* of St Victor and not *Hugo*. However, I use the modern Norwegian (and not Old Norse) spellings for Norwegian names that are still in use, e.g. *Olav* and not *Ólafr*. In a similar vein, I use the name *Trondheim* for the town (and post-medieval county/*len*), and *Nidaros* for the diocese and archdiocese, though traditionally the latter name has been used to refer to the town as well. I apologise in advance for any inconsistencies or confusion that might yet occur.

1. Manuscript fragments: a wider context for palaeography

The National Archives of Norway³ host around 6000 single fragments from medieval Latin manuscripts written on parchment (Pettersen 2013:43). The manuscripts had been cut up and the parchment repurposed; the fragments were used primarily as binding material for tax accounts in the 16th and 17th centuries. Norway was under Danish rule at the time, and so the tax accounts were sent to Copenhagen. They were returned in the 19th century, after the establishment of the Norwegian National Archives. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries most of the fragments were removed from the tax accounts, sorted into envelopes, and numbered.

Few Norwegian medieval manuscripts have survived intact. The fragments are therefore a valuable source for the scholar seeking to investigate early Norwegian book culture. They are physical objects, not theoretical constructs. Their script, contents, decorations, signs of use, and language are all useful aspects when trying to fill in the blanks in the bigger picture of the ownership and use of books in medieval Norway. Which books existed in the country? Where did they come from, who brought them here, and why? Trying to answer the first question necessitates examining the surviving fragment material. Trying to answer the next questions necessitates looking at the broader picture of cultural and intellectual relations: the establishment of institutions that were part of a larger religious and cultural sphere, and the networks of the educated elite.

The focus of the present work is fragments from medieval manuscripts of French origin in Norway. Examining these fragments and their historical context means that several kinds of historical evidence must be considered together:

³ Abbreviated NRA, an abbreviation I use throughout the study in relation to the fragments.

-
- Evidence (saga literature, records) documenting French-Norwegian relations (e.g. political alliances, records of Norwegians abroad or Frenchmen in Norway)
 - Evidence that suggests contact or influence (e.g. liturgical content, foundations of convents with possible ties to French houses)
 - Physical objects that were brought here from France (e.g. books, jewellery)

The manuscript fragments are physical objects and so belong to the third category of evidence. Their investigation is complicated by their fragmentary state, which often obscures even such basic information as book type (for instance, a fragment containing a snippet of a reading could easily be classified as a mass lectionary when it was in fact a missal). In addition to this comes the lack of absolute certainty inherent in all work with manuscripts. The assessment of a manuscript's origin and date may vary from one scholar to another. Laying out clear criteria is useful, but even so, the definition of each criterion will ultimately never be entirely objective: for instance, what precisely does it mean that a script is "small and round"? Does stereotyping different traits as "English", "French", or "German" lead to a circular reasoning where a manuscript's origin will be dismissed as not fitting into the stereotype? How much weight should be given to general impression or aspect as opposed to individual traits or details?

A third complication for the scholar working with the fragments in the Norwegian National Archives is the lack of certainty with regard to their medieval provenance. That a fragment was used as binding material for an account of a specific region does not necessarily mean the fragment came from a book used in the same region. Some fragments have been identified as coming from the same book as fragments in the Danish Archives used for Danish fiefs, which makes it extremely unlikely that the book was ever in medieval Norway. Sorting out such "red herrings" is part of the challenge when defining the corpus.

This introductory chapter discusses the issues laid out above, starting with the problem of palaeography and subjectivity, discussing which criteria can be used to assess a manuscript's (or fragment's) origin. The chapter then moves on to the Norwegian fragment material, its background, its history as a research object, and the particular challenges it poses to scholars. These discussions are important to the context of the methodology of the present study. When defining the corpus of manuscript fragments, I have relied on my own judgement as well as the judgements of expert scholars, and I have therefore needed a clear sense of what to look for in terms of aspect, script, or style. I have also needed to take the context of the manuscript collection into account, sorting out the fragments which can reasonably be assumed to have a Norwegian medieval provenance from those which cannot – a selection which, again, can never be entirely objective. Even in the case of fragments with a (probable) Norwegian medieval provenance, there is a question of how the books these fragments came from originally arrived in Norway: they may not have come here directly from France, however one defines “France” in the Middle Ages. These questions will be dealt with in the end of the chapter, in Section 1.3, “Defining the corpus”.

1.1 Drawing conclusions from inconclusive evidence

1.1.1 Palaeography and subjectivity

Most medieval manuscripts provide no explicit information as to when and where they were produced. Dating manuscripts and determining their provenance must usually be done on the basis of script (palaeography) and other codicological aspects, such as parchment, layout, and decoration.⁴ Other aspects, such as language and content of text, may also provide useful clues. An example would be liturgical books containing the feast of a saint whose date of death and/or canonisation we know.

⁴ Those manuscripts which do contain clues as to their origin and date provide an invaluable basis for dating and localising others, hence the importance of the Catalogue of Dated Manuscripts (Derolez 2003:11–13).

Assessing the origin and date of production of a manuscript is not an objective science; it entails a certain degree of subjectivity, relying upon the scholar's "eye". This has been a subject of debate within the field (Derolez 2003, Bischoff 1990, and others). In what follows I will concentrate on the difficulties posed by palaeography, since script is of particular importance when studying manuscript fragments; the fragments lack binding, and often decoration, and the layout may not always be possible to discern properly. I will also discuss the possibilities offered by digital tools in palaeography and account for my use of these.

Styles of scripts differ not only according to time and place, but also according to level of formality and, of course, according to the individual scribe. Identifying the hand⁵ of a particular scribe is not an easy task, as shown by the example of the so-called Norwegian Homily Book: for this collection of homilies, the oldest remaining codex written in Old Norse, scholars have made various suggestions regarding the number of scribes, from one to four or five (Stokkeland 2010:115). Although the writing is not completely identical throughout the book, it does not automatically follow that several scribes were involved (although this could be the case): for instance, what looks like a change of hand could be simply a change of pen.

When it comes to dating a manuscript, we should keep in mind that a person's handwriting might change somewhat throughout the years, whether as a result of aging or as a result of the scribe's adopting a new script or both. The opposite is also true, in that a scribe's hand may remain stable for decades; thus we should allow for a leeway of fifty years when dating a manuscript solely on script and spelling (Karlsson 1999:146). Similarly, a scribe might very well be trained in one country or region and work in another. With these caveats, palaeographers still assign origin and date of production to manuscripts on a general basis. What is their method?

⁵I follow Malcom Parkes in distinguishing between "script" and "hand": "A *script* is the model which the scribe has in his mind's eye when he writes, whereas a *hand* is what he actually puts down on the page" (Parkes 1969:xxvi).

The well-known palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff called palaeography “an art of seeing and comprehending” (Bischoff 1990:3). That is to say, the palaeographers must study enough manuscripts to develop a judgement of their own with regard to date and origin of the manuscripts – a judgement which by its nature is subjective, the palaeographer’s judgement being hard to quantify or describe in objective terms. According to this view, the elements of the page make up a coherent whole that cannot easily be reduced to the sum of its parts, but must be assessed with the eye of the scholar. This does not mean that the individual elements are unimportant; as pointed out by J. P. Gumbert (2004:511), the “sum of facts” will be helpful to the scholar when considering the whole.

This inherent subjectivity poses an interesting paradox: if the art of distinguishing between, for instance, a French manuscript and an English one on the basis of script cannot be taught, how can it be acquired to begin with? In other words, if we have no criteria for assessing what we perceive, where do our judgements stem from? There has to be some sort of a priori idea of what an English manuscript should look like, an idea which must be rooted in the judgements of earlier scholars. Training the eye to judge the general impression of a manuscript is important, as it is only through our eyes we are able to perceive the object of study, but if we are to state that a given manuscript “looks English”, there should also be at least somewhat verifiable criteria on which to base this judgement.

Albert Derolez (2003) sums up the problem of subjectivity in his discussion of the need for reliable criteria for the study of script: “Many qualifying terms and descriptions are in the last resort the subjective opinion of the author alone. The reader can only guess what is meant by terms such as ‘large’, ‘small’, ‘clear’, ‘elegant’, ‘compressed’, ‘wide’, ‘precise’, ‘workmanlike’, ‘competent’, ‘vigorous’ etc.” (Derolez 2003:7) And further: “The method applied hitherto in palaeographical handbooks has produced an authoritarian discipline, the pertinence of which depends on the authority of the author and the faith of the reader” (2003:9). This is the problem of considering palaeography simply an art that cannot be taught: asking the readers to accept the scholar’s judgements with no verifiable criteria to back them up,

without laying out one's reasoning to let the readers judge for themselves whether the argument is sound, is not a good starting point for fruitful, reasoned discussion; nor does it make it easier to strengthen or refute claims.

In his work, Derolez proposes a nomenclature with clear criteria for distinguishing various types of script, while still noting that “[t]he student should bear in mind that it will never be possible to record objectively every nuance when dealing with something that is, in part, subjective” (2003:24). Åslaug Ommundsen (2007a:97-104) builds upon his work (and that of others), establishing a check list for letter forms and other traits which might be used for assessing the geographical origin of a manuscript, while stressing the many caveats that always must be taken when undertaking this task.

While such criteria still do not provide us with a simple method of distinguishing true and false, that is no reason why they should not be used, with appropriate caution. Certainly they make it easier to judge a scholar's argument instead of simply choosing to trust or distrust his or her opinion.

Furthermore, as pointed out by Michael Polanyi, it is possible to “know more than we can tell”, a claim he illustrates with the example of knowing a person's face: although the face is familiar to us, it is hard to explain properly how we recognise it (Polanyi 1983:4). Again, the whole cannot always be easily reduced to the sum of its parts. Another example of Polanyi's illustrates this, namely that of the pianist who concentrates too hard on the movement of his fingers and is paralysed – the focus on detail hurts the organic understanding of the music as a whole (Polanyi 1983:18). However, both in this case and in the case of manuscript studies, a certain attention to detail is useful when paired with what Polanyi calls tacit knowledge (1983:10): just like a pianist's awareness of his finger movements is required if he is to improve his technique, being able to pinpoint details will be helpful to a palaeographer who also has the “eye” for general impressions. This is also the approach I have aimed for in the present work: while the general aspect of the manuscript fragment has formed the

base for my selection, individual details of the script will still be identified and examined.

A question remains to be discussed, namely that of the use of digital tools in palaeography. Almost three decades ago, Bernhard Bischoff noted that technology might contribute towards developing palaeography into “an art of measurement” (Bischoff 1990:3). In later years, digital palaeography has become an important trend, although the term is a broad one. As pointed out by Da Rold and Maniaci, one should avoid confusing “digital palaeography” in an instrumental sense (i.e. the use of digital tools) with “digital palaeography” as a new methodological paradigm (Da Rold and Maniaci 2015:21); that is to say, the use of digital tools does not in and of itself entail a subscription to “digital palaeography” as a field of its own. In the present study, I have made use of digital palaeography in the first sense, in that I have used digital tools: I have worked from photographs, used Adobe Photoshop to reconstruct leaves and partial leaves, and taken advantage of the digitalisation of manuscripts for comparison purposes. However, my use of these tools has still been determined by the “eye” of myself and others.

Instinctively, the thought of being able to rely on technology instead of the “eye” is appealing; one might envision more “objective” results knowing that the material has been sorted by a machine rather than a fallible human.⁶ The problem is, of course, that the digital tools are just that: they can sort and arrange the material in order to the criteria we specify, but they still need these criteria in order to work. And specifying those criteria is still a matter of judgement on the part of the palaeographer; if we want software to be able to distinguish between a French-made and a Norwegian-made manuscript, we still need to develop the criteria necessary to make that

⁶ This seems to have been the reasoning behind the stated goal of the now-defunct GRAPHEM project: “to contribute to the creation of a true objective and scientific paleography”. <http://www.univ-orleans.fr/lifo/action.php?lang=en&id=24>, accessed on 20 July 2016.

distinction. Otherwise there is a danger of “exchang[ing] the authority of the palaeographer for the authority of the computer” (Brookes et al. 2015:26).⁷

Although there is no digital tool that can tell us objectively where a book was written, there is no doubt that digital tools are valuable. Not only can they be helpful in helping scholars sort and handle the material, but digitising manuscripts saves the scholar time and resources, making it easier to single out the manuscripts that need a closer study “face-to-face”. There are also advantages to working with digital photographs beyond saving time and money. While the originals must still be consulted when necessary, there is less risk of exposure to damage. If the photographs are of a sufficient quality, they may even be easier to study than the originals, since zooming in on details can be easier to do digitally than by using a magnifying lens.

While working on this thesis I have had access to the near-complete collection of photographs assembled by the project “From Manuscript Fragments to Book History”, which also has an online inventory of parts of the fragments.⁸ A database of the fragments in the Norwegian National Archives is under development, and will be made available to the general public once it has been launched (Tor Weidling, personal communication). This will doubtless facilitate future research on the fragment material.

1.1.2 How much can we infer from the fragments?

In the paragraphs above, I have described the inherent subjectivity of palaeography and accounted for the methodology of my project. There remains another question

⁷ That said, the possibility of being able to date and localise manuscripts more accurately with the aid of technology should not be underestimated. The project Digipal, conducted by King’s College in London, aims to provide scholars with a way to sort and compute data, and is intended more to assist the scholar’s eye and memory than to replace them. See Brookes et al. (2015:25-36).

⁸ <https://fragments.app.uib.no/search/?p=657:1>, accessed on 29 July 2016.

that must be discussed, that of how much we can reasonably infer from inconclusive source material.

This is of course not a question that is confined to manuscript studies. Much research – probably most in the humanities – must content itself with claims of probability, rather than objective proof in the “hard science” sense. In the case of the manuscript fragments, they are not theoretical constructs but real objects to be studied; they transmit information not only by their content but also by their physical aspects: script, decoration, layout, parchment. They are, in short, historical witnesses. But in order to interpret what they tell us, we need context, which is provided by medieval history.

If a manuscript fragment is “French-looking”, i.e. shares similarities in layout, decoration, and script with other manuscripts we know with reasonable certainty to be French, and there are no other indicators as to geographical origin, it is not unreasonable to assume the fragment is of French origin, though this cannot be proved or disproved – unless the fragment contains an explicit statement by the scribe about the origin of the book, which is rarely the case.⁹

The question is how much we can hope to reasonably infer from the fragments, as well as about their historical context. There is a danger of circular reasoning here: if we assume to begin with that a great number of the 12th century fragments were imported from French institutions, knowing these institutions to be important centres of learning during the time, it might make us more inclined to assume a French origin for many of the fragments, which in turn might be taken as evidence of this very import.

However, without any such starting hypothesis, the project would become directionless and vague. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to assume a certain number

⁹Even then, it could be argued that we have no way of objectively knowing whether the scribe is telling the truth – it is merely the most probable option.

of imports from northern France, based on what we know about the period. The importance, then, lies in avoiding letting this assumption overrule any judgement of the manuscript fragments themselves. I believe establishing guidelines for assessing the origins of a manuscript (cf. the discussion above) is essential here, as it will also help rule out the fragments that clearly are *not* French.

If a fragment from a 12th century manuscript shows a few traits that are most common in France, without any other clues as to its origin, these traits constitute very little evidence in and of themselves. If, however, there is a large group of fragments that can be tentatively grouped this way, without there being any weighty reason to assign to them any other origin, we may consider these fragments as evidence, if not objective proof, of a non-negligible import of French-made books. The significance of this import should be judged in relation to what historical evidence tells us of French-Norwegian contact at the time.

Like the assessment of the date and origin of a given manuscript, any conclusions as to the date of its import can only be tentative; there is always the possibility that a book was brought to Norway decades after its production. However, if the import of books was related to the Church's expansion and development, there is no reason to assume people would deliberately acquire older books. Occam's razor might be employed, if with caution. To take up the example from above: if a manuscript fragment in the Norwegian collection exhibits French traits, and has an early 12th century "look", and there is nothing to indicate otherwise, assuming it was imported from France seems more reasonable than not.¹⁰

Naturally, the fact that something cannot be disproved does not mean it is proved (the so-called *argumentum ad ignorantiam*¹¹). My aim is not to prove the origin of the manuscript fragments I am studying, because ultimately that cannot be done, for

¹⁰ To assume this import took place sometime during the 12th century rather than later might also be reasonable, if we assume people of the period would be less likely to bother importing older books. On the other hand, one could easily imagine that a poor institution or individual could buy a second-hand manuscript cheaply from someone wealthier.

¹¹Cf. http://philosophy.lander.edu/logic/ded_ind.html, accessed on 11 March 2014.

reasons I have discussed above. My aim is, however, to exhaust the material for information to the best of my abilities, to make clear the historical context in which these books were used and produced, and hopefully to shed more light upon the development of Norwegian book history through illuminating probable influences.

In the above, I have discussed some sources of potential error: the subjectivity of palaeography as a discipline; the lack of objective information offered by the material; and, lastly, the danger of circular reasoning. However, in my opinion these obstacles are not so great that they cannot be overcome by stating clearly one's criteria when making any judgements, making proper reservations when needed, and conscientiously taking into account any piece of conflicting evidence. The result may then be judged on a more solid basis than, to borrow Derolez's words once more, "the authority of the author and the faith of the reader".

1.1.3 Criteria for assessing origin

What are, then, the criteria used for assessing a manuscript's origin? In the following I will discuss palaeographical, codicological, and textual criteria separately, all of these being necessary to take into account, though not being of equal importance to all fragments. Circumstantial evidence, such as the likelihood of several codices being Norwegian if clearly written by the same scribe, also comes into play when grouping the fragments. As I have stated several times, none of these criteria is strong enough on its own to "prove" a fragment's origin, but it might still point to a certain degree of likelihood, even more so if taken together with other criteria pointing in the same direction.

Palaeography

The palaeographical criteria concerning shapes of the letters are mainly based on Ommundsen (2007a:97-103). These apply mainly to English versus Continental (French or German) manuscripts, and concern the letters *a* and *g*, the ampersand, the

tick of the *punctus elevatus*, the feet of the minims, and “pen-drawn” versus “pen-written” initials.

For the sake of this study, it has been necessary not only to recognise French and English manuscript fragments, but Norwegian ones as well, in order to distinguish them from the imported material and thus obtain a better overview of the first centuries of Norwegian book culture. Norwegian manuscripts from the first centuries after Christianisation can often be recognised by a certain degree of heterogeneity in that they display influences from several regions, which is easily explained by the lack of an established scribal culture with its own conventions. Such heterogeneity, paired with a tendency towards poor or awkward writing and decoration, more often than not points to a Norwegian origin (Karlsen 2003:68, Ommundsen 2007a:93–95). Among more specific traits the *x* deserves a special mention: Derolez (2003:115) mentions the *x* with a “split” cross-stroke (see illustration) as a trait typical of Southern/Iberian manuscripts, but this type of *x* is also commonly found in Norway (Ommundsen 2013:288).

An example of how criteria must be weighted against each other is Lat. Frag. 871, 1–2, a 12th-century breviary with the provenance Trondheim 1621.



Lat. Frag. 871, 2 (verso)¹²

In the case of this fragment I settled on a Norwegian origin due to what I perceive as unevenness in the hand (cf. for instance the long *s* in *resonet*, top line on the left), as well as the misspelling of *evovae* as *evovoe* (third line on the left). However, I do not exclude the possibility that the original book was modelled on a French (or possibly English) exemplar. Individual traits such as “Anglo-French” *g* or the high lobe of the *a* point in this direction, as does the fragment’s similarity to many of the other fragments containing musical notation that have a Trondheim provenance (see Chapter 4.2.2) and which I believe to be French.

Codicology

Codicology refers to the study of the codex, i.e. of the book. I choose here to distinguish between palaeographical criteria, which concern the script, and

¹² For practical reasons the images in the study are not reproduced in a 1:1 format. Measurements are given in millimetres for each fragment.

codicological criteria, which concern all other aspects of the manuscript.¹³ Features such as decoration, parchment, ruling patterns, and bindings are all of use when trying to date and localise a manuscript. For instance, French-made glossed books typically do not arrange the text and the gloss above the top ruled line; this seems to be a feature of English books (De Hamel 1984:30).

Although the Latin fragments in the Norwegian National Archives generally contain texts that are standard throughout Western Europe – liturgy, theology, canon law – there are sometimes clues to be found in the content. An example is the inclusion of saints that are associated with or venerated in particular regions. Another is whether the text is known to have circulated in particular areas. As is the case of palaeographical criteria, codicological and textual criteria should be seen as clues rather than definite proof, and in the case of different criteria pointing in different directions, the question of which criteria should be given more weight must be left to the scholar's judgement.

The fragments, removed from the original context of their codex, often lack certain aspects normally studied for codicological information. The (lack of) binding is the most obvious, but also the size of the folio and the pattern of the ruling can be hard to discern, or at least measure accurately. Moreover, the fragments in the National Archives are often damaged and the appearance may be misleading with regard to colours and quality of parchment and decorations (if present). Many of the fragments contain little text, perhaps only a few lines or less; sometimes there is not enough text to even provide clues with regard to the type of script.

If the fragment contains only a brief excerpt of text, it might not be clear which sort of book we are dealing with: does the snippet from a biblical reading stem from a lectionary or a breviary? Are the lines by Augustine from a copy of his own work, or are they quoted by someone else? If the fragment cannot be paired with another

¹³ According to Da Rold and Maniaci (2015:2) the terms “archaeology of the book”, “material codicology”, and “structural codicology” are all used to describe the focus on materials and physical structure. The authors themselves seem to use “codicology” in the sense of “material codicology” (Da Rold and Maniaci 2015:7), separate from “palaeography”.

fragment from the same codex, the lack of information means we might not be able to tell. Thankfully, it is often possible to join together fragments that must come from the same codex. Doing so, the number of codices represented in the collection shrinks as well, and should therefore regularly be adjusted.

Studying the fragments entails studying them as physical objects: they are remnants of codices that were in use in the Middle Ages and as such tangible representatives of early Norwegian book culture. They do not only transmit information via their content, they provide information in and of themselves; again, the fragments are historical witnesses. As such the present work is not concerned primarily with fragments as vehicles for text: the texts are one of several aspects that are of interest, but the main goal is to study the manuscripts the fragments come from as tokens of intellectual, religious, cultural, and political relations between Norway and France in the first centuries after Christianisation. To see which texts are represented amongst these manuscripts and to which extent, on the other hand, is a matter of interest, as they may indicate the context in which these manuscripts were taken to Norway.

With all this in mind, we are concerned with incomplete objects as well as fragmentary texts. Nevertheless, the fragments do not exist in a vacuum but were once part of whole manuscripts that were written, bought, and used for a purpose. The historical context can help reconstruct some of this purpose; in turn the study of fragments may give us more knowledge of the historical context. This is, in short, the aim of the present work.

1.2 The fragment material

The surviving manuscript fragments constitute pieces of an enormous puzzle, both figuratively and literally. In many cases, fragments of different provenance are discovered to have come from the same codex, being identifiable by means of their hand, contents, and style. Larger parts can sometimes be reconstructed from these

small pieces, sometimes even entire leaves.¹⁴ In a more figurative sense, examining the fragments helps us fill in the gaps in our knowledge of early medieval book culture in Norway, giving us a sense of the books and texts that existed. While our map of the landscape of early Norwegian book culture still contains many blank spots, the identified fragments therefore represent islands of known territory, along with the handful of surviving codices.¹⁵

In order to get a sense of how representative the fragments are of early Norwegian book culture, it is necessary to review the historical evidence of medieval book collections and book ownership. This provides the background for the dismemberment and reuse of manuscripts as binding material in post-medieval Norway. These two issues – the medieval book collections and the fate of the manuscripts – are discussed in this subchapter, ending in a brief overview of the current research on the Norwegian fragment material.

1.2.1 Medieval book collections

Which books existed in medieval Norway, and how many? The latter of these two questions is impossible to answer satisfactorily, as most of the books are lost forever.¹⁶ Gisela Attinger and Andreas Haug suggest a number of liturgical books between 2500 and 5000 (Attinger and Haug 2004:10). Åslaug Ommundsen estimates that by 1300, there were around 10 000–12 000 liturgical books and 500–1000 non-liturgical books in Norway, and that the number remained stable until the Reformation in 1536/37 (Ommundsen 2007a:79). She bases this estimate on evidence from church inventories, legal documents, property lists, and mentions in written

¹⁴ See for example NRA Lat. Frag. 857, 1 + 900, 1–4 or NRA Lat. Frag. Box 45, XI, 1–8 in the list in Chapter 6.

¹⁵ These codices, less than twenty in number, are scattered between collections (Karlsen 2013c:31-32). Three of the codices – the Christina Psalter, Aslak Bolt's Bible, and Queen Isabella's copy of William of Tyre – are relevant to the present study because they can be tied to France, and will be discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁶ See Karlsen (2013c) and Ommundsen (2007a:68-81) for more thorough discussions of estimates of losses and survival.

sources such as letters. Espen Karlsen suggests a somewhat higher number, estimating 13 000–14 000 codices owned by churches, but like Ommundsen admits that it is impossible to give a fully accurate answer (Karlsen 2013c:36).

Considering that the number of Latin codices represented in the National Archive has been estimated to around 1200 (Kolsrud 1911:10),¹⁷ we have traces of only a small fraction of the books that most likely have existed in medieval Norway. Moreover, most of the codices represented by fragments are still lost: of a manuscript that perhaps contained 90 leaves, we may have less than one leaf preserved. Ommundsen points to the lack of liturgy for important Norwegian saints as an illustration of this state: there is almost no evidence of liturgy for local saints in the surviving material, with the exception of St Olav, and even the material for him is scarce, the sequence “Lux illuxit” surviving in only four Norwegian handwritten sources, all of them fragmentary (Ommundsen 2007a:79–80). On the other hand, this means that the texts that are represented in several fragments are likely to have been widely circulated, since nothing suggests that any textual selection was at play when the manuscripts were gathered, cut up and reused.

Some of the historical records mention the size of book collections (I use the term in a wide sense, to refer to the ensemble of an individual or an institution’s books).¹⁸ The largest ones generally belonged to institutions such as monasteries or cathedral chapters. For instance, according to a 16th century record, the Cistercian monastery of Tautra near Trondheim owned 70 old books stored in an attic (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum* [=DN]¹⁹ 11, 583; Holm-Olsen 1990:129; Karlsen 2013:35).

¹⁷ Åslaug Ommundsen notes that the number of codices, while currently somewhat higher than 1200, keeps decreasing as more fragments are identified as having been part of the same book, so that Kolsrud’s estimate will most likely prove to be fairly accurate (Ommundsen 2016b, forthcoming).

¹⁸ The most detailed overview of Norwegian book collections in the Middle Ages is to my knowledge O.A. Johnsen (1908). See also Ludvig Holm-Olsen (1990:124–144), Gerhard Munthe (1993), and Espen Karlsen (2013c:33–36).

¹⁹ The *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* is available online: http://www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl_norv/diplom_felt.html, accessed 30 July 2016.

On the secular side, an inventory from the 1550s shows that the cathedral chapter of Nidaros owned 61 titles of various genres (DN 12, 673; Johnsen 1908:90–93; Karlsen 2013b:35). Among the titles are “Scholastica hystoria”, which must refer to Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*,²⁰ and several law books such as “two of Gratian’s decreta” and “Gregory the ninth’s decretals”, as well as several liturgical books and commentaries on parts of the Bible. At least in the later Middle Ages, the Nidaros chapter library thus seems to have been well-stocked, covering the main areas of liturgical books, books for use in teaching (e.g. psalters with commentaries), and books for study or reference (Mortensen 2000b:142).

The largest private collection that we know of from the Middle Ages in Norway probably belonged to the Bergen-based Bishop Arne Sigurdsson (1305–1314)²¹ and consisted of 36 volumes, though only one of these, a treatise on canon law, has survived (Holm-Olsen 1990:131). The book in question, Codex Upsalensis C 564, is now in Uppsala in Sweden.²² It is by means of this codex that we know the contents of the collection, since a list of the books had been pasted into the binding.²³ The collection was divided into three categories: theological books, “libri grammaticales” (i.e. works on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics), and books in Old Norse. Several of the works point towards the universities and schools in Paris and Orleans (Tryti 1987:126–127, 132). This would fit with ownership by Arne, who studied in Orleans and perhaps in Paris as well, as did most likely his brother Audfinn (cf. Chapter 5.2.3).

²⁰ A fragment of this work, NRA Lat. Frag. 73, 1–6, is included in the corpus of the present study, see Chapter 6.1.12. The fragment’s provenance is Inderøy, i.e. in the diocese of Nidaros.

²¹ See Anna Elisa Tryti (1987:127–141) for a full discussion of the question of ownership. Tryti gives an overview of the discussion and argues in favour of Arne’s being the owner, a traditional attribution contested by Matthias Tveitane (1981) and Stefán Karlsson (1979). Ian McDougall (1996:141–143, note 16) agrees with attributing the collection to Arne, but suggests that the “b” in the signature “b Aquila” stands for “bróðir” rather than “biskup”, which would be more in line with Old Norse syntax. The list would then stem from Arne’s time as a canon before being appointed bishop.

²² Matthias Tveitane, who doubts that Arne Sigurdsson owned the collection listed in C 564, is otherwise open to the possibility that the collection originated from Bergen (Tveitane 1981:108). C 564 arrived in Uppsala from the Swedish monastery Vadstena of St Bridget’s order. The monastery of Munkeliv in Bergen belonged to this order in the late Middle Ages, and may have acquired C 564 at some point, from where it would pass on to Vadstena. The collection listed in the codex was dispersed before this happened (Kolsrud and Reiss 1913:34).

²³ See Kolsrud and Reiss (1913:58–70) for the details of C 564, including the list of titles in the collection (p. 60).

The average clergyman would be likely to own significantly fewer books than Arne. In a regulation from 1320, Archbishop Eiliv (1311–32) presupposes that every priest should own a manual, and every parish priest who has been in office for five years should own a breviary. A missal is required in order to perform Mass, and priests must submit their books to the bishop's inspection once a year (Holm-Olsen 1990:134). This would suggest that books, while still not widespread, had been diffused enough for the common clergyman to own at least one. In other words, production and import of books must have been built up throughout the preceding two centuries before Eiliv's time, the period falling under the scope of the present study.

The production of liturgical books seemingly began to decline around 1300, at least in the case of missals (Karlsen 2005:151). This could mean that the need for liturgical books was no longer as great, as by this time churches and convents throughout the country must have acquired enough books for their purposes. These books would remain in use for a long time, and replacing them with newer ones would probably not always be an option, at least not for the smaller and less affluent churches, nor would it always be deemed necessary; the number of older fragments in the National Archive suggests that books would be kept, and most likely used, for hundreds of years (Ommundsen 2007a:77). Then, when they no longer were of use for their contents, they became reused, this time for their material.

1.2.2 The reuse of Norwegian books and the problem of provenance

A durable as well as an expensive material, parchment could be used for a number of purposes even when the text it contained was deemed obsolete or otherwise undesirable. Reusing the parchment in old manuscripts made perfect sense, nor was it a new phenomenon in the 16th century; books had been reused, including for bindings of new books, since Antiquity (Pettersen 2003:48). The practice of reusing fragments from old books for the purpose of binding boomed in the 16th century, however, when

the output of printed books coincided with the Protestant Reformation, rendering Catholic books obsolete all over Northern Europe, meaning there was a large amount of manuscript material available as waste.²⁴

The great majority of Norwegian medieval manuscripts have only survived as fragments, with only a few Latin codices remaining intact.²⁵ The Reformation in 1536/37 brought with it a change in the liturgy, meaning that the existing liturgical books no longer could be used. The advent of printing also played a part in rendering the old manuscripts obsolete, since the contents could now more easily be standardised throughout the church province, and one was able to replace the ancient books (Karlsen 2013c:27). As for the material written in the vernacular, linguistic changes entailed that the contents were no longer easily accessible to the majority of readers.²⁶

Most of the books in medieval Norway would not be lavish or elaborate display books, but rather simple books meant for everyday use. In that sense the fragment material is valuable because it gives us an impression of the books that existed that otherwise might not have been studied at all, but which are probably the most representative of what was actually there. After all, the most expensive and rare books, which normally attract the most attention from researchers, were outstanding in their time. The simple, everyday books comprising the fragment material are more typical, and therefore able to fill out the picture of what the medieval book collections looked like.

²⁴ As pointed out by Nicholas Pickwoad (2000:2–3), the Reformation does not explain the widespread use of manuscripts as binding material in countries that remained Catholic. A comparative study of the practice in different regions would be of interest. A priori it seems that the increase of printed books could be enough to render the hand-written books obsolete, independently of their contents.

²⁵ The contrast to Norway's neighbour Sweden, where at least 650 codices with a medieval Swedish provenance remain in various collections, is stark. See Heikkilä and Ommundsen (2016b, forthcoming) for numbers and discussion.

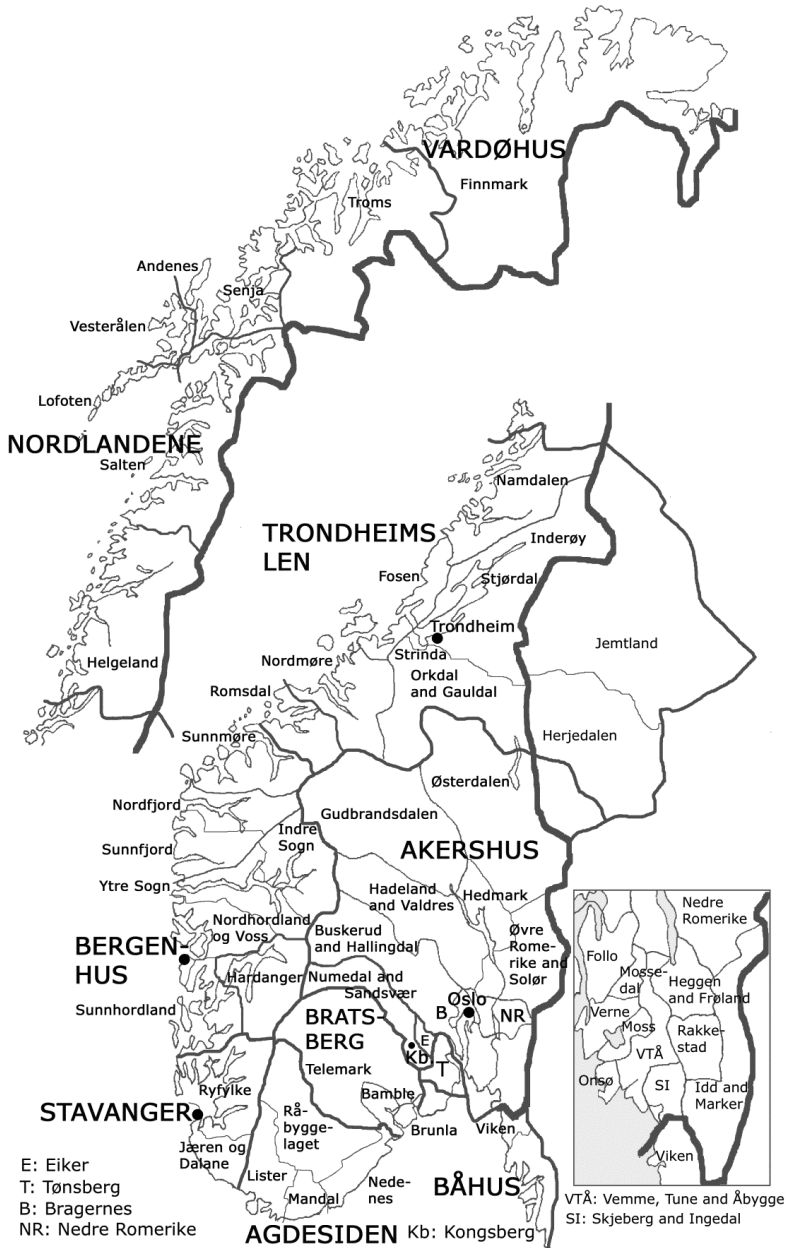
²⁶ Ludvig Holm-Olsen quotes a scrivener working in Bergen around 1550, Laurents Hansson, who notes that there are few Norwegian books left in the country, "and there are few left who are able to read them, let alone understand them" (Holm-Olsen 1990:145, translation mine).

As stated above in Chapter 1.2.1, only a fraction of these medieval books are represented by the fragment material. The question of how these books ended up in the fragment collection is an important one, as it has bearings on the question of which of these fragments came from books that existed in medieval Norway, and which came to be part of the collection for other reasons.²⁷

At the time of the Reformation, Norway was under the Danish crown. The parchment fragments were mainly used to reinforce the spine of tax protocols, which were sent to the archives in Copenhagen. The country was divided into *len*, administrated by governors (*lensherrar*), who answered to the king's central administration in Copenhagen. The *len* were again divided into smaller units/bailiwicks, *fogderi*.²⁸ The bailiffs were in charge of collecting taxes and other forms of revenue, and they would then hand these over to the governor of the *len* along with their accounts. The governor would then compose an account for his *len* and send this account, in batches of one or more years together, to Copenhagen, with the bailiffs' accounts enclosed (Pettersen 2013:49).

²⁷ Gunnar Pettersen (2013:48) distinguishes between primary provenance (where the manuscript was used) and secondary provenance (where the manuscript was dismembered and reused). One cannot immediately assume that the two provenances are identical, although this may serve as a starting point for discussion (cf. the present study, Chapter 3–5). The matter of origin adds a third layer to the question of a manuscript fragment's geographical background.

²⁸ I have used the terms *len* and *fogderi* in this work, and *governor* and *bailiff* for those in charge of the respective administrative units.



The len of post-medieval Norway (image from Ommundsen 2007a:30)

At some point, these accounts were bound with manuscript fragments, the fragments either being used as covers or as flyleaves/reinforcements.²⁹ The question is then where the binding happened, and whether this was at all indicative of where the manuscript had been used up until its demise. Did the binding take place before the accounts were sent? If so, were the accounts bound in the same *fogderi* where the parchment had been collected? Was the binding material sent to the administrative centre of the *len* and the accounts bound there? Or were the accounts sent to Copenhagen and bound there?

The last alternative, the books being bound in Copenhagen, would have an obvious bearing on any study of the fragment material, since that would indicate the fragments were from books used in Denmark in the Middle Ages, and not in Norway. Some of the fragments that were used as bindings on Norwegian material are indeed identified as coming from the same manuscripts as fragments found in Denmark. This does not, however, mean that the accounts were generally bound in Copenhagen.³⁰ Considering the dearth of Danish parchment material, Pettersen considers it unlikely that manuscripts would be sent from Denmark to Norway (2013:56). While generally agreeing with this assessment, Ommundsen (2016a, forthcoming) argues that there was a limited, “ad hoc” import of parchment material from Denmark to Norway, based on 15 cases of fragments in the Norwegian collections being matched with Danish counterparts. These fragments have in common that they are from large books, often Bibles, often of good quality – an example of such a fragment is NRA Lat. Frag. 20, 1–2, which was identified as coming from the same Bible as a considerable number of Danish fragments (see Chapter 1.3.2).

²⁹ The surviving fragments from the 16th century are generally larger than the 17th century ones and more suitable to use as covers, as is common in Sweden and to some extent in Denmark (Pettersen 2013:44). This is easily explained by the comparable wealth of parchment material in the earlier period.

³⁰ As pointed out by Pettersen (2013:49), binding the accounts before travelling would be the practical option, but there could still be a need to rebind the accounts in Copenhagen, if these had been damaged along the way. There were cases of Norwegian manuscripts being sent to Denmark as the Danish parchment resources dwindled (Pettersen 2013:43); however, the same reasoning applies here, namely that it seems impractical to dismember the books before sending them off.

The dismembering and binding³¹ seems to have taken place both locally (within the *fogderi*) and centrally (in the administrative centre of the *len*) (Pettersen 2013:56–57). The question is then how much can be inferred about a manuscript fragment's primary (or pre-Reformation) provenance based on its secondary provenance, i.e. the account for which it was used as binding.³² In some cases, such as when a large number of fragments from the same manuscript have been used within a *fogderi* or small region over many years, local provenance is likely (Pettersen 2013:55). An example of this is NRA Lat. Frag. 485, 1–9, 11–12, 14–16 (Chapters 5.2.5 and 6.1.37), which was used over many years within the smaller *len* of Tønsberg.

Following Pettersen (2013:55), we can assume that when the binding takes place locally, done by the bailiffs, the books most likely would come from local churches or institutions. As we saw in Chapter 1.2.1, churches and convents would have collections of manuscripts ranging from modest to fairly extensive; cf. the monastery of Tautra's 70 books. When the last convents were shut down during the Reformation, these book collections would have been confiscated along with the rest of the institution's properties. Some of the books would have remained in the *fogderi*, others would probably be sent to the centre of the *len* to be used there if needed, although this centre would be likely to have its own churches and convents from which to acquire parchment material. The *len* chancery would probably have a stock of manuscripts that were confiscated from all parts of the *len* and stored centrally (Pettersen 2013:56).

³¹ We can assume that the cutting and the binding were done in the same place, since cutting up the books first and then send them to the *len*'s main towns to be used as bindings would make little sense – it is easier to decide the size of the leaves you need for bindings when you know the size of the book it is supposed to reinforce.

³² Gunnar Pettersen lays out the most important criteria for determining a fragment's primary (or pre-Reformation) provenance, while stressing that these criteria apply to a minority of fragments, or at least cannot be applied on their own (Pettersen 2013:45–48). These criteria are: 1) notices and inscriptions in books and on fragments, 2) other inscriptions on the fragments, 3) leads in liturgical manuscripts (internal criteria), 4) fragments of the same manuscripts in two or more different archives, 5) fragments used to strengthen the spine of printed copies of the *Missale Nidrosiense* (1519), 6) fragments of manuscripts likely to have been of interest primarily to a certain kind of institution – for instance monasteries, 7) fragments of patristic, philosophical and juridical manuscripts, 8) large-sized and high quality manuscripts, 9) fragments of books undoubtedly written in Norway.

In the case studies in Chapters 3–5 I have used the secondary provenance as a point of departure in order to examine the medieval context. A fragment used for a Trondheim account, for instance, may have had Trondheim as its primary provenance as well as its secondary one, but that is impossible to prove. Nevertheless, one can use the fragment of a book as a starting point to discuss the context in which such a book could come to be found in medieval Trondheim.

1.2.3 Fragment research

As mentioned earlier, the Norwegian accounts were handed over to the National Archives in the 19th century.³³ The first mentions of the fragments are from the 1840s, when Christian Lange, secretary of the Archives, initiated an extensive removal of fragments from their accounts – a removal that continued over the next decades and was more or less completed by Ebbe Hertzberg in 1907 (Pettersen 2003:45–46).³⁴

When the fragments were removed from their accounts, they would in general receive an inscription (in pencil) noting which accounts they were taken from. This forms the basis of our knowledge of the fragments' secondary provenance. In the 19th and early 20th centuries all references to the Latin fragments had to be done on the basis of the accounts (Pettersen 2003:51). The reason for this cumbersome practice was the lack of a proper catalogue, unlike that which had been drawn up for the Old Norse fragments.³⁵

In the first half of the 20th century, the fragments were sorted into envelopes based on whether or not they appeared to be from the same codex. The envelope would then

³³ This handover was prescribed by the Kiel treaty of 1814, but did not take place without complications, cf. <https://snl.no/arkivsaken>, accessed on 12 July 2016.

³⁴ Along with the Latin material, there are 500–600 fragments in Old Norse in the collection, and these received most of the attention from early scholars. They represent around 100 codices, mostly from law books, sagas, and accounts (Pettersen 2003:47).

³⁵ This catalogue was made by Ingjald Undset in the 1880s, based on a dissertation by P.A. Munch and an earlier catalogue by Hans E. Kinck (Pettersen 2003:51).

receive a number, along with a number referring to the amount of physical fragments. For instance, the fragment NRA Lat. Frag. 27, 1–2 consists of two physical fragments (“pieces”) from the same book; the envelope (numbered 27) therefore represents the book. This system seems to have been founded by Oluf Kolsrud, who was tasked with registering historic source material; it was probably intended to be a makeshift solution (Pettersen 2003:52).³⁶ The system, while not perfect, has the advantage of signalling the difference between the fragment as a unit representing a book (the envelope) and the fragment as physical remnants of a book (the number of physical pieces).³⁷

Throughout the 20th century, the liturgist Lilli Gjerløw was the scholar who above all took an interest in the fragment material.³⁸ She registered many of the fragments according to genre, especially the liturgical ones, although her list was not officially published. Additionally, other lists, such as Erik Eggen’s list of musical manuscript fragments, have been made throughout the years (Pettersen 2003:52). In the list of French manuscript fragments in the present study (Chapter 6), I have indicated Gjerløw’s registration signature when applicable, but otherwise referred to the “common” signature only.

Over the last decade, the Norwegian fragment material has received a considerable amount of scholarly interest, both as an object of study in its own right and in the context of fragment research in the other Nordic countries.³⁹ Several publications in recent years deal with the Norwegian Latin manuscript fragments. In their anthology on the Norwegian Homily Book, *Vår eldste bok* (2010b), Odd Einar Haugen and

³⁶ The National Archives have devised a new system wherein all physical fragments are labelled individually, but this system is not yet in mainstream use, and I have referred to all the fragments in this study by their “old” signature.

³⁷ Some of the fragments have not received envelope numbers that are part of the above system. Six of these fragments are included in the list in the present work: Box 45, XI, 1–8; Box 45, XII, 1; Box 52, 2, 1; Box 53, Bech 1; Unnumbered Box III, 6, 1–2; Unnumbered Box III, 30, 1–2. As is the case with the “normal” fragments, the final number refers to the amount of physical pieces.

³⁸ See Pettersen (2003:50–54) and Ommundsen (2007:24–28) for an overview of fragment research history until the early 2000s.

³⁹ See Heikkilä and Ommundsen (2016b) for an overview of workshops, research projects and other scholarly activities.

Åslaug Ommundsen include several articles discussing the manuscript fragments and their relationship to the Homily Book, the oldest surviving codex in Old Norse.⁴⁰ The contributions to the anthology *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway. Studies in Memory of Lilli Gjerløw*, published by Espen Karlsen in 2013, spanned a range of topics, from discussion of provenance and losses to textual and palaeographical analyses. A forthcoming work edited by Åslaug Ommundsen and Tuomas Heikkilä, *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments. The Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books* (2016a), deals with the fragment collections in the Nordic countries, state of the research, similarities and nuances, along with case studies of selected fragments.

Finally, the Latin fragments have been treated in several doctoral dissertations over the last two decades, either as the main focus or as subsidiary material. The dissertations that I am aware of which used the fragments as their main focus are those of Gisela Attinger (1998), Åslaug Ommundsen (2007a and b), and Matilda Watson (2015). Attinger's thesis investigates chant melodies from liturgical sources, comparing chants from the province of Nidaros to those represented in sources from other parts of Europe. Ommundsen's study examines fragments containing sequences, a musical genre which often formed part of the Mass; the fragments were thus selected on the basis of their contents. Watson's study, on the other hand, concerns English influence on the development of early manuscript culture in Norway and Sweden as evidenced through fragments from English-made and English-influenced books. As such, it is a work that seeks to bridge the gap between "pure" palaeography/codicology and a wider study of the historical context, in this respect resembling the present study.

While they did not form the focus of his work, Kristoffer Vadum (2015) included the juridical fragments in his dissertation on the use of canonist literature in the Nidaros archprovince. His list of these juridical fragments (Vadum 2015:419–426) partly

⁴⁰ See the introduction (pp. 9–33) as well as the contributions of Gullick (pp. 77–99), Ommundsen (pp. 131–150), and Attinger (pp. 151–164).

overlaps with mine (Chapter 6), although many of them seem to be of an Italian, not French, origin. Additionally, Eyolf Østrem included four fragments (NRA Lat. Frags. 945, 1–2; 984a–b; 1018;1030) in his dissertation on the office of St Olav (Østrem 2001). Like Attinger (1998) and Ommundsen (2007a and b), his selection of fragments was thus based on musical content. This is in contrast to Vadum (2015), Watson (2015), and the present work, the three newest dissertations to make use of the fragments, perhaps reflecting a growing interest in the non-musical aspects of the material.

Alongside Watson’s thesis, other studies of fragments from the angle of their origin have been conducted for the English material (e.g. Hartzell 2006, Gullick 2013a and b). To date, no comprehensive study identifying fragments of French origin has been carried out. The present work therefore represents a significant step towards filling the gap in our knowledge of the “manuscript triangle” England – Norway – France.

1.3 Defining the corpus

The goal of the present study has been to identify fragments of French-made books in the Norwegian National Archives and to situate these in their historical context.⁴¹ The aim has therefore not been to examine French influence on Norwegian-made manuscripts, although this is an interesting topic that would deserve a study of its own; indeed, such a study would complement this one nicely.

Identifying fragments from French-made books necessitates an understanding not only of what these books are like, but of what is meant by “French”. This section accounts for my definition of this central term, before laying out the methodology used in assembling the corpus of manuscript fragments.

⁴¹ Besides the National Archives (NRA), some smaller archives and libraries include fragments in their collections. These have not formed part of the present study. Neither have the NRA fragments still *in situ*, i.e. fragments that were not removed from the accounts to which they were fastened. The *in situ* fragments have been little explored so far, and would form an interesting subject for a separate study.

1.3.1 Defining the terms

For the purposes of my project, I have chosen to delimit my study to the northern areas of today's France, which is the region where Norwegians would have been most likely to travel.⁴² There are a few fragments in the National Archives with the appearance of manuscripts made in today's southern France. However, France during the period was no unified country as we know it today; rather, it consisted of territories with substantial cultural and linguistic differences. It does not automatically make sense to treat its various centres of book productions – or centres of cultural influence in general – as being part of a coherent whole. Moreover, manuscripts from the South of France differ from their northern counterparts, for instance in their use of so-called Southern Textualis, a script found in the Mediterranean regions of Europe (Derolez 2003). A fragment from today's southern France could be mistaken for an Italian one, or vice versa.

In my opinion, grouping northern and southern fragments together based on modern-day borders and definitions would be artificial and make for an impractically heterogeneous corpus, which is why I will be concentrating on fragments which give the impression of being from manuscripts from the north of France. The “north of France” is in itself a term that must be defined. I use it to mean “Orleans, Paris and the regions to the north of these cities”, i.e. Picardy, Artois, and French Flanders. The lack of specificity beyond this is due to the lack of specificity in the material itself – as discussed earlier, there is always a margin of error involved in trying to localise a manuscript. Throughout the study I use “French” as a shorthand for this area – i.e. “the north of France” as defined above, including the coast of Flanders – and not to refer to today's geopolitical delimitations.

⁴² The saga literature mentions that the noblemen Erling Skakke and Ragnvald Kale spent time in Narbonne on their way to the Holy Land; presumably, the same is the case for King Sigurd Jorsalfare. Due to the geographical distance and lack of direct affiliations through clerical institutions I consider it unlikely that there was any more extensive contact between Norway and the Mediterranean coast of France, which at any rate had little to do with the northern parts before the Capetians came into power in the region in the 13th century (Svenungsen 2016:169, note 1136).



The regions to the north of Paris, with today's borders (image from Wikimedia Commons)

The question of origin is complicated by the fact that many fragments show traits in script and layout that could be both English and French, which makes it hard – at least at first glance – to assign them to either origin. This is hardly surprising, given the historical and cultural ties between England and France, and might well be an interesting finding in itself (i.e. as an illustration of the similarities between the traditions).

An important note needs to be made on the question of Normandy. This region was first settled by Scandinavians, although the majority of these were probably Danes and not Norwegians (Renaud 1989:55). By the time of the 11th century, however, Normandy had developed as an independent region, neither Norse nor French (Evans 1957:7). Apart from the baptism of Olav Haraldsson in Rouen, there seems to be little historical evidence pointing to connections between Norway and Normandy, unlike Paris and the regions to its north, where historical evidence shows traces of Norwegian travellers and visitors (Chapters 4 and 5).⁴³ At any rate, the number of Norman manuscript fragments in the National Archives is small: two different codices have been identified, one of which had a scribe involved in writing the other. I have, however, included these fragments in the appendix.

As for “Norway”, I have defined it as mainland Norway, including the areas now in Swedish possession (Jamtland, Herjedalen, and Bohuslen). This means that in my overview of religious institutions I have included the convents of Kastle, Dragsmark, and the Franciscan house in Bohuslen, for the sake of shedding light on the development of the church in Norway in the 12th and 13th centuries. In the case of Jamtland and Herjedalen, the account books were included in the Norwegian material sent to the Archives from Copenhagen in the 19th century; one of the fragments in the present study (NRA Lat. Frag. 159, 1–5) was partly used for such accounts (cf. Chapter 4.2.5).

1.3.2 Selecting the fragments

To go through the 6000 fragments in the State Archives without any preconceived notion of which ones to study, would be time-consuming and perhaps not ultimately fruitful. As a starting point, I used an unpublished handlist (Gullick 2015) by

⁴³ In the saga of Håkon Håkonsson (chapter 294) Kristina, Håkon’s daughter, disembarks with part of her company in Normandy on their way to Spain, where they send off an envoy to the French king, whereas the rest of the company travel by sea. This seems to be a case of the company not wanting to part ways before they had to, rather than representative of a typical route for those who would visit the French court, in which case Normandy would represent a detour.

palaeographer Michael Gullick, who has studied the Norwegian fragments for years.⁴⁴ The fragments he considered to (possibly) be French or Anglo-French were made into a list. I then reviewed the list, examining each fragment separately, identifying the contents where this had not been done, and adjusting dates or localisation according to my own opinion where this did not align with the suggestions in the list.

I then made a list of the fragments for which an origin had not yet been suggested, neither by Gullick nor by other scholars. Here I also included some fragments whose suggested origin seemed very uncertain to me or at least worth examining closer – an example of this would be NRA Lat. Frag. 296, 1, where Gullick’s list suggests Sweden or Denmark despite the script appearing French. Upon reviewing this list of “undecided” fragments, using my own discernment and consulting experts, I was able to localise (however tentatively in some cases) 44 hitherto unlocalised fragments as of (possible) French origin.⁴⁵ In doing so, I ruled out 152 fragments that seemed to me to have non-French origins; these are listed in the appendix along with my suggested localisations. Most of these are without an assigned origin in Gullick’s list, although a handful were suggested to be French in the list and then rejected in the course of the present study.

As for the dating, I excluded fragments later than the period under study (1030–1320), first by ruling out all the fragments dated to the 15th century or later in Gullick’s list, then by examining the fragments dated to the 14th century and including those which seemed to be from books written towards the first decades of the century.

Since the purpose of the present study is to examine fragments from books that were made in France and came to Norway in the Middle Ages, I excluded fragments whose

⁴⁴ The 2015 list is an updated version of the list I used when starting the project in 2013 and the most recent version that has been accessible to me.

⁴⁵ Some of these localisations are done by experts whose opinions I asked for, in which case the localisation is indicated by their initials and not mine in the list in Chapter 6.

post-medieval provenance cannot reasonably be assumed to be Norwegian. This includes fragments from books that most likely never were in Norway at all, but used, collected, cut up and reused in Denmark (see discussion in Chapter 1.2.2). An example of such a fragment is NRA Lat. Frag. 20, 1–2, which consists of two pieces from a finely-made Bible, probably of French (or Flemish) origin. The fragment was identified by Åslaug Ommundsen as coming from the same book as 81 fragments in Copenhagen (Ommundsen 2016a, forthcoming).



NRA Lat. Frag. 20, 1–2

Nor have I included fragments that came to the Norwegian National Archives as gifts in the 19th and 20th century. One example of such a fragment is Lat. Frag. 67, 1–2, which was a gift to the Archives from Professor C.R. Unger in 1898. While the fragment could well be considered to have a possible French origin (it shares some traits with several of the fragments in my list, including the “spikes” on the capitals; cf. Chapter 5.2.2), we do not know where Unger found the fragment and therefore it would not be valid to use it as part of a collection of fragments from books of French origin in medieval Norway.



Lat. Frag. 67, 1–2 (detail)

An example of a fragment that ended up in the Norwegian collection by mistake is Latin Fragment 60b, 1, which is a leaf from a copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*. This was used for binding a protocol with the provenance of Helsingør in Denmark, which was never part of Norway and thus not relevant.⁴⁶ A list of (possible) French fragments of unknown post-medieval provenance is provided in the appendix along with lists of the other rejected fragments.

⁴⁶ Espen Karlsen excluded Lat. Frag. 60b, 1 in his study of fragments of patristic and other ecclesiastical literature for the same reason (Karlsen 2013a:221).

2. The introduction of Latin book culture in Norway

When studying the context in which French manuscripts found their way to Norway, we should take into account books both as lavish symbols of power and as objects for everyday use. The first aspect is mainly symbolised by the surviving medieval codices with French connections, discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.1.2. The second aspect is mainly symbolised by the manuscript fragments, which in general are from “everyday” books that show clear signs of use. The manuscript fragments are the main objects of study for the present work, alongside the historical context in which they existed. If we are to understand the historical context, we must understand the role played by Christian institutions in bringing Latin book culture to Norway and cultivating international relations. This chapter will therefore give a background of Christianity’s arrival in Norway and the various religious orders, alongside a general overview of Latin book culture in Norway in the period 1030–1320.

First, the term “Latin book culture” must be defined. I use it to mean “codices written in the Latin alphabet”, therefore encompassing liturgical books, patristic literature, classics, etc. Old Norse codices written in Latin letters would therefore be included, although they are not part of the present study, which concerns itself with fragments from books believed to be of French origin. Fragments from books written in Old French, on the other hand, would be included, but none has yet been discovered amongst the NRA material.

In this chapter I give an overview of the historical context in which books arrived and were copied in Norway. The aim is to account for the political, religious, and cultural situation in Norway in order to shed light over this early period of Norwegian book culture. First, I outline the expansion of the Church and its organisation from the 11th century and onwards; then I discuss what we know of local book production and its conditions, as well as the question of which books were to be found in medieval Norway, and their number. An overview of the convents and monasteries is provided, since many of these will be referred to throughout the discussion of the fragments’ historical context.

2.1 The Early Norwegian Church

Latin book culture came to Norway with Christianity.⁴⁷ The introduction of Christianity to Norway has been extensively studied for more than a century, much of the research being influenced by Absalon Taranger's *Den angelsaksiske kirkes indflytelse paa den norske* (1890) and its central premise: that Norway was Christianised from England, and that the medieval Norwegian Church owed its organisation and structure to its Anglo-Saxon origin.⁴⁸ The ties across the North Sea, established after centuries of colonisation and trade, remained intact even after the Norman invasion in 1066, as evidenced for instance by the ties between several Norwegian monasteries and their English mother houses.⁴⁹

While we do not know when the first codex came to Norway, we know that the introduction of the Latin alphabet and book culture was a result of the Christianisation in the 10th and 11th centuries. The Nordic countries were part of the Hamburg-Bremen diocese, but any attempts to Christianise Norway from the south seem to have been ephemeral at best.⁵⁰

According to the saga literature, King Håkon the Good (ca. 920–960) was the first to build churches in Norway, but these were later destroyed by locals and the priests killed.⁵¹ Later, King Olav Tryggvason (ca. 968–1000) built churches along the coast (the oldest one that we know of is from 995), most notably on Selja, which later

⁴⁷ I use here the term “Christianisation” in the sense of “establishing a new public system of faith” rather than in the sense of “the spiritual influence on individuals”. There is evidence that Norwegians were in contact with Christianity long before the process traditionally referred to as “Christianisation” in the 11th century (Bagge 2005); however, the establishment of churches and other institutions, furnished with books and clergy to use them, is what brings Latin book culture to Norway.

⁴⁸ He was not the first to propose this idea, cf. Rudolf Keyser's claim that the Norwegian church was “entirely a daughter of the English one” (Keyser 1856:33, my translation). Taranger is still the standard work on English influence on the Norwegian church (Bagge and Nordeide 2007:138, footnote 34).

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.2.

⁵⁰ Scholars have debated whether it is possible to find traces of early Danish and/or German missionary work in Vika, the south-eastern part of Norway, which used to be Danish territory. See Myking (2001) for an overview of this debate.

⁵¹ The question of the sagas' reliability as historical sources has long been debated, without being fully resolved. For recent discussion, see the articles by Knut Helle (2011) and Sverre Bagge (2014). The events that are relevant to the present study, such as Archbishop Øystein's stay at St Victor, are however either documented or broadly accepted by historians as having taken place.

would become the seat of one of the first dioceses. Finally, King Olav Haraldsson (995–1030), later known as “St Olav”,⁵² is traditionally seen as having brought the process to completion, establishing churches throughout the realm. These three, known as the “mission kings”, were all introduced to Christianity and baptised abroad: Håkon in England, where he was the foster son of King Æthelstan (ca. 894–939). Olav Tryggvason was probably baptised in England as well, whilst Olav Haraldsson according to William of Jumièges received the baptism in Rouen in Normandy.

Although the introduction of Christianity has been attributed to the kings, and although the monarchs were not only a driving force behind the process but most likely also a decisive one (Sigurdsson 2003:38), they did not carry out this work alone. According to the sagas, both Olavs brought with them clergymen from England, and we may assume this applies to Håkon as well; scholars have speculated that a certain Sigfrid of Glastonbury led a group of clergymen to Norway on Håkon’s request already in the 950s (Helle 1997:243). A common trait of all these “missionaries” was their high level of education and their elevated social background (Bagge and Nordeide 2007:156).

One of the clergymen who accompanied Olav Haraldsson, bishop Grimkjell, deserves special mention. He may have been behind the earliest Christian legislation, the influence of which may be traced in the medieval Norwegian laws – this is one of Taranger’s main claims, which has received general support over the years.⁵³ Moreover, Grimkjell visited the archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen in order to establish ties with the Roman church, and there he may have recruited other clergymen to join him in the mission; according to Adam of Bremen, Olav requested

⁵² In the context of his deeds as king, I will refer to him as “Olav Haraldsson”; in the context of his role as patron saint of Norway, as “St Olav”.

⁵³ In his doctoral dissertation from 2010, Torgeir Landro refers to several recent works (Helle (2001), Sanmark (2004), Tveito (2004) and (2007)) that support or perpetuate Taranger’s claims regarding the church laws, while also discussing the problems with Taranger’s claims from a methodological point of view (Landro 2010:20–27).

that missionaries be sent to Norway (Chapter 57).⁵⁴ The Norwegian church organisation at this point was not yet developed: the parishes had not yet been established, and the church relied on the monarchy in order to spread the new faith. In turn, the monarchs used Christian ideology to consolidate their own power (Bagge and Nordeide 2007:139). As such, religious and secular power was entwined, the king being head of the church.

Only a year after his death in 1030, Olav Haraldsson was canonised by Grimkjell, who later returned to England and became bishop of Selsey.⁵⁵ Olav's cult grew considerably and probably contributed to the final successful establishing of Christian hegemony. In the two centuries that followed, the Church's efforts were now concentrated on building and expanding its organisation, which would eventually lead to its being less dependent on the secular rulers. The country was probably divided into its first dioceses under the rule of King Olav Kyrre (r. 1066–93), though the borders probably remained somewhat vague throughout the 11th century (Helle 1997:241), and the first monasteries were founded towards the end of the century or in the early 1100s.⁵⁶

It is in this context that we should consider the use of books. In the 11th century, the number of clergy in Norway was still quite limited. The early missionaries were part of the kings' retinue, and at least prominent members of this group, like Grimkjell, would travel with the king between the latter's residences until dioceses were established (Bagge and Nordeide 2007:142). Such circumstances are not the most favourable for establishing book collections or libraries, and while the missionaries would be likely to bring the most essential books with them – at least missals – to

⁵⁴ Matilda Watson (2015:41-45) has problematised the use of the term "missionary" without further qualifications when discussing the early days of Christian Norway, since it might imply that the clergymen explicitly set out to convert the Norwegians and that this was their sole or at least primary goal. While agreeing with Watson's points, I have used the term here as a shorthand for "foreigner travelling to Norway to help spread the Christian faith".

⁵⁵ This would explain why the earliest traces of Olav's cult are found in England, around 1050, notably in the south and not in the "Nordic" areas in Northern England. See Østrem (1998) for an overview and discussion.

⁵⁶ According to Matthew Paris the monastery Nidarholm was founded by the Danish king Knut the Great, which would have happened around 1030; however, Matthew may have confused the founding of Nidarholm with Knut's donation of land to the monastery Holme in Norfolk, England (Bratberg 2002:7).

Norway, it is unlikely that there were many books in the country before the second half of the 11th century.

As mentioned above, Olav Tryggvason built churches along the coast (after Håkon the Good's attempts were crushed), a work continued by Olav Haraldsson. Churches needed clergymen; clergymen needed books. Each church should at least be expected to have books containing the liturgy for Mass and Office, though this early the books probably did not belong to the church itself, but rather to the priests who served in them: after all, the priests who came from abroad to work as missionaries must have been aware of the scarcity of books in Norway at this point, and made sure to bring their own. Since the first clerics came from abroad, whether they were foreigners or Norwegians who had adopted Christianity elsewhere,⁵⁷ we must expect them to have brought foreign-made books with them as well, mainly English ones.

The establishment of the first Norwegian bishoprics during Olav Kyrre's reign in the second half of the 11th century led to more stable conditions for the bishops, the first of whom were all foreigners (Bagge and Nordeide 2007:156).⁵⁸ By the middle of the 12th century, most bishops seem to have been Norwegians, often from the upper strata of society. Lars Boje Mortensen (2000b:135) points out that there was no real distinction between the secular and clerical elite, whose members were all from the same social sphere. This is also a main point in Matilda Watson's recent work on the English influence on early Scandinavian manuscript culture (Watson 2015): social status played an important part in the establishments of networks which in turn helped disseminate cultural impulses.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ For instance in the Norse colonies in England or Ireland. We do not have any evidence of Norwegian priests in the missionary period, though Taranger (1890:167) theorises that Grimkjell, for example, was of Norse heritage.

⁵⁸ The recruitment of locals to lower positions within the church, such as parish priests, must have begun fairly early on. However, as Erik Gunnes points out, it must have taken a while to supply the country with enough priests for the inhabitants to become familiar with the new faith, and we must expect there to have been a continuous recruitment of foreign clerks – most likely English and German ones. Many of the Norwegian priests of the period were probably of low social status and rudimentary schooling (Gunnes 1996:29), unlike the early missionaries.

⁵⁹ The individuals whom we know to have travelled to France and to have had international connections all belonged to the upper strata of society: Archbishop Øystein, for instance, was part of an old and powerful family in the Nidaros area.

With this in mind, it seems in my opinion likely that the skill of reading and writing was not confined to the clergy but also shared by their high-status peers. At least King Olav Kyrre seems to have been able to read Latin, according to the *Historia Regum*, a work commonly attributed to Simon of Durham. The work tells the story of the English cleric Turgot, who spent some time in Norway as part of Olav Kyrre's retinue, teaching him the psalms, and perhaps acquiring books for the king as well (Durham and Arnold 1885:203). Olav Kyrre's grandson, Sigurd Jorsalfare (d. 1130), received a golden plenary from the patriarch of Jerusalem (*Heimskringla*, Chapter 32, p. 594). This plenary was kept alongside the splinter of the Holy Cross Sigurd had brought home from the Holy Land, in the church he had erected in the town of Konghelle and dedicated to the relic of this splinter. This would suggest that by the first decades of the 12th century, at the very latest, books had become an important symbol of status and power to the Norwegian kings.

According to Ludvig Holm-Olsen (1990:135) it was under the rule of King Sverre (1177–1202) that a literary circle developed around the king, in addition to the literary milieu based around Nidaros and the arch see. Sverre had been educated as a priest and understood well the power of the written word, as evidenced by the fact that he commissioned his own biography, Sverre's saga, the first part of which was written while he was still alive.⁶⁰ From this period, that is to say around 1200, we have evidence of scribes writing both in Latin and Old Norse – an example of this is the scribe behind the Old Norwegian Homily Book, written around 1200. While this scribe wrote religious texts only, there are cases of scribes writing both religious and secular literature in both languages, at least later on: the scribe behind the main manuscript of the *King's Mirror*, written in the middle of the 13th century, also seems to have written a lectionary-sacramentary (Gjerløw 1968:35). This dual competence on the scribe's part is another point in favour of the view that religious and secular powers were entwined and part of the same literary and cultural sphere: insisting on a strict separation between the church and its activities on one side and royalty and

⁶⁰ https://nbl.snl.no/Sverre_Sigurdsson, accessed on 13.10.15.

aristocracy on the other, as was done by many earlier scholars (Mortensen 2000:135), does not allow for a full understanding of the way Norwegian book culture developed in the Middle Ages.

2.2 The Norwegian religious houses

Norwegian monasteries and convents must have played a significant part in establishing Latin book culture in Norway (Helle 1993:114). Unfortunately, very little information about these institutions has survived, and most of the evidence comes from the late Middle Ages. When considering the role played by the convents in developing Norwegian manuscript culture, it is therefore important to establish what we do know of these institutions and what must remain conjecture.⁶¹

We do not know anything about the extent of the first Norwegian monasteries' collections, but the later Cistercian ones, which were founded in the 12th and 13th centuries (Lyse near Bergen in 1146, Hovedøya near Oslo in 1147, Tautra near Trondheim in 1207) must have had at least nine books each, since this was a prerequisite for a Cistercian monastery to be founded (Holm-Olsen 1990:129).⁶²

The books acquired by a monastery would be gifts or purchases, but generally, the main bulk of the collection consisted of copies carried out by the monks themselves (Holm-Olsen 1990:28). The production and copying of books was thus an important part of the monastery's task, and there is no reason to believe the new Norwegian monasteries were different; to the contrary, it would be even more important for them to prioritise this work, since they had to build their collections from scratch in a country with no previous libraries from which to borrow books (or scribes), using only their extant copies as starting points.

⁶¹ Christian Lange's history of medieval Norwegian monasteries (1856) is still the most exhaustive work on this topic. Shorter overviews of the monasteries' history can be found in the articles by Erik Gunnes (1995) and (1987); see also Øivind Lunde's article (1987) on the archaeological remains.

⁶² As mentioned in Chapter 1.2.1, Tautra owned 70 old books according to a 1531–1532 inventory (DN 11, 583). See Johnsen (1908) for an overview of the remaining evidence of the book collections of Norwegian religious institutions in the Middle Ages.

It would therefore not be that much of a stretch to imagine that the first book production in Norway was centred on the early monasteries, Nidarholm (Nidaros/Trondheim), Selje, and Munkeliv (Bergen), all of them founded in the late 11th or early 12th century. These towns/areas were also among the seats of the first Norwegian bishoprics, and it is possible that the monasteries may have functioned as chapters for the new cathedrals.⁶³

Perhaps the monasteries' scribes also did their part in furnishing the new bishoprics and parishes with books – once the institutions had been established, it must have been far more natural for the founder of a church (who might be the king or one of his allies, or another magnate) to turn to the closest monastery, rather than send men abroad to buy the books needed.⁶⁴ We should also bear in mind that the early monasteries, whether they did in fact function as chapters or not, were part of the dioceses and subject to the authority of the bishops. Only with the arrival of the Cistercians towards the middle of the 12th century does Norway see monasteries that do not answer to local clerical authority.⁶⁵ A close cooperation between the monasteries and the secular clergy is therefore likely, and there is also a possibility that bishops played a part in establishing book production in their respective dioceses outside of the monasteries, perhaps with the latter's help.

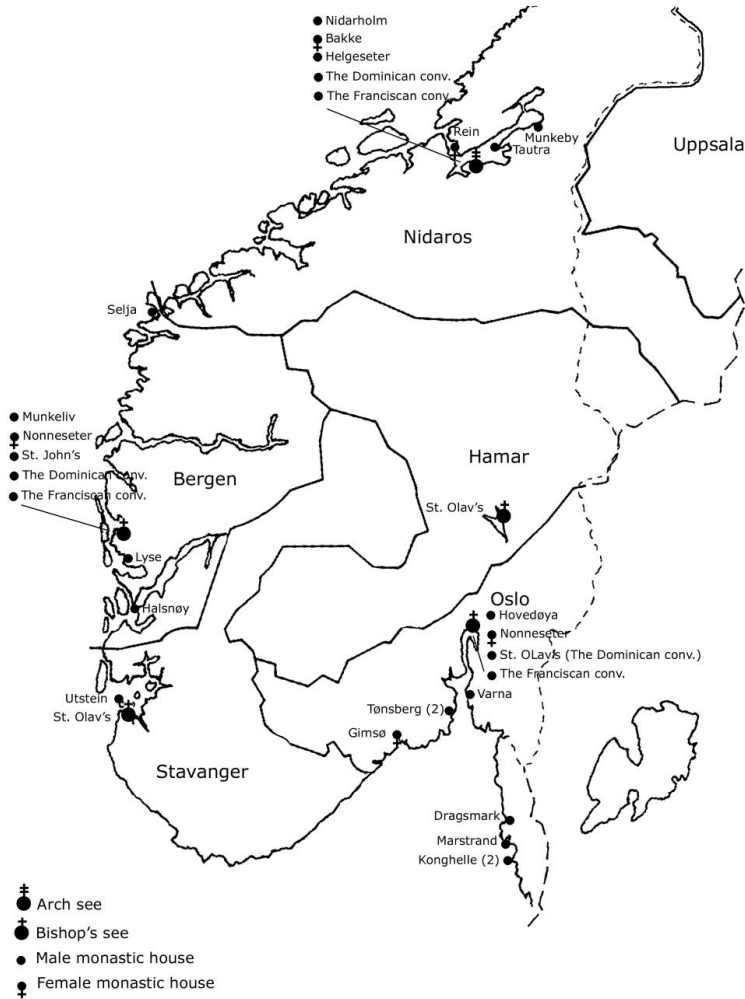
In the following I give an overview of the monasteries and convents that existed in mainland Norway from the 11th to the early 14th centuries. The various orders must have had a varying degree of bearing on Norwegian book culture, since the importance of reading and learning varied from order to order. Furthermore, some of the orders will be of more relevance to the present study, because there are arguments

⁶³ This has been suggested amongst others by Alf Tore Hommedal (1993b:102) and Marit Nybø (2000:194-196, with references), the latter specifically for the case of Selja.

⁶⁴ An example of this is the so-called Benedict scribe of Nidaros, who wrote both an Old Norse translation of the Rule of St Benedict, as well as several liturgical books in Latin, at least one of which seems to have been for secular use. See Gullick and Ommundsen (2012:38-52).

⁶⁵ Unless one believes that Nidarholm was founded as a Cluniac house, but there is no evidence for this – see discussion in Chapter 3.1 below.

to be made in favour of their having ties to France. These ties are discussed more specifically in Chapter 3–5.



Monasteries and convents in medieval Norway (image from Ommundsen 2007a:63)

By the time of the establishments of the first monasteries, mainland Norway had been divided into dioceses (except for the diocese of Stavanger, which was established in the 1120s). The tables indicate the dioceses where the convents were situated.

*Benedictine houses*⁶⁶

Foundation date	House	Diocese
Late 11 th century/early 12 th	Selja	Bergen
Before 1110	Munkeliv	Bergen
Early 12 th century	Nidarholm	Nidaros
First half of 12 th century	Bakke	Nidaros
1120s	Nonneseter (Bergen)	Bergen
First half of 12 th century	Nonneseter (Oslo)	Bergen
First half of 12 th century	Gimsøy	Oslo
First half of 12 th century	St Olav's (Stavanger) ⁶⁷	Stavanger
Between 1221 and 1238	Rein ⁶⁸	Nidaros

As shown by the table, the vast majority of Benedictine houses in Norway were founded in the first half of the 12th century. The seats of the three oldest bishoprics – Oslo, Selja (Bergen),⁶⁹ and Nidaros (Trondheim) – were all relatively new towns.⁷⁰ If

⁶⁶ The datings are based on Hommedal (1993b) for Selja; Ommundsen (2016c) for Nonneseter in Bergen; Syrstad (1999) for Nidarholm, Bakke, and Rein; Nenseter (2003) for St Olav; Nyberg (2000) for Nonneseter in Oslo; and Lunde (1987) for Gimsøy and Munkeliv.

⁶⁷ The question of whether St Olav's in Stavanger belonged to Benedictines or Augustinian canons has not been fully resolved. For arguments in favour of the former, see Nenseter (2003:36–37); for arguments in favour of the latter, see Helle (2008:592–596, 603).

⁶⁸ The nunnery of Rein in Nidaros has traditionally been assumed to be an Augustinian convent on the sole basis of its date, as there is no mention of its order affiliation in the sources. In my view, the late foundation does not suffice for ruling out a Benedictine affiliation, which was the rule of female convents in Norway.

⁶⁹ The traditional view is that formally the bishop's see was based on the island Selja on the north-western coast of Norway until 1170, when the relics of St. Sunniva were translated to Bergen. However, the bishop seems to have moved to Bergen fairly early on, perhaps already during Olav Kyrre's reign in the second half of the 11th century (Helle 1997:245).

we assume with Bagge and Nordeide (2007:143) that Christianisation and urbanisation were linked, it is also possible to imagine that these towns would be the first important centres of book culture in Norway, since Christianisation in turn was linked to book culture.⁷¹ The royal power was stronger along the coastline while this was also the main route for trade and transport (Bagge and Nordeide 2007:141). It is as such not surprising that we would find the first Norwegian centres of Christian book culture along the coast. Not only was the new religion promoted and championed by the kings, who would help establish the clerical infrastructure in the areas where their own power was the strongest, but the better the means of transportation and trade, the easier to acquire what was needed to establish such infrastructure: books, and the means to produce them. Indeed it is possible that the establishment of literary centres in these towns hastened the foundations of the first dioceses (Mundal 1994:69).

An additional argument in favour of these towns becoming centres of book production is the location of the first monasteries in Norway: Selja and Munkeliv (Bergen) in the West, Nidarholm in Trøndelag. These monasteries were founded around the turn of the 11th century or in the following decades. A necessary task for the new houses must have been to build up book collections: the essential books were those containing the liturgy and music for Mass and Office, such as graduals and antiphonaries. In addition to this, the *lectio divina*, or study of the Scripture, was part of a monk's duties according to Benedict's rule.

In general, we have very little information about the foundations of the Benedictine monasteries. The oldest two seem to have been Selja and Nidarholm, with Munkeliv in Bergen slightly younger (see table).

⁷⁰ Oslo was founded by Harald Hardråde (1046–66), Bergen by Olav Kyrre (1066–93), and Nidaros (Trondheim) by Olav Trygvason (968–1000).

⁷¹ I use “centre of book culture” and “literary centre” interchangeably. Mundal (1994:64) defines the latter as a place which meets the following criteria: it has a library as well as readers, it has a literary production (authors/translators), it offers education in the art of reading and writing, and it is an environment which both receives and emits literary impulses to its surroundings as well as to other literary centres.

What, then, were the religious and cultural impulses these first monasteries brought with them and were informed by? Among others, Erik Gunnes (1995:135) has suggested that these first houses sprang from the large Benedictine houses on the English east coast, and the surviving manuscript material from this early period does indeed show a clear English influence in style and content (Rankin 2013, Gullick 2013a). The English connections of the early Norwegian church have already been discussed, and while there might well have been monks or nuns from French areas who joined the Norwegian monasteries alongside their English brothers and sisters, I have not found any evidence to substantiate any claims of connections between Benedictine houses in Norway and France.⁷²

Cistercian houses

Foundation date	House	Diocese
1146	Lyse	Bergen
1147	Hovedøya	Oslo
After 1150	Munkeby	Nidaros
1207	Tautra	Nidaros

The Cistercian order, which originated in France, would be a natural “suspect” to consider when it comes to French-Norwegian contact and connections in the Middle Ages. However, as is in all likelihood the case of the Benedictine monasteries, the order reached Norway from England. The first Cistercian monastery, Lyse, was founded by monks from Fountains in 1146, whereas the next one, Hovedøya, was founded from another daughter house of Fountains, Kirkstead (Gunnes 1987:54). Erik Gunnes (1995:136) lists names of abbots in Lyse that are Anglo-French in character,

⁷² Nidarholm’s alleged Cluniac affiliation would constitute an exception to this, but this affiliation has shown itself hard to prove – see discussion below.

such as Richard, Alexander, and Reinald. Some of these abbots may well have been French, but there is no way to tell whether they would have come to Norway from England or from a French house directly. As for the house(s) in Nidaros, the background of their foundation is unclear, but there is nothing to indicate that they were founded from France.⁷³

The clearest evidence of connections between Norway and Cistercians in France (for this work's definition of "France", see Chapter 1.3.1) is the record of Bishop Torfinn of Hamar, also known as St Torfinn. He was exiled by King Magnus VI and died in the Cistercian abbey of Ter Doest in Bruges. However, it is unclear whether Torfinn himself had any ties to the Norwegian Cistercians, and the ties to Ter Doest may well be due to the connections of the Nidaros canons – see discussion in Chapter 5.

*Augustinian houses*⁷⁴

Foundation date	House	Diocese
1163/64	Halsnøy	Bergen
Between 1170 and 1203	Kastelle	Oslo
Second half of the 12 th century	Jonsklosteret	Bergen
Before 1183	Elgeseter	Nidaros
Before 1280	Utstein	Stavanger

⁷³ Arne Odd Johnsen suggested (1977:28–29) that Archbishop Øystein Erlendsson (d. 1188), who played a part in the founding of several Augustinian convents, was also behind the foundation of a Cistercian house in the diocese of Nidaros, *Munkeby*. However, the Cistercians were an exempt order, which meant they were not subject to the bishop or archbishop's influence, but answered to the Pope directly. Øystein would therefore not have any authority over them, and while he would be unlikely to oppose a Cistercian establishment, it does not automatically follow that he would take steps to found Cistercian houses in his own jurisdiction. Even if he did, Øystein's own French connections (see Chapter 4) would not automatically entail an interest in French books amongst the monks.

⁷⁴ Datings based on Gunnes (1993); he also includes St Olav's in Stavanger.

The Augustinian houses in Norway are linked to the person of Archbishop Øystein Erlendsson (d. 1188). Øystein and his successors did have documented ties to France, more specifically to the Augustinian house of St Victor. These ties are among the most widely-known and important evidence of French-Norwegian contact in the Middle Ages, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.1.

The houses that can be directly tied to Øystein (and/or his successor Eirik Ivarsson) are Elgeseter in Nidaros, Kastle, and Halsnøy. The latter was not founded by Øystein himself, but by his ally Erling Skakke. In addition, there existed the small abbey of St John (Jonsklosteret) in Bergen, which seems to have served in support of the chapter for the cathedral in Bergen, and Utstein, according to the surviving evidence a later foundation. The Augustinian houses are likely candidates to have owned French books, and this is discussed in connection with the case studies of manuscript fragments.

*Premonstratensian houses*⁷⁵

Foundation date	House	Diocese
1170–1190	St Olav (Tønsberg)	Oslo
1234?	Dragsmark	Oslo

The Premonstratensians, while living under the rule of Augustine, formed a congregation of their own, and I therefore list them here separately from the other Augustinian houses. In the Middle Ages, there were two Premonstratensian houses in Norway: St Olav's in Tønsberg, and Mariskog at Dragsmark (in modern-day Sweden). Mariskog was founded in the 13th century under the reign of Håkon Håkonsson, whereas the first Premonstratensian house in Norway, St Olav's Abbey

⁷⁵ Datings based on Nyberg (1993).

in Tønsberg, was founded in the latter half of the 12th century, but the context is not known.⁷⁶

Whether the Premonstratensians played a significant role in bringing books to Norway is uncertain. They would, however, attend the general chapter in Prémontré, and this may have offered an opportunity to bring manuscripts home with them. A breviary which may have belonged to St Olav's is discussed in Chapter 5.2.5.

*Order of St John*⁷⁷

Foundation date	House	Diocese
Second half of the 12 th century?	Varna	Oslo

The Order of St John only established one house in Norway, Varna, close to today's Swedish border. This order originated in the Holy Land as a response to the need of crusaders, and they expanded all over Europe in the 12th century (Svandal 2006:2). They are unlikely to have had much influence on the Norwegian book culture, however; not only was their only Norwegian house quite small, perhaps only housing 2–4 brothers at a time (Svandal 2006:69), but they were also not concerned with education or learning, and many of the brothers were illiterate.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ St Olav's is first mentioned in a chronicle from the second half of the 12th century, *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolyman*, which describes a company of Danes visiting various places in Norway before setting off for the Holy Land. See Johnsen (1976) for a discussion of this chronicle and the question of St Olav's foundation.

⁷⁷ Dating based on Svandal (2006), which is the most comprehensive work on the convent of Varna.

⁷⁸ As is the case of most Norwegian convents, it is not clear who founded Varna, or when. Trond Svandal suggests it could be the result of the joint efforts between Erling Skakke and the Danish king Valdemar, the latter of which founded Denmark's first order house along with Bishop Absalon of Roskilde (Svandal 2006:31–32). It is worth noting that Absalon, like Øystein, seems to have been acquainted with the Augustinians in Paris; at least he sent his nephews to Sainte Geneviève to study (Gunnes 1996:196–197).

Dominican⁷⁹ and Franciscan⁸⁰ houses

Foundation date	House	Diocese	Order
1228–34	Trondheim	Nidaros	Dominican
1243–47	Bergen	Bergen	Dominican
1239/40	Oslo	Oslo	Dominican
Before 1511	Hamar	Hamar	Dominican
1230s/1240s	Tønsberg	Oslo	Franciscan
1240s	Bergen	Bergen	Franciscan
1263–72	Konghelle	Oslo	Franciscan
Before 1291	Oslo	Oslo	Franciscan
1277–91	Marstrand	Oslo	Franciscan
Before 1338	Trondheim	Nidaros	Franciscan

Dominicans were renowned for their high level of education, which along with their international connections led to their frequent employ as foreign ambassadors (Halvorsen 2002:239). The Dominican order's combination of bookishness and international networks means they must be considered likely candidates to have brought manuscripts to Norway, a possibility which is discussed in connection with

⁷⁹ Datings based on Hommedal (1993). As pointed out by Per Bjørn Halvorsen (2002:248) it is impossible to date the foundations precisely, since it is not clear which criteria should be used: the year when the friars are first sent on a mission to found a convent, the year when they obtain their own house (which could take a while, as they had to live off alms), etc.

⁸⁰ Datings based on Ekroll (1993).

the case studies in Chapter 5.2.1 and 5.2.4.⁸¹ The role of the Franciscans in this context is more unclear. Like the Dominicans, they were internationally oriented, had their own convent schools, and would be in need of books for their preaching, preferably portable ones (Ullern 1997:12–13, 29). Some of them must have studied at universities abroad, although only two Franciscans are named in Sverre Bagge’s list of confirmed or likely university-educated clergymen, as opposed to eight Dominicans (Bagge 1981:143–147). Although I have not named the Franciscan convents as “suspects” when discussing individual manuscript fragments, the possibility cannot be excluded that some of the fragments in my corpus did indeed come from manuscripts belonging to this order.

In general, both Norwegians and foreigners seem to have been well-represented in the convents of all orders. Erik Gunnes found that only a few Judeo-Christian given names were widely in use in Norway before the 15th century,⁸² which means that when other names of this tradition do occur in the records, there is a high chance they refer to non-Norwegians (Gunnes 1995:134). Judging from the surviving material, the Benedictine monasteries seem to have increasingly recruited locals during the 12th century, while the same development took place in the Cistercian houses during the 13th, a point suggested by Gunnes (1995:137) and reprised by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson (2003:74). There seems to be a parallel pattern, then, both in the development of the secular clergy and of the convents: missionaries or monastery founders come from abroad, encouraged by local figures of high social status (kings, magnates, bishops), to help establish churches or convents; then, after the organisation has been established, they start recruiting locals who eventually rise to positions of power.

⁸¹ While we have little information as to the foundation of the first Dominican convents in Norway, it is tempting to speculate that Norwegian students first encountered the order in Paris, where it established itself in the winter of 1217–18, shortly after its foundation (Halvorsen 2002:146).

⁸² These are *Jon, Peter, Pål, Andres*, and *Nikolas* (Gunnes 1995:134).

2.3 Conclusion

As laid out in the preceding subchapters, the first century of Christianisation saw the emergence of a church organisation: the establishment of dioceses, the building of churches, and the foundation of monasteries. Royal and religious power was entwined, the bishops forming part of the kings' retinue during the early period, the kings or their close allies founding monasteries or convents, especially from around 1100 and onwards. It seems clear that these monasteries must have played a part in establishing, developing, and promoting local book production.

Book culture cannot have been strictly confined to the monasteries, however. As we have touched upon above, the sources offer us glimpses of Norwegian book culture amidst the royal circles as early as in the days of Olav Kyrre in the latter half of the 11th century. If the king's power was tied to the church's power and vice versa, it only makes sense to assume that books – a symbol of learning closely connected with the new religion – must have been of importance to king as well as to clergy. Books could be brought to Norway by foreigners, whether they were early “missionaries” or members of religious orders joining convents in the north. Norwegians returning home from travels or studies abroad could also bring books with them, including texts that had been dictated and commented on by their teachers (Holm-Olsen 1990:97).

The following chapters will discuss the evidence of ties between Norwegian religious houses and institutions in France, of Norwegians travelling in France, and of diplomatical and political alliances. In doing so, we may get closer to answering the central questions: which French books found their way here, who brought them here, and why?

3. The early days: possible connections between France and Norway 1030–1153/54

It seems hard to prove Arne Odd Johnsen wrong when he states that there seems to be no regular contact between the Norwegian and French churches before 1150 (Johnsen 1945a:407). Apart from Olav Haraldsson's baptism in Rouen, Norwegians seem to have turned to England above all for their religious input during this period.⁸³

However, it is still worthwhile to summarise the indications of contact we do have, if only to meaningfully compare it to the period after (1153/54–1220), when connections were established seemingly with little previous foundation.

In the following chapter I will discuss the possibly only concrete evidence of French-Norwegian contact before 1150, which consists of a letter from the abbot of Cluny to the Norwegian king Sigurd Jorsalfare. In connection with this I will also discuss the notion, repeated by several scholars, that Nidarholm, which was founded by a close ally of Sigurd's father, was a Cluniac house. This is a notion that might, if true, affect the interpretation of the relatively few fragments in my corpus dated to before 1150 (14 out of 70, see Introduction), as one could imagine that these fragments might have found their way to Norway via ties to the Cluny congregation. However, there are good reasons to question this notion.

3.1 Nidarholm as an alleged Cluniac house

Around the middle of the 12th century, the intellectual and erudite centres in Paris, among them St Victor, were developing rapidly, and they attracted students from abroad, including Norwegians (see Chapter 4.1). In other words, the view has been that such contact as existed was brought about by Norwegians travelling south, not by Frenchmen making the journey north. This is not unreasonable; there is no evidence of French missionaries working in Norway during the process of Christianisation. As

⁸³ See Chapter 2.1 above.

we have seen above in Chapter 2.1, the missionaries seem to have been English, whether of Norwegian descent or not, or in some cases possibly German.⁸⁴

That the contacts between Norway and France were brought about by Norwegians travelling south and not the other way around does not, however, mean that no contact existed between the two regions before the middle of the 12th century. In the following, I will look more closely at an interesting piece of evidence that might indicate contact on some level before the first recorded sojourns of Norwegians at St-Victor.

This piece of evidence is a letter from the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, to the Norwegian king Sigurd Jorsalfare (1089–1130), in which he refers to Sigurd as “nostrae societatis amico” (“friend of our society”) (Vandvik 1959:36).⁸⁵ The letter must have been written between 1122, when Peter became abbot, and Sigurd’s death in 1130 (Vandvik 1959:138).

Eirik Vandvik comments that the connection between Cluny and Norway “can be traced back to the foundation of Nidarholm monastery around 1105” (Vandvik 1959:138, translation mine). Cluny was the head of a reform movement within the Benedictines during the 10th century. Their aim was to live more strictly in accordance with St Benedict’s rule, which to them meant a more rigorous adherence to the Office and to prayers. The Cluniacs did not view themselves as an order, although the sources (including the letters mentioned in the following) sometimes refer to them as such, but rather as a congregation following the same norms, or *consuetudines*. Nevertheless, they represented something new in opposition to the traditional, independent Benedictine monasteries, which were subject to the local ecclesiastic authorities, that is to say the bishop and the archbishop. The Cluniacs

⁸⁴ The 12th-century writer Theodoricus Monachus opines that the missionary Theobrand was Flemish (chapter 8); however, other sources claim he was German (McDougall and McDougall 1998:66, note 65).

⁸⁵ According to Olav Nenseter (2003:57, note 5), “our society” refers to the Cluniacs in this context, although he offers no reasoning for this claim.

were exempt, meaning Cluny and its daughter houses answered to the authority of no one but the abbot of Cluny and the Pope himself.

The idea that Nidarholm was a Cluniac monastery was promoted already by Christian Lange in his work *De norske Klosters Historie i Middelalderen* (1856). Lange writes that Nidarholm was conceived of in 1028 but most likely not founded until the early 12th century, “evidently in accordance with the rule of the Cluniacs” (Lange 1856:17, translation mine; see also page 201).

Lange does not cite his sources for this claim, but we can assume he bases it on the sole evidence we have connecting Nidarholm to Cluny. This consists of two letters from the 13th century (DN 3, 16 and 20), where the abbot of Nidarholm is referred to as “Haquinus de Holm Cluniacensis ordinum abbates [*sic*]” (“Håkon of Holm, abbot of the Cluniac ranks”, translation mine); and “Haquinus de Holm Cluniacensis ordinis diuina dispoſicione abbates” (“Håkon of Holm, abbot of the Cluniac order by divine rule”, translation mine) (Bratsberg 2002:13).

Kari Birgitta Syrstad points out that the two letters are written within a period of a few months, arguing that Nidarholm never belonged to the Cluny congregation in reality (Syrstad 1999:14–17). In Syrstad’s view, Håkon’s referring to his monastery as being part of the Cluny congregation is a rhetorical-political device meant to lend the letter more authority and weight; the Cluny monasteries were not subject to the bishop’s authority, but answered to the abbot of Cluny and the Pope alone, as mentioned above. She also points out that we have no other evidence of Nidarholm’s belonging to the Cluniac congregation, which we would expect if it had indeed been the case: Cluny kept meticulous track of their daughter houses and received part of their income, and there should have been some mentions of Nidarholm in their records. Furthermore, Cluniac houses typically were governed by priors, not abbots (Syrstad 1999:15). Given this, it would be strange for Håkon to refer to himself as the abbot of Nidarholm.

Terje Bratberg, on the other hand, considers the fact that the 1280 letter was signed by high-standing clergymen as strong evidence that Nidarholm was indeed a Cluniac

house at this point, since these clergymen would be unlikely to sign a letter containing untrue information (Bratberg 2002:13–14). Again, the Cluniac houses did not answer to anyone but to the abbot of Cluny and to the Pope, and as such, belonging to this order might benefit the monastery in a situation of conflict between the archbishop and the king, as was the case at this particular time; later, however, the monastery went back to being an ordinary Benedictine house (Bratberg 2002:14). Bratberg and Syrstad are thus in agreement that Nidarholm was founded as an ordinary Benedictine monastery, but their views differ as to whether it was ever part of the Cluny congregation at all. In any case, if Nidarholm was ever a Cluniac house it would only have been for a brief period of time, at least 150 years after it was founded.

Nidarholm's being founded as a Cluniac house, as suggested by Lange and later Eirik Vandvik,⁸⁶ would seemingly go against the common assumption that the Benedictine houses in Norway were mainly founded from England or via English influence. Is it possible that Nidarholm, while not formally belonging to the Cluniac congregation before the latter half of the 13th century (if we take the above-mentioned letters as believable evidence), was nevertheless in touch with Cluny from the beginning of its existence?

Going back to the letter from Abbot Peter to King Sigurd, it is hardly sufficient evidence of such a contact. The notion that Sigurd had been to the Holy Land and received a splinter of the Holy Cross itself must have helped to establish him as a worthy Christian in the monks' eyes, and it is also clear from Peter's letter that he considers Sigurd worthy of respect. However, his addressing of Sigurd as "nostrae societatis amico" does not imply a strong bond or connection.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Throughout the years, other scholars have adopted the idea of Nidarholm as a Cluniac house, seemingly without question. See for example Arne Odd Johnsen, *Bispetet og erkestolen i Nidaros fra den eldste tid til 1252* (1955:24, 31); Grete Blom, *Trondheim bys historie*, volume I (Blom et al. 1956:316–317); and Jan Schumacher, *Kirken i middelaldersamfunnet* (1987:95).

⁸⁷ In his letters to friends and personal contacts, Peter is generally much more affectionate, see http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/verzeichnis4.php?tabelle=Petrus_Cluniacensis_cps2&id=Petrus_Cluniacensis_cps2.%20Epistola&level=3&corpus=2, accessed on 21 July 2016. I thank Åslaug Ommundsen for drawing my attention to this.

Cluny was known for its adherence to a large and comprehensive liturgy, which may have been too demanding for the new and rather small Norwegian monasteries – this is one of Terje Bratberg’s suggestions as to why Nidarholm may have left the congregation and gone back to being a normal Benedictine house towards the end of the 13th century (Bratberg 2002:14). Founding monasteries in Norway in the early 12th century that were intended to live according to Cluny’s rule may simply have been too impractical or downright impossible. The Cluny rule demanded adherence to a comprehensive liturgy, as well as making use of costly material accessories such as lavish garments and vessels (Rosenwein 1971:133–136). As far as I am aware, no fragments in the Norwegian collection have been connected to the Cluny rite so far, although some fragments have been suggested to have a connection with Nidarholm.⁸⁸

The letter from Peter to Sigurd is evidence of a connection between the abbot and the king, but it is not indicative of a more established or institutionalised contact. Then again, “networking” was no less important in the Middle Ages than it is today. That powerful members of the elite, whether clergymen or royalty, were in contact with each other should be seen in the light of their roles in society, not only from an individual perspective.

In conclusion, the exchange between Sigurd and Peter is not sufficient evidence to claim a more institutionalised contact. Nor is it likely that Nidarholm was a Cluniac house other than perhaps for a short period in the 13th century, as tempted as one might be by the idea. If there was indeed a Cluniac connection between the monastery of Nidarholm and Cluny, that would be part of the historical context which we are studying. It would also have repercussions for the fragment material in the sense that one could pinpoint Nidarholm as a likely early nodal point for the introduction of French manuscripts. The assumptions made in the literature about

⁸⁸ Lilli Gjerløw (1979:48–56) suggests this for a 12th-century breviary that followed a Benedictine use (Br 16). The fragments (Lat. Frag. 902, 1–4; 904, 1–4; 906, 3; 1017, 1; 1022, 1–5; 1024, 1–3; 1025, 1; 1035, 1–2; 1064, 1–3) all have a secondary provenance within the Nidaros diocese (Gjerløw 1979:48). A similar suggestion has been made for a 12th-century missal, Mi 75 (Attinger and Ommundsen 2014:97–98).

Nidarholm's ties to Cluny seem unfounded, and consequently there is no reason to believe such a contact would be reflected in the fragment material.

However, Nidaros was already by this point emerging as an important religious centre in Norway, mainly due to the cult of St Olav. In the following we will look at three fragments dated to the early 12th century, the provenance of which suggests they might be from books used in or near Nidaros. These fragments are from books for which a French origin can be argued, at least on the basis of script.

3.2 Early French manuscript fragments in Norway

3.2.1 An early missal

Lat. Frag. 851, 1–2 consists of two small fragments from one leaf of a missal, written in the late 11th or early 12th century (Gullick 2015). The contents are part of the liturgy of Easter: the Good Friday Solemn Prayers (recto side, not depicted), the veneration of the cross, and the Exultet hymn followed by the beginnings of the Preface (verso side, depicted below).

The margins have been cropped on both sides as well as on the top, the remaining partial leaf indicating that the book was written in one column. Black ink is used for the text, with rubrics and initials in red.⁸⁹ Judging from the remaining leaves, the book was small, measuring perhaps 200 mm in height and 130 mm in width. The remaining written area is ca. 182 mm in height between the upper and lower margins and 110 mm wide. 32 lines are visible on the recto side, 30 on the verso.

The hand is that of one single scribe, writing in a late Caroline minuscule. In my opinion, the scribe also wrote the rubrics. A noteworthy trait is the *-orum* abbreviation (e.g. *populorum*, line 5 in the lower piece), in which the sloping stroke is connected to the *or* ligature with a loop. This feature seems to be a derivation from

⁸⁹ The E in *Exultet* (top line on the lower half of the leaf) seems to differ somewhat in colour, inclining towards being purple, but this may be the result of the ink fading.

documentary script (Derolez 2003:67). Other noteworthy traits are the tall ascenders; the superscript final *s* (e.g. *meis* and *meritis*, line 6 from below); the way the *-us* abbreviation sign rests on the top right of the letter it is attached to (e.g. *salutaribus*, in the second lowest line of the top piece); and the long tail of the *e* caudate (e.g. *hec*, line 5 in the bottom piece).

de eia egypti poma hanc saluati tuo. Agros ocheras ischmor agros
 elerion. Sef ds tel torat se sa immotat misere nob. Jura educe
 quadraginta ans ee manna cibau te: & inroduit te in eia saci opanti
 cruce saluati tuo. Agro. ut sup. Sef m. Jund nre debui facere tibi
 ego quide plantau te. unea inea fructu dechona & tafafat et h nms a
 ceo namq: sti mea potasti. & lancea pforata latus saluati tuo. Agros
 Sef m. A Ecce lignu crucis in q salu mundi pendit irence adoremu
 A Cruce tua adoram dne & sanctam reitrectione tua laudamus a
 camus ecce em ppe cruce uenit gaudiu inuuiso mundo. f ds miser
 yon Lange lingua gloriosi. Crux fidel me omi. Deparenti popla
 Hoc opus nre saluti. Juando uenit. Vag infans me. Crux fidel
 ser q ia pasta. Crux fidel. hic acceti sel arundo. Crux fidel. E
 isnos arbor. Crux fidel. Sola digna tu fusti. Crux fidel. G la
 A Sup omia ligna caeloz. A Ocrux splendor. Cu hec o
 nunt & crux in caeloz reposita. **A**ccipiat SACE
 panu eiecau & inponi malice uniu n ostentia
 ob. Oremus pceptis salutarib moniti & diuina instructa
 mati audemus dicere. Lat m.

Exultet ia anglica turba color: exultent diuina misteria & p
 regis uictoria tuba inuocet salutaris. Gaudet se cell' canit in
 fulgore: & eam regis splendore illustrata coe' oib se sentiat am
 lignis: Letet & mat ecclia canit luminis adomata fulgore: &
 poplo. & uocabur un' hec aula resubter. Qua ppe adstantib uol
 adca mira sei luminis claritate: una mee queso di omnis miseri
 care: ut q n mei meriti me leuati u numeru dignat: & aggr
 luminis sui gra infundente cerei hui laude: implere pficiat.
 m n dm xpm filiu suu. c q unu & regnat ds unitate sps sci
 sta teloz. Am. Dns uob. E spu. Sunt u corda habent. Crux
 dno do mo. Dignu & iustu est. **P R E E**
V E R E Quia dignu & iustu est: munibile dm prem omi

The verso side of 851, 1–2, as pictured above, has a conspicuous gap between the *Oratio* and the Exultet prayer. It seems that there was left space for another rubric, which was never filled in.

In Lilli Gjerløw’s publication *Adoratio Crucis*, on Aethelwold of Winchester’s *Regularis Concordia* and Lanfranc’s decrees, she discusses the fragment 851, 1–2 – which she named “Mi 13” – as “an illustration of the southern, Continental influence” (Gjerløw 1961:77). The missal does not contain the extra-liturgical Good Friday prayers found in many English manuscripts of the period, all of its contents being standard liturgical elements for Good Friday and Holy Saturday, and Gjerløw seems to have cited it primarily for the sake of contrast, given the relative scarcity of early missals amongst the Norwegian fragment material.

Where was the book made? As we have seen, Lilli Gjerløw (1961:77) suggested a continental origin, an opinion shared by Michael Gullick, who describes the script in his handlist as a “continental (French) type” (Gullick 2015), an assessment which seems accurate. The insular abbreviation sign for *est* (line 7) would at this point not necessarily point to England, since it also came to be used on the continent (Derolez 2003:67).

The secondary provenance of the book is Inderøy 1627. Inderøy is in the diocese of Nidaros, fairly close to today’s Trondheim. Lilli Gjerløw takes this to mean that “the missal was probably cut up in the chancery of the royal governor of Trondhjems Len; hence the provenance of the missal would be ‘a church in the diocese of Nidaros’” (Gjerløw 1961:77). Gjerløw’s use of “probably” may be somewhat unqualified; on the other hand, Inderøy was a smaller administrative unit, a *fogderi*. As we have seen in Chapter 1.2, parchment manuscripts are unlikely to have been brought into the *fogderi* from the outside to use as binding materials. I see it as a reasonable suggestion that the manuscript was either in Inderøy itself (and used for binding there) or in Trondheim (and used to bind accounts brought in from the *fogderi*). Conversely, it seems unlikely that such a small-sized book would have been brought

to Trondheim from somewhere else for the express purpose of being used as binding material.

Who brought the book to Norway, and when? The dating of the script (late 11th century/early 12th century) combined with the suggested French origin makes this an interesting question. Assuming that the book was made in France around 1100, we can set up three main alternatives:

- The book came to Norway via England, either shortly after its creation or later
- The book came to Norway directly from France shortly after its creation (i.e. around 1100)
- The book came to Norway directly from France around the time when the first historical evidence of Norwegians travelling to France begins to appear, i.e. in the second half of the 12th century⁹⁰

The first and second alternatives are, perhaps, equally likely options; the lack of historical evidence leaves us with conjecture either way. Regarding the third alternative, its likelihood depends in part on whether travellers would choose to buy a book which at that point would have been around fifty years old, if not more. Assuming that a second-hand book was cheaper than a new one, this might make perfect sense, especially given the genre: a missal would hardly be obsolete. On the other hand, as the book seems to have been put to use before all rubrics were filled in – as we have seen above – this makes it more likely that the book was acquired by someone with a more pressing need for a missal than the late 12th century context would suggest.

⁹⁰ People may of course have travelled between Norway and France before, and most likely, they did, but the sources are silent on the subject.

3.2.2 A northern French lectionary?

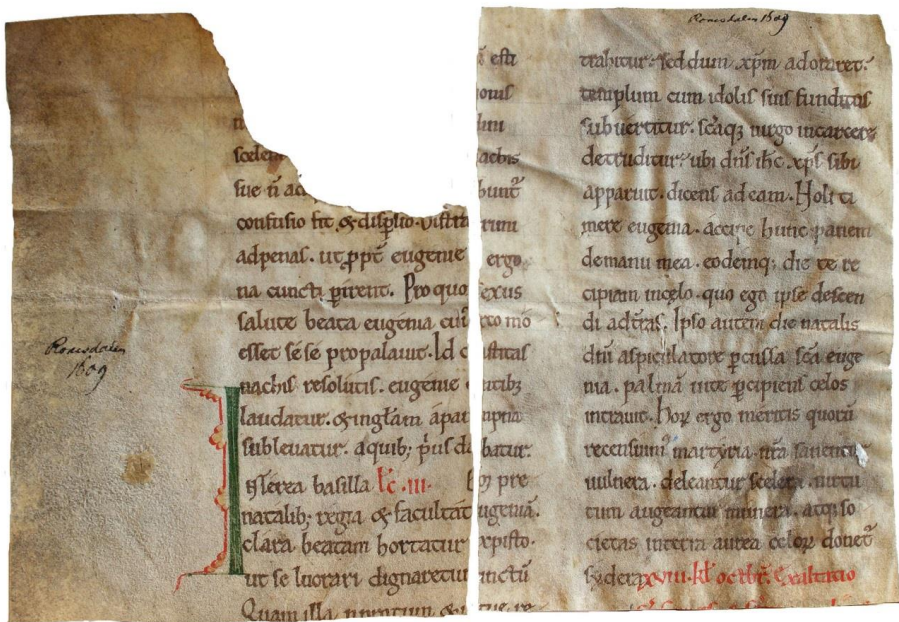
The second case to be looked at here again consists of two fragments from one leaf. The book in question was a lectionary, containing readings for use in the Night Office.⁹¹ It is divided into readings by rubrics in red; one of these even gives the date for the celebration in question: *xviii kalendas octobris*, that is to say September 14. After the date the word *exaltatio* is visible, referring to the feast *Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis* (14 September).

The leaf on the present picture is from the verso side, containing a version of the legend of St Eugenia. Eugenia's servants, Protus and Hyacinth, were commemorated on September 11, and sometimes parts of Eugenia's legend would be used for their celebration (Donovan and Remley 1993:47). The chronology is further corroborated by looking at the recto side (not pictured), which contains an excerpt from a life of St Audemar (Saint-Omer), whose feast day is on September 9. Note the accentuation marks marking which syllable should be stressed – a clear indication that the book was intended for reading out aloud.

Our lectionary was ruled by plummet, using a 2-2-2 pattern (Gullick 2015) of vertical lines which left two columns for writing. The surviving fragments are about 130 mm tall, forming the upper half of a leaf, the width of which was approximately 200 mm, each of the columns being about 60 mm wide. This would make for a medium-sized book by medieval standards.

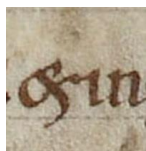
Michael Gullick dates the fragment to the first half of the 12th century and suggests that the scribe was Anglo-Norman, referring to the distinctive ampersand (Gullick 2015). I agree with the date (possibly suggesting a dating closer to 1150 than to 1100), but I would like to question the specific “Norman-ness” of the ampersand.

⁹¹ In order to avoid potential confusion, I use the term “Night Office” for what is otherwise known as Vigils/Matins, following e.g. Billett (2014).



Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 (verso side)

The ampersand in fragment 906, 1–2 is characterised by a ductus in which the diagonal stroke downwards to the right does not end on the baseline, but dips below it and ends in a curve towards the left.

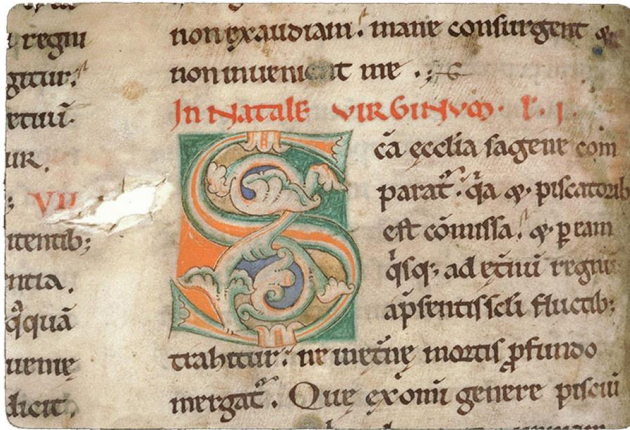


Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 (detail)

Ampersands with the same kind of shape (which I will refer to as “dip-and-curve”) can be found in manuscripts not originating from England or Normandy, however. I mention as examples two manuscripts from the region of northern France: Amiens Bibliothèque Municipale MS 143 F, an Office Lectionary for St Peter’s Abbey at

Corbie; and Valenciennes Bibliothèque Municipale MS 153, a copy of St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.⁹²

Amiens BM 143 F originates from the north of France, more precisely the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Corbie. It is an office lectionary dating from around 1150.⁹³



Cliché CNRS-IRHT, Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole, Ms 143 F, fol. 184v

The Amiens manuscript shares the trait under scrutiny here, namely the “dip-and-curve” downwards stroke of the ampersand. Otherwise the ampersands of NRA 906, 1–2 and Amiens BM 143 F differ in their end stroke (upwards to the left): the former turns slightly downwards, like a tongue, the latter turns upwards, like a foot.⁹⁴

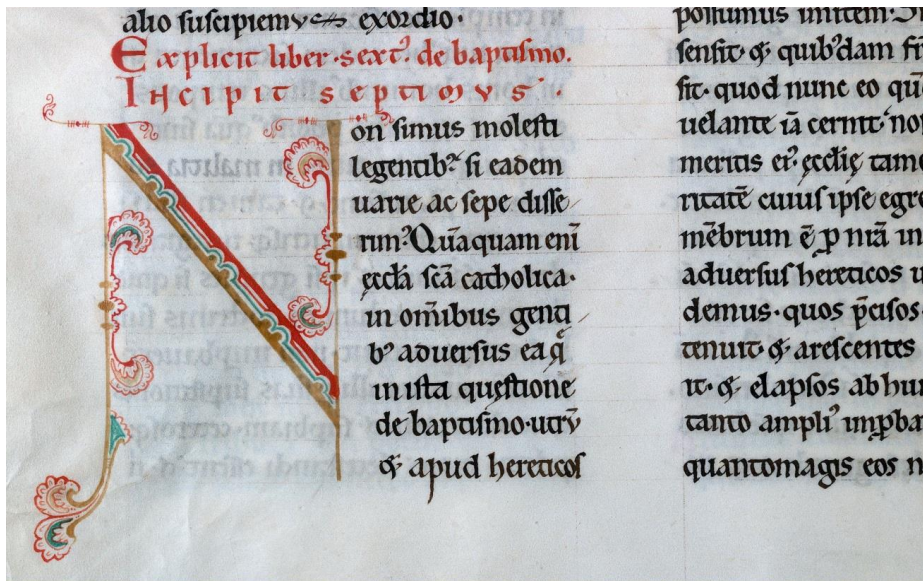
The second example of a northern French manuscript with such an ampersand is Valenciennes BM 153, a 12th-century copy of St Augustine's *De civitate Dei*

⁹² For yet another example, see Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 621, which like Valenciennes MS 153 is a copy of St Augustine's work originating from Hainaut: <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/mazarine.aspx#details?id=MAZA12395>, accessed 7 April 2016. Photographs of this manuscript can be found in the Enluminure database: http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/rechexpertise_00.htm, accessed 7 April 2016.

⁹³ Image used with the kind permission of the Bibliothèques d'Amiens Métropole.

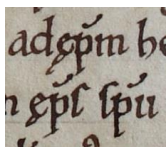
⁹⁴ I owe this imagery to Patricia Stirnemann.

originating from the abbey of Saint-Amand, also known as Elnone Abbey, in Hainaut in Northern France.⁹⁵



Valenciennes BM 153, f. 160v°

As we see, the Valenciennes manuscript shares the trait of a “dip-and-curve” ampersand with the other northern French manuscript, Amiens BM 143 F, as well as with our Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2. At the same time, the execution is not entirely similar to either of these, besides the dip-and-curve aspect: the ampersand in Valenciennes BM 153 has the noticeable trait of an added stroke on its upper lobe. As an aside, both Amiens BM 143 F and Valenciennes BM 153 have another trait in common with Lat. Frag. 906, 1-2, namely the way the cedilla on the *e* caudate is shaped like a loop:

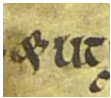


Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 (detail)

⁹⁵ Image used with the kind permission of the Bibliothèque de Valenciennes.

I would suggest that this way of writing the ampersand was not uncommon in northern France, and that the ampersand of Lat.Frag. 906, 1–2, rather than being distinctly Anglo-Norman, may very well point to an origin in the same area as the manuscripts cited.⁹⁶ This is an area through which we know Norwegians travelled (see the discussion in Chapters 4.2.1 and 5.1.2).

Several of the fragments in my corpus displayed a similar “dip-and-curve” ampersand, with the curve turning leftwards, as in the case of Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 and the French manuscripts. The spectrum of these ampersands can be illustrated with examples from the fragments in question, all of which are dated to the first half or middle of the 12th century:



Lat. Frag. 721, 1–2 (detail)

In the first example, from Lat. Frag. 721, 1–2, the form is not fully realised, though the foot swings gently towards the left. In the second example, from Lat. Frag. 924, 1, the curve is more pronounced:



Lat. Frag. 924, 1 (detail)

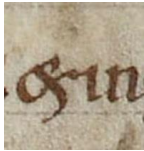
Lat. Frag. 853, 1–2 contains an ampersand where the curve is unmistakable:

⁹⁶ This is not to say that I claim that this shape can *only* be found in this area, but to my knowledge, there exists no systematic study of the ampersand showing the distribution of this particular shape. The occurrence of “dip-and-curve” ampersands in Northern French/Flemish manuscripts is based on personal observations.



Lat. Frag. 853, 1–2 (detail)

And finally the ampersand from Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 once more:



Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 (detail)

It would be of interest to do a more exhaustive study on manuscripts from the area of Northern France and the Low Countries to find out the extent to which the “dip-and-curve” ampersand is a regional trait. If further studies should reveal that this form of ampersand is above all to be found in Northern France or Flanders, then we might have a new “diagnostic” criterion for determining a fragment’s origin.

As is the case for the missal Lat. Frag. 851, 1–2 discussed above, it is interesting to consider how the lectionary Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 might have come to Norway. Its secondary provenance is Romsdal 1609. Romsdal was one of the minor *len*, which in 1609 sorted under the governor of Trondheim *len*, Sten Bilde (Øvrebø 1983:238). It is therefore not unlikely that the lectionary was used in the Trondheim area in the Middle Ages.

If the book from which the fragment originates was brought to Norway after 1150, it would fit into the larger pattern of French-Norwegian contact that emerges in the second half of the 12th century (see Chapter 4 below). I have nonetheless chosen to include it in the chapter dealing with the evidence of pre-1150 contact, since it is one

of the relatively few examples of fragments in the National Archives that are both possible to localise in France and of an early date.⁹⁷

3.2.3 A fragment of *Moralia in Job*

The third fragment I would like to discuss in this chapter is from a non-liturgical book – the only non-liturgical book with a suggested French origin that is dated prior to 1150. The fragment in question, Lat. Frag. Box 52, 2, 1, is from a copy of Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Job* and consists of a single piece, measuring 240 x 160 mm.⁹⁸ The remaining part of the written area measures 205 x 85 mm and seems to cover most of one column. As can be inferred from the remains of the headings, [*Pars tertia*] (*recto*, below) and *Liber undecimus*], the text was probably laid out in two columns. The original leaf might perhaps have been ca. 300–350 mm, although this is nothing more than an estimate.

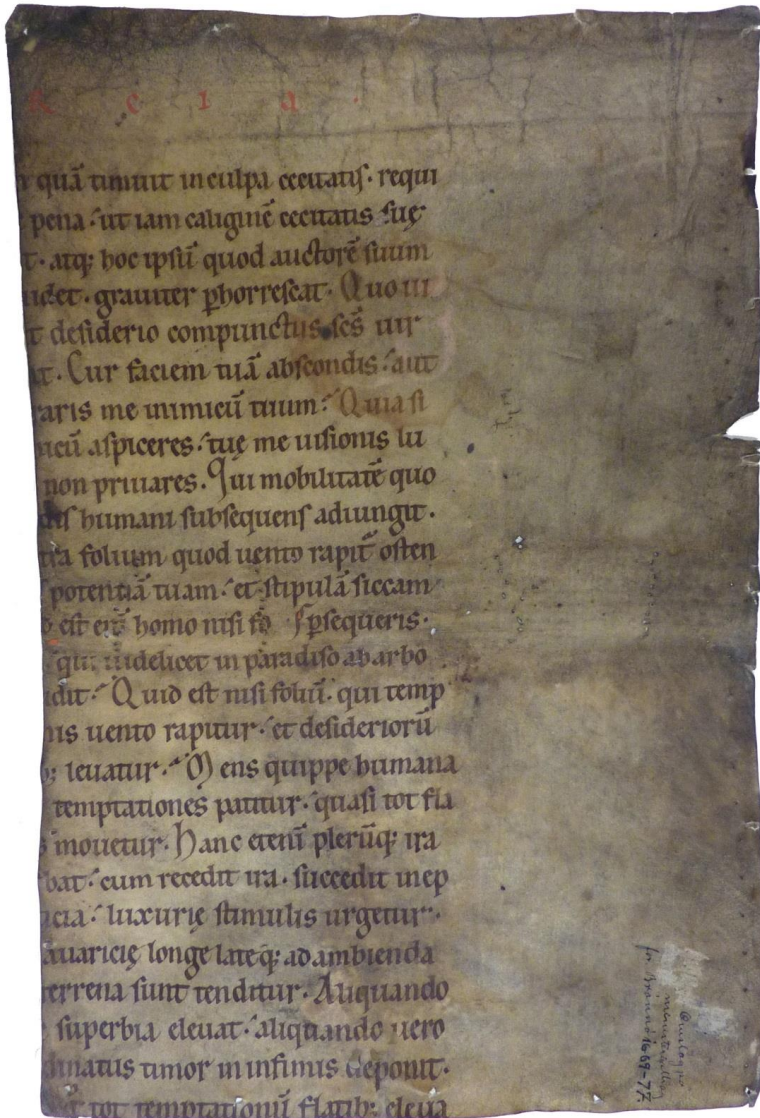
Espen Karlsen dates the fragment to the first half of the twelfth century, “perhaps towards the middle of the century” (2013a:226), an opinion shared by Michael Gullick (2013a) as well as myself. The frequent use of round *s*, which might be considered a “modern” element, is not sufficiently so to argue for a dating after 1150, since round *s* in a final position – which is what we find in this fragment, except in the case of initials – is a general feature of 12th century script (Derolez 2003:63–64). The same could be said for the rounded (“Uncial”) form of *d*, which is quite outnumbered by the vertical/straight *d*.

While I do not contest the aforementioned scholars’ dating, I would question their localisation, or at least the reasoning for it. Gullick suggests the Low Countries (with two question marks) and notes that the punctuation is German, a claim echoed by Karlsen, who states that the fragment “has the Germanic form of *punctus elevatus*”

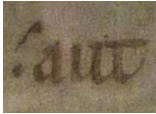
⁹⁷ See the overview of the distribution of fragments according to time periods in the introduction.

⁹⁸ While the original leaf size can only be speculated about, it seems likely that the fragment came from a large book (folio format). The size of the fragment means it could have been imported as binding material, although no identification has been made so far. See the discussion in Chapter 1.2.2.

(Karlsen 2013a:226). The upper element of the *punctus elevatus* in our Gregory fragment – the so-called “tick” – is traced upwards with a slight upper exit-stroke down to the right.



This is not, however, a particular feature of German manuscripts. In general no varieties of *punctus elevatus* were exclusive to any given region, and the “right-ward tick” can also be found in Eastern France as well as in the Low Countries (Parkes 1992:43).⁹⁹ Ommundsen (2007a:101) refers as an example to Plate 3 in Derolez (2003), which is from St Vaas in Arras; two other examples are Mss 1 (e.g. f. 31v), and 3 (e.g. f. 7) from the Bibliothèque Municipale of Valenciennes.¹⁰⁰ The shape of the *punctus elevatus* in the *Moralia* fragment is therefore in my opinion not a strong argument for a German origin.¹⁰¹



Lat. Frag. Box 52, 2 (detail)

Karlsen also points to the added hairline on the letter *r*, which he states is a Germanic feature in the 12th century (presumably with reference to Derolez 2003:63); however, he only cites one specific example of this, the final *r* in *urgentur*, line 21 (Karlsen 2013a:226). There are several other examples of final *r* in the fragment which do not contain such added hairlines, for instance in *graviter* (line 4), *rapitur* (line 16), or *tenditur* (line 23). I cannot find any other examples of such an “embellished” *r* than the one cited by Karlsen. I therefore would not assign the fragment to a German origin on these grounds (which, I should add, Karlsen has not done; apart from pointing to traits he argues are German(ic), he simply states the script is continental). Instead, I would suggest France as the origin, based not only on details such as the shape of the *punctus elevatus* – which is typically French, cf. above – but on the

⁹⁹ I am assuming that Parkes is referring to this shape of the “tick” of the *punctus elevatus* when he describes it as “[t]he form which curves up towards the right” (Parkes 1992:43).

¹⁰⁰ http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?REPRODUCTION_ID=11369 and http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?REPRODUCTION_ID=11371, accessed on 21 July 2016.

¹⁰¹ On the other hand, a *punctus elevatus* slightly resembling a question mark, with the tick shaped like the number seven (sans cross-stroke), is common in manuscripts from German areas (Parkes 1992:43, Ommundsen 2007a:102, with further references).

general impression of the script.¹⁰² (In fact, the upright aspect is not unlike that of Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2 – the lectionary discussed in Chapter 3.2.2 – and the same could be said for the diagonal serifs of the descenders.)

From a methodological standpoint, the Gregory fragment is noteworthy in that it was removed from a register for the church of Brønnøy, a register which was never sent to Copenhagen (Karlsen 2013a:226). The register is still kept in the State Archives in Trondheim, but the fragment was removed in 1902 and sent to the National Archives (Gullick 2015). Brønnøy is a parish in today's Nordland, which in the Middle Ages would have been part of the Nidaros diocese.

Unfortunately, there seems to be no information as to when the register arrived in Trondheim.¹⁰³ Espen Karlsen suggests (2013a:226) that a manuscript such as *Moralia in Job* would be more likely to have been used in Trondheim, which was a major ecclesiastical centre, than in a small parish like Brønnøy. If this is the case, which seems likely, the register may have been bound upon arrival in Trondheim, or someone may have brought the manuscript to Brønnøy at a later date. We are, however, still left with the question of how the book came to Norway.

If the fragment stems from a manuscript dating towards the early part of the 12th century, we are again left with the question of the attractiveness of “old” books. However, the fragment gives the impression of being taken from a quite handsome manuscript, and *Moralia in Job* was by no means an obsolete work. It cannot be ruled out that the manuscript was bought and brought to Norway after 1150, for instance with the arrival of the Augustinian canons, even if the book was several decades old at the time.¹⁰⁴ This is presupposing that the book came to Norway in the Middle Ages and was not imported as binding material after the Reformation in the 16th century.

¹⁰² I thank Patricia Stirnemann for corroborating my opinions on this issue.

¹⁰³ <http://digitalarkivet.arkivverket.no/kilde/16500>, accessed on 8 April 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Thanks to an inscription of ownership, we know that the Augustinian convent of Elgeseter owned a copy of *Moralia in Job*; this copy is now in Copenhagen (Lange 1856:143–144). It would be of interest to compare our fragment to this copy, but I have not yet had the chance to do so.

3.3 Conclusion

We do not know who brought these books to Norway, or when. Having ruled out Cluny as a likely connection, at least on an institutional level beyond that of the contact between King Sigurd and Peter the Venerable, it seems difficult to show any systematic contact between Norway and France in this period. This does not mean that French-made books did not find their way here, however, as I hope to have illustrated by showcasing three different fragments of a relatively early date. Besides, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. We should keep in mind that the assumed English origins and subsequent connections of the Norwegian Benedictine monasteries in this period, which have been taken for granted by many scholars, have no more evidence behind them and as such remain conjecture, however reasonable.

4. The road to Paris: 1152/53–1217

In the early 1150s, Norway and its dependent regions – Iceland, Greenland, and the Western Isles – were established as a new archdiocese.¹⁰⁵ The new Archbishopric would increase the status of the town of Nidaros (Trondheim), which was already home of the relics of St Olav and therefore a centre of pilgrimage, and the town became an important centre of learning, religion, and culture.¹⁰⁶ Under Archbishop Øystein Erlendsson (1159–1188) Nidaros flourished. Important works were written in this period, notably the *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*, the life and miracles of St Olav, and the saga *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagensium*, chronicling the Norwegian kings from Harald Hårfagre (in English known as Harald Fairhair, 850–931/932) to Sigurd Jorsalfare (c. 1090–1130). The *Passio Olavi* is often assumed to have been written by Øystein himself, at least in part, though recently scholars have argued it was a collective effort, though Øystein no doubt played an important part in it (Mortensen 2012:77). Øystein was also central in the creation of the *Historia*, as the work was dedicated to him (see below, Chapter 4.1.2).

It is in this period that historical evidence of contact between Norway and France on a more systemic level emerges. Most of this contact can be tied to the Parisian abbey of St Victor, a famous centre of learning in the 12th century, and its Norwegian visitors and students. These connections have been granted a fair amount of attention by scholars (e.g. Johnsen 1939, 1945, 1951; Gunnes 1996; Harðarson 1995; Ekroll 2012), and some assumptions have been made that are untenable on closer inspection. For instance, it is sometimes taken for granted that the Norwegian Augustinian convents adopted Victorine customs (Nyberg 1993), but as we shall see there is no evidence of that; the fragment material from the period suggests, however, a presence of “learned” culture in Norway, and it is highly probable that the ties to St Victor

¹⁰⁵ Whether the archdiocese was founded in 1152 or 1153 remains impossible to prove for certain (Imsen 2003:15). Arne Odd Johnsen (1945b:74–112) goes through the historical evidence, arguing that the archdiocese was most likely founded early in the year 1153.

¹⁰⁶ See Mortensen (2000b) for a discussion of Nidaros as a literary centre.

played a part in that. Besides the connections to St Victor itself, evidence of Norwegians travelling through northern France – both in the shape of manuscript evidence, such as the presence of St Olav in northern French manuscripts, and of mentions in sources such as letters – will be discussed.

While I argue that there is no evidence that any of the Norwegian Augustinian houses belonged to the Victorine congregation, traces of Victorine, or at least French, influence can be found in the sequences devoted to St Olav and St Hallvard, as well as in St Olav's office. This French influence can also be detected in the *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*, arguably written by an erstwhile student at St Victor.

Finally, I discuss fragments from a variety of books whose origin and provenance can be explained by the historical background as presented throughout the chapter. While none of these can be tied to St Victor specifically, they do reflect which sorts of book might be of interest to a Norwegian clergyman travelling to France: a psalter, an antiphoner, a homily collection, two psalm commentaries, and a commentary on canon law. Compared to the earlier period, the number of French-origin fragments is more than doubled, from 14 to 31, most of which are from liturgical books (cf. Introduction). It is tempting to see this in connection with the expansion of the church's organisation and an ever-growing need for liturgical books, including the foundation of Augustinian convents. However, the non-liturgical fragments may be just as significant in that they align with the picture painted by the historical evidence, namely that of a growing contact with learned and intellectual centres in France.

4.1 Norway and the Augustinian movement

4.1.1 Norwegians in France

The most important evidence of Norwegian and French contacts in the latter half of the 12th century and the early 13th remains the documented connections between Norwegian clergymen and the Parisian abbey of St Victor. Much of what we know of

these connections is due to the work of Arne Odd Johnsen, who documented them in several books and articles, most notably his dissertation on Theodoricus Monachus from 1939. Before Johnsen's dissertation, these connections were known of mainly from later (17th/18th century) second- or third-hand sources such as *Scriptores rerum Danicarum, I* and *Gallia Christiana, VII* (Johnsen 1939:95). Additionally, the letters to Abbot Ernis from his sister and nephew (see below) had been published in France (Luchaire 1899:46, 104, 105) and were made known to Norwegian readers in an article by Edvard Bull (1910).

Desiring to go straight to the historical source material, Johnsen examined material from St Victor's archives, starting with the *Annales* compiled by the Victorine canon Jean de Thoulouse during the years 1625–1659. These annals gathered letters and documents concerning St Victor's history in chronological order and with accompanying commentary. Johnsen also examined other manuscripts from St Victor, including the oldest preserved obituary for the convent, where the following Norwegian clergymen are named: *Geirmund* (most likely son of the magistrate Salmund Sigurdsson, see below); *Henrik* [= Eirik], Archbishop of Norway; *Theodoricus* [= Tore], Archbishop of Norway; and *Theodoricus* [= Tore], Bishop of Hamar.¹⁰⁷ In the following we will return to these personages and the role they played in French-Norwegian connections. First, some words should be said about St Victor itself, and why it came to attract clerics from Norway in the latter half of the 1100s.

The regular canons known as Augustinians, called thus because they followed the rule of St Augustine, did not form a single order. The Augustine rule was based on an amalgam of three documents attributed to St Augustine and was open to a variety of interpretations (Burton 1996:70–72) The canons living together in convents could develop their own interpretation and traditions to go with it, which would then become their own particular custom, or *consuetudines* (Nenseter 2003:9). If several

¹⁰⁷ See Johnsen (1939:95–110) for all of his findings as well as details of the manuscript sources. In addition to what is discussed here, he also published a papal letter concerning the church tax from Nidaros (*denarius Petri*) deposited in St Victor, excerpts from the list of St Victor's relics pertaining to a piece of St Olav's shirt, and a list of mentions of St Olav and other Scandinavian saints in liturgical manuscripts. Some of the material published, such as the obituary, is relevant to the other Nordic countries.

convents lived according to the same *consuetudines*, they could be referred to as a congregation. This is the case with the Victorine convents; they were Augustinian houses that followed the *consuetudines* of their mother house, St Victor in Paris.

The Abbey of St Victor was founded in the early 12th century and developed into a highly important centre of learning in the 12th century. Its most famous member is Hugh of St Victor (d. 1141), whose writings and teachings are amongst the most influential of the period. The convent's reputation was strong enough to attract students from all over Europe, including Norway, and visitors of different kinds, both laity and clergy, also found their way there.

The abbey's attraction to Norwegians is illustrated by a letter to the Englishman Ernis, abbot of St Victor from 1161 to 1172, from his sister, who was married to a Norwegian: according to her, many Norwegians were exploiting the convent's hospitality by pretending to bring her husband's regards, although in reality only two men had been sent there (Johnsen 1939:101, 105–106; *Regesta Norvegica* I, 137). Knowing the abbot of St Victor had a Norwegian brother-in-law, people were more likely to seek out this convent before others, especially since they could evidently get away with pretending to be sent by the abbot's family. Furthermore, the letter (of unknown date, but written during Ernis's abbacy) shows that there was contact between the convent and Norway in the 1160s, and possibly even before, since Ernis was a canon already in 1139 (Johnsen 1996:56).¹⁰⁸

The letter, which is written in Latin, refers to this brother-in-law, the letter-writer's husband, as "Salomon".¹⁰⁹ Based on the dating of the letter, written during Ernis's time as abbot, and its mentions of precious gifts (speaking of the wealth of the persons involved), Arne Odd Johnsen suggests that this Salomon is identical to

¹⁰⁸ Johnsen (1951:251, 1996:56) believes Ernis's familial ties helped establish contact between St Victor and Norway. Gunnar Harðarson suggests the opposite, namely that the contacts between Norwegian ecclesiastics and the Victorines may have led to Ernis's sister's marrying a Norwegian (Harðarson 1995:22, note 63). This strikes me as the less likely scenario.

¹⁰⁹ The letter does not state directly that Salomon is the author's husband, but this seems the most likely interpretation based on her wording: "Salutat vos Salomon [...] Vestrae quoque voluntati obnoxius pro magno quidem habiturus, si quid ei mandare velletis" (Johnsen 1939:106). The letter also contains another reference to Salomon: "nullum ad vos praeter Salomonem et Johannem transmiserim". In my reading, these two Salomons are likely to be different people.

Salmund Sigurdsson, a royal magistrate (*gjaldker*) of Tønsberg, who had visited the British isles in his youth, explaining his marriage to an Englishwoman (Johnsen 1996:56).¹¹⁰

Another letter to Ernis, from his nephew “Germundus” (presumably Geirmund), makes the Norwegian background even clearer; he writes to tell his uncle that he would like to go back to France, but his father and the rest of the family will not allow it because of the hard times (presumably this is on the backdrop of the struggles between King Magnus Erlingsson’s party and their enemies).¹¹¹ The obituary from St Victor documenting the deaths of Eirik Ivarsson, Tore Gudmundsson, and Tore of Hamar also mentions the death of a “frater Germundus”, and this might be the same person as Ernis’s nephew (Johnsen 1939:104, 107).

One of the Norwegians who presumably visited the convent was Øystein Erlendsson, Archbishop of Norway (d. 1188). He stayed in St Victor at some point between 1161 and 1168 (Johnsen 1939:100), most likely on his way to Rome to receive the pallium in the year 1160/61. A letter from Roger, abbot of the Augustinian convent St Euverte in Orleans, to Ernis, the aforementioned abbot of St Victor, mentions “the Archbishop of Norway who was with you” (Johnsen 1939:105; *Regesta Norvegica* I, 122). Given the time the letter was written, with Ernis and Roger both as abbots (which is limited to the years 1161–1168), the Archbishop in question must be Øystein.¹¹²

This letter is especially interesting for the purposes of the present study, since it concerns manuscripts. St Euverte is in difficulties, and Roger therefore asks Ernis to pawn some “outstanding” books to certain Norwegian clerks:

¹¹⁰ Jean de Thoulouse, who compiled the annals of St. Victor, gives her name as “Germunda” in his introduction to the letter (Johnsen 1939:105, note 1). In her letter, she only signs her name as “G”.

¹¹¹ Arne Odd Johnsen (1939:106) dates the letter to the period of Ernis’s abbacy, 1161–1172, but Geirmund does not mention anything about his uncle’s being an abbot. If Geirmund was born in the 1130s, which is when Johnsen (1996:56) suggests Salmund met his wife, he could have been staying at St Victor already in the 1150s.

¹¹² Achille Luchaire identified the archbishop as Eskil of Lund in his publication of the letter (Luchaire 1899:50). Johnsen believes that Luchaire forgot that Norway had been established as an independent archdiocese by the time the letter was written, which is to say during Ernis’s abbacy (Johnsen 1939:100).

Unde, quia victualia nobis ad plenum sufficere pro temporum exigentia iam diffidimus, mandamus vobis ut clericis de partibus illius, qui apud vos fuit, Archiepiscopi Norwegiae oriundis, ex parte vestra notificetis nos, per manum et consilium vestrum, libros Divinae paginae peroptimos velle impignorare. (“Because we already fear that our supplies will not last us all through the difficult times, we ask you to notify the clerics coming from the lands of that man who stayed with you, the Archbishop of Norway, that by your aid and counsel we will pawn to them outstanding books of the Holy Scripture”, translation mine)

It is an intriguing letter, leaving us to wonder about the circumstances of this pawning. Perhaps these clerics were students at St Victor who needed exemplars to copy their own books from – in that case, the pawning might be a question of “book rental”. At any rate, the letter indicates that there was a market for fine books amongst Norwegians abroad, as well as the general presence of Norwegian clerics; in other words, neither Ernis’s nephew Geirmund nor Archbishop Øystein was an exceptional case.

Øystein is a key figure in Norwegian medieval history in general and in the context of the present study in particular, being instrumental in building the Norwegian church organisation throughout his period as archbishop. As part of this work, he introduced the Augustinians to Norway by founding convents (see below), and as there is reason to believe at least some of these foundations would play a part in bringing French manuscripts to Norway – not to mention Øystein’s own French connections – he deserves a fuller discussion here.¹¹³

The date of Øystein’s birth is not known, nor is much about his early life. We do know that he belonged to a prominent family in Trøndelag, not far from the town of Nidaros (Trondheim). By the 1150’s he had become the chaplain of King Inge

¹¹³ The most comprehensive work on Øystein’s life is the biography by Erik Gunnes: *Erkebiskop Øystein. Statsmann og kirkebygger* (1996). See also the anthology *Eystein Erlendsson – Erkebiskop, politiker og kirkebygger* (Bjørlykke 2012), where scholars of various disciplines shed light on different aspects of Øystein’s work and politics, and Dominik Waßenhoven’s discussion of Øystein as an agent of cultural exchange (Waßenhoven 2006:105–139).

Haraldsson, one of three brothers who shared the power in Norway at the time. Before this he most likely studied abroad, either in English or France, as both his Latin skills and his general education and learning are more advanced than what we would expect from someone who had received their schooling in Nidaros alone (Gunnes 1996:30).

Already Alexander Bugge (1916) claims that Øystein had “studied in St Victor’s abbey for Augustinian canons in Paris and sat at the feet of the famous Hugh of St Victor, the founder of the mystic school of thought within theology” (Bugge 1916:198, translation mine). He justifies this claim by arguing that Øystein owned copies of Hugh’s works and that he had an interest in the Augustinian order (Johnsen 1939:99–100). As pointed out by Arne Odd Johnsen, the available evidence does not support Bugge’s claim: for instance, even if we did know for certain that Øystein owned copies of Hugh’s works, that does not prove he himself had studied in St Victor. Moreover, the fact that his name is not in the obituary, unlike those of his successors, points away from his having studied there (Johnsen 1939:100).¹¹⁴ While it is true that Øystein stayed at St Victor at some point in the 1160s (cf. Roger’s letter above), his having studied there earlier would not be a prerequisite for this stay, especially given the convent’s level of hospitality (Johnsen 1945a:416–417).

However, there were several schools in and around Paris at the time, originating from the chapter of Notre-Dame (Smith 2001:8–9). Øystein may have studied at one or more of these schools, but this will have to remain conjecture until such time as more evidence turns up.

It is unclear how much time Øystein spent in Paris. Erik Gunnes (1996:225) suggests that Øystein also visited the royal monastery of St Denis north of the city and was inspired by the works of its famous abbot, Suger. He points to the false letter granting

¹¹⁴ Many later scholars have seemingly made the same assumptions as Bugge, see for instance Lars Boje Mortensen’s comment that Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne, “had studied in Paris at the same time as Øystein and Absalon (around 1150)” (Mortensen 2000b:141), or Anne Duggan’s statement that Øystein’s “education in Paris had equipped him for the task [of establishing the structure of Nidaros Archdiocese]” (Duggan 2012:37). Øystein Ekroll goes so far as to claim that most historians agree that Øystein’s background was Augustinian and that he had studied at St. Victor (Ekroll 2012:71), referring to Erik Gunnes (1996:34ff), although Gunnes only suggests Paris as a possibility.

privileges from Charlemagne to St Denis, a 12th century falsification which originated at St Denis and which several scholars believe Øystein later used as inspiration for Magnus Erlingsson's letter granting privileges to the Church (Tobiassen 1969:215). Gunnes (1996:225) also suggests that the cathedral of St Denis, which Suger is traditionally credited with having rebuilt, was an inspiration for Øystein's work with the Nidaros cathedral. In the same vein, Steinar Imsen sees Øystein as "a Norwegian Abbot Suger", also because Suger had historical works dedicated to him (Imsen 2012:19–20).

While Øystein must have established contacts in St Victor during his stay there, it is an open question whether he was the first Norwegian high-ranking clergyman to do so. His successor, Archbishop Eirik Ivarsson (d. 1213), is named in St Victor's obituary as "canonicus noster professus". The late source *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* claims that Eirik was a canon at St Victor before 1150, although this would mean that by his death in 1213, he was a very old man (Nenseter 2003:31). Johnsen (1939:74) estimates that Eirik stayed in the convent during the 1160s. On the other hand, Erik Gunnes is open to the possibility that Eirik was indeed a Victorine already by the middle of the century, pointing to a list of canons sent by Suger of Saint-Denis to reform the convent Sainte-Geneviève in 1148: this list includes a Norwegian by the name "Henricus" (1996:195).¹¹⁵ Suger had been tasked with this reformation by the pope Eugenius III.¹¹⁶

Eirik was appointed bishop of Stavanger by 1171 at the latest.¹¹⁷ His role in promoting the Augustinian ideals in Norway is clear when it comes to his feud with Sverre Sigurdsson, who defeated Magnus Erlingsson and became sole king of

¹¹⁵ Eirik's father, Ivar Kalvsson Skrauthanske, was himself a clergyman, appointed bishop of Nidaros by the 1140s. Johnsen suggests that the popes Adrian IV (as Cardinal Nicholas Brekespear, who visited Norway in 1153/1154 to found the Nidaros Archdiocese) and Alexander III (whose correspondence with Øystein was considerable) might have played a part in promoting St Victor to the Norwegians (Johnsen 1951:250). If Ivar sent his son to Paris as a result of Nicholas Brekespear's recommendations, this would indicate that Eirik's stay there took place in the latter half of the 1150s, at the earliest.

¹¹⁶ Oluf Kolsrud also claims that Eirik Ivarsson was among the canons sent by Suger to reform Sainte-Geneviève (1958:206). Kolsrud does not cite his source for this, but presumably, it is the same list as the one mentioned by Gunnes.

¹¹⁷ https://nbl.snl.no/Eirik_Ivarsson, accessed 16 May 2016.

Norway. There have been suggestions that he founded Augustinian convents, and perhaps his influence can also be linked to the lead crosses containing parts of Augustinian hymns (see Chapter 5.1.1).

In his old age, Eirik lost his eyesight and in 1205, he gave up his position as Archbishop to Tore Gudmundsson (d. 1214). Tore is named in St Victor's obituary as "frater noster" (Johnsen 1939:103, 108), suggesting that unlike Eirik he was not an actual canon there. The time and duration of his stay at St Victor is unknown, but if he is indeed identical to Theodoricus Monachus, who wrote the *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium*, it must have been before 1180 (see below). His namesake Bishop Tore of Hamar, who is mentioned as "noster canonicus" in St Victor's obituary (Johnsen 1939:104, 109), died in 1196, though his age by then is unknown, and there is no mention of him in the sources before he was appointed bishop in 1189/90.¹¹⁸

In short, at least four prominent clergymen from Norway stayed at St Victor in the latter half of the 12th century, two of whom became canons there. It is tempting to assume that this contact between Norwegians and the Parisian abbey must have left its mark on Norwegian manuscript culture, but any direct evidence of this is hard to pinpoint. The library of St Victor was extensive, containing over a thousand volumes by the 16th century (Ouy and Grandrue 1999:7, note 2). Its manuscripts give the impression of not being uniform in character, which is related to the fact that from its foundation, the abbey hired external scribes of differing backgrounds to copy books (Gasparri 1991:126). Two examples of this are manuscripts written at St Victor in the 12th century, indicating the heterogeneous appearance of the books produced in the abbey:¹¹⁹ Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) MS Lat. 14406, a gloss on

¹¹⁸ Arne Odd Johnsen (1951:253) suggests that it was Øystein who, filled with enthusiasm after his own stay in Paris, encouraged Eirik and the two namesakes Tore to study at St Victor. For the former, this would preclude the possibility that he was a canon in Paris already by the middle of the century, a notion Johnsen does not put stock in. However, it is perhaps not necessary to make Øystein the sole instigator of the clergymen's stay at St Victor, especially not given Abbot Ernis's Norwegian family connections.

¹¹⁹ See also the examples provided in Giraud and Stinemann (2010).

Jeremiah;¹²⁰ and BNF MS Lat. 14440, the second part of Haymo's commentary on Paul's epistles.¹²¹ The first of these, BNF 14406, has the glossed text in a column in the middle of the page with the commentary next to it as well as interlinear glosses. There are paragraph marks in the same colour as the script, and coloured initials. The script has an "upright" aspect, not entirely dissimilar to the lectionary fragment discussed in Chapter 3.2.2 and the northern French manuscripts compared to it. The second St Victor manuscript, BNF 14440, while also "French-looking" is different in style to BNF 14406: for instance, the script is more compressed, the text (commentary only) is laid out in two equal columns, and the capitals are touched with red (as supposed to written in red or blue ink). The illuminated initials on the first pages of both manuscripts are also quite different from one another in colours and style, and – at least in my view – it is difficult to say which is the most "representative" of its place of origin.

Erring on the side of prudence, I have not suggested a specific St Victor origin for any of the fragments I have studied (see Chapter 6 below), but I would argue that the historical context of Norwegian students in Paris would at least explain the presence in Norway of fragments from such books as Stephen of Tournai's *Summa* (see Chapter 4.2.5), to name but one example.¹²²

Having sketched the main picture of the Norwegians in St Victor, we will now consider a piece of evidence of contact between Norway and France beyond Paris. The evidence in question is a manuscript from Anchin, written in the late 12th century and containing an early version of the *Passio Olavi* as well as a passage from William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. As argued by Lars Boje Mortensen

¹²⁰ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84429108?rk=21459;2>, accessed on 2 August 2016.

¹²¹ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525009948?rk=21459;2>, accessed on 2 August 2016.

¹²² Françoise Gasparri (2001:276–278) distinguishes between two main groups of St Victor manuscripts: "manuscripts de scriptorium" and "manuscripts de travail". The latter are utilitarian manuscripts containing texts one needed for one's studies. One could imagine the Norwegian students making such crude copies for their own use; cf. the question of the pawning of books above. If fragments from such books exist in the NRA collection, however, they are likely to go "under the radar" for a scholar looking for French-produced manuscripts.

(2000a), the text, while copied in Northern France, probably derives from a Norwegian source.

Anchin is situated in Northern France, in the region of Picardy which overlaps with the traditional region of Flanders. As suggested by Mortensen (2000a:173), this might very well have been a natural stop for Norwegians on their way to Paris. In fact, we have historical evidence that Norwegians would travel through Picardy during this period. The following is a letter from the bishop of Soissons, Hugh of Champfleury, to the provost of Chaumont, mentioning Norwegian clerics travelling through France (Johnsen 1939:101–102, 107):¹²³

Cappam, quam clerici de Norwegia per fines vestros transeuntes in vadio dimiserunt, mandamus et precamur ut causa nostri ipsis liberam dimittatis. Nec enim jure quidquam ab eis debet exigi qui peregre in orationes profecti nihil secum venale tulerunt. (“We send the cloak left behind as pledge by the Norwegian clerics travelling to your lands, and beseech you to pass it on for our sake. For by rights nothing should be extorted from them, who setting out as pilgrims in prayer bring with them nothing to sell”, translation mine)

While there are several places named Chaumont in France, Johnsen (1951:249) identifies the town in question as Chaumont-sur-Marne, which is situated in the Champagne region, south-east of Paris. The clerics in question thus seem to be pilgrims travelling through France on their way to Rome, and the letter must have been written between 1159, when Hugh was appointed bishop, and 1172, his last year as royal chancellor (Johnsen 1939:102).¹²⁴ Soissons, where Hugh is writing from, is situated in Picardy, around 100 km north of Paris, but to the south of Anchin.¹²⁵ In

¹²³ This letter is also printed in Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, tome 196; online version here: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:pld&rft_dat=xri:pld:ft:all:Z400095050 (accessed on 10 May 2016).

¹²⁴ Johnsen suggests that the bishop’s concern for the pilgrims was related to his own ties to St Victor, where he might have made the acquaintance of Norwegians by this time (Johnsen 1939:102).

¹²⁵ St Victor may not have been the only Augustinian houses the Norwegians familiarised themselves with: Soissons also had an Augustinian abbey, Saint Jean-des-Vignes, founded in 1076. <http://www.ville-soissons.fr/decouverte-ville-soissons/visite-ville-soissons/patrimoine-de-soissons-exceptionnel/>, accessed on 11 May 2016.

general, the area would see a number of foreigners travelling to Paris or even further south.

The Anchin manuscript of the *Passio Olavi* is kept in Douai, under the signature Douai BM, ms. 295. As well as being one of the earliest textual witnesses to the legend, it contains an excerpt from William of Jumièges concerning St Olav's baptism in Rouen, the same passage referred to in Theodoricus Monachus's *Historia* (see below for a discussion of this work). Mortensen suggests Theodoricus contributed to a version of the *Passio* which included the passage from William, and that this version found its way to Anchin, where it was copied (Mortensen 2000a:185–187).

The *Passio Olavi* manuscript is not the only book from Anchin indicating some contact with Norwegians. A 12th century missal from Anchin, Douai BM, ms. 90, mentions St Olav under 29 July (Leroquais 1924:350, cited in Johnsen 1951:249, note 12). In the same collection there is a 14th century breviary from Anchin, Douai BM, ms. 159, where St Olav is also included in the calendar (Johnsen 1939:110).

In other words, there are at least three manuscripts originating from Anchin showing evidence that the abbey was in contact with Norwegians, two of which manuscripts are from the 12th century, i.e. the period under scrutiny. If the Norwegian travellers gifted their hosts with books, such as a book or a booklet containing the *Passio Olavi*, they could also have acquired books to bring back.

4.1.2 An Augustinian “wave” in Norway

Historical evidence has shown us there were Norwegians in France in the period under study. What influences did these Norwegians bring home with them, and how do books fit into this picture? In this subchapter, I will discuss the “wave” of

Augustinian foundations in the latter half of the 12th century, which has often been attributed to the ties with St Victor (Harðarson 1995:20, Johnsen 1951:253–254).¹²⁶

Given the evidence of Norwegians at St Victor discussed above, a question naturally poses itself: did any of the Augustinian houses in Norway belong to the Victorine congregation? This is an assumption made by several scholars; for instance, Tore Nyberg claims that some of the Norwegian Augustinian convents borrowed their statutes and intellectual traditions from St Victor (Nyberg 1993:69),¹²⁷ whereas Eldbjørg Haug states that it is likely that several of the Augustinian houses in Norway originally were Victorine (Haug 2005:139). If that is true, it might prove relevant to the discussion of intellectual life in Norway in the Middle Ages, given the Victorines' focus on learning. However, I have not been able to unearth proof of a Victorine affiliation for any of the Norwegian Augustinian houses.

Olav Nenseter is open to the possibility that Elgeseter (in Nidaros/Trondheim) and Kastle (in modern-day Western Sweden) were Victorine houses, but concludes against this when it comes to the houses in Western Norway: Jonsklosteret, Utstein, and Halsnøy (Nenseter 2003:32). His main argument is that there are no traces in the sources of contact between these houses and Victorine houses, and also that the Victorine constitutions, the *Liber Ordinis*, were exacting and strict, and there are no indications that the Western Norwegian Augustinian houses followed these rules (Nenseter 2003:33). The strictness of the Victorine *consuetudines* is no reason in and of itself as to why Norwegian convents would not join the congregation, since both Cistercians and Premonstratensians established themselves in Norway – the latter congregation, while also living under Augustine's rule, was notably stricter than that of St Victor (Châtillon 1992:37). An absence of mention of these strict rules is not in

¹²⁶ Gunnar Harðarson's wording makes the number of Victorines in Norway sound higher than it demonstrably was: "Aussi fait-il mentionner le fait que les diocèses de Stavanger et de Hamar avaient des évêques victorines et, à Oslo, on compte au moins un chanoine victorin" (Harðarson 1995:24). He neglects to mention that these bishops are identical to Eirik Ivarsson and Tore of Hamar and the canon to Tore Gudmundsson, all of whom he goes on to discuss independently.

¹²⁷ Nyberg refers to Hans Bekker Nielsen's article on Victorine influence in KLNMM XX:61–63 (1982) and to Jan Lexow's article on Utstein abbey (1987), but I cannot see that either author makes claims as to which, if any, Norwegian convents followed the Victorine statutes.

itself proof of absence. However, Nenseter also points out that Halsnøy was mostly likely founded with the help of Wellow at Grimsby in England, which was not Victorine, and that there are some indications that Wellow and Halsnøy may have remained in contact through the 13th century (Nenseter 2003:46).

In her study of convents in the Nidaros diocese, Kari Birgitte Syrstad discusses the question of whether Elgeseter in Nidaros, which was most likely founded by Archbishop Øystein himself, was part of the Victorine congregation. She points out that there is no evidence in form of letters or other documents that show contact between Elgeseter and any of the convents in the Victorine congregations, but adds that there is little surviving documentation of Elgeseter overall (Syrstad 1999:49).

Besides Elgeseter and the Western Norwegian houses, there was an Augustinian convent, Kastle, located at the town of Konghelle in present-day Sweden. Kastle is generally believed to be the foundation of Archbishop Øystein Erlendsson, who had served in Konghelle as a priest; moreover, a letter from the pope Alexander to Øystein authorises the latter to found an Augustinian convent at Konghelle (DN XVII, 6; Vandvik 1959:69–71). Gustav Storm argued that Øystein could not have founded Kastle, since he would have had difficulty founding a convent so far from Nidaros while being involved in the fight against Sverre Sigurdsson (Storm 1892:91). Instead, he believes Eirik Ivarsson was the founder, pointing to a letter from Abbot William of the Victorine convent of Æbelholt in Denmark to the prior of Kastle, Laurentius, wherein William promises to send the convent a load of malt (DN 6, 2). Eirik and William were indeed close; Eirik was in exile in Denmark from 1190 to 1202, and William wrote at least two letters to the pope on his behalf (DN 6, 3–4).¹²⁸ Presumably, Eirik was losing his eyesight at this point and could not write for himself.

¹²⁸ William came from the Parisian abbey of Ste Geneviève, which according to one list Eirik had taken part in reforming. See Chapter 4.1.1.

Storm's theory of Eirik as the founder has been generally dismissed, although Erik Gunnes, amongst others, has been open to William's letter indicating a shared Victorine affiliation between Kastle and Æbelholt (Gunnes 1996:199). However, it is possible that Eirik continued the groundwork laid by Øystein, either completing the founding itself or using his connections to Æbelholt to recruit canons from there, but this remains conjecture.

In short, there is no evidence of any of the Augustinian houses in Norway belonging to the Victorine congregation apart from Kastle's ties to Æbelholt (and the Victorine Eirik's hypothetical connection to Kastle). The fact that those ties to Æbelholt existed is not proof that Kastle was a Victorine house.¹²⁹

Finally, the cult of St Victor never spread to Norway, and the saint is not commemorated in the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (Gjerløw 1968). If any of the Norwegian convents were indeed part of the Victorine affiliation, one would expect to find traces of the cult of the mother house's patron saint.

Considering what we have seen above about the connections of Øystein Erlendsson and his successors and colleagues to St Victor, one could find it strange that there is no evidence that any of these clergymen tried to establish Victorine houses in Norway. The explanation for the lack of a demonstrable Victorine affiliation in any of the Augustinian convents may simply be that there was no sufficient interest or ability to formalise such an affiliation. There is also the fact that the Victorine congregation seems to mainly have expanded by reforming convents that already existed (Châtillon 1992:39). Perhaps their focus on education and learning, and not the strictness of their rule in itself (see above), is what made an "official" Victorine status untenable for the Norwegian convents.

While there is no proof that any of the convents belonged to the Victorine congregation, one should not discount a Victorine influence on areas pertaining to the

¹²⁹ In a letter from the 15th century, the prior of Kastle places the convent under Æbelholt's authority (DN 16, 54). This is not, however, proof of shared *consuetudines* in the period under study.

Norwegian Church. Arne Odd Johnsen (1955:115) points out that the convent of Elgeseter's location across the river from the Nidaros Dome and its relation with the cathedral form a "conspicuous" parallel to St Victor and Notre-Dame in Paris. This point is reprised by Erik Gunnes (1996:199). According to the late 12th-century saga *Ágrip af Nóreg's konunga sögum*, Øystein had given the convent property, and Syrstad takes this to refer to the convent's founding donation (Syrstad 1999:46, 147–150). As the founder and the donator of property, Øystein had the opportunity to place his convent at a location that would resemble that of his presumed model convent.¹³⁰ It is also interesting to note that the location of an Augustinian house vis-à-vis the cathedral, separated by a body of water, is mirrored by Jonsklosteret and the Christ Church in Bergen, though this might be mere coincidence.¹³¹

St Victor may have left traces on aspects of the liturgy used in Norway. In 1912, Georg Reiss showed similarities between the Olav sequence "Lux illuxit letabunda" and Adam of St Victor's sequences, and suggested the Olav sequence was composed by Archbishop Eirik in the late 12th century, or at least someone of similar education and standing (Reiss 1912:17–18).

The earliest office for St Olav was based on chants from the *commune sanctorum* repertory. In the 12th century, a new office was developed, stylistically different from the old *commune* chants (Hankeln 2012:137). Eyolf Østrem showed in his doctoral study that several of the antiphons in this newer Olav office, as it has survived in manuscript sources, were modelled on already-existing antiphons for St Augustine and St Vincent (Østrem 2001:117). Roman Hankeln (2007) then identified Augustine models for most Olav responsories, and was later able to identify melodies in the Olav office based on chants from the office of St Victor (2012:140).

¹³⁰ Lilli Gjerløw has a similar suggestion, but proposes the Christ Church in Canterbury as the source of Øystein's inspiration (Gjerløw 1961:96–97).

¹³¹ I thank Åslaug Ommundsen for drawing my attention to this.

Such a link between the Olav office and St Victor had already been suggested by Østrem's comparison of two responsories. The Olav responsory "Egregius martyr Olavus", the text of which is borrowed from the *Passio Olavi*, has taken its incipit from a responsory for St Victor and companions found in a Southern French 12th century antiphoner.¹³² The latter responsory has the incipit "Egregius martyr Victor", and it has the same verse as the Olav responsory, "In admiratione aspectus" (Østrem 2001:80). Hankeln then examined the melodies and confirmed an additional musical link, as well as finding that the last antiphoner of the Night Office and three *laudes* antiphons were taken from the St Victor office (Hankeln 2012:140). He interprets the borrowing of melodies as an exegetical device, linking the chant texts together via the music and thus inviting a comparison or connection between them (2012:143–144).¹³³

The final link between Norway and France to be discussed in this subchapter is the *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium*, by an author known as Theodoricus Monachus. This work from the late 12th century, which is dedicated to Archbishop Øystein Erlendsson, chronicles the kings of Norway from Harald Fairhair (late 9th century) to Sigurd Jorsalfare, who died in 1130.

The *Historia* contains several references to Latin culture, to the Bible as well as to philosophers and theologians (Johnsen 1939:48, 50–55). Johnsen also showed the clear correspondence between the works and authors alluded to in the *Historia* and the library of St Victor (1939:56–57).¹³⁴ What is more, the work also contains mentions of specific French place names, an example of which can be found in the very prologue of *Historia*, here in the English translation:

¹³² See the manuscript's page on Cantusdatabase: <http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374050/f-pn-lat-1090>, accessed on 12 May 2016.

¹³³ In addition to the Olav sequence, Reiss also discusses a 15th century manuscript containing a sequence for St Hallvard, the patron saint of Oslo (Reiss 1912:44). He dates the Hallvard sequence to the late 12th or the early 13th century, somewhat younger than the Olav sequence, on which it seemed to have been partly based (1912:48–52). The Hallvard and Olav sequences both show similarities to Adam's sequences, and Arne Odd Johnsen suggests the Hallvard sequence could have been written by Tore Gudmundsson, the later Archbishop, who was a canon at St Hallvard's church in Oslo before being appointed archbishop in 1205 (Johnsen 1949–1951:147). Johnsen also points to Tore's superior, bishop Nikolas, who owned a ship called "the book case" (*Bokskreppa*) and thus seems to have had literary interests (Johnsen 1949–1951:149).

¹³⁴ See Johnsen (1939:15–60) for a discussion of the Norse, classical, patristic, and contemporary European sources used by Theodoricus.

Hugh of blessed memory, canon of Saint Victor in Paris, a man most skilled in every branch of learning, made mention of our people in his chronicle as follows: “The Northmen,” he says, “departed from Nether Scythia” (by which he doubtless means Upper Scythia, which we call Sweden), “and sailed in their fleet to Gaul, and entering the country by the river Seine, they laid everything waste with iron and flame.” Sigebert the monk of Gembloux likewise writes as follows in his chronicle: “The Northmen,” he says, “a most horrible Nordic people, sailed to Gaul in their longships, entered the river Loire and penetrated as far as Tours, devastating everything” (translation by McDougall and McDougall 1998:1–2)

Already here Theodoricus is displaying his familiarity with French authors as well as place names. His reference to (and reverence for) Hugh of St Victor is of obvious interest, but his citation of the chronicle of Sigibert of Gembloux is also telling. This work did exist in St Victor’s library, along with the other works alluded to by Theodoricus, and as Johnsen points out (1939:48–49), Theodoricus’s citations are fairly inaccurate, as if he is citing his own notes or after his memory, not (currently) having access to the work itself, which points to his having studied abroad, rather than having access to a library in Norway.

While Theodoricus’s references may well be a nod to Archbishop Øystein, who as we know had spent time in France, they also reveal the author to be a man familiar with French geography, French writers and authorities, and European learned culture in general. Given that “Tore” is Latinised as “Theodoricus” in the St Victor obituary, and that all signs point to a link between this convent and Theodoricus Monachus, Arne Odd Johnsen concludes that Theodoricus Monachus is likely to have been either Bishop Tore of Hamar or Archbishop Tore of Nidaros, though he is slightly in favour of the latter (Johnsen 1939:93–94). The reason for this is both the underlying negative sentiment in *Historia* against the usurper King Sverre Sigurdsson (whereas Bishop Tore seems to have joined forces with Sverre) and the fact that Tore of Hamar was named as a *canonicus* of St Victor, whereas Tore Gudmundsson was a *frater*. Johnsen

suggests that Theodoricus would have styled himself *canonicus* if that had indeed been the case. If Johnsen is right that the work was written in Nidarholm, before Elgeseter was founded,¹³⁵ there would be no reason for Tore Gudmundsson to style himself *canonicus*, since at that point he would not be a canon of Elgeseter (or the cathedral chapter of Oslo, to which he belonged before becoming Archbishop), neither a former canon of St Victor.

The fact that Theodoricus is styled as “Monachus”, however, is somewhat puzzling if he was indeed not a monk, although it is important to note that he never refers to himself as such. Some scholars have taken the attribution at face value, for instance Peter Foote in his introduction to the translation of *Historia* by David and Ian McDougall – he sees the designation as an argument against Bishop Tore or Tore Gudmundsson’s being identical to Theodoricus (McDougall and McDougall 1998:x). However, the designation may be added later, as it is only found in the incipit and explicit, as pointed out by amongst others Lars Boje Mortensen.¹³⁶

A second explanation is proposed by Arne Odd Johnsen, who cites the example of Jean de Thoulouse, the compiler of the annals of St Victor. In the annals, Jean refers to the inhabitants of the convent as “doctissimis monachis” in one section, although the inhabitants in question were canons (Johnsen 1939:87).¹³⁷ Johnsen proposes this chronology: either Bishop Tore or Tore Gudmundsson, the later Archbishop, stayed in Nidarholm after his return from France, and there he wrote his *Historia*, dedicated to Archbishop Øystein. This would be between 1178 and 1180, before Elgeseter was founded (Johnsen 1939:86). Such a chronology would explain why Theodoricus dedicates a certain amount of attention to the monastery of Nidarholm; it would also

¹³⁵

It seems clear that Elgeseter was founded before Øystein’s exile in England, since the convent existed by 1183, the year when Øystein returned (Gunnes 1996:199). Johnsen (1939:88) believes the convent was founded around 1180, shortly before Øystein’s exile. Syrstad suggests a founding date between 1176 and 1179/80, when Øystein went into exile (Syrstad 1999:46).

¹³⁶ https://wiki.uib.no/medieval/index.php/Theodoricus_Monachus#Biography, accessed on 29 June 2016.

¹³⁷ BNF Ms. Lat. 14368, f. 1223, available online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066761x>, accessed on 29 June 2016.

explain why he would be referred to as a monk, since he was living in the monastic community at the time of writing, and not yet among other canons in Elgeseter (if he was indeed part of the community there, which seems likely) or Oslo. All in all, the “Monachus” designation is not enough to disprove the possibility that the *Historia* was written by either Bishop Tore or Archbishop Tore Gudmundsson.

If Tore Gudmundsson is indeed identical to the historian Theodoricus Monachus, his authorship of the Hallvard sequence would be another indication of his affinity for writing. Moreover, if he wrote his *Historia* in Nidarholm, this is not only evidence of a “boom” of literature in Øystein’s circles in the 1160s and 1170s, but also indicates that the monastery of Nidarholm was part of this environment. There was no hard-and-fast division between ecclesiastical spheres at the time, just as there was no hard-and-fast division between the clergy and the lay elite (Mortensen 2000b:134–135).

We have seen evidence of various forms of Victorine and/or French influence in the above, on liturgy, music, and historical works. The question is now who brought all these influences to Norway. Were they simply a select few, those individuals of high-ranking Norwegian families we have discussed above? Or did “native” Frenchmen find their way to Norway in this period?

An 1169 letter from the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, to the bishop Stephen of Meaux, who was at the time in Rome, reveals that Archbishop Øystein had two clerics named Godfrey and Walter in his service (*Regesta Norvegica* 1, 126).¹³⁸ Thomas recommends these two as “envoys of our venerable brother the archbishop of Trondheim” (Duggan 2012:28). As well as testifying to Øystein’s integration in an international network of high-ranking and powerful clergymen, the letter also reveals that he had foreigners in his service, for “Godefridus” and “Walterius” are not names normally found amongst native Norwegians in this period (Gunnes 1995:134, 136). Anne Duggan (2012:28) refers to them as Anglo-

¹³⁸ The *Regesta Norvegica* is available online here: http://www.dokpro.uio.no/dipl_norv/regesta_felt.html, accessed on 11 August 2016.

Norman.¹³⁹ However, the Latinised form “Walterius” does not preclude a northern French origin, as the initial “w” was kept in many varieties of Picard (as opposed to the G which became standard in French, cf. “Gauthier”, “Guillaume”, “guerre”).¹⁴⁰

There are no known sources explicating how these two clerics came to be in Øystein’s service. Could he have met them in Paris during his stay there? The idea that St Victor “donated” canons for the founding of convents in Norway has been suggested amongst others by Knut Helle (1993:113). Certainly, it would be difficult to establish an Augustinian house without a basic number of educated canons, and Øystein would find it useful to employ clerics who had both learning and language skills.

In the above, we have considered and rejected the possibility that any of the Norwegian Augustinian convents belonged to the congregation of St Victor. This does not entail that the convents would lack any ties to France, as we have seen from the evidence of liturgical music, influences on Theodoricus’s historical work, and historical records documenting foreigners in Øystein’s service, acting as messengers between the Archbishopric and important ecclesiastical centres and personages in Europe. I would argue that the Augustinians, along with the secular clergy, were important links between Norway and France in this period, and that this, together with the Augustinians’ general focus on learning, means they played a large part in bringing French-made books to Norway.

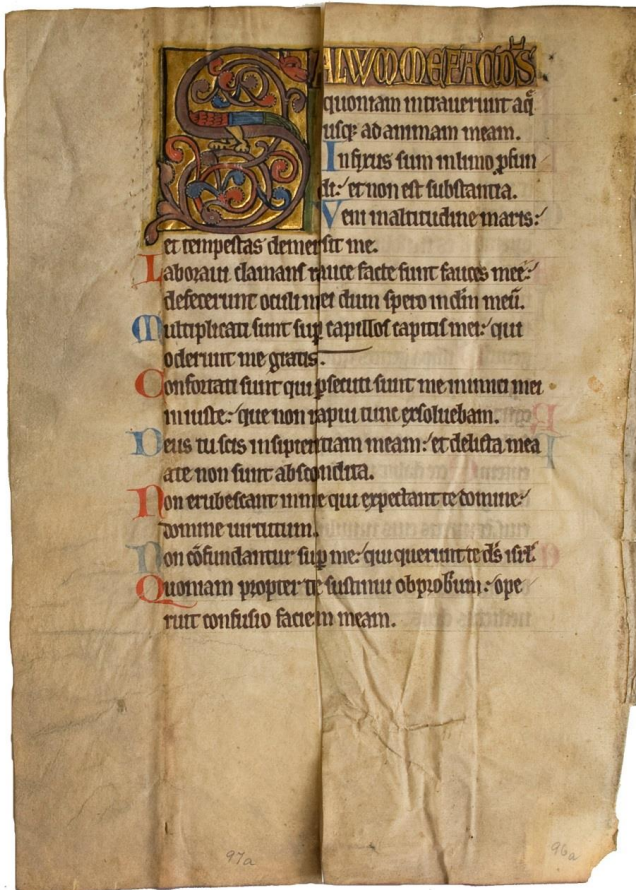
¹³⁹ Duggan has earlier considered the two clerics as of English origin based on their names (Duggan 2000:1004–1005, note 4), citing Erik Gunnes (apparently from personal communication). However, these names were also used in France during this period; see for example the knight Godefroy de Bouillon (1058–1100) or the monk and poet Gauthier de Coincy (1178–1236). In the same note, Duggan suggests that Godfrey and Walter are identical to the clerics in the letter by Hugh of Champfleury (see Chapter 4.1.1). Considering that Hugh refers to them as “de Norwegia” and not “Norwegiensis”, i.e. that he may be referring to the starting point of their journey rather than their nationality, this seems to me quite possible.

¹⁴⁰ See Louis Brébion’s *Étude philologique sur le nord de la France (Pas-de-Calais, Nord, Somme)* (Paris, 1907), p. 192. Available online: https://archive.org/stream/tudephilologiq00bruoft/tudephilologiq00bruoft_djvu.txt, accessed on 21 July 2016.

4.2 From Flanders to Paris: selected fragments

Considering the historical evidence examined in Chapter 4.1, we may tentatively formulate the following hypothesis: the centres of book production we might expect to find reflected in the Norwegian fragment material are situated in the northern part of France, where travellers would pass by on their way to Rome, as well as Paris. In the following, we will study more closely some fragments that do indeed seem to have been produced in these areas.

4.2.1 The Flemish Dragon Psalter



This psalter has survived as twenty-eight fragments from twenty-two leaves, split on two envelopes: 96, 2–27¹⁴¹ and 97, 1–2. It was a one-column book, with a format of approximately 26.5 x 18.5 cm and a written space of 17.5 x 11 cm. With lacunae, the fragments contain Psalms 33 to 142. Two larger initials decorated in gold, red, blue, and ochre survive: the Q for Psalm 51, *Quid gloriaris* (97, 1), and the S for Psalm 68, *Salvum me fac* (97, 2; pictured above along with 96a, which is from the same page). The large initials are surrounded by tiny holes, presumably for the use of curtains intended to protect the gold (Sciacca 2007:181). There are also a number of smaller initials in gold, green, and ochre, as well as red/blue-alternating large capitals.

The origin of this psalter, written around 1200, is discussed by Åslaug Ommundsen (2013b:286), who suggests it could be either made in a small English scriptorium, or in some region where English influence would be notable, such as the Low Countries or Scandinavia. Michael Gullick suggests “Low Countries or Flanders” with a question mark (Gullick 2015). This opinion is shared by Patricia Stirnemann, who points to the decorated initial pictured above and its characteristic traits – the rinceaux and leaf forms, as well as the head of the dragon and the three-coloured wing, all characteristic of manuscripts from Bruges and Ghent at the time (Stirnemann 2015). However, other traits of the manuscript are typically English, such as the green frame, the initials, and the brown ink (Ommundsen 2013, Stirnemann 2015).

While the fragment displays more typically English traits than French ones, with the exception of a more typical northern French ampersand (Stirnemann 2015), its Flemish origin means it is of interest to us. We have already shown that there is historical evidence of Norwegians travelling through Picardy on their way to Paris (or Rome). To get to Picardy or Northern France, it was far easier and more convenient to disembark on the French or Flemish coast than to travel over land through Denmark. The version of the *Passio Olavi* found in the Anchin manuscript, which

¹⁴¹ Fragment 96, 1, while placed in the same envelope as 96, 2–27, has a similar format and hand, but has been identified as not being from the same codex on stylistic grounds (Ommundsen 2013b:286).

most likely came from a Norwegian exemplar, indicates that the Norwegians brought with them books of their own – it is not implausible that they would bring books home with them as well.

Psalters make up around a third of the surviving Norwegian codices in Latin (Haugen and Ommundsen 2010b:29, including note 11). The high number is not surprising, as psalters were used by readers from all walks of life, from monks and nuns to lay people, and trying to pin them on a specific institution would be fruitless. However, given the relatively high standard of this psalter, with its gold-decorated initials, it seems not to have been a simple book for everyday use. While it does not quite measure up to the standards of, for example, the Christina Psalter, it is still likely to have been owned by a high-standing member of Norwegian society – though whether this would be a cleric or a lay(wo)man is impossible to say.

The fragments registered under the signature of NRA Lat. Frag. 96 were used as bindings on accounts from within the *len* of Bratsberg: Bamble, Bratsberg, Telemark, Langesund, Skien. These were *fogderi*, that is to say smaller administrative units. The accounts were all from the period 1627–1634. The fragments registered under Lat. Frag. 97, 1–2, on the other hand, were used in accounts from Nordlandene, that is to say Northern Norway. Ommundsen notes that this is “slightly surprising” and that if it were not for this northern provenance of Lat. Frag. 97, 1–2, one could reasonably assume that the psalter had been used locally within the *len* of Bratsberg (Ommundsen 2013b:286).

However, looking at the 17th century context, it might not be so surprising after all. The governor of Bratsberg from 1620 to 1640 was Eiler Urne (Øvrebø 1982:302). His brother-in-law,¹⁴² Preben von Ahnen, was governor of Nordlandene from 1646 to 1669 (Øvrebø 1983:380). It is not so much of a stretch to suggest that Eiler Urne donated some of his superfluous parchment material to his brother-in-law, knowing it would prove useful for the binding of accounts.

¹⁴² https://nbl.snl.no/Preben_Von_Ahnen, accessed on 3 May 2016. He was married to Else Urne, Eiler’s sister.

Accepting this possibility, the Flemish psalter is a good example of how pieces from the same codex being found in different regions might have a logical explanation, if one takes the historical context into view. In fact, one might say that just like in the Middle Ages, the elite in the 16th/17th centuries were interconnected and contributed to the travels of books that way – this time for their material and not for their content.

4.2.2 An antiphoner in Trondheim



Lat. Frag. 863, 1–2 recto, showing the beginning of the Night Office for Wednesday *per annum*

Lat. Frag. 863, 1–8 comes from an antiphoner written in the latter half of the century. It survives in 8 fragments, taken from 3 leaves. The fragments contain parts of the Night Office and Lauds for the Wednesday *per annum*; parts of the Night Office, Lauds, and second Vespers for the Friday *per annum*; parts of the Night Office for the Saturday *per annum*, and the Magnificat/Benedictus antiphons “Deficiente vino” and “Quid mihi et tibi est”, which were used for the Second Sunday after Epiphany.

The fragments 863, 1–2 pictured above came from a bifolio: the seam is to the left of the initial A, and on the other side of the seam musical staves and a couple of letters are visible. The right margin has been trimmed somewhat, but the fragments still give a good impression of the original width of the leaf, which must have been around 200 mm, with the width of the written space approximately 140 mm.

Pricking in both margins is a feature mostly seen in 13th century codices (Derolez 2003:35), which points to a date closer to 1200. The notation seems to be in transition from neumes on staves towards petit-carré.¹⁴³

The book gives a general impression of being made for use and not for display: apart from the coloured initials, there are no decorations, and the script is not elaborate. The “flat-headed” *a*, rounded *d*, and sharp upwards turn of the minim “feet” are details pointing towards a French origin. The scribe seems to prefer the tironian *et* to the ampersand, since there are three instances of the former (all uncrossed) and only one of the latter:



Lat. Frag. 863 (detail)

Interestingly, the ampersand, while not a full “dip-and-curve” shape (see Chapter 3.2.2), seems to have a somewhat similar angle, tilted forward instead of sitting upright on the baseline. Another trait that could point to a Northern French origin is the use of colour: green was uncommon in France at this time, except along the coast from Amiens and northwards to Ghent.¹⁴⁴

The secondary provenance of the fragment is Trondheim 1627 and 1628. It is one of several fragments from antiphoners or graduals with a Trondheim provenance that display signs of French origin.¹⁴⁵ These fragments make up a rather large group:

¹⁴³ I use this term correspondingly to “petit carrés liés” (Bernard and Corbin 1965).

¹⁴⁴ I thank Patricia Stirnemann for this information.

¹⁴⁵ There are also fragments amongst those I classified as Norwegian that have a Trondheim provenance and resemble the French manuscripts; it is possible that these fragments may be local imitations of French models. Lat. Frag. 854, 1–2, used for the binding of an account from Strinda 1639 (the traditional *fogderi* surrounding Trondheim), is such an example. In this case, I decided against a French origin on the basis of the old-fashioned and somewhat clumsy appearance of the script, while recognising that a Norwegian origin cannot be taken for granted. A French model did, however, seem more likely than an English one. Whether fragments such as Lat. Frag. 854, 1–2 are French or Norwegian products modelled on French

amongst all of the fragments from antiphoners and graduals in my corpus, a third of them (8 of 24) have a secondary provenance from Trondheim. Almost all of these are dated to the middle period, i.e. the second half of the 12th century and the first two decades of the 13th. The one exception is Lat. Frag. 853, 1, which is dated to the first half of the 12th century; however, this fragment's date is probably closer to 1150 than 1100 and does as such not represent a real outlier.

Fragment	Book type	Date	Provenance
Lat. Frag. 853, 1	Antiphoner	First half of 12 th c.	Trondheim
Lat. Frag. 859, 1	Antiphoner	Early 13 th century	Trondheim 1612
Lat. Frag. 861, 1–2	Antiphoner	Second half of 12 th c.	Trondheim 1621
Lat. Frag. 862, 1–4	Antiphoner	Ca. 1200	Trondheim 1628 and 1629
Lat. Frag. 863, 1–8	Antiphoner	Late 12 th century	Trondheim 1627 and 1628
Lat. Frag. 864, 1–2	Gradual	Ca. 1200	Trondheim 1621 and 1622
Lat. Frag. 891, 1–2	Antiphoner	Middle of the 12 th c.	Trondheim 1633
Lat. Frag. 914, 1–3 + 1004, 1–2	Gradual	Early 13 th century	Trondheim 1610 and 1611 (914, 1–3)

List of antiphoners and graduals with secondary provenance from Trondheim

The high number of fragments from antiphoners and graduals with a Trondheim provenance is striking. Some of these fragments share similarities in their visual traits: staves in light orange, notation in neumes on lines or petit-carré, text written in black ink – Lat. Frag. 863, 1–8 is a prime example, as is Lat. Frag. 861, 1–2 (Chapter 6.1.53). Pictures of all the fragments listed above are provided in Chapter 6.

exemplars, these fragments still point to a possible French influence in the Trondheim area. See also the example of Lat. Frag. 871, 1–2 in Chapter 1.1.3.

While assuming a primary provenance from a secondary one is problematic, it is tempting to speculate that the high proportion of “French-looking” musical manuscripts in Trondheim is related to the town’s religious institutions, more specifically the cathedral chapter and the convent of Helgeseter.¹⁴⁶ The accounts were bound within a timeframe of two decades (from 1610 to 1633), which might indicate that the manuscripts made up a stack of parchment and were taken from the same collection(s).

Compared to the Flemish Dragon Psalter, the antiphoner Lat. Frag. 863, 1–8 seems like more of an “everyday” book. Its modest size meant it would be unsuitable for collective use at the Office; however, the size also rendered the antiphoner quite practical for a travelling clergyman to bring with him back home.

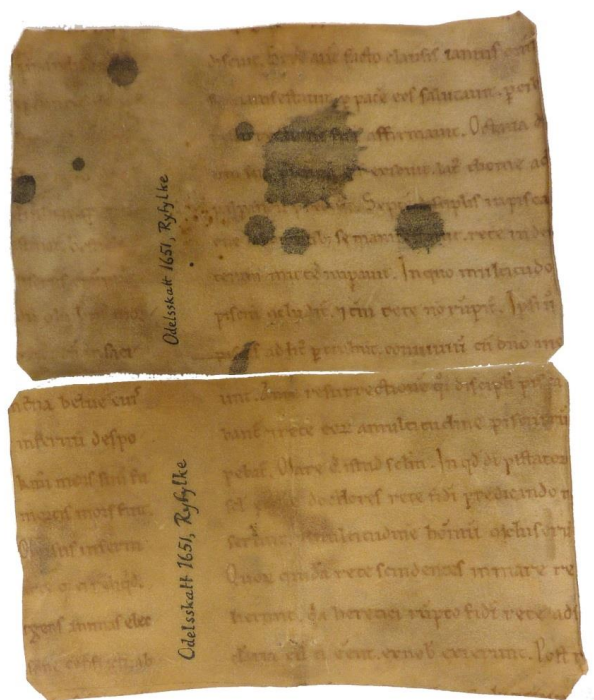
4.2.3 Honorius in Norway

The fragment NRA Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III 6, 1–2 consists of two small pieces of a copy of Honorius Augustodunensis’s *Speculum Ecclesiae*, a collection of homilies intended as a manual for preaching which rapidly became popular after its completion in the 12th century (Hjelde 1990:64–65). The two pieces are from one leaf, containing parts of a homily intended either for the Octave of Easter Sunday or one of the days of the Holy Week.¹⁴⁷

Michael Gullick (2015) dates the fragment to the middle of the 12th century, suggesting a French provenance. This would be on the basis of the script, which is small, neat, and well-executed.

¹⁴⁶ To my knowledge, no inventories of book collections from these institutions survive, or it would have been interesting to compare them to the number of antiphoners in particular.

¹⁴⁷ The text is available here: http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/all/fulltext?ALL=Y&action=byid&warn=N&id=Z700116322&div=7&file=../session/1464281267_28228&SOMQUERY=1&DBOFFSET=136503527&ENTRIES=1&CURDB=pld, accessed on 26 May 2016.



Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III 6, 1–2 (recto, reconstructed)

The influence of *Speculum Ecclesiae* is exemplified in the oldest surviving Old Norse codex, the Homily Book. Both sermons “In inventione sancte crucis” and “In exaltatione sancte crucis” (titled in Latin despite being written in Old Norse) are based in large parts on the *Speculum* (Knudsen 1981:662).¹⁴⁸

The scribe seems to have compiled the Homily Book from various exemplars, given the linguistic variations between the texts (Hægstad 1907:143). As the Homily Book is dated to around 1200, these exemplars must be from the 12th century (Haugen and Ommundsen 2010a:23). The *Speculum* was thus likely to have been known in

¹⁴⁸ Additionally, the *Speculum* may have influenced the themes and symbolism in the so-called “Stave Church” sermon (Knudsen 1981:662). However, this kind of symbolism is common enough in the Middle Ages that a specific inspiration for the sermon would be hard to indicate (Magerøy 1985:97–98). The Homily Book also contains part of another of Honorius’s works, the *Gemma Animae*, in a quire which originated from another book and was inserted into the codex at a later stage (Haugen and Ommundsen 2010a:15–16).

Norway a short time after its completion in the 12th century.¹⁴⁹ The NRA fragment might perhaps stem from one of the earliest copies of the work to arrive in the country.¹⁵⁰

The post-medieval provenance of the fragment is Ryfylke, 1651. Ryfylke is the area to the north-east of Stavanger, and in 1651 it was a *fogderi* under the *len* of Stavanger (Øvrebø 1983:111). The binding of the account may have taken place within Ryfylke, or in the town of Stavanger. If the latter was the case, there is the possibility that the book came from the cathedral chapter's library, or perhaps from the Augustinian abbey of Utstein.

It is generally agreed that the diocese of Stavanger was established in the 1120s during the reign of Sigurd Jorsalfare (Helle 2008:588). The see of the diocese, the town of Stavanger, had a convent dedicated to St Olav, which came into existence before 1160, according to a mention in an English legend from 1172 (Nenseter 2003:34). The convent is last mentioned in the sources in 1236, and its properties seem to have been transferred to Utstein Abbey in the 13th century (Helle 2008:605, see below).

The convent and the cathedral chapter could both be potential owners of *Speculum Ecclesiae*, the latter perhaps even more so as we know of at least one person with connections both to Stavanger and to France: Eirik Ivarsson, the Victorine canon who became bishop of Stavanger by 1171.

A third potential owner is the Augustinian abbey of Utstein, which lay to the north of the town. While the buildings of Utstein are the best preserved of all the Norwegian Augustinian houses, the abbey is in many ways the most mysterious: while all the other Augustinian convents were founded in the latter half of the 12th century, the first mentions of Utstein come from the 1280s, a hundred years later (Nenseter

¹⁴⁹ See Valerie Flint (1988:VII 220–221) for a discussion of the dating of the *Speculum Ecclesiae*.

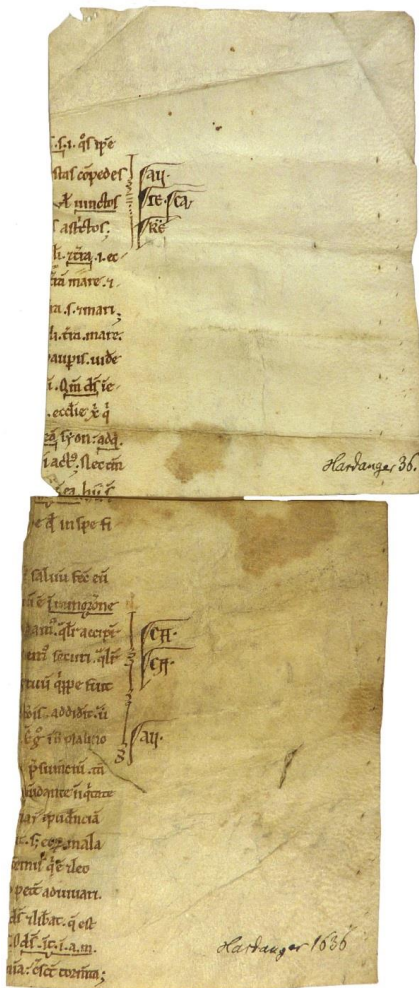
¹⁵⁰ Another example of Honorius's influence in the North is the Old Norse translation of the didactic work *Elucidarius*, which is found in Icelandic manuscripts, but most likely existed in Norway as well (Kolsrud and Valkner 1962:35).

2003:38). The dating of Utstein's foundation to the 13th century has been challenged by Eldbjørg Haug, who suggests that Eirik Ivarsson may have been the abbey's first prior (Haug 2005:131–132). While Eirik's involvement in Utstein hinges on this earlier dating of the convent's foundation, which is not supported by the available historical evidence (Helle 2008:601–602), it is still a possibility that Utstein acquired the book at some point – perhaps at the same time as when it took over St Olav's property?

4.2.4 The Glossed Psalms of Gilbert of Poitiers and Peter the Lombard

One of the earliest non-liturgical books preserved amongst the fragments is a leaf from Gilbert of Poitiers's Glossed Psalms from around 1150. Gilbert's gloss was gradually superseded by Peter the Lombard's commentary (Gross-Diaz 1996:147). Whoever brought the Gilbert book to Norway therefore probably did so not too long after its production, and probably before 1200. In the following, we will look at the fragment of Gilbert's Glossed Psalms, before turning to a fragment of Peter's commentary, copied half a century later.

The fragment of Gilbert's Glossed Psalms, NRA Lat. Frag. 50, 1–2, is dated to the middle of the 12th century. The fragment consists of two pieces from one leaf, including the outer margin and top corner, and some of the text (see picture). The remaining part of the leaf is ca. 175 mm tall and ca. 60 mm in width, the script small, and the parchment thin and supple. The fragments contain Gilbert's glosses from Psalm 68 (below) to the opening of Psalm 70.



Lat. Frag. 50, 1–2 (recto)

In her monograph on Gilbert’s glossed psalms, Theresa Gross-Diaz shows that the format of the manuscript was an integral part of Gilbert’s work, the layout a necessary tool for grasping the content (Gross-Diaz 1996:26–27, 35–65). Gilbert’s Glossed Psalms essentially came in two formats: the *cum textu* one, a two-column layout where the Psalms were written in the inner column and the commentary in the outer one, and the *sine textu* or “catena” format, which consisted of commentary only,

though this would incorporate the Psalms text, citing words and phrases and usually underlining them.¹⁵¹

The general aspect of the manuscript fragment 50, 1–2 resembles the copy of the work in Oxford, Balliol 36.¹⁵² According to the Balliol catalogue, this manuscript is believed to be the book given to Lincoln cathedral by the bishop Robert de Chesney. Robert, who died in December 1166, seems to have been a master of theology in Paris in the 1140s before being appointed to the see of Lincoln (Gross-Diaz 1996:32). Balliol 36 is thus the second earliest known manuscript of Gilbert’s Glossed Psalms datable by external evidence.

Comparing our NRA fragment 50, 1–2 to the Balliol manuscript, more specifically to folios 65v–66r (which contain the same portion of the text), we see that they are quite similar in aspect. The lemmata are underlined in the same colour as the ink, and most of the underscores end in vertical “serifs”, which is also true of some of the underscores of the Balliol manuscript. The tironian *et* is uncrossed in both manuscripts; the Balliol manuscript also uses the ampersand. Both manuscripts contain marginal references to patristic authorities. The NRA fragment has double prickings in the margin, however, which indicates that it came from a *cum textu* manuscript with the (now missing) psalm text in larger script (Ommundsen 2013a:113). The Balliol manuscript, on the other hand, is *sine textu*.

The only psalm incipit in Lat. Frag. 50, 1-2 is that of Psalm 70, which is not included in Gilbert’s cross-index system (Gross-Diaz 1996:158–159), and therefore it is impossible to say whether this cross-index system was employed in the original manuscript the NRA fragments came from.

¹⁵¹ Christopher De Hamel claims that Gilbert did not invent the *cum textu* format himself, but that the Psalms text was reintroduced into the manuscripts after his death (De Hamel 1984:14–27). Gross-Diaz goes against this, showing that the *cum textu* format was not a new invention, but came from commentaries on secular texts (Gross-Diaz 1996:41).

¹⁵² <http://archives.balliol.ox.ac.uk/Ancient%20MSS/ancientmsslist.asp>, accessed on 3 May 2016.

It does not seem too far off to suggest that Robert de Chesney brought the Balliol manuscript with him from Paris to Lincoln. Given the historical evidence of Norwegians in Paris that we have already seen, a similar trajectory can be imagined for the manuscript to which NRA Lat. Frag. 50, 1–2 once belonged.

The post-medieval provenance of the fragment is Hardanger, but the date is lacking. Between 1606 and 1659, Hardanger made up a *len* along with Halsnøy Abbey (Øvrebø 1983:218–227). As we have seen, Halsnøy Abbey was an Augustinian house; according to the 16th century source *Bergens Fundas*, it was founded by the nobleman Erling Skakke in connection with the coronation of his son, King Magnus Erlingsson (Sørliie 1957:85). While the source does not explicitly say so, it is quite possible that the foundation was Archbishop Øystein’s idea, or at least that it was part of the agreement between Erling and the Archbishop (Nenseter 2003:45). Unfortunately there are no preserved documents from Halsnøy from the 12th century, but it is reasonable to assume that the abbey had a collection of books already from its foundation (Ommundsen 2013a:109).

Another possibility is that the book was used in Bergen and that the account in question was bound there. Norwegian scholarly activity in the latter part of the 12th century is usually associated with Nidaros, which was the seat of the archdiocese and which witnessed a considerable literary production (see discussion of *Passio Olavi* and *Historia de antiquitate* above). Nidaros also had a succession of archbishops with ties to Paris: Øystein Erlendsson, Eirik Ivarsson, and Tore Gudmundsson. None of these seems to have worked in Bergen; however, they must have had an active interest in building and bolstering the Church’s organisation in the town, and in strengthening the education of the priests and canons.

In the latter half of the 12th century, there were two Benedictine monasteries in the town: Munkeliv and the nunnery Nonneseter. In addition, there was an Augustinian house, Jonsklosteret, the Abbey of St John. We know even less about this house than the other Augustinian houses in Norway, but it is possible it was intended to assist the cathedral chapter, and it seems to have had close ties to Halsnøy Abbey (Holck,

Lidén, and Økland 2013:133). The convent is only mentioned explicitly as such in a document from 1250 (DN V, 4), but from references in the saga literature, it seems that the abbey's pier existed by 1181 (Nenseter 2003:51).¹⁵³ This fits well with the archaeological evidence; the few remains have been dated to 1160–1200 (Lidén 1994:49). It is therefore traditionally considered part of the “wave” of Augustinian foundations in the latter half of the 12th century (Gunnes 1995:137). Considering the Augustinian focus on learning and the ties to France discussed throughout this chapter, Jonsklosteret might seem a more likely candidate to own a book by Gilbert than the Benedictine houses, albeit less so than Halsnøy, given that the latter house was in a better position to buy books.¹⁵⁴

Another possibility could be that the book was not owned by an institution, but by an individual. We have no specific mentions of any clerics or other persons from Bergen or Halsnøy who studied in France in this period, unlike what is the case for Nidaros, but this is not to say they did not exist. What is perhaps a possibility is that the book came from France via Nidaros, either as a gift or because the owner sold it, or because the owner brought it with him.

The fragment NRA Lat. Frag. 47, 1–2, dated to the early 13th century, is from a copy of Peter the Lombard's gloss on the Psalms, which came to replace the commentary by Gilbert. NRA 47, 1–2 gives an overall more lavish impression, being decorated with initials and capitals in colours. The fragment consists of two conjoint pieces almost the width of a leaf, measuring ca. 90 mm in height and 240 mm in width. The text is laid out in two columns, the glossed text against the left-hand side of the column with the glosses surrounding it on three sides, a format which became ubiquitous towards the end of the 12th century (De Hamel 1984:22). Each column is ca. 80 mm wide.

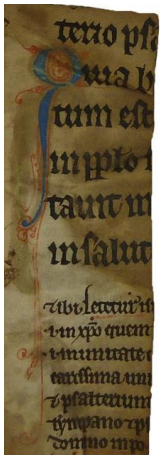
¹⁵³ In 1208 Ingebjørg, King Magnus Erlingsson's daughter, stayed at “St John's church”, which implies that the convent existed by this time, being referred to as a “church” in everyday usage. Olav Nenseter suggests Ingebjørg's stay at the church is another indication that the convent was founded by Erling Skakke, since it seems to be favoured by the supporters of King Magnus and the Archbishop (Nenseter 2003:52)

¹⁵⁴ For an account of Halsnøy's wealth in the Middle Ages, see Nysæter (2013).



Lat. Frag. 47, 1–2 (verso)

The initials of the fragment are alternating blue with red flourishes and red with blue flourishes, with one larger L in blue, red, and gold. Blue and red capitals alternate in the commentary script, facilitating navigation within the text. A sign pointing towards France as the place of origin are the many instances in the glossary of the upper lobe of the letter *a* being closed, something which becomes standard after 1300 but is found in many French manuscripts before that time (Derolez 2003:84). The clusters of “berries” or small circles on the antennas (depicted below) is a typical trait of the first decades of the 13th century (Stirnemann 1990:64).



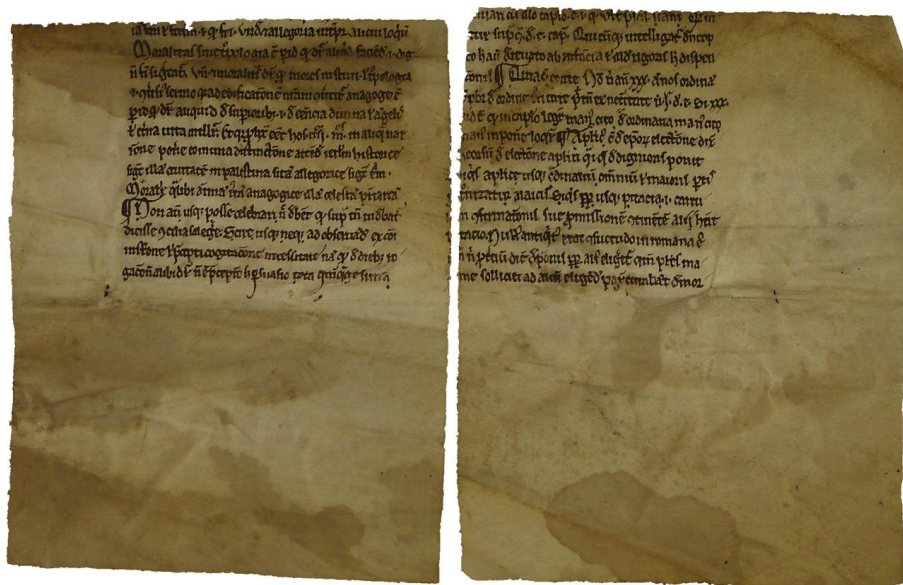
Lat. Frag. 47, 2 (detail)

The fragment was used on an account of Romsdalen, a *fogderi* north in the *len* of Bergenshus (the centre of which was the town of Bergen), close to the border of the

len of Trondheim. Both Bergen and Trondheim/Nidaros had institutions that could have owned such a book (cf. discussion above). In the case of this fragment, it is interesting that the manuscript was dismembered despite its relative lavishness – as is the case with the Flemish Dragon Psalter, the gilded initials and good quality did not keep the book from being seen as more useful for binding material than as an object of art. This fact may be an indication that books of this quality were not, in fact, such rarities in post-medieval Norway, at least not from the account binders' point of view.

4.2.5 Stephen of Tournai

Another witness of 12th century scholarly works finding their way to Norway is a fragment of Stephen of Tournai's *Summa in decretum Gratiani*, NRA Lat. Frag. 159, 1–5. The fragment consists of five pieces, one bifolium and four smaller fragments. Two of the smaller fragments are conjoint:



Lat. Frag. 159, 4–5

The bifolium has been preserved in full page size, measuring 310 mm in height and 210 mm in width, with a two-column layout. The columns measure approximately 250 x 65 mm. The hand is small and neat, with rounded *ds* and uncrossed tironian *et*.

The surviving fragments are without decoration, and the paragraph marks are done in the same ink as the text. The fragments contain the distinctions 3–5, 7, 17–20, and 21.

As a Victorine, Stephen of Tournai is interesting from our perspective. He was born at Orleans in 1128 and died in 1203 at Tournai, where he had been appointed bishop in 1192 (Wauters 1878:721). Before this, he was the abbot of the Victorine house of Ste Geneviève in Paris – the same convent Eirik Ivarsson according to one source helped reform (see above). It is not impossible that he may have met one or more of the Norwegian clerics in person.¹⁵⁵

Patricia Stirnemann (2015) compared the fragment to a contemporary manuscript of Stephen's work, Troyes BM ms. 640.¹⁵⁶ The Troyes manuscript, which is similar in size to the NRA manuscript but more embellished in form, was written in the 1170s.¹⁵⁷ If this is also the case for the book the NRA fragments come from, we should not exclude the possibility that it was brought home by one of the Norwegians visiting St Victor. Of the ones whose names we know, we can exclude Øystein Erlendsson, whose stay at the abbey took place in the early 1160s, and Eirik Ivarsson, who was appointed bishop in Stavanger by 1171. We may perhaps also exclude Geirmund, Ernis's nephew, unless he did go back to the abbey to study (and later returned to Norway).

There is the possibility, however, that the book was produced and acquired at the same time as either Tore Gudmundsson or Bishop Tore of Hamar (or both of them) stayed at St Victor – and of course, the book may have been brought to Norway by someone else entirely. In any case, the book was most likely acquired in the late 12th or early 13th century. In 1210 Johannes Teutonicus wrote a commentary on Gratian

¹⁵⁵ Erik Gunnes (1974:120) suggested this might have been the case with Archbishop Øystein Erlendsson, who stayed in St Victor around 1160, i.e. about the time when the *Summa* was written.

¹⁵⁶ See Kuttner (1955:429-448) for a list of known textual witnesses. The NRA fragment is listed on page 441.

¹⁵⁷ The online catalogue dates Troyes MS 640 to the 13th century: https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www_main_cls?p=*&v=c97386a2-914a-40c2-bd8d-df4c273175e6&t=1463663487841&rtisearch=1&searchProfile=Manuscrits#searchTerm=MS%20640&searchFilter=9b120d62-a067-4366-8ce6-9c810468cdaa, accessed 16 May 2016.

which would become the Ordinary Gloss (Clanchy 2007:200). A Norwegian student of law in the middle or late 13th century would most likely want a book containing the newest state-of-the art commentary, which Stephen's *Summa* would not be at this point.

In this vein, we should note that Norwegian travellers are quite likely to have passed by Tournai, where Stephen was bishop from 1192 to 1203, on their way south. It has earlier been suggested that Norwegians would bring home books not only from Paris itself, but also from the regions in Northern France and Flanders. Stephen himself stayed in contact with both St Euverte and Ste Geneviève, his former convents, and he took a great interest in foreigners, including in Philip Augustus's rejected bride Ingeborg of Denmark (Wauters 1878:722, 724). Norwegians' interest in Stephen and vice versa could stem from the common ties to the Victorines in Paris or from influences picked up in Tournai, or both.

The *Summa* is a work of canon law, a commentary on Gratian's decretals, and therefore a work of obvious interest for a high-ranking clergyman in Nidaros. While it is impossible to prove for certain that the book was in use in Trondheim in the Middle Ages, the secondary provenance of the fragments may offer some clues.

According to an inscription on the bifolium, it was used for Steen Bille's accounts for Jamtland and Herjedalen, 1604–1605. Jamtland and Herjedalen were at this time part of Norway and of Trondheim *len*, where Steen Bille was governor from 1601 to 1613 (Øvrebø 1983:238).¹⁵⁸ In addition to the bifolium, there are four small fragments. Two of these bear the inscription of Strinda 1633.¹⁵⁹ Strinda is the traditional area including and surrounding Trondheim, and was a *fogderi* in 1633; at this time Oluf Parsberg was governor of Trondheim *len* (Øvrebø 1983:267). Since Strinda *fogderi*

¹⁵⁸ While part of Norway, Jamtland and Herjedalen still belonged to the archdiocese of Uppsala, not to Nidaros. There is therefore a theoretical possibility that Swedish liturgical manuscripts may have ended up in Trondheim. However, if the question is whether a French fragment came to Jamtland from Trondheim or from other parts of today's Sweden, I consider the former to be more likely given the geography.

¹⁵⁹ I interpret the lack of an inscription on the final two fragments as their coming from the same account as the two "Strinda" ones – presumably the archivist who removed the fragments found it unnecessary to label all of them, since they would be put in the same envelope.

surrounded Trondheim, it is likely that the binding of the *fogderi*'s accounts took place in Trondheim.

This is corroborated by the use of the bifolium as binding for the Jamtland and Herjedalen accounts, especially given that the bifolium was used for bindings almost twenty years before the rest of the fragments. One can easily imagine the governor in Trondheim keeping a stock of parchment material gathered locally to use as bindings, which was then passed on along with the *len*. The smaller fragments may have started their life as binding material as bifoliums (for use on material which was not sent to Copenhagen), and then cut up and reused as the parchment resources dwindled.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have looked at the historical evidence of Norwegians in France in the period from 1152/1153 and until 1217, as well as the evidence of French influence in Norway in the same period. The case studies of fragments, remnants of French manuscripts dating to the period in question, have been used as examples of how this contact and influence manifested. Both the likely origin of the books acquired (Flanders, Northern France, Paris) and their genres – learned books as well as liturgical ones – highlight the contours sketched by the historical evidence: the contours of an image of clerics travelling through the north of France and acquiring books en route as well as in Paris. These books would then serve different purposes upon return: as a fine decorated psalter, as an antiphoner made for everyday use, as a theological work to edify oneself or others, as a work of law to consult when working to develop and organise a church that was still, at this point, in its youth.

5. King Håkon's reign and legacy: 1217–1319

Håkon IV Håkonsson (r. 1217–63), King of Norway for almost half a century, has in many ways come to symbolise the period of stability and prosperity that followed the unrest and strife of the 12th and early 13th centuries.¹⁶⁰ This period saw a surge of diplomatic contacts between Norway and the French court, which would manifest both as political alliances as well as in aspects of French courtly culture finding their way to Norway.

King Håkon is described in the sagas as having a lively interest in literature and reading.¹⁶¹ Of particular interest to the present study, Håkon is mentioned as having commissioned the translation of five romances from Old French into Old Norse, and other texts may have been translated at his behest as well (Eriksen 2010:193–194).¹⁶² In addition to this, he is thought to have commissioned the great didactic work *The King's Mirror*, which was written around 1250 (Bagge 2000:vii). As is the case with the Old French romances, the *Mirror* is of interest to the present study since it recommends learning French as well as Latin for those who want to get ahead in life:

ok ef þú vilt verða fullkominn i fróðleik, þá nemdu allar mállýzkyr, en allra helzt latinu ok völsku, þviat þær tungur ganga viðast (Keyser, Munch, and Unger 1848:6) “And if you want to achieve perfect wisdom, then make sure you learn all languages, but most of all Latin and French, because those tongues are most widely known” (translation mine)

The identity of the *Mirror*'s author is not known, but he seems to have been a learned clergyman and part of the king's circle (Bagge 2001:134). A more implicit sign of French influence in the *Mirror* can be found in its use of imagery from the writings of

¹⁶⁰ See for instance https://nbl.sn.no/H%25C3%25A5kon_4_H%25C3%25A5konsson, accessed on 30 June 2016.

¹⁶¹ See for instance the depiction of the king on his deathbed, where he had his men read to him, first in Latin and then Old Norse (*Håkon Håkonssons saga*, chapter 329).

¹⁶² The introduction of French vernacular literature to the Norwegian court in the 13th century has been the subject of some recent studies; see for instance Budal (2009) on Marie de France's *Lais* (*Strengleikar*) and Eriksen (2010) on the *Chanson d'Elye* (*Elis saga*). For a more general overview of the translation activity at Håkon's court, see Kramarz-Bein (2015).

Hugh of St Victor, more specifically in its representation of the four virtues Truth, Placidity, Justice, and Mercy as the daughters of God (Molland 1974).¹⁶³

Among the few remaining codices from medieval Norway, three of them can be tied to France by origin or language: a psalter, a Bible, and an Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, a chronicle of the crusades. Unlike most of the NRA fragments, these three books are all of high quality and richly illuminated, which doubtless contributed to their survival. At the same time, they are representative of the same manuscript culture, and their presence in medieval Norway testifies to the many of the same cultural, intellectual, and political connections as do the fragments.

The psalter is the book known as the Christina Psalter, which was made in Paris between 1224 and 1234 (Vidas 2006:93) and belonged to King Håkon Håkonssons's daughter Kristina. The Bible is a French Bible of high quality from around 1250, known as Aslak Bolt's Bible after the Archbishop who acquired it from the chapter in Nidaros in the 15th century (Holm-Olsen 1990:134). The William of Tyre translation was probably made in Antioch and was owned by Isabella Bruce, the Queen of Eirik Magnusson. These three codices and their possible pathways to Norway will be discussed below.

There is also archaeological evidence from this period which testifies to contacts between France and Norway. Like the manuscripts and the fragments, these are tangible examples of the contact which is evidenced elsewhere in the historical sources, and will therefore be discussed separately.

Unlike the earlier periods, the majority of fragments in the corpus dated to this period are from non-liturgical books (14 out of 25). A selection of these, representing theology, law, and medicine, are discussed in Chapter 5.2.

¹⁶³ Both Einar Molland (1974) and Mattias Tveitane (1972) believe it possible that the use of Hugh's allegory in the *King's Mirror* represents an independent extrapolation, although neither excludes a lost Continental source. Hugh himself does not refer to the virtues as sisters or God's daughters; in Jewish tradition, from which the motive derives, the virtues are referred to as angels (Molland 1974:57).

5.1 French-Norwegian alliances and cultural influences

The English monk Matthew Paris claims in his *Chronica Majora* that in 1247 he brought a letter from King Louis IX of France to King Håkon IV Håkonsson wherein Louis asks Håkon to join him on his crusade and offers him leadership (DN 19, 244). While Håkon did not take Louis up on the offer, the 13th century saw an increase of political alliances between the Norwegian royal families and rulers in other parts of Europe, leading to a corresponding increase of European cultural impulses.

In 1258, King Håkon IV Håkonsson's daughter Kristina visited the court in Paris on her way to Spain (see below). According to the legend *De spinea corona*,¹⁶⁴ Håkon's son, King Magnus Lagabøte, was given a splinter of the Holy Crown by Louis's son, King Philip III. Archbishop Jon Raude, who was present at the second council in Lyon, brought the relic home from France in 1274, and Magnus had a church erected in its honour (Storm 1880:XXXXV–VI).¹⁶⁵ This church, which was dedicated to the Apostles and replaced an earlier church in wood, no longer exists.

Magnus's son, King Håkon V, continued to cultivate the connections between his kingdom and France.¹⁶⁶ In 1304 the French king Philip IV gave him two precious relics containing a splinter of the Holy Crown and a finger joint from King Louis IX, Philip's grandfather, who had been canonised as a saint (Johnsen 1965:151–152). These relics were received in France – more specifically, at the Château Thierry in Picardy – by Norwegian envoys (Johnsen 1965:153, 156). In return, a carved drinking horn which used to be kept in Sainte-Chapelle may have been a gift from the Norwegian king (Koht 1927–29). Håkon V's choice to commission an exclusive seal

¹⁶⁴ On this legend, see https://wikihost.uib.no/medieval/index.php/De_spinea_corona, accessed on 30 June 2016.

¹⁶⁵ Arne Odd Johnsen interprets the erection of the church as modelled on Louis IX's building of Sainte-Chapelle over the Holy Crown relic given to him by Jean de Brienne and Baldwin II (Johnsen 1973:34–35). Johnsen argues that a similar inspiration lies behind Håkon's choice to keep the relics given to him by Philip IV in the new church dedicated to St Mary in Oslo (1973:35); Håkon would thus have two "Sainte-Chapelles" in his kingdom.

¹⁶⁶ See Johnsen (1973) for a fuller discussion of the diplomatic alliances between Norway and France during this period, including the treatises between Norway, Scotland, and France from 1295. The magnate Audun Huggleiksson, who had been sent to Paris on the king's behalf, played a key role in this context.

in France a little before 1305 is another indication of this political alliance (Johnsen 1973:19).

Håkon V seems to have had an interest in French books as well: amongst the liturgical books mentioned in his will, there is a breviary “noviter Parisiis conscripto” (DN IV, 128; Holm-Olsen 1990:139). Moreover, he commissioned the first part of the Old Norse Bible translation with commentary, *Stjórn*, an undertaking which possibly was inspired by the French king Louis IX’s commissions of the *Specula* compiled by Vincent of Beauvais (Bagge 2001:112). In doing so, Håkon was arguably following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Håkon IV Håkonsson.

5.1.1 Traces of French cultural influence in Norway: three lead crosses and a gold ring

In addition to the traces of French influence in the shape of works that either were translated into Old Norse or inspired similar works in the Norwegian language, there are some archaeological remnants from this period which deserve notice. The first of these is the existence of three lead crosses, two found in the old diocese of Stavanger and one in Hardanger. These crosses are interesting to our study because they contain inscriptions of hymns of French origin.

Two of these lead crosses, Madla 248 and Bru 263,¹⁶⁷ contain inscriptions from a hymn which is otherwise not known in the Nordic countries, “Deus pater piissime”. Lilli Gjerløw considers it most likely that the poem was introduced to the Stavanger diocese in a manuscript belonging to the cathedral chapter (Gjerløw 1955:85). She identifies two traditions for this poem, one stemming from an 11th century codex now in Rome, and one stemming from a 12th century manuscript from Corbie in Northern France (Gjerløw 1955:94–96).

¹⁶⁷ These signatures are based on the numbers in Olsen and Liestøl (1954:227–237, 278–288). The Bru 263 cross was found alongside a smaller one, Bru 262, which is not relevant in this context.

In addition to “Deus pater piissime”, the lead cross Bru 263 contains inscriptions related to the sequence “Alma chorus domini”, whereas Madla 248 contains the antiphon “Ecce crucem domini” (Gjerløw 1955:93–94).¹⁶⁸ Whereas the latter antiphon is fairly widespread (it was used, for instance, several places in the *Ordo Nidrosiensis* (Gjerløw 1968:462)) and therefore of no particular relevance here, the sequence “Alma chorus domini” must have come to Norway from Northern France, as is the case with another sequence found on a Norwegian lead cross, “Christe salvator” (Gjerløw 1955:102).

“Alma chorus Domini” has left traces in Norway and Iceland, for instance on a manuscript fragment, Lat. Frag. 251, which is suggested to be of French origin (Ommundsen 2007a:114–121; Ommundsen 2007b:133–136; Gullick 2015; see also Chapter 6.1.26). Both the fragment and the lead cross Bru 263 may therefore be considered witnesses of French-Norwegian contact, the latter even more so as it contains both inscriptions from “Alma chorus Domini” and “Deus pater piissime”.

Like “Deus pater piissime”, the only known evidence of “Christe, Salvator” in Norway is from the inscription of a lead cross which was found in Hardanger (Gjerløw 1955:105). The Hardanger lead cross is the third one, along with Madla 248 and Bru 263, to contain inscriptions of French chants. The sequence “Christe Salvator” is fairly obscure in general: its oldest witness is a 12th century troper from St Évroul in Normandy, whereas the other, later sources are English and Norman (Westminster, Jumièges, Fécamp), and this leads Gjerløw to consider “Christe, Salvator” as a local Norman sequence (1955:103–104). However, St Évroul, where the oldest witness stems from, was founded from Corbie in the 11th century, and the sequence may have originated there. Additionally, Corbie’s location in Picardy makes it more likely as a point of transmission of the sequence to Norway – as we have seen, Norwegians travelled through the area on their way south. It may be possible

¹⁶⁸ A lead cross with an identical inscription, but in Latin letters and not runes, has been found at Gruda, south of Madla (Liestøl and Olsen 1954:232).

that both “Deus pater piissime” and “Christe Salvator”, which can be tied directly (“Deus”) or indirectly (“Christe”) to Corbie, came to Norway via this monastery.

While cautioning against pinning the import of these sequence onto any particular individual, given the scarcity of sources, Gjerløw suggests Eirik Ivarsson, who was bishop of Stavanger before being appointed archbishop, as a possible “culprit” (Gjerløw 1955:106). Given her proposal that the poems were transmitted through a book found at the cathedral chapter, this does not seem impossible. It should be noted, however, that the cross containing excerpts from “Christe, Salvator” was found outside of the Stavanger diocese itself, but Gjerløw points out that the site where it was found, Krossvold in Hardanger, is on the route which the bishop would take when visiting churches in the eastern part of his diocese (Gjerløw 1955:105–106).¹⁶⁹

However, while the crosses are hard to date, an inscription on the Madla cross points to a date between 1270 and 1315 (Olsen 1954:227), and this is why it should be considered “late” evidence despite its possible arrival in Norway in the 12th century. While Eirik did indeed have connections to France and Stavanger both, any cleric from the area who travelled through France could have brought with him a manuscript containing the hymns. As we have seen in the preceding subchapter, there was no shortage of Norwegian travellers through Northern France at this point.

Another intriguing sign of French cultural evidence is the finding of a gold ring at the old trade centre of Veøy in 1990, a ring dated to the late 12th or early 13th century (Solli and al. 1992:127). The ring contained an inscription which has been interpreted as *Eric entre amis et je suis drue amie, A.M.* (“Eric amongst friends and I am a true friend, A.M.”) where the latter two initials may stand for a given name or perhaps for *Ave Maria* (Solli and al. 1992:128).¹⁷⁰ Stylistically it cannot be determined whether the ring originates from Norway or somewhere else.

¹⁶⁹ The proximity to the abbey of Halsnøy might perhaps be another explanation as to how the cross ended up in Hardanger.

¹⁷⁰ The inscription reads literally “ERI*CENTR*EAMI*SE:*IES*VIDRU*AMIE*AM*” (Solli and al. 1992:127). The authors comment on the lack of feminine –e in the adjective “dru”, which modifies “amie”, ascribing it to considerations of space or perhaps elision of –e before a vowel (1992:128).

The name Eric was in use both in Norway (as Eiríkr) and in France, cf. Chrétien de Troyes's romance poem *Eric et Enide*. In the 13th century this poem was translated into Old Norse as *Erex saga*, possibly on King Håkon Håkonsson's commission (Eriksen 2010:194). It is possible the ring was made in Norway by and for people of the aristocracy, whose tastes aligned with the current vogue of French courtly culture (Solli and al. 1992:129, 132). Another explanation is that the ring was made in France and given to a Norwegian. The latter alternative was favoured by Professor Helge Nordahl, who pointed out that the inscription could be read as a metric strophe (Solli and al. 1992:135).

The gold ring from Veøy and the lead crosses from Stavanger and Hardanger testify to two different types of cultural impulses that somehow found their way to Norway from France in the 12–13th centuries: impulses from the courtly, vernacular-language sphere and impulses from the religious Latin-language sphere. The king's court would receive both sorts of impulses, along with impulses from the universities and centres of legal studies. The learned and legal literature is represented in the NRA fragment material along with the religious and liturgical literature, whereas no fragment containing Old French literature remains. However, this literature might have reached Norway through the same channels as the liturgical and scholarly works: through the travels and networks of Norwegians and their clerical and/or aristocratic peers.

5.1.2 A chronicle, a psalter, and a Bible

While few codices have remained intact from the Norwegian Middle Ages, we have three manuscripts which have survived and which may serve to illustrate the French-Norwegian contacts of the 13th century: a copy of a French vernacular work of literature, a psalter from Paris with ties to the royal family, and a French Bible which possibly was owned by a canon of Nidaros, a diocese whose cathedral chapter was well-represented amongst travelling Norwegians and students abroad. In looking at possible pathways these manuscripts may have taken, we might also examine the

contexts in which our fragments may have come to Norway in the 13th and early 14th centuries.

An Old French manuscript at the Norwegian court

The Old French translation of William of Tyre's crusader chronicle *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* was known as *Histoire d'Outremer* or *L'Estoire d'Eracles*. A copy of this translation, currently in the Vatican library, was owned by the queen of King Eirik Magnusson, the Scottish princess Isabella Bruce (1280–1358), evidenced by the ex libris: "Liber Domine Isabelle, Dei gratia Regine Norwegie". Isabella was close to the high-ranking clergy in Bergen, donating generously to bishopric and churches and receiving gifts in return.¹⁷¹ Whether the manuscript was a gift to her from one of the high-ranking clergymen is an open question, although it seems likely that she acquired the book after her arrival in Norway: a list of the possessions she brought with her from Scotland has been preserved (DN 19, 390), and it contains no mention of the book.

The manuscript, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1963, is a finely-made, illuminated book, stylistically most likely to have been made in Antioch (Folda 2008:133–134). Paul Riant suggested it was brought to Norway by the Franciscan friar Mauritius, who went to the Holy Land in the early 1270s (Riant 1865:440, note 4).

However, Bjørn Bandlien argues in a new article that the manuscript may have taken several other routes to Norway, including via France or Flanders.¹⁷² In the case of the first option, he posits that the manuscript could have been brought to Acre after the fall of Antioch in 1268, and from there to France, where either a Norwegian or someone visiting Norway could have acquired it, either by purchase or as a gift. In the case of the second option, he suggests the manuscript found its way to the

¹⁷¹ For a biography, see https://nbl.snl.no/Isabella_Bruce, accessed on 14 June 2016.

¹⁷² The article was still a work in progress while this thesis was being written, and I thank Dr. Bandlien for sharing his draft with me.

Flemish court, whose members had a keen interest both in the arts and in the crusades, and who were in touch with Norwegian royals.

An intriguing example of aristocrats from this area and their Norwegian contacts, an example also discussed by Bandlien, is the case of Elnard of Seninghem, who according to the chronicler Jean de Joinville had his ship made in Norway (Joinville 1906:207).¹⁷³ It should be noted that Seninghem is close to Saint-Omer in today's Northern France, the area through which Norwegians typically would travel through on their way south. Elnard's choice to acquire his ship in Norway may be due to a previous contact between his family and high-ranking Norwegians who had travelled by or visited Saint-Omer.

Even if Flemish aristocrats had no part in bringing this or other manuscripts to Norway, it is worth noting that Bruges was an important centre of trade. This is witnessed by a text in a 14th century manuscript (BNF MS français 25 545)¹⁷⁴ accounting for "the kingdoms and lands from which merchandise arrives at Bruges". The text has been described in note 1 of DN 19, 459. This DN letter from 1308 concerns a trade agreement between Robert, count of Flanders, and King Håkon V of Norway. It was carried out by Håkon's chancellor, Åke, who had a background both as a canon of the Apostle church in Bergen and a provost of St Mary's in Oslo, and as a "magister" who had studied abroad (Bagge 1981:144). In other words, there was ample opportunity for Norwegians to bring home books from Flanders, whether written in Latin or French vernacular, and whether intended for "a clerical/learned reader" or "an aristocratic/royal reader" – men like Åke, who were part of both clerical and royal spheres and who recognised the usefulness and symbolic power of books, must have played a considerable part in bringing manuscripts to Norway.

¹⁷³ Bandlien suggests King Håkon Håkonsson provided Elnard with a ship and crew, perhaps in order to avoid going on a crusade himself.

¹⁷⁴ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9063357q>, accessed on 10 June 2016.

A psalter from Paris and its royal background

The manuscript known as the Kristina Psalter, a richly illuminated small manuscript, is currently kept in The Royal Library in Copenhagen under the signature GKS 1606, 4^o.¹⁷⁵ The psalter is named after Håkon Håkonsson's daughter Kristina, who owned it according to a 14th-century inscription on the pastedown on the back cover: *þæna saltar ate jvnfrv kristinn doter hakuna k.*, or “this Psalter was owned by the maid Kristin, daughter of King Haakon”¹⁷⁶ (Vidas 2006:11). In 1257, when Kristina was 23 years old, it was agreed that she should marry one of the brothers of the Spanish King Alfonso; according to the agreement, she would choose the brother most to her liking (*Håkon Håkonssons saga* [= HH], Chapter 290, 294).¹⁷⁷ Kristina died in Spain a few years after her wedding to the King's brother Felipe, in 1262.¹⁷⁸

The origin and date of the Christina psalter have been assessed as Paris around 1230, approximately the time when Kristina was born. It is doubtful whether she was the intended owner of the manuscript. In her monograph on the psalter, Marina Vidas suggests that the French regent mother Blanche of Castile (1188–1252) had the psalter made for herself or one of her children and that it was later gifted to the Norwegian princess due to the familial connection between Felipe, Kristina's husband, and the French royal family (Vidas 2006:51–53). According to Matthew Paris Blanche's son, King Louis IX, had already invited King Håkon, Kristina's father, to join him on his crusade (DN 19, 244). On their way to Spain, Kristina and her companions travelled through France (HH, Chapter 294). In this context Louis may have presented the princess with the psalter as a sign of his continued wish to be on friendly terms with the Norwegian king, as well as in recognition of Kristina's marriage to his relative in Spain – there is at least one documented instance of Louis

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/220/eng/m>, accessed on 30 May 2016.

¹⁷⁶ The transcription of the Old Norse was done by Gustav Storm and is cited in Vidas (2006:119); the English translation is Vidas's.

¹⁷⁷ The saga was written in the 1260s by Sturla Þórðarson. I have used the translation by Audne and Magerøy (1979).

¹⁷⁸ For a biography, see https://nbl.snl.no/Kristin_H%25C3%25A5kondatter, accessed on 14 June 2016.

gifting books to his relatives, namely his gifting of the so-called Toledo-New York Bible to his relative Alfonso X, Kristina's brother-in-law (Vidas 2006:53).

The presence of the psalter in Norway after Kristina's death in 1262 may be explained in two ways: either it was left behind by the princess (in which case she would have received the psalter as a gift before leaving for her marriage), or someone brought it to Norway after her death. The second alternative seems more likely, as it is not clear why Kristina would leave behind such a precious book, especially taking into account the general lavish equipment she and her retinue were given for the journey (HH, Chapter 290). In that case, she may have possessed the psalter before leaving, or she may have been given it sometime during or after her journey.¹⁷⁹

The psalter itself is one example of a French book in Norway, but the surrounding context of Kristina's journey to Spain also illustrates that Norwegians had the options to acquire French-made books for themselves. The saga tells us that Kristina had several great men in her retinue, amongst them the Dominican Peter, Bishop of Hamar, and the magnate Andres Nikolasson. Both of these men travelled through France on their way back from Spain: Peter travels via Flanders, while Andres stays in France for a year (HH, Chapter 296). As such they are examples of Norwegians who would have occasion to (and interest in) acquiring French books to bring back home.

Aslak Bolt's Bible and the canons of Nidaros

The Bible currently known as Aslak Bolt's Bible, named after the archbishop who acquired it in the 15th century, is kept at the Deichman library in Oslo.¹⁸⁰ It is a small manuscript, 260 x 170 mm with a thickness of 80 mm and 42 lines to the page (Ellefsen, Farstad, and Werner 2000:6, pictures on pages 9, 11, 15).

¹⁷⁹ It has been suggested that Matthew Paris brought the psalter to Norway as a gift to King Håkon on the behalf of King Louis IX (Fett 1910:6, Jenssen 1980:45–48). However, it seems unlikely that Matthew would not have recorded any gifts from Louis to Håkon, especially since he mentions the gifts he himself was given by Håkon for bringing the letter (Vidas 2006:53).

¹⁸⁰ The manuscript has not been digitalised, but a brochure containing a selection of images can be downloaded here: <https://www.deich.folkebibl.no/arkiv/brosjyrer/brosjyre380.pdf>, accessed on 14 June 2016.

The studies that exist on Aslak Bolt's Bible are relatively few. The first librarian at Deichman, Jacob Rosted, wrote a longer description of the Bible (Rosted 1786). In 1911 Oluf Kolsrud published a newspaper article on the Bible, in which he concentrated on the manuscript's history and provenance. The most recent work on the manuscript as a whole is an article by Oskar Garstein on various aspects of Aslak Bolt's Bible and its history. He dated the manuscript to around 1250 and suggested it was made in Paris or in one of the monastic centres near it (Garstein 1989:103).¹⁸¹ In addition, Bengt Lange examined the iconography in an article, mainly from the Psalter part of the Bible, although his focus was on interpretation and he did not offer any suggestions as to the origin of the manuscript (Lange 1994). Additionally, short descriptions of the Bible and its history can be found in Dahl (1989) and Ellefsen et al. (2000).

Aslak Bolt's Bible was rediscovered in a hollow in one of the Nidaros Dome's walls in 1710; possibly it had been hidden there for protection during the Reformation in 1537 (Garstein 1989:99).¹⁸² Its ownership by the Archbishop Aslak Bolt (d. ca. 1450) is evidenced by an inscription on the last leaf of the manuscript, but how it came into his possession is unknown. Oluf Kolsrud suggested that Aslak Bolt's Bible was identical to a Bible which had belonged to the Nidaros canon Ogmund Olavsson and which he left to the chapter in his will (DN 17, 770) from 1381 (Kolsrud 1911:13). Oskar Garstein rejected the proposal on the grounds of lacking evidence (1989:101). However, although it cannot be proved that Aslak Bolt's Bible is identical to the Bible owned by Ogmund, a connection to the Nidaros chapter seems quite likely and it is relevant to consider the options the canons of Nidaros would have to acquire French-made books.

¹⁸¹ Some of Garstein's conclusions do not seem entirely convincing, such as his claim that the illuminations in Aslak Bolt's Bible display Celtic influences related to the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels (Garstein 1989:103). The manuscript would no doubt benefit from a new study to assess the style of illumination and other codicological aspects. However, I share Garstein's opinion that the manuscript is French.

¹⁸² This theory is bolstered by the amount of fragments from high-quality Bibles in the Danish fragment material, see Ommundsen (2016a, forthcoming).

In the 13th century there were several canons of Nidaros who had studied abroad (Bagge 1981:148–149). Some of these are known to have studied in Paris, such as Einar Smørbak, who was in Paris when he was elected archbishop in 1254 (HH, Chapter 281), or Gudbrand, who studied in Paris when he was assigned in 1282 to collect money deposited by Archbishop Jon Raude in the Flemish Cistercian abbey of Ter Doest, located outside of Bruges in the diocese of Tournai (DN 17, 874).¹⁸³

Given what we have already seen of how manuscripts may have come to Norway from or via Flanders, the fact that Ter Doest had quite extensive contacts with Norwegian clergy from at least the early 1280s and at least until the early 14th century deserves notice, especially since this contact has to my knowledge received little attention from historians. The most dramatic example of this contact is the story of Torfinn, bishop of Hamar, who was exiled along with Archbishop Jon Raude due to conflicts with the regency in the early 1280s. Torfinn fled by sea to Flanders and was taken in by Ter Doest, where he died in 1285 after an intermittent stay in Rome. He was later venerated there as a saint, but interestingly his cult never spread to Norway.

The saint's life, written by the monk Walter de Muda, a contemporary of Torfinn's, presents Torfinn's arrival at Ter Doest as the result of a shipwreck, God's hand leading him to a safe place after many calamities (Visch 1656:317–318). In reality, he probably sought refuge in the abbey deliberately, since his mentor, Jon Raude, already was in touch with the abbey, having deposited money there in 1281 through his canon Eindride (DN 17, 871). Jon's contacts with the abbey may perhaps stem from his own journey to Paris in the 1270s, the occasion on which he brought home a relic given to King Magnus by King Philip 3, but it is also possible that the ties between Norway and Ter Doest are even older.

¹⁸³ For a list of Norwegians or men in the service of Norwegians who studied abroad in the period 1200–1350, see Bagge (1981:143–147).

Jørund, who was Archbishop of Nidaros 1287–1309, is known to have stayed in Ter Doest on his way to Paris in 1300 (DN XVII).¹⁸⁴ Jørund, a former canon of Hamar, had personal ties to Torfinn, who had left him a silver rose (a rosary?), a breviary, and his finest clothing (*vnam rosam argenteam et breuiarium et vestes meas meliores*) in his will (DN 17, 878). Jørund may have chosen to stay at Ter Doest for this reason, but it should be noted that in the 1290s he had a Flemish scholar in his service in Nidaros, magister Johannes (“Jon Fleming”), who had studied both in Paris and Orleans (Johnsen 1972:75). It is unknown whether magister Johannes had any ties to Ter Doest, however; his arrival in Nidaros may also have been prompted by connections made in Paris or Orleans.¹⁸⁵

It is also possible that Jon Raude, Torfinn, and their companions were not the first Norwegians to visit Ter Doest. The monastery was founded as a Benedictine house in 1106 and reformed into a Cistercian house in 1174 (Van de Putte and Carton 1845:6). It would therefore be in existence by the time historical evidence of Norwegians travelling through the region starts to appear. Arne Odd Johnsen suggests that the Cistercian houses in Flanders served as stopovers for Norwegian abbots on their way to the general chapter in Cîteaux (Johnsen 1977:33), and it seems likely that Ter Doest played such a role, not only for Cistercians but also for secular clergymen like Jon Raude.

An intriguing letter tells us that in the late 13th century, Bishop Johannes of Tournai authorises the Bishop of Oslo to act in Ter Doest in his place (DN 17, 881). Around the same time, in 1300, Archbishop Jørund authorises the monks in Ter Doest to bestow a forty days’ indulgence on feast days (DN 17, 885). The reason why the Norwegians acquired this authority is not known, but it cannot be due to the influence of Torfinn’s cult, which did not emerge until the middle of the 14th century, 60 years

¹⁸⁴ Another example of Norwegian clergymen passing through Flanders is the canon Jon Elg of Nidaros, who was arrested in Bruges on Jørund’s accusations of theft (DN 3, 48). Jørund later returned to Norway without offering proof.

¹⁸⁵ For a discussion of Johannes’s Flemish background and his stay in Nidaros from a linguistic perspective, see Hall (2013).

after Torfinn's death.¹⁸⁶ Possibly it is related to the cult of St Olav, who was venerated at least by the Dominicans in Bruges (DN 8, 48).¹⁸⁷ Again, this question has to my knowledge not been extensively studied.

The Nidaros chapter and other Norwegian clergymen's ties to Ter Doest testify to the importance of Bruges to travellers from the north. The French manuscripts – or manuscript fragments – that are not obviously Parisian may originate from the diocese of Tournai or surrounding areas, as is the case of the Flemish psalter studied in Chapter 4.2.1. The case of manuscripts that clearly were made somewhere else, such as William of Tyre's chronicle, may still have come to Norway via Northern France and Flanders, testifying to the contact between the two regions.

The three surviving books surveyed in this subchapter – the William of Tyre manuscript, the Christina Psalter, Aslak Bolt's Bible – shed light on various aspects of the French-Norwegian contacts in the 13th century, being examples of how French-language (William) or French-made (the Psalter and the Bible) books were treasured by Norwegian royalty and/or clergy. Moreover, the history surrounding these books due to their owners or later provenance illuminates some of the ways French manuscripts could find their way to Norway in the Middle Ages, from Paris, Northern France, or Flanders. This history and these pathways are also relevant to the main subject of this study, the fragments.

5.2 Fragments of a 13th century book culture

In Chapter 5.1, we have seen that the contacts between Norway and France expanded in the period 1217–1319. These contacts consisted of political/diplomatic alliances between the Norwegian court and royalty in Paris and Flanders, connections between French/Flemish religious institutions and Norwegian clergy, and intellectual relations

¹⁸⁶ <https://nbl.snl.no/Torfinn>, accessed on 10 June 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Torfinn had left these Dominicans 20 solidos in his will, along with equivalent amounts for the Franciscans and the priests of the local parish church of Lisseweghe (DN 17, 878).

in the form of Norwegians studying in Paris or Orleans. Many of the persons involved in this contact were simultaneously part of the political, religious, and intellectual sphere, such as the Archbishop Jon Raude or the bishop brothers of Bergen, Arne and Audfinn.

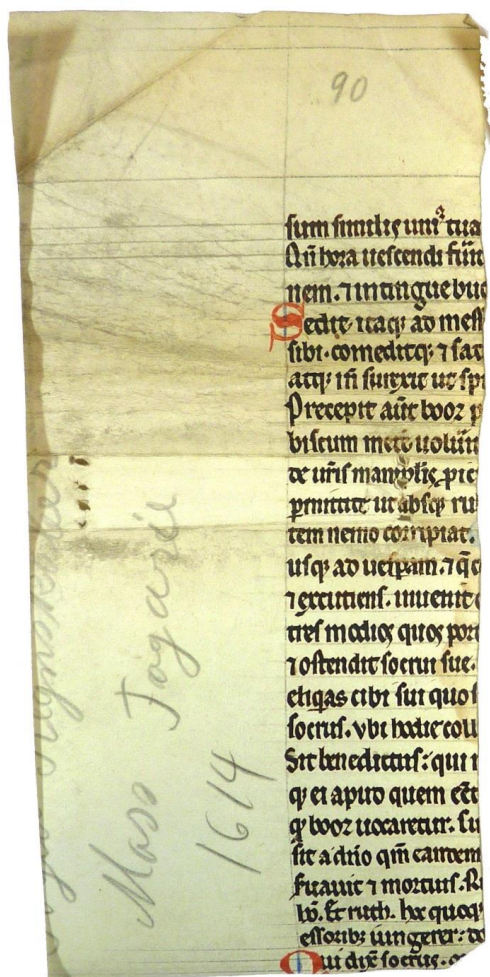
Considering the historical evidence of these connections, both in references in the narrative sources or documents, and in such archaeological findings as the lead crosses from Stavanger, it is not surprising that amongst the NRA fragments from the 13th and early 14th centuries, there are several which can be tied to France. Moreover, the corpus of fragments listed in Chapter 6 may be said to reflect the extended religious and intellectual contacts, including the growing number of Norwegian students abroad (Bagge 1981). In the following, I will discuss some selected fragments from books believed to be of French origin, books that are of different genres, uses, and purposes, and as such reflect the variety of the French-Norwegian contact that took time in this period.

5.2.1 A Parisian Bible

NRA Lat. Frag. 90, 1–2 consists of two pieces from a Bible. One of the pieces contains Ruth 2:13–22 on one side (depicted below), whilst the other side is blank. The recto side of the other piece contains the end of Ruth 3 (10–18) and the beginning of Ruth, with a red paragraph mark and a chapter number in roman numerals, written in alternating red and blue (see detail below). The verso side has Ruth 4:7–15. The two pieces are of a similar size, approximately 135 mm in height and 65 mm in width, although one of them is crumpled. The script is small, with minims around 2 mm, the piece containing 25 lines. The ink is black, the parchment very thin and supple.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ There are many similar Bible fragments in the Danish National Archives, and we cannot exclude the possibility that NRA 90, 1–2 may yet be matched to one of those, see Ommundsen (2016a, forthcoming). I have included the fragment here as a means of illustrating the “landscape” of institutions and organisations that might own such a Bible in medieval Norway, more specifically the area around Oslo.

Patricia Stirnemann (2015) localised the Bible to Paris, dating it to around 1220. This is shortly before the emergence of the “pocket Bibles”, which begin to appear around 1230 (Light 1987:277). The proportions of 90, 1–2 are also too large to fit those of the typical pocket Bible, although the fragment may have come from a one-volume Bible.¹⁸⁹



Lat. Frag. 90, 1

¹⁸⁹ De Hamel (1984:37, note 67) refers to several earlier one-volume Bibles as pocket Bibles. As pointed out by Light (1987:278, note 14), these are not examples of the typical pocket Bible as it appears from around 1230. NRA Lat. Frag. 90, 1–2 might be of similar proportions to the earliest example cited by De Hamel, Beinecke 551, which measures 180 x 125 mm: <http://brbl-net.library.yale.edu/pre1600ms/docs/pre1600.ms551.HTM>, accessed on 9 June 2016.

The unfinished character of NRA Lat. Frag 90, 1–2, i.e. the lack of text on one side, is intriguing. It is possible that the blank space was left for a larger initial or decoration which was never filled in. The overall impression of the Bible is one of utility rather than lavishness, the chapter headings being marked with simple red and blue initials, numbers and paragraph marks.



NRA Lat. Frag. 90, 2 (detail)

According to the archival markings, the fragment was used on the *fogderi* account for Moss, 1614. Moss was a *fogderi* in the greater *len* of Akershus (Øvrebø 1982:336). Hypothetically posing that the Bible was used in the area in the Middle Ages, we might then look for possible owners either in the *fogderi* itself or elsewhere in the *len* of Akershus.¹⁹⁰ The lack of religious institutions such as cathedral chapters or convents in Moss renders the second option the more fruitful track when searching for institutions that would own foreign Bibles in this period.¹⁹¹

The *len* of Akershus encompassed large parts of the medieval dioceses of Oslo and Hamar (Øvrebø 1983:424). In the 13th century, these dioceses both had several religious institutions that would have both the incentive and opportunity to acquire Bibles abroad. The Cistercian monastery of Hovedøya could be one such candidate,

¹⁹⁰ Given the geographical proximity of Bohuslen (in today's Western Sweden), which had several religious establishments – the Augustinian convent of Kastle, the Premonstratensian convent of Dragsmark, and both a Dominican and Franciscan convent – it would be tempting to speculate that the fragment might come from here; however, there is nothing to substantiate this claim.

¹⁹¹ There was one convent in the vicinity of Moss, notably the hospital of St John's order at Varna, and they cannot be completely excluded as candidates of owning a French Bible, although I consider it less likely. Cf. Chapter 2.1.2.

the abbot being obliged to travel to France in order to attend the general chapter in Cîteaux every year.¹⁹² Whether he would acquire books while travelling there is dubious, however, as the journey to the general chapter already put a considerable financial strain on the Norwegian convents (Henriksen 2005:129).

Given that the NRA 90, 1–2 fragments date to around 1220, the book was most likely acquired in the first half of the century, and perhaps not long after its production, given the rise of the immensely popular pocket Bibles around 1230 (Light 1987). The Dominican and Franciscan orders, who established houses in Norway during the 1230s and 1240s (Hommedal 2011), would be likely to prioritise small pocket Bibles over the slightly larger ones like NRA 90, 1–2, since these were more practical for travel. I therefore consider it more likely that the NRA 90, 1–2 Bible belonged to either an individual or a cathedral library.

The cathedral chapters in Oslo and Hamar both had several canons in the 13th century that either are mentioned as having the magister title or as studying abroad (Bagge 1981:149), although it is rarely specified where they received their education and we have no explicit information that any of them were in Paris around 1220.¹⁹³ However, we know that Archbishop Guttorm of Nidaros (1215–1224) had deposited the Norwegian papal tax in St Victor in 1220 (DN 6, 13). The practice of using St Victor as a point of transfer was probably instigated by one of the Norwegian clergymen who stayed there in the latter half of the 12th century (Johnsen 1939:102-103). Historical evidence therefore points to a continued contact between Norway and Paris in the first decades of the 13th century, even though we cannot say that the specific Bible fragment NRA 90, 1–2 came to Norway as a result of this contact.

¹⁹² In 1217 this practice was relaxed for the Norwegian Cistercian houses along with other monasteries in the periphery, which were now allowed to meet at the general chapter every fifth year (Johnsen 1977:43).

¹⁹³ Olav, who was given a cloak in Torfinn of Hamar's will and is mentioned as being "Parisius" in 1284, may have been a canon of Hamar studying in Paris (Bagge 1981:144).

5.2.2 Two graduals

In this section, I include two fragments for the sake of comparison: both are graduals, both are dated to the later part of the 13th century, and both are of a similar, relatively large format. Moreover, they have a similar provenance: NRA Lat. Frag. 789, 1–4 was used on the accounts for Hardanger and Halsnøy in 1626, while NRA Lat. Frag. 801, 1–2 was used on the accounts for Hardanger in 1618 and 1619. Whereas the fragments are not from the same book, these similarities offer an opportunity to compare and contrast these remnants of graduals that seemingly were used in Western Norway in the Middle Ages.

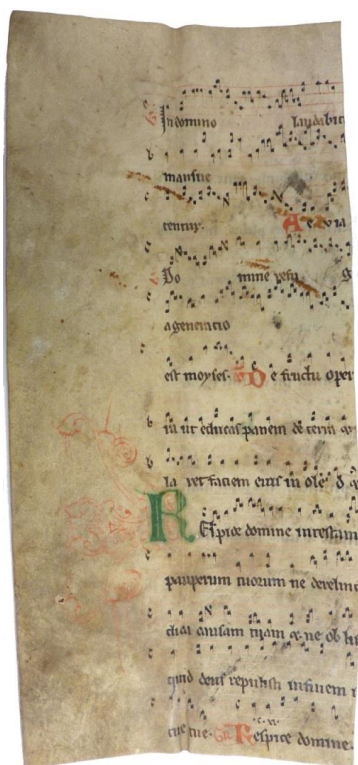
NRA Lat. Frag. 789, 1–4 consists of four pieces from one leaf, containing mass chants from the common repertory of the apostles and the saints. The leaf has been cropped on the sides and somewhat on the top margin; what is left measures approximately 300 mm in height (220 mm in the written area) and 150 mm in width.



Lat. Frag. 789, 1–4 (recto)

The fragment probably dates from the third quarter of the 13th century (Patricia Stirnemann, personal communication). It has since been reused as some sort of notebook, judging from the scribbles on top of the leaf. The words are difficult to make out, but seem to be Dano-Norwegian from the 16th century and unrelated to the contents of the fragment.

NRA Lat. Frag. 801, 1–2 is from another gradual. The two pieces in the fragment are from different leaves. The piece numbered 801, 1 contains chants for the Saturday after Pentecost and Trinity Sunday, whilst 801, 2 contains chants for weeks 17–19 in the *tempus per annum*. The pieces are of the same size, approximately 255 mm tall and 120 mm in width. The height of the full leaf would probably have been around 300 mm.



Lat. Frag. 801, 2 (verso)

The fragment contains Alleluia verses for the first, the 11th, and the 12th Sundays after Trinity: “Domine deus meus in te speravi”, “Domine deus salutis”, and “Domine refugium”. This sequence corresponds to the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, which had borrowed it from Honorius Augustodunensis’s *Gemma Animae* (Gjerløw 1968:98–102).¹⁹⁴

NRA 801, 1–2 has been dated to the late 12th century (Gullick 2015). However, I have grouped it with the 13th century fragments as I believe it may be later, due to such traits as the “spiky” capitals (see below) and the almost consistent use of round *d*, as well as the general aspect. The green initial with red flourishes extending into the left margin like a “bush” is not typical of Parisian manuscripts from the 13th century, but initials with that colouring and shape can be found in manuscripts from Northern France and the area along the English Channel.¹⁹⁵ The aspect of the script is Continental rather than English, and that goes for the fragment 789, 1–4 as well.

Both fragments 789, 1–4 and 801, 1–2 show examples of capitals decorated with “lumps” or “spikes”, apparently similar to what Derolez terms “elephant trunks” (Derolez 2003:184). They have this in common with some other fragments in the corpus, all of which are grouped together in the third period of the study, i.e. dated to between 1220 and 1330. These “spiky” capitals range from fairly simple in Lat. Frag. 801, 1–2 to pronounced and more deliberate in 789, 1–4, where they are decorated with red stripes as well as spikes (see picture).¹⁹⁶

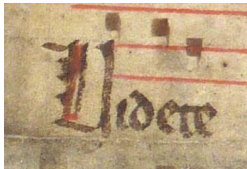
¹⁹⁴ Although there are natural similarities, the rest of the liturgical content is not identical to that of the edited *Ordo*; for instance, the liturgy for the Saturday after Pentecost differs with regard to the Offertory, having “Confirma hoc deus” where the *Ordo* has “Emitte spiritum tuum” (Gjerløw 1968:263). This does not entail that the gradual could not be used in the Nidaros archdiocese; recent research indicates that the variation in liturgy was more considerable than traditionally assumed (Astrid Mamer, personal communication).

¹⁹⁵ See for instance Douai BM 357 (which originates from Anchin): <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=7478>. See also Cambrai BM 37, ff. 1v and 37r for examples of protruding decorations that are even more pronounced than the one in NRA 801, 1–2: <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=100008183> (all manuscripts accessed on 6 June 2016).

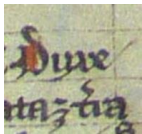
¹⁹⁶ Cf. Douai BM 69: <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=49750>, accessed on 8 June 2016, or Tournai Bibliothèque du Séminaire 13 (e.g. 5v–6r): <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=100046504>, accessed on 10 June 2016.



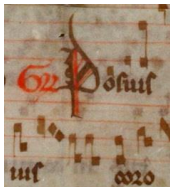
Lat. Frag. 801, 1–2 (detail)



Lat. Frag. 495, 1 (detail)



Lat. Frag. 73, 1–6 (detail)



Lat. Frag. 789, 1–4 (detail)

The device of touching capitals with red in order to facilitate reading is seen widely throughout the corpus. One may perhaps see these “spiky” capitals as an elaboration of such simpler black-and-red capitals, since the spikes do not seem to appear in capitals that are not touched with red. It is possible they originated in law texts (Patricia Stirnemann, personal communication).

As mentioned above, both fragments Lat. Frag. 789, 1–4 and 801, 1–2 have a post-medieval provenance of Hardanger (789, 1–4 also has Halsnøy). In Chapter 4.2.4 we

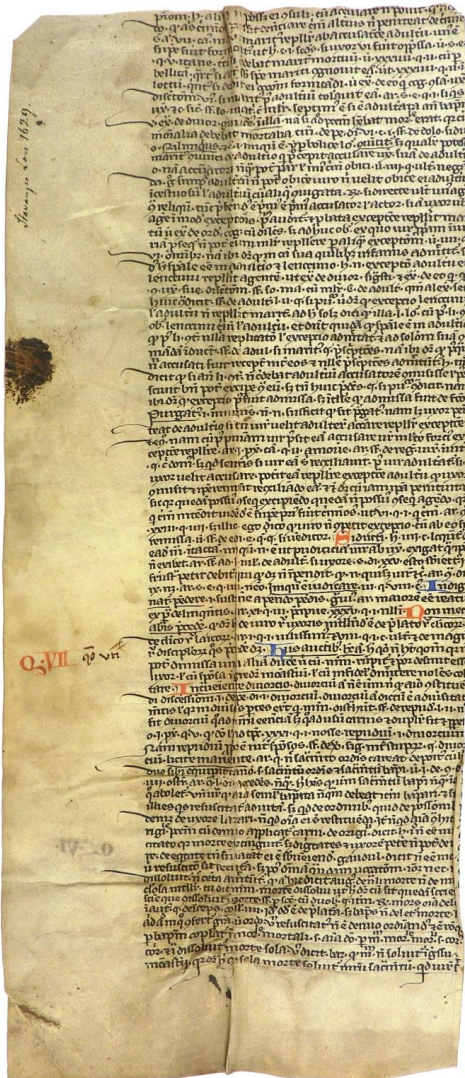
saw that the fragment NRA Lat. Frag. 50, 1 (Gilbert's glossed Psalms), which also had a Hardanger provenance, probably should be placed either in the town of Bergen or in the abbey of Halsnøy. Compared to the Gilbert fragment, the graduals would have a wider area of application, since they were books intended for use in churches. At least in theory, any of the churches in the region could have owned these graduals, but the foreign origin of the books might point to a trade centre. Alongside Bergen, Halsnøy would fit this description; it was strategically located by the coastal fairway, and foreign coins (from German and Baltic areas) dating to the late medieval period have been found there (Holck, Lidén, and Økland 2013:126–127, 137–139). The large size meant the graduals would have been stationary books, not intended for travel. It is even possible both belonged to Halsnøy Abbey, since monasteries and convents would often own several copies of the service books they needed, to accommodate different altars and occasions.¹⁹⁷

If the Hardanger and Halsnøy accounts were bound in Bergen, the closest major administrative centre, the fragments may have come from manuscripts which were also used in Bergen. In addition to the convents mentioned in Chapter 4.2.4 – the Benedictine houses Munkeliv and Nonneseter, and the Augustinian Jonsklosteret – new convents had established themselves in Bergen in the 13th century, notably the Dominicans and the Franciscans, both of which came to Norway in the 1230–40s (Hommedal 2011). The friars' focus was not on liturgy (Clanchy 2007:201), but they would still perform mass and therefore own graduals. Another 13th-century institution in Bergen is the Apostle Church erected by King Magnus Lagabøte over the relic given to him by King Philip III of France in 1274 – a church foundation possibly inspired by Louis IX's Sainte Chapelle in Paris (Johnsen 1973:34–35). Magnus's son, King Håkon V, later made the Apostle Church part of his own clerical organisation, the royal clergy (Johnsen 1965:153). Both Magnus and Håkon had ties to the French court, and perhaps their royal churches were particularly interested in French-made mass books. Ownership of such books by an individual is less likely, though they

¹⁹⁷ Certainly this was true for missals, cf. Webber (2014:224).

might well own other types of French-made books. It should be noted that there were several canons in Bergen in the 13th century carrying the title of magister, suggesting they had studied abroad (Bagge 1981:143–145). One of these, the canon Johannes surnamed “Franco”, may have been French (DN 6, 31).

5.2.3 A Stavanger Decretum



Lat. Frag. 160, 1 (verso)

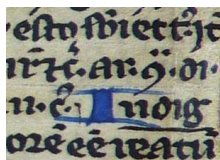
NRA Lat. Frag. 160, 1 is a fragment from a copy of Gratian's *Decretum* dating from the middle of the 13th century (Stirnemann 2015). It contains almost half of a leaf from a two-column book, with the top part cropped off. The fragment measures approximately 330 mm in height and 145 mm in width, the remaining written space 300 mm x 100 mm.¹⁹⁸

The fragment contains Gratian's Causa 32, Question 5 (Chapter 11) to Question 7 (Chapter 2). The commentary is that of Bartholomew of Brescia, who completed his revision of the ordinary gloss on Gratian around 1245 (Somerville and Brasington 1998:228). The NRA fragment therefore comes from a fairly early copy of the work, and one could be tempted to place its origin in Italy, where Bartholomew lived and worked. However, as pointed out by Patricia Stirnemann, there are several traits pointing towards France rather than Italy: the crossed tironian *et*, the black ink (typical of Northern France), and the way the long ascenders extend into the margin. The latter is a trait that appears in 13th and early 14th century manuscripts, as an influence of the documentary tradition (Derolez 2003:87). The scribe's use of the *q* with a bar on the descender to signify *qui* is originally an Italian trait, but at this point it seems to be found in scholastic books outside of Italy as well (Cencetti 1954:461–462).

Judging from the fragment alone, NRA 160, 1 is from a book that was intended for use, not display: apart from the alternating red and blue small initials and the red markers of the Questions, there is no decoration. The script is heavily abbreviated, but this trait is also found in more elaborated copies of the work.¹⁹⁹ It is possible that the book NRA 160, 1 originally was from contained more decoration as well; the parchment, ink, and colours all seem of good quality.

¹⁹⁸ The size of the fragment means it may have been imported as binding material, see Chapter 1.2.2. I have included it here nonetheless as no matches have been made in the Danish archives so far, and since we know from historical evidence (i.e. wills and inventories) that there were several copies of the *Decretum* in medieval Norway.

¹⁹⁹ See for instance Troyes BM 1421 (<http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md07tm70nz23>) and Saint-Omer BM 476 (<http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md00ns066c0b>), accessed on 3 June 2016.



Lat. Frag. 160, 1 (detail), with the *con* sign punctuated by two dots (to signify *contra*)

The provenance of the NRA 160, 1 fragment is Stavanger 1629. We do not have any specific names of bishops, canons, or laymen with ties to Stavanger whom we know studied law at a European university in this period. However, a 14th century document testifies to the presence of such books in Stavanger in the Middle Ages. In 1370, Bishop Botolf of Stavanger gives away the books he owned before being appointed to his office, and among them is a “decretum sum [sic] apparatu” (DN 4, 494). In addition to Gratian’s *Decretum*, Botolf owned Gregory’s Decretals and the Clementines, both with comments by Johannes Andrea, Johannes Monachus’s comments on Boniface VIII’s sixth decretal, Innocent IV’s “Apparatus in quinque libros decretalium”, and Guillaume de Monte Laudono’s comments on the Clementines.²⁰⁰ In other words, his collection of books points to a juridical interest and perhaps education, despite the lack of written evidence that he had studied law.

The Nidaros canon Ogmund Olavsson, who was mentioned in connection with Aslak Bolt’s Bible above, was a relative of Botulf’s (DN 6, 227). In a document from 1345, Ogmund is titled magister and seems to be a canon at the cathedral in Stavanger (*brodor meistara*, DN 4, 240). Provided the latter Ogmund is identical to the Nidaros canon, he may have earned his magister title by studying law: in the same will as where he mentioned the Bible, he bequeaths to the chapter “all of my books without exception, small and large, which belong to Roman and canon law” (DN 2, 468).²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ I am following O.A. Johnsen’s (1908:84–85)’s interpretation of the booklist; Botolf does not specify what he means by e.g. “ein Jnnocencium”.

²⁰¹ “allar minar bøker smaar ok storar. æingu vndantæksæm iuri ciuili et ecclesiastico til høyra”, translation mine.

The will itself is from 1381, but there is no mention of where and when Ogmund had acquired these books.²⁰²

Even if Botolf or Ogmund had not studied law themselves, we know there were several Norwegian law students at European universities in the 13th and 14th centuries. Besides Bologna, Orleans became important as a centre of law studies in this period (Bagge 1984:6). A French document from 1299 speaks of “magister Arnald” from Norway, a canon of Bergen and a student of Orleans, on whose behalf his brother Andulfinus receives 60 livres in return for a gyrfalcon Arnald had given to King Philip IV (Johnsen 1952–53:90). This document must refer to Arne Sigurdsson, whose library was mentioned in Chapter 1.2.1, and his brother Audfinn, who perhaps also studied in Orleans at one point.²⁰³ Pål Bårdsson, who was archbishop 1333–1346 and held several offices throughout his life,²⁰⁴ studied in Orleans and is styled as “utriusque juris professor” by 1321 (DN 4, 151).²⁰⁵

Besides the persons who are explicitly mentioned in the sources as either studying abroad or as having a “magister” or “professor” title, there are many examples of clergymen who clearly had knowledge of canon law and used it in their dealings with lay aristocracy and king. An important name in this context is Jon Raude, Archbishop of Nidaros from 1268 to 1282, who was clearly building on canon law when drawing up his own legislation.²⁰⁶ As mentioned in connection with the discussion of Aslak Bolt’s Bible above, Jon visited France at least once, as it was he who brought home the relic gifted to King Magnus by Philip III in 1274 (Johnsen 1973:35), and it should

²⁰² A list from the 16th century (DN 12, 673) shows that by that time the cathedral chapter owned several law books; cf. Chapter 1.2.1.

²⁰³ Arne Odd Johnsen (1952–53:91–92) assumes that the canon Alfinus of Hamar, who studied in Orleans in 1307 (Jørgensen 1914:380–381, note 1), was identical to Audfinn Sigurdsson; however, there is no other indication that Audfinn was ever a canon of Hamar. Bagge (1981:145) follows Johnsen’s assumption.

²⁰⁴ See https://nbl.sn�.no/P%25C3%25A51_B%25C3%25A5rdsson for a biography. Accessed on 3 June 2016.

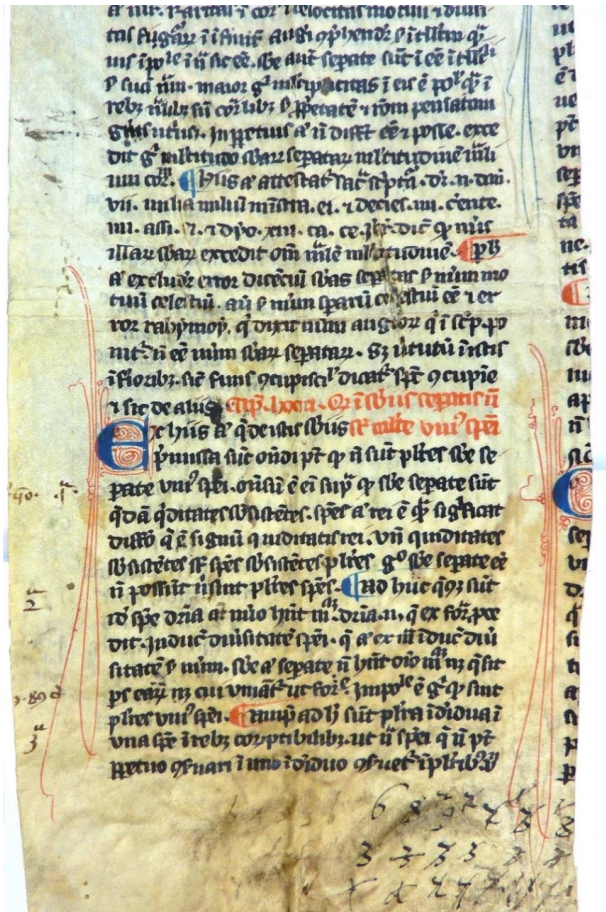
²⁰⁵ There are also many examples of lawyers in the king’s service, such as Bjarne Lodinsson, who earned his doctorate in Roman law in Bologna 1292–1293 (Bagge 1981:143–144). According to the Swedish source *Rim-krönikor*, Bjarne had also studied in Paris (Klemming 1865:115).

²⁰⁶ https://nbl.sn�.no/hinn_sta%25C3%25B0fasti_Jon_Raude, accessed on 9 June 2016.

not be excluded that he, like so many other canons of Nidaros, had studied abroad before becoming archbishop, perhaps in France.

While it would be too much of a stretch to pinpoint the fragment NRA 160, 1 as stemming from one of the books from the DN document, the fragment is nevertheless a physical remnant of the sort of book that historical evidence – in the form of Botolf’s letter and Ogmund’s will – shows us existed in Stavanger and other Norwegian towns in the 14th century.

5.2.4 Thomas Aquinas and Hippocrates



Lat. Frag. 128, 1 (excerpt)

NRA Lat. Frag. 128, 1 is a tall strip from a two-column book copied sometime around 1300. The contents come from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Contra Gentiles*, Book 2, Chapters 92, 8 to 96, 8.²⁰⁷ The fragment has marginal notes that seemingly have little to do with the contents, indicating that the parchment was used as material for scribbles or a "notebook" of sorts. The height is approximately 325 mm, the width 125 mm. The written space of a column measures 245 mm x 80 mm.

The fragment is from a fairly typical "scholarly" book. The script is clearly influenced by the so-called "littera parisiensis", with such characteristic traits as an initial *u* shaped like a *v* with the initial ascender taller than the second one so as to give the impression of a *b*, although it lacks the characteristic short descenders of the littera parisiensis (Cencetti 1954:220). Comparing the NRA fragments to a 14th century Parisian copy²⁰⁸ of the *Summa contra gentiles*, there are clear similarities: like the NRA fragment, the Paris copy displays such traits as alternating red and blue paragraph marks and initials, uncrossed tironian *et*, a very rounded *d*, use of bright blue colour, and frog spawn decoration (circular forms with dots in the middle). The abbreviation mark over *p* ("*praemissa*") is shaped like a comma and not like a horizontal mark. The same comma-like sign is used to abbreviate "hoc", which renders the *h* looking almost like a *b*.

There is a possibility that the book NRA Lat. Frag. 28, 1 was made in England rather than Paris; university script ("littera oxoniensis") was also in use there.²⁰⁹ However,

²⁰⁷ I identified the text with the aid of <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/scg2091.html>, accessed 5 May 2016.

²⁰⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne 206: <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md13zs260j40>, accessed on 31 May 2016.

²⁰⁹ The differences between the "Paris" and "Oxford" universities' scripts, such as they are, have not been extensively studied, but see Cencetti (1954:220–222). Derolez (2003:100, note 114) regards these scripts as subtypes of general Textualis, i.e. Gothic script. In practice, these two varieties of university script are hard to distinguish from one another.

given how the Norwegian students seem to have preferred the latter to the former in the period under question,²¹⁰ Paris seems more likely as a place of origin.

The provenance of Lat. Frag. 128, 1 is Hadeland 1621. Hadeland was part of Akershus *len*, which covered large parts of Eastern Norway (Øvrebø 1982:334). The *fogderi* of Hadeland itself did not contain any larger towns or bishop sees where a copy of Thomas Aquinas would be likely to be found. If the Hadeland account was bound centrally in Christiania (Oslo), however, there are several possible candidates for local owners of such a book.

The fact that Thomas Aquinas was a Dominican and his works were important to the order makes it tempting to imagine the Dominican convent of Oslo (cf. above) or one of its friars as a likely owner, but it is not the only one. Another possibility could be someone from the royal clergy of St Mary's church in Oslo. The establishment of this royal clergy – an organisation answering to the crown, with St Mary's church at its centre – was part of King Håkon's expansion of Oslo's importance in the Norwegian kingdom in the late 13th and early 14th centuries (Andersen 1974:32–33).²¹¹

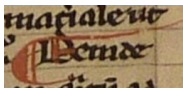
Yet another possibility is that the book belonged to the cathedral chapter in Oslo or one of its canons. A will from 1304 belonging to the canon Gerlak mentions the "Summa Remundi", that is to say the Dominican law scholar Raymond of Penyafort, along with some "libellos meos alios parvos" (DN 2, 75). While there is no reason to believe the NRA fragment 128, 1 was part of one of these "poor booklets" (it is clearly from a relatively large and well-made book), Gerlak's will illustrates that Oslo canons at the time could well own learned literature by (Dominican) scholars, and as such a copy of Thomas Aquinas's work would not be out of place.

²¹⁰ Kolsrud (1962:42) has the names of three students in England during the Middle Ages: an unknown canon from Bergen (1309); the clerk Arnfinn Thordsson, who studies in Cambridge in the 1320s; and Joannes Patricii, canon of the Orkneys, who studies law at St Andrew's in 1419. Joannes was most likely not Norwegian.

²¹¹ Håkon's V projects may have been modelled on the French court at least in part, cf. Chapter 5.1, note 106. It might be noted that Thomas Aquinas and King Louis IX of France socialised at least on one occasion (Clanchy 2007:202).

Whether the book belonged to a friar or a canon, or their respective institutions, it is an example of a manuscript that would be acquired by someone with an interest in theology, most likely someone who had studied abroad. Unlike liturgical books, theological works were not required for priests or monks to perform their duties. The three groups outlined above – the Dominicans, the royal clergy, and the cathedral chapter – all had members who studied abroad in the 13th century (Bagge 1981:143–147).

Another work by Thomas Aquinas, *Commentaria in octos libros physicorum*, is represented by the fragment NRA Box 53, Bech 1. This is a bifolium a little taller than the *Summa contra gentiles* fragment, approximately 350 x 205 mm. The height of a column is about 240 mm, the width around 70 mm. As is the case with the *Summa* fragment, the text is laid out in two columns, with blue and red initials and paragraph marks. The ink is black, the capitals touched with red, some of them slightly reminiscent of the “spike and stripe” capitals in the gradual 789, 1–4 from Chapter 5.2.2.



Lat. Frag. Box 53, Bech 1 (detail)

The Bech material is interesting from a provenance point of view, since it remained in Trondheim and only came to the NRA in 1912 (Gullick 2015). If the *Commentaria* fragment comes from a book used in Trondheim in the Middle Ages, that would fit with the historical evidence which says that especially the Nidaros cathedral chapter was well-represented among the students abroad (Bagge 1981:148–149). The will of Ogmund Olavsson, which mentions amongst other books a Bible (possibly identical to Aslak Bolt’s Bible) and juridical books, has already been discussed (Chapter 5.1.2

and 5.2.3). Unfortunately little evidence of the Nidaros canons' book collections in the 13th/14th centuries, if these existed, has survived.²¹²

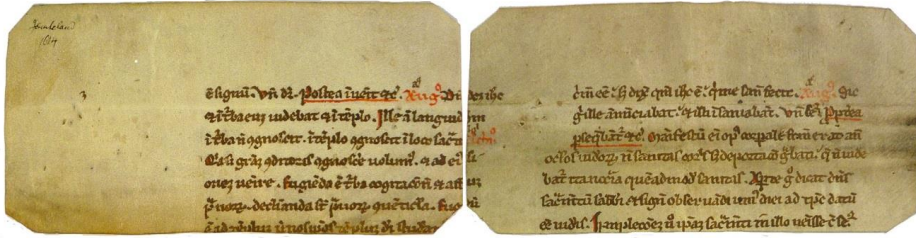


Lat. Frag. Box 53, Bech 1 (first page of bifolio)

There were Dominicans in Trondheim as well, in addition to the Augustinian convent of Helgeseter (cf. Chapter 4.1). The convent in Trondheim may be the first Dominican house to be established in Norway, around 1230 (Hommedal 1993a: 158). Like their counterparts in Oslo, they would both have the motive and opportunity to acquire the sort of book represented by NRA Box 53, Bech 1.

²¹² An example is an inscription on the Old Norse manuscript AM 47 in Copenhagen showing that it was owned by a Trond Gardarsson, canon of Nidaros, around 1300 (Johnsen 1908:85).

Finally, NRA Lat. Frag. 46, 1–2 can be mentioned as an example of a third Thomas Aquinas work represented in the fragment material, this one too with a provenance near Trondheim (Jamtland 1614).



Lat. Frag. 46, 1–2 (verso)

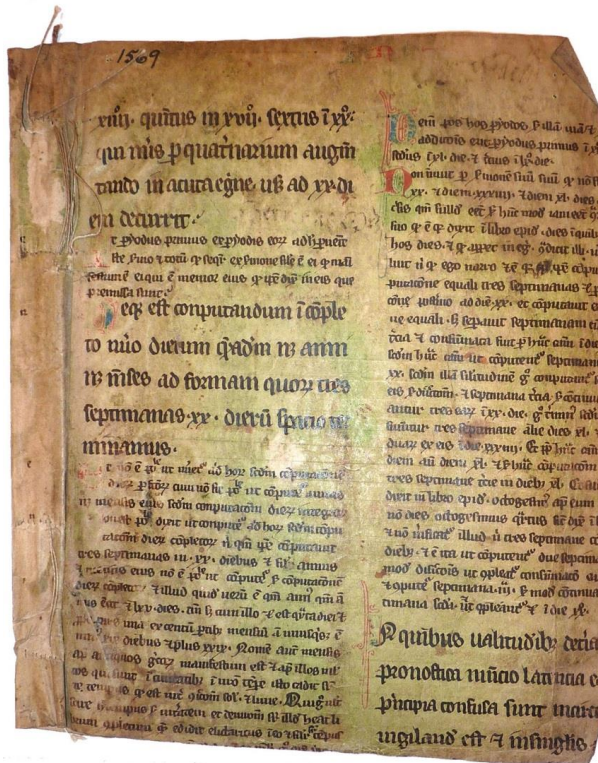
These are two small pieces from Thomas’s gospel commentary *Catena Aurea*, containing part of the commentary on John. Together the pieces make up the top part of a leaf (if somewhat cropped), ca. 230 mm wide. In its original form, the book must have been of a size with the Bech fragment or larger, and one is tempted to speculate if these two Thomas Aquinas works belonged to the same collection in or near Trondheim.

We now move onto another fragment from what I have termed a “university book”: a fragment from Hippocrates’s *Prognostica*, with commentary most likely by Galen.²¹³ Alongside Hippocrates’s *Aphorisms*, the *Prognostica* formed the core curriculum of medical university studies in the 13th century, first under the name of “Ars medicinae”, then “Articella” (Demaitre 2003:771).

This fragment is part of a bifolium, used as a cover for a small book (Gullick 2015). Unfortunately, there is no marking signalling its post-medieval provenance, but the date 1569 is written on the top left corner of the outer leaf, indicating that it was indeed used as binding for a tax account. The remaining part of the bifolium

²¹³ The contents of the fragments were identified by Patricia Stirnemann and Iolanda Ventura. See Kibre (1981) for a list of known manuscripts of the work (the NRA fragment is not included).

measures 170 mm width, 210 mm in height. The *Prognostica* text is written in large scripts on alternating lines with the commentary in smaller script between; the layout is two-column, the width of a column being approximately 80 mm.

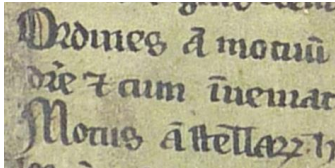


Lat. Frag. 13a (first page of bifolio)

Based on the fragment's penwork initials, Patricia Stirnemann (2015) dated the fragment to the late 1270s or early 1280s. The statutes of the medical faculty in Paris were first published between 1270 and 1274 (Haskins 1909:87), meaning that the original manuscript of the NRA fragment would then have been produced shortly after medicine had obtained full status at the university.

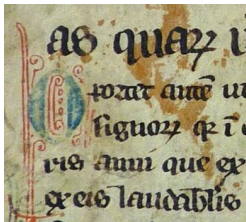
Compared to NRA fragment 128, 1, the medical fragment is similar in script, but perhaps even more typical "Parisiensis", of which the short descender of the *q* is a characteristic trait (Cencetti 1954:220). The initials alternate between blue (with red decoration) and red (with blue decoration), and there are headings in red and blue in

the top margin. There are no paragraph marks; possibly they were deemed unnecessary because of the format – the blocks of glossed text written in large script on alternating lines breaks up the smaller script of the commentary and helps orientation. The capitals, which are clearly distinguished from the lowercase script, contribute towards the same effect.



Lat. Frag. 13a, detail

The French manuscript BN 6870, despite being dated slightly later,²¹⁴ shares many similarities with NRA 13a in layout and style, though it lacks the question mark motif in the initials' decoration. This motive also appears in theological works around 1270 (Stirnemann 1990:70, 73). The comparable text part in BN 6870 stretches from 53 recto to 63 recto; in other words, 13a has a lacuna. I believe this can be explained by the fragment not being the inner part of the quire.



13a, detail (the question mark motive)

We know there was at least one person in Norway going by the title of *medicus* in the early 14th century, the personal doctor of King Håkon V, Remundus (= Raymond) Calmeta, who is mentioned as a witness in a document from 1313 (DN 3, 99). P.A. Munch identifies this personal doctor as another person from the 14th century sources,

²¹⁴ Kibre (1981:274) dates BN 6870 to the late 13th century, whereas Gallica dates it to the 14th century: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076922s>, accessed on 31 May 2016.

Raymond de Lamena, seemingly believing “Calmeta” to be a scribal error (Munch 1862:71–72). This Raymond de Lamena appears in the 14th century as a collector of the papal tax and a representative of the Norwegians at the curia (e.g. DN 4, 163, 182, 184). He is described in a letter from 1330 as a “domicellus de Montepessulano” (DN 17, 33).

While Arne Odd Johnsen comments on the strangeness of describing a man who was a *medicus* 17 years earlier as a “young man”, he nevertheless seems to agree with Munch that the two Raymonds are identical, pointing to Raymond de Lamena’s Montpellier background – Montpellier had a famous medical faculty by this point (Johnsen 1973:17–18).

However, such an identification seems strained and does not explain why Raymond the doctor, who by 1330 must have been at least middle-aged, would be referred to as a “domicellus”, nor does it explain why he would take up the office of tax collector rather than practice the art of medicine. Besides, there is no need to link Raymond Calmeta to Montpellier, since Paris had a faculty of medicine since the early 1270s (cf. above). The name of “Calmeta” is the old form of modern-day place names such as “Chaumette”, which is found several places in France.²¹⁵ If one were to speculate on a place of origin for our doctor, a possible candidate could be the ancient hamlet of Calmeta in Saint-Leu-la-Forêt, situated around 20 km north of Paris.²¹⁶

Due to the lack of information about Raymond other than this one mention, any attempt to determine his specific geographical origin must remain conjecture, but along with the presence of the Parisian Hippocrates fragment, it seems clear that any practicing *medicus* in 13/14th century Norway need not have his background from Montpellier. In this way, NRA Lat. Frag. 13a is an example of how the manuscript

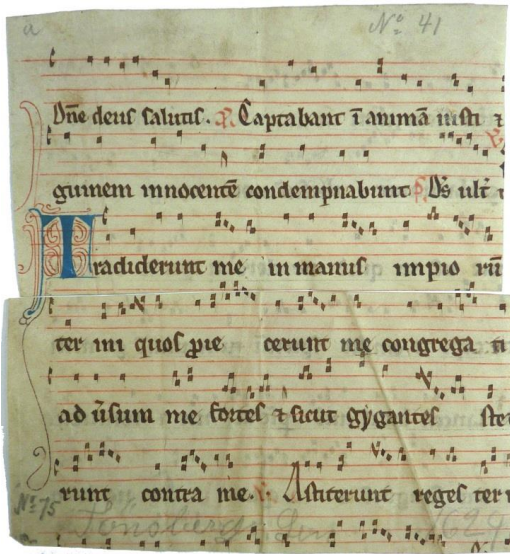
²¹⁵ Cf. the *Dictionnaire topographique de France*, <http://cths.fr/dico-topo/index.php>, accessed 1 June 2016. A search for “Calmeta” yielded 5 results; however, several regions have yet to be registered and it is likely that the number is quite higher. The Calmeta/Chaumette in Saint-Leu-la-Forêt, for instance, is not in the database.

²¹⁶ <http://fr.topic-topos.com/chateau-de-la-chaumette-saint-leu-la-foret>, accessed on 1 June 2016.

fragment material may contribute to shedding light over hitherto unresolved historical questions.

5.2.5 A breviary from St Olav's in Tønsberg?

The last case study is a breviary from the 13th century, NRA Lat. Frag. 485, 1–9, 11–12, 14–16. Unlike most of the other fragments we have looked at, the surviving pieces are fairly numerous, a grand total of 14.



Lat. Frag. 485, 1–2

These thirteen fragments from the same codex – numbered 1–9, 11–12, and 14–16 – were placed in the envelope along with three other fragments that are now identified as being from a different book: 485, 10; 485, 13; and 485, 17 (Gullick 2015).²¹⁷

²¹⁷ The fragments 485, 10 is thought to be from same book as the fragments 486, 1–9 and 11–19; 494, 1–5; Box 45, XXII, 9; Box 45, XXXV. Gisela Attinger and Michael Gullick have identified the music scribe of these fragments as the music scribe in fragments 476, 1–2; 478, 1–9; and 502, 3–4 (Gullick 2013a).

The breviary surviving as NRA Lat. Frag. 485, 1–9, 11–12, 14–16 was seemingly a fairly small, one-column book. No whole leaf survives. The reconstructed partial leaf below, 14–15, is almost the width of the leaf, albeit with cropped margins. It would measure approximately 180 mm in width if we estimate the lacuna in the middle to be around 5 mm. The width of the original leaf is unlikely to have been more than 200 mm.



Lat. Frag. 485, 14–15

What points to France is first and foremost the neat aspect of the script, which is Gothic but with a round character in the letter forms (Derolez 2003:74). In addition, the parchment is slightly nappy, a quality which can often be found in French manuscripts (Michael Gullick, personal communication). While an English origin cannot be excluded, the fragment shares a certain similarity in aspect and script to several Northern French Office books. Three fragments from a 13th century antiphoner in the Paris Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, Mn. Mas. 108,²¹⁸ 109,²¹⁹ and 130²²⁰ serve as illustration: like our NRA breviary, the fragments are from a book written on pale parchment, black ink on red staves, initials decorated in bright blue and red, the script having a roundish character while still Gothic. On a more detailed level, the script resembles the NRA breviary in the high meeting point of the

²¹⁸ <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=100043407>, accessed on 14 June 2016.

²¹⁹ <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=100043408>, accessed on 14 June 2016.

²²⁰ <http://medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr/Manuscrits/Voir?idFicheManuscrit=100045492>, accessed on 14 June 2016. This fragment is dated to the 14th century in the Medium database, but it is clearly from the same book as the two others.

lobe on the stem of the *a*, the straight back of the *g*, and the rightwards upturn of the minims' feet where they meet the baseline.

The surviving pieces of NRA Lat. Frag. 485, 1–9, 11–12, 14–16 contain chants for use for various feasts and times of year: St Stephen (26 December), Epiphany (6 January), Wednesday and Thursday after the first Sunday after Epiphany, Dominica Quinquagesimae/Septuagesimae, Easter, Peter and Paul (29 June), and St Peter in chains (1 August). In addition, NRA 485, 5 contains a reading text, revealing the fragment as coming from a breviary. If the feasts were all from the same time of year, one could imagine that the book had been dismembered into quires and that it was simply one of these quires that had found its way to Tønsberg. As it is, the spread of the contents strengthens the proposition that the book never left the *len*, but remained in use as binding material for the subsequent governors. Around half of the fragments are clustered together in/around the same time of year – the Dominica Quinquagesimae/Septuagesimae – namely 9, 11, 14, 15, and 16. If these were all used for bindings in the same year, one could imagine the codex being split long before then, but this is not the case: 14, 15, and 16 are from 1637, whereas 9 is from 1641 and 11 from as early as 1625.

St Olav's abbey was a Premonstratensian house, and some scholars have believed it was founded directly from the mother house of Prémontré (e.g. Kolsrud 1958:207; Vandvik 1954:21, note 5). If this were true, it would be of the highest relevance to the study at hand. However, in a list of Nordic Premonstratensian houses from around 1240 the Tønsberg abbey is referred to as “abbatial tunsberga filia burgilanensis”, or a daughter of Børglum in Denmark, which would fit better with the fact that Prémontré ceased to establish daughter houses directly fairly early on (Johnsen 1976:520).²²¹

²²¹ The notion that St Olav was founded directly from Prémontré seems to come from a list published in *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, VIII, 317; the list was taken from a codex from 1458 which cannot have been younger than around 1320 and which refers to St Olav's as a daughter of Prémontré or Børglum (Johnsen 1976:520).

That does not mean that there was no contact between the Norwegian Premonstratensians of St Olav's and their French counterparts. The abbots would attend the general chapter in Prémontré, situated near Laon in Picardy – the same area through which Norwegians would travel on their way to Paris (or, in this case, to the Premonstratensian general chapter). Furthermore, the list from 1240 mentioned above stems from the Premonstratensian convent of Ninove west of Brussels, and as pointed out by Johnsen (1976:520) it is likely that Norwegian Premonstratensians would make a stop here.

St Olav's belonged to the *len* of Tønsberg (Svendsen 2001)²²² and there is a possibility the abbey's books were used as binding material within the *len*. While we will never know for certain whether this breviary belonged to the abbey or not, the fact that the abbot of St Olav was required to visit the general chapter of Prémontré could offer an explanation as to how this “French-looking” book ended up in Tønsberg. Incidentally, Tønsberg was no backwater town in the 13th century, but was becoming increasingly important, especially after 1250 (Helle 1972:192). King Håkon Håkonsson spent much time there, and it was from Tønsberg that his daughter Kristina set out for Spain (HH Chapter 290). Continental books could plausibly find their way there as trade objects or gifts, although the nature of this particular manuscript – a breviary – might mean the owner was a religious institution, like a convent or a cathedral chapter.²²³

5.3 Conclusion

In the period from the early 13th century to the early 14th century, we have an increasing amount of evidence of French-Norwegian contacts: historical records of political and diplomatic alliances as well as religious and intellectual connections;

²²² This work was accessed online and page numbers were not available, but the link should provide a direct reference: http://www-bib.hive.no/tekster/sem_slagen/gaardshistorie1/51.html, accessed 5 May 2016.

²²³ Although individuals could own Office books, these could in practice be used by a community. An example is shown by the will of Torfinn of Hamar, wherein the church of Ulmshov is gifted with an antiphoner “quod fecimus fieri et iacet in choro” – i.e. that is already used by the church, although nominally owned by Torfinn (DN 17, 878).

archaeological traces of French cultural and religious influence; and physical evidence in the shape of manuscripts.

Whereas the Christina Psalter, Aslak Bolt's Bible, and the *Eracles* are fine manuscripts one could easily imagine were intended as gifts or objects of prestige rather than everyday use, the NRA fragments we have studied are of a diverse nature that reflects their use as university books, liturgical aids, and sources of knowledge. Although it cannot be proved that the books the fragments come from were indeed used in the area of their post-medieval provenance, they are illustrations of what the historical sources tell us of the connections between France and Norway in the 13th century: connections formed by university students, clergymen, royals, aristocrats, and the various institutions these individuals represented.

6. Manuscript fragments of French origin

6.1 Introduction to the corpus

In the case of liturgical fragments whose contents have not been described elsewhere, these contents are listed, although the full chants are not transcribed. I have indicated the readings so as not to have them confused with prayers and chants. The fragment material is an important resource for liturgists and others interested in studying which chants and texts were in use in medieval Norway, and I hope the list can be a useful tool for this purpose. For the sake of utility, I have normalised the Latin spelling where necessary when transcribing the indices.

Several tools and resources have been used in order to identify the contents where those were not known, the most important of which are the online edition of *Patrologia Latina* (PL),²²⁴ the chant database *Cantusdatabase.org*, the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (Gjerløw 1968), the online edition of the Sarum rite,²²⁵ and general internet searches.

Where I follow the dating and localisation in Michael Gullick's handlist, this is noted by MG in parentheses. In the cases where I or other scholars have dated, localised, or identified the contents of the fragments in question (and this is known to me), this is also noted by initials in parentheses. With the exception of Kristoffer Vadum's identifications, which are based on his doctoral thesis (2015), these references are based either on Gullick's handlist or on personal communication.

AM = Astrid Marner

GA = Gisela Attinger

²²⁴ <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>, accessed on 20 July 2016.

²²⁵ http://www.archive.org/stream/sarummissaledite00cathrich/sarummissaledite00cathrich_divu.txt, accessed on 20 July 2016. Comparing contents to the Sarum liturgy has been useful especially in the cases where an English origin seem as likely as a French one, for instance in the case of Lat. Frag. 1073, 1–3 + 1095, 1–13.

IO = Iolanda Ventura

KV = Kristoffer Vadum

LG = Lilli Gjerløw

MG = Michael Gullick

PS = Patricia Stirnemann

SM = Synnøve Myking

SR = Susan Rankin

ÅO = Åslaug Ommundsen

6.1.1 Lat. Frag. 13a, 1

Provenance: Unknown, 1569

Book type: Medical texts

Gjerløw registration: Med 4

Date: Late 1270s – early 1280s (PS)

Origin: France (Paris) (PS)

Format: The remaining part of the bifolium measures 210 mm in height, 170 mm in width.

Contents: Hippocrates' *Prognostica*, commentary most likely by Galen (PS and IO)

Decoration and colours: Alternating red and blue initials with flourishes, page headings in red and blue.

1509

riū. quibus in xvii. sextus i xv:
quibus p quatuordecim augm
tando in acuta eigne us ad xx di
em deaurit.

epodus primus epodus eoz ad h p u e
he p u o r t o u q r e q t e x p n o n e s h e e e i q m a l
f e m e e e q u i e m e m o r e u s q u e d i e m e s q u e
p r e m i s s a s u n t
e q e s t c o m p u t a n d u m i c o m p l e
t o u i o d u r u m q u a d m n a m m
n i m e s a d f o r m a m q u o r t r e s
s e p t i m a n a s . x x . d i e r u s p a r t o m
m i n a m u s .

e n o e p u t u e e a d h o r s o m c o m p u t a t i o n e
d i e s p r o p t e r a u n u s s i t u t c o m p u t a t u m a u n o
n i m e n t i s e a n o s o m c o m p u t a t i o n e d i e s i n t e g r a
o n e t p o d i e r u t c o m p u t a t u m a d h o r s o m c o m p u
t a t i o n e d i e s c o m p u t a t u m n q m u e c o m p u t a t u r
t r e s s e p t i m a n a s i n . x x . d i e b u s . i s t a m u n o
r e s t a n s e u s n o e p u t c o m p u t a t u m c o m p u t a t i o n e
d i e s c o m p u t a t u m . i l l u d q u i d u e r u e q m a m q m a
i u s e a t . i l l y d i e s . a n h a m i l l o e e s t q u a d i e r t
p r o p t e r u n a e x c e n t a p a s m e n t i a i n u n a l i q u o e
m i n u s d i e b u s . p l u s x x . R o m e a u t m e n t i s
a p a t u o s g r a z m a n i f e s t u m e s t . i a p i l l o s u l
t o q u a n t u r i a m a n a l i . i u o t i p e i t o e a d i e s t
e t t e m p o q u e s t u e p l o m t o l . t u n e . Q u e n t
t u r h e m p u s f i n a t e n e t r e m o n i s i l l o h e a t i
h e m q u e r u m q e d i e t e u d a r i o s t o r a t . c o m p u

en ius hoc prodo. f illa uia. i
adductio eue p p o d u s p r i m u s i x
n o d u s . x l . d i e . i t a u s i t e d i e .
O n i u u t p p n o n e s u u s n u i q n o s i t
x x . d i e m . x x x i i i . d i e m . x l . d i e s a
d i o q m f i l l o e e t f h u c m o d u m e e t q u
s i o q e q o y r t i l i b o e p i d . d i e s i q u a l i t
h o s d i e s . i q u e r e i n e g . s o d i e t i l l . i d
l u r n q e g o n a r o t e q q u e c o p u t
p u t a t i o n e e q u a l i t r e s s e p t i m a n a s . L p
o i n e p u t u o a d d i e . x x . e t c o m p u t a t u r e a
u e e q u a l i . h s e p a n t s e p t i m a n a m e a l
t a a i c o n s t i n a t a s u r f h u c a m i d i e s
s o m h u c a m i u e c o m p u t a t u r s e p a m a n e
x x . s o m i l l a s i l i u d i n e g c o m p u t a t u r s e
e s p o s i t a m . i s e p a m a n a t r a . s e p a m a n a
a u n t t r e s e a z t e x . d i e . g r a m i s s o d u s
a u n t t r e s s e p a m a n e a l i e d i e s . x l . r e
d u a z e x e s t o r x x x i i i . e t p h u c a m i
d i e m a u d i e m . x l . i t h u c c o m p u t a t i o n e
t r e s s e p a m a n e t r e i n d i e b u s . x l . e a l i
d i e t i n l i b r o e p i d . o c t o g e s i m u s a p e u m e
n o d i e s o c t o g e s i m u s q u a n s h e d i e i l l u
r n o i n s i c a t i l l u d n t r e s s e p a m a n e c o m p
d i e b u s . i e n a u t c o m p u t a t u r d u e s e p a m a n
m o d o u t i o r i s u t o p l e a t c o n s t i n a t o e a z
t o p u t e s e p a m a n a . i i y . s m o d c o m m u n a
t a m a n a s a h i u t o p l e a n t . i d i e . x l .

Quibus ualitudibz decia
pronostica m i n a o l a n n a e a
p h a p a c o n f u s a s u n t m a r t o
u n g u l a n d e s t i n s i n g l i s

Lat. Frag. 13a, 1 (first page of bifolium)

6.1.2 Lat. Frag. 27, 1–2

Provenance: Nordhordland, 1626

Book type: Distinction or florilegium?

Date: 13th century (MG)

Origin: France (SM)

Format: The two pieces form part of a leaf, measuring 160 mm x 90 mm.

Contents: The fragment contains Bible citations linked to lemmata in red, possibly a form of exegesis or used as a handbook for composing sermons. A tentative transcription is provided here, with the references in square brackets where they have been identified (SM)

Recto (?):*

Ap(ro)priis ipsos elongando (?) yy v. terra / Ipsos efugendo. P(rim)o odientes eos in fi? / Auxilium eis non prestando. p(salmu)s. clau? / P(roverbis)lib(er). i. invocabunt me, et ego non [exaudiam; mane consurgent, et non inve]nient me: eo q(uod) exosa(m) hab(uerint) disciplinam / Ipsos dispergendo. p(salmu)s. ??? eos / [Ezekiel] v. gladium nudabo post eos idem i(...) / Ipsos vilificando. p(salmu)s. ut lutum pla[tearum] / [Ezekiel 5] et blasphemiam [sic] exemplum et stupor / ??? multa (cont)ra impedit / ??? ap(osto)lis iiii / Bonam operam ignem elidit. quasi inter / Cong?? ??? / Homines in(ter)ficat. Iob. v. ??? / Spiritum sanctum expellit. Y(sa)y(as). ?? / Homines infirmare facit. Ecc(les)ia(stes) vii. in / dete ne irascamini in via ??? / [Apocalypsis 22] [uni]cuique secundum opera sua / Tunc a(li)orum occultum manifestabunt / ?? ioh(annem) ix recelabunt celi ??? / In perpetuum ?? b(e)n(e)ficiu(m) dampnatu. / [Isaiah] xxx. Labia eius sunt indignation. / Tunc domini severitae [sic] manifesta / tempestuosa sententia proferetur P(salmu)s / [Nahum] i(d est) d(omi)n(u)s in tempestate et turbine u[er]ba / Eternum anathema [sic] promulgabit / (v)ult. qui no(n) amat dominum meu[m] / bum compositum ex ~~fan~~o hebreo et greco / [Malachy 4] ne forte veniam et p(er)cutiam / ????? v(e)l op(er)is tuis i(d est)

* Marginal notes: vii si licet – viii quia – viiii quia

Northwick 1876
8.11.1876

Apprope ipsos elagando. ps. v. terra n
 ipsos effugendo. ps. odientes eos in se
Ampulsum eis no prestando. ps. clam
 ps. i. imprecabunt me et ego no e
 nient me. eo. ps. hie en apstman
Ipsos diligendo. ps. i. recumam eos
 v. gl'iam inuile ipsi eos idan
Ipsos uisitando. ps. ut iustum plat
 et blasphemiam et contumeliam et lybr
 scia multa. **Impedit**
 diam in am. ps. iij.
Bonam am. ps. i. elidit. ps. i.
Goniam. ps. i. ps. i. ps. i.
Homines in dicit. ps. v. i. ps. i.
Spium sanctum expelle. ps. iij. ps. i.
Homines in fiamare. ps. scia. viij. ps. i.
 deo ne ualeant inuile. **Impedit**
 anq. scia idum opemba.
Gute inuile oculum manifestat
 ps. i. ps. i. ps. i. ps. i. ps. i.
Impium se bnficm. **Impedit**
 xxv. labia eius sunt indignatione
Guns domi seueritas manifestat
 empulsum seueritas ps. i. ps. i.
 i. dno in impetate et turbine u
Eternum anathema promulgatum
 uls. qui no uat dominum me
 bus. **Impedit** et fimo de pto
 ne forte ueniat de pto
Nonque et in oia sua

Verso (?):*

eccaverat. Y(sa)y(as) lxvi. Ego fui / Y(sa)y(as) iiii. Auferet opprobium nostrum / [Philippenses 2]
 similitudinem hominum factus et ha[bitu] / ??? seculorum / Quis s(er)vire / ur matt(eu)s vi. Nemo pot(est)
 duobus domi[nis servire] / Placuit restituare sibi om(n)ia. c(r)eature / [Colossenses 1] [i]mago dei invisibilis
 primogenitus o(mn)is / Juditia ??? domine in terra. Y(sa)y(as) xxxi / [Regum 1] [n]onne vidisti acab humiliatum
 coram / Inducam malum in diebus eius / [Genesis 15] [conpl]ete sunt iniquitates amoreorum usque / [Romanos
 2] [qu]ia benignitas dei ad penitentiam te / am ??? xviii. Dicit d(omi)nu(s) abine no(n) / ?? quibus rogat abraam
 / ?? si penitentiam eg(eri)t gens / um ??? ~~et eum~~ agam ei ego pe / nem ei ??? xviii. quacumq(ue) hora / ?? eius
 non recordabor amplius / gl(or)iam. y(sa)y(as). xxvi. cum feceris iudi[cia] / ?? o(m)nis habitatores orbis quia fo
 / qui hoc mundo ?? apetunt / ? consolabor d(e) hostibus ??? / [vu]lt mortem peccatoris / gratiam d(e)v(ers)a vii.
 non poterit eos / bestie quos sunt sup(er)bia / ?? vitia hostis ???

* A different, Norwegian-looking hand has added notes in the margins on one side: “flagella dei q(u)a(s)i
 magna mala pertinebunt cum deb(er)unt ???”

Decoration and colours: Rubrics and lemmata in bright red.

6.1.3 Lat. Frag. 33, 1

Provenance: Tønsberg

Book type: Theology

Date: Second half of 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (Paris) (MG, PS)

Format: The fragment is part of a leaf and measures 101 mm in height, 73 mm in width.

Contents: Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, Liber secundus, distinctio XXIV, paragraphs 1 and 8 (ÅO and SM)

Decoration and colours: Marginalia and rubrics in red ink.

accepit. si non potest perficere intentum. ut per gratiam
 rationis in alia meri salutem ualere. Poterat
 quid pro illis auxiliis gratie rationis resistere mali-
 si non proficeret bonum. Poterat tamen pro illis bonum uide quod
 quia potest in uia in peccato. Si non potest in alio gratia
 ad uitio spiritualem uiuere. quod uitam mereret. etc.
 nam. Vnde autem in enchiridion. Sic factus est homo in actum u
 & manere in ea rectitudine possit; non in diuino a
 uitio & suo si prout arbitrio. Vnde lib. hor
 elegit; dei uoluntas fiet; ut ab illo ut de illis
 quia sua malum facere uoluntatem quam deus de illis
 facta est uoluntas dei. Ite in eod. Sic oportet ar
 um hominem fieri ut bonum possit uelle & male. Hec
 frustra si bonum. nec impune si male. Idem quod in lib
 de correctione & gratia. ait. Si huiusmodi uitio uel ar
 glo uel homini cum primis facti sunt defuncti; quoniam
 non talis natura facta erat. ut in diuino auxi
 ho possit manere si uel. non utique sua culpa cecid
 disse. Defuncti; quippe ad uitio in quod manere non
 possit. Idem. Dedit deus homini bonam uoluntatem
 in illis impune ea fecerat rectum. Dedit ad uitio
 in quod uel. ut in uia si uel.

6.1.4 Lat. Frag. 41, 1

Provenance: Tønsberg 1620

Book type: Homily collection?

Date: First half of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France? (MG) or England? (SM)

Format: The fragment is part of a leaf and measures 92 mm in height, 120 mm in width; width of text column is approximately 70 mm.

Contents: Cassiodorus, *Expositio in psalterium*, 2, in psalmum XC, verse 13;
Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei ad Eusebium*
Liber Quattor (SM)

Decoration and colours: N/A

Leo cui psequi innocentes. Oraco. cu negle
 gentes impia uozacitate deglucit. S:
 saluatoz nŕ. has neq̄tias cū p̄dictis nōib̄
 diuina magestare calcauit. Ad lapidem
 pedē tuū. i. in legē q̄ in lapidib̄ tabul
 septa erat. q̄ xp̄o impleuit. At illi ihe
 rur su. Septu: n̄ tēptab̄ dñm dñm tuū.
 Suggestebat enī tāq̄ hōi. ut signo aliq̄ ex
 ploraret q̄ntū ap̄ dñm posset. s; p̄tinet
 ad sanā doct̄nā. qm̄ hō h̄t q̄o faciat n̄ tēp
 tare dñm dñm suū. Iterū ad sc̄pt̄m eū
 diabol̄ in montē ex celsū uade. Et iels̄
 aū mont. sup̄brā diaboli siḡcat. Et dñs
 ad humilia descendit. ut sup̄brū diabo

No 114

Cassiodorus

Lat. Frag. 41, 1 (Cassiodorus)

uilia nuncupat. Et n̄ candū sic d̄d̄ q̄nq;
 lapides lumpidissimos misit in p̄ rā. &
 de uno percussit philistēi goliā. ita & xp̄c̄
 ex q̄nq; libris moysi unū h̄: de uerō no
 mīū testamonis. p̄strauit diaboli. Ad
 huc sciendū: qd̄ mach̄s has tēptatioēs
 & ordinē tēptatiōis ade secut̄ sit. lucas ū
 sc̄dm̄ ordm̄ē h̄storie eas sc̄pserit. Tē r̄liq̄t
 eū diabol̄ & ecce anḡli access̄. Itra
 bant ei. Hec̄it tēptatio. ut sc̄p̄t̄. ia
 Anḡli ministr̄. ut uictoris dignitas ep̄be
 tur. Tēptat̄ a diabolo q̄ uer̄ hō erat. &
 ministrabat̄ ei anḡli. q̄ uerū dñm crea
 torē suū eū intelligebant. Antiquus enī

Lat. Frag. 41, 1 (Hieronymus Stridonensis)

6.1.5 Lat. Frag. 42, 1–2

Provenance: Eker, 1622

Book type: Sermons

Date: Ca. 1300 (MG)

Origin: France? (MG)

Format: The fragment consists of two pieces forming most of a leaf, which measures approximately 155 mm in height. The inner margin has been cropped; what remains of the leaf measures approximately 100 mm in width. The text is laid out in two columns, each of which measures around 110 x 35 mm.

Contents: Nicholaus de Aquavilla, *Sermones dominicales* (AM)

Decoration and colours: Red is used to mark capitals and underline words.

6.1.6 Lat. Frag. 46, 1–2**Provenance:** Jamtland, 1614**Book type:** Theology**Date:** Late 13th century (SM)**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** The fragment consists of two small pieces which form the upper part of a leaf, measuring approximately 220 mm in width.**Contents:** Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea in quatuor euangelium: Expositio in Iohannem*, Chapter 5, lectio 1 (recto) and 2 (verso) (AM)**Decoration and colours:** Lemmata underlined in red, capitals touched with red.

6.1.7 Lat. Frag. 47, 1–2**Provenance:** Romsdalen, 1623**Book type:** Theology**Date:** 1215–1230 (PS)**Origin:** France (MG, PS)**Format:** The two pieces are from the same leaf, which measures approximately 235 mm in width.**Contents:** Peter the Lombard, Glossed Psalms; Psalms 148:13–14, prologue of 149 and 149:3–4 (recto); 149:8–9; prologue of Psalm 150 (verso)²²⁶**Decoration and colours:** Blue and red smaller initials with red and blue flourishes; one larger initial in dark red, blue and gold. Red and blue capitals alternate in the text. Lemmata are underlined with red.**Literature:** Ommundsen (2008:41), Karlsen (2013a:233, 264)

²²⁶ Karlsen (2013a:233) lists the fragment as containing (the commentary of) Ps. 148:14 and 149:8 (recto), and Ps. 148:14 and 149:4 (verso).

Vobis nobilibus
comm mmani
as ferres.

De fatam m
os uduum dō
scipum gloria

tenet et m
virtute regnoque datus
vinctuibus ea. amadus
es contumax et illud
re alligatus et uxor nob
fuit soluto hanc. hinc uir
cibus ligantur et gerunt reges
Nobiles isti. adstantes et
omnibusque in nuda. as elq. dīs. ut foris. q. s. confiteat
spēs impuente. hū. dō. rōdit. es. hīs. a. m. a. s. f. r. a. m. a. s. u. r. a. d. ē.
tū. m. o. e. n. i. o. r. a. n. o. b. i. l. i. t. a. t. e. c. o. n. t. r. a. r. e. t. a. d. a. v. i. d. u. i. t. a. t. e. s. i.
tē. m. p. t. a. u. g. r. a. t. e. m. e. l. i. g. e. r. e. n. t. n. o. b. i. l. i. t. a. t. e. s. i. h. i. v. o. l. u. n. t. e. s. i.
s. p. e. r. i. t. a. t. e. p. r. o. c. e. s. e. s. p. u. a. r. e. s. i. p. h. a. r. a. t. e. m. i. m. p. s. i. h. i. v. o. l. u. n. t. e. s. i.
h. u. r. e. g. e. s. r. n. o. b. i. l. i. s. m. i. n. u. t. a. t. f. e. r. r. e. s. n. e. p. o. s. s. i. t.
h. e. r. e. t. h. o. c. e. s. t. r. i. d. u. c. t. u. m. e. s. f. a. m. i. n. e. s. e. p. o. s. s. i. t.

Andare do
mmum mias
tus laudari
cum infirma
mento uimms

In ditione ad p...
Verlanetur as qui congregatur fōs rēpōtis fragitimo
yhaqm hie restitur tam confomes glorio hie in lūmū
loctum ubi est omnis habuū ordinatō hie ego agitur celans
da in dīe eius qui gloriōsis sine hie cū saluū dōmū
omni omnes rē. s. v. m. m. s. o. m. n. i. s. s. e. d. e. r. a. m. i. m. p. s. i. t.
hōe uimms dūmne laudis omnis p. h. a. n. o. r. a. e. r.
m. u. r. i. g. a. n. d. i. u. o. c. a. n. t. e. d. e. c. e. n. t. a. t. u. r. q. u. i. s. e. q. u. i.
l. e. n. i. s. h. i. n. e. c. o. n. s. i. d. a. t. i. o. n. e. s. o. r. a. m. o. s. t. r. a. n. t.
u. s. i. n. t. e. x. p. r. e. s. d. i. c. t. u. r. i. n. e. i. s. a. u. t. o. r. i. t. a. t. e. m. o. s.
u. t. h. i. c. u. a. d. p. r. a. s. I. A. n. s. c. o. i. n. h. i. s. e. s.

Lat. Frag. 47, 1-2 (verso)

6.1.8 Lat. Frag. 49, 1–2

Provenance: Nordhordland 1642

Book type: Theology

Date: Late 12th or early 13th century (MG)

Origin: France (MG)

Format: The two pieces form the upper corner of a leaf, around 85 mm in height and 150 mm in width. The text is laid out in two columns of around 70 mm in width, above top line, with the glossed text in larger script on alternate lines.

Contents: Peter the Lombard, *In epistolam ad Galatas*, Chapter 3

Decoration and colours: Red initial with blue flourishes, alternating red and blue headings in top margin. Red is used for references to authorities and for underlining lemmata.

of ... 1692

: ag.

... ant. HO

qui uenientu ... forma serui sanant uulnera hosti
 languidi. hi s et sanauerunt ille qui ad uulne
 ratum qui uulnera et alligati. quem sacerdos zleuira
 in misericordia teret p'cauificauerit. lex uenit et
 sacerdos. q. lex uenit ad p'cauificand' dicit. h
 est etia ebficuit ille qui misit baculum ad fides
 Tand' filium humanitatis. p' que cum ille d'ille
 n' fugerit tamde uenit ipe ioh' d'us. 7 p'cepit
 se. atq' coaptant p'cauificatio. 7 iuxta mortui.
 hic etia est angelus ille in cui' descendit mones. at

... hinc est omne serua ...

Dicitur factu
 uniuersu
 dent' a
 est. quera

Lat. Frag. 49, 1-2 (verso)

6.1.9 Lat. Frag. 50, 1–2

Provenance: Hardanger 1636

Book type: Theology

Date: Middle of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (MG)

Format: Two pieces from one leaf, including the outer margin and top corner. The remaining part of the leaf is ca. 175 mm tall and ca. 60 mm in width. The margins contain references to authorities.

Contents: Gilbert of Poitiers's Glossed Psalms, from Psalm 68 to the opening of Psalm 70 (MG)

Decoration and colours: N/A

Literature: Ommundsen (2013a:112–113), Karlsen (2013a:226, 249)

.s. q̄l̄ ip̄e
 stat̄ cop̄eder̄ **S**ay.
 Ā un̄ct̄os̄ **S**e. **C**a.
 as̄et̄or̄. **S**e.
 h. r̄ca. i. ec
 tā mare. i.
 ra. s. mari.
 h. r̄ca. mare.
 aupt̄. unde
 i. Qm̄ d̄īe
 eccl̄ie x̄ q̄
 ā syon. adq̄.
 i. act̄. Nec̄ em̄
 ea h̄ūt̄

Harlange 36.

e q̄ in spe fi
 saluū fec̄ eū
 i. e. i. un̄gōne
 am̄. q̄l̄r̄ ac̄cip̄e
 cur̄ securi. q̄l̄r̄
 r̄uū q̄p̄e f̄ue
 s̄on. addidit. ū
 ēḡ in palatio
 p̄sum̄tū. m̄
 d̄oante n̄q̄ate
 ar̄ p̄d̄nc̄iā
 r̄. s̄. eoz̄ mala
 em̄i q̄e leo
 p̄ec̄ ad̄uuar̄i.
 ar̄ r̄lib̄at̄. q̄ est
 d̄at̄. s̄. i. a. m̄.
 n̄a. ēf̄et̄ c̄ōm̄a;

Harlange 1636

6.1.10 Lat. Frag. 57, 1

Provenance: Boyesens regnskap 1669

Book type: Glossed medical text

Date: Fourth quarter of the 13th century (PS)

Origin: France (PS)

Format: One small piece from what is probably the top outer corner of a leaf, measuring approximately 45 mm in height and 85 mm in width. The glossed text is in larger script on alternate lines; in addition to the regular glosses, interlinear glosses have been inserted in an extremely tiny hand between the lines of the glossed text.

Contents: Hippocrates, *De regimine acutorum*, III, 46²²⁷ with commentary by an unknown author (IO)

Decoration and colours: One small red capital.

²²⁷ Cf. the printed version, Venice, 1483. I owe my thanks to Iolanda Ventura for the reference as well as her help with identifying the contents.

p potam aque fit iuuanturū qm̄ faciat
 ut p̄ hūc agt̄ h̄ q̄ t̄ dmō cuius ī yōm̄ellet
 q̄m̄itū q̄aā q̄m̄itōne multa qz̄ am̄lo
 d̄ t̄ p̄uoc̄t̄ ur̄nā nō s̄c̄t̄ q̄ ūē in̄ pot̄idē
 quoz̄ eoz̄ unā aut̄ dual̄ nuoc̄t̄ B̄ q̄l̄t̄t̄atē
 t̄ q̄nt̄al̄ q̄ quā p̄ hūc̄tare est̄ p̄uoc̄t̄ē in̄
 unā ad̄ ex̄t̄andū ī q̄ n̄c̄t̄ est̄ ex̄t̄arē ex̄
 t̄anabm̄ ā s̄p̄l̄t̄ h̄m̄it̄ d̄m̄onē q̄ s̄iudic̄
 t̄ū s̄iāt̄ p̄s̄ū q̄ m̄l̄t̄udinē ū oib̄ horū est̄

Fr. Boyesen
 Regest. 1669.

Lat. Frag. 57, 1 (recto?)

uocantur nocte est. ut hinc offe
 cooptul̄ta s̄iō̄ curul̄ m̄ax̄ aā
 do nō ā ac̄t̄ balneandū est
 forte necesse. **P**er usum et balne
 ex̄nā aq̄b̄d̄ eaz̄ q̄z̄ m̄q̄b̄d̄ eaz̄ nō t̄q̄z̄ e
 n̄m̄oz̄et̄ ul̄c̄ ē q̄m̄ n̄ ēt̄ d̄ quō id̄gē q̄

Lat. Frag. 57, 1 (verso?)

6.1.11 Lat. Frag. 70, 1

Provenance: Oslo hospital 1645

Book type: Bible

Date: Around 1300 (SM)²²⁸

Origin: France? (MG)

Format: One piece from the outer part of a leaf, approximately the height of the leaf, measuring 270 mm in height and 90 mm in width.

Contents: I Samuel 25:32–41; I Samuel 25:42–26:8 (MG)

Decoration and colours: Chapter markers in alternating red and blue in the margin, one small initial in bright blue with red flourishes.

²²⁸ Gullick (2015) suggests the 14th century. There seems to be a mixture of 13th century (e.g. chapter number in the margin) and 14th century (e.g. hairlines on the tironian *et*) features (Patricia Stirnemann, personal communication).

iantur iungunt ubi
 ca pedis ~~ca~~
 locum accepit de dextera
 filiam suam uxorem
 is qui aut de gallim.
 ha ad saul in gaba **xxvi**
 abscondit eum
 ad uiso solitudinis.
 scendit i desertu ziph
 uroz de electis isrlu
 o ziph. 7 castra me
 eq ant ex ad uiso so
 deserto. ydenti au q
 rator el. 7 didicit qd
 nit ad locum u ant
 mclat saul et abna
 nente in tentorio
 achimelech ethaum
 Quis descendit me
 descendam **u**
 uerit saul diciton
 re in tentorio thassa
 c in tra. Abner aut
 el in circuitu ei. h
 onclutit ds hclut
 man tuas. nuc g p

6.1.12 Lat. Frag. 73, 1–6

Provenance: Inderøy 1612

Book type: Theology

Date: Late 13th century (SM)²²⁹

Origin: France or England (SM)

Format: Two of the six pieces make up a leaf, which measures 215 mm in height and 150 mm in width. The text is laid out in two columns of 43 lines, written below top line, each column measuring 175 x 55 mm.

Contents: An abbreviated/variant form of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (AM).

Decoration and colours: Rubrics and paragraph markers in red and capitals touched with red.

²²⁹ Gullick (2015) suggests 13th/14th century.

6.1.13 Lat. Frag. 90, 1–2

Provenance: Moss 1614

Book type: Bible

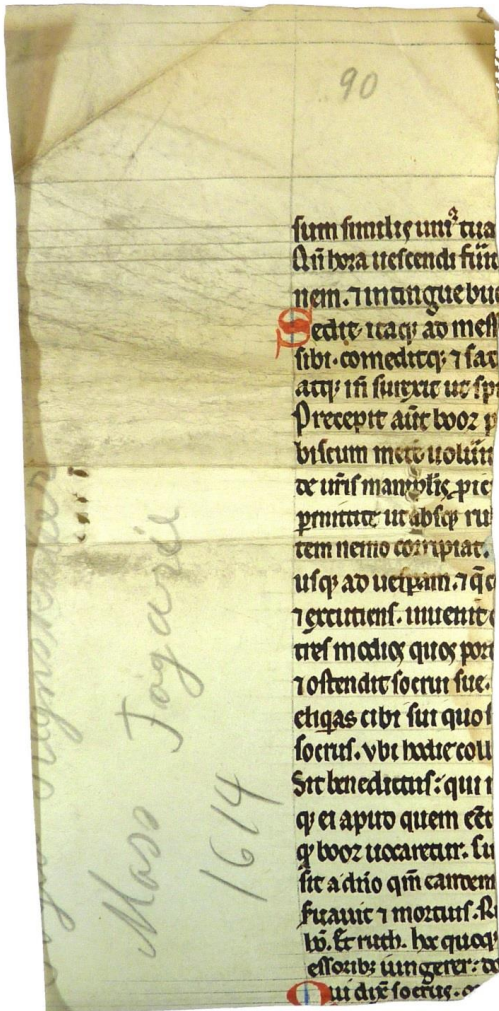
Date: Ca. 1220 (PS)

Origin: France (Paris) (PS)

Format: Two pieces from the same part of a book, although seemingly not from the same page. Each piece is approximately 135 mm in height and 65 mm in width, containing 25 lines of text.

Contents: Ruth 2:13–22, Ruth 3:10–18 and Ruth 4:1, Ruth 4:7–15 (MG)

Decoration and colours: Red paragraph mark and a chapter number in roman numerals, written in alternating red and blue.



Lat. Frag. 90, 1

6.1.14 Lat. Frag. 96, 2–27 + 97, 1–2

Provenance: 96, 2–27: Bamble 1629, 1628, 1628-9, 1629–30, 1630, 1631, 1633, 1634; Bratsberg 1627–8, 1628–9, 1629, 1629-30, 1630–1, 1631, 1631–2, 1632, 1632–3, 1634; Tolbog for Langesund n.d., 1629–30; Telemarken 1627–8 1629; Skien 1630; 97, 1–2: Nordland

Book type: Psalter

Date: Late 12th century (MG)

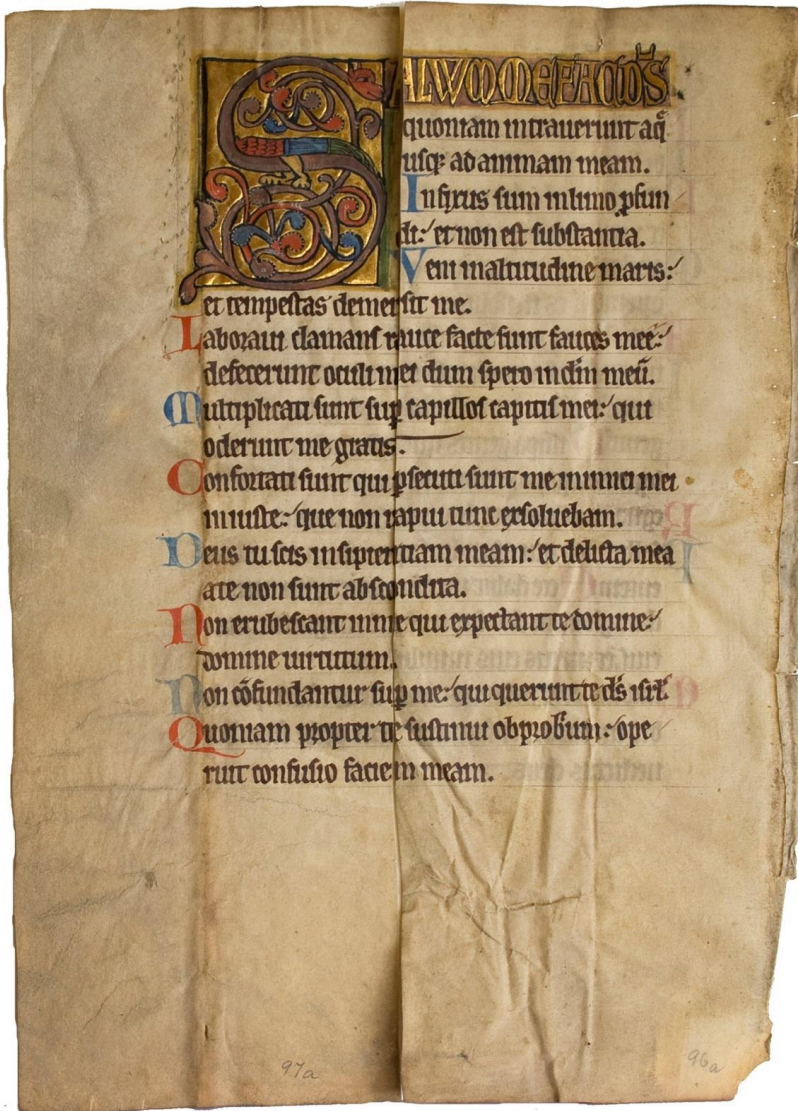
Origin: Flanders (MG, PS)

Format: The fragment is from a one-column book, with a format of approximately 26.5 x 18.5 cm and a written space of 17.5 x 11 cm.

Contents: Psalms 33 to 142, with lacunae (ÅO)

Decoration and colours: Two larger initials decorated in gold, red, blue, and ochre; there are also a number of smaller initials in gold, green, and ochre, as well as red/blue-alternating large capitals.

Literature: Ommundsen (2013b:285–286, 299–300)



Lat. Frag. 97, 1-2 (verso)

6.1.15 Lat. Frag. 128, 1**Provenance:** Hadeland 1621**Book type:** Theology**Date:** Around 1300 (MG)**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** One leaf-high piece, approximately 325 mm tall and 125 mm wide. The text is laid out in two columns, the written space of a column measuring 245 mm x 80 mm.**Contents:** Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, Book 2, Chapters 92, 8 to 96, 8 (SM)**Decoration and colours:** Alternating red and blue initials with flourishes, red and blue paragraph markers, rubrics in red.

6.1.16 Lat. Frag. 133, 1–2**Provenance:** Nedenes 1624**Book type:** Theology**Date:** 13th century (MG)**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** Two pieces form the outer part of a leaf, ca. 310 mm tall and 85 mm wide.

Contents: The commentary part from Anselm of Laon's Gloss on Luke, the end of Chapter 19 and the opening of Chapter 20 (AM). This gloss (neither the PL edition nor, seemingly, the fragment) does not include commentaries on the verses 36 and 41–43. These two passages have been added from other commentaries: the first from Bede's *In Lucam evangeliam expositio*, Book 5, Chapter 19; the second from the *Allegoriae in evangelia et epistolas Pauli*, Book 4, Chapter 30, tentatively attributed by PL to Hugh of St Victor²³⁰ (SM)

Decoration and colours: Alternating red and blue paragraph markers, red and blue chapter number in the margin, alternating red and blue line-fillers

²³⁰ If the attribution is correct, it is tempting to see the connection between the fragment and the Norwegians at St Victor, although Hugh's works were widely read and copied outside of his own abbey, especially by the 13th century, when this manuscript was copied. It does, however, fit into the same picture as the "university books" studied in Chapter 5.

6.1.17 Lat. Frag. 159, 1–5

Provenance: Steen Billes Regnskap for Jamtland og Herjedalen, 1604–05; Strinda 1633

Book type: Canon law

Date: 1170s (PS)

Origin: France (MG, PS)

Format: The fragment consists of one bifolium and four smaller pieces. The bifolium has been preserved in full-page size, measuring 310 mm in height and 210 mm in width, with a two-column layout. The columns measure approximately 250 x 65 mm, containing 50 lines of text.

Contents: Stephen of Tournai, *Summa decretorum*, commentary on Gratian's Distinctions 3–5, 7, 17–20, and 21

Decoration and colours: N/A

Literature: Vadum (2015:420)

Sten Billis Regenszoff aff. temyl. an. ocs. Herdalen. D.

1604. 5. nota qm qm cura vol insulam p. quata h
 quener conuengebere si adiam de nabi l. p. m
 h. h. d. m. s. h. e. m. l. e. g. o. m. i. s. s. i. s. d. m. i. b. e. d. e. h. a. l.
 p. e. a. m. q. m. d. i. l. l. a. m. i. n. t. m. o. n. o. r. d. e. q. u. e. d. e. d. e. h. a. l.
 e. p. p. t. i. m. h. i. n. t. h. e. p. t. a. u. r. i. t. p. r. e. t. a. l. l. q. u. i. d. e. q. u. e.
 r. e. m. q. u. o. d. e. b. e. e. a. n. t. i. o. n. o. y. i. g. e. r. e. g. i. s. u. l. l. i. m. a. t. u. r.
 s. g. e. m. e. q. u. o. d. e. b. e. h. a. r. p. r. i. o. c. a. n. o. n. u. m. h. i. e. m. l. a. r.
 p. a. s. i. g. n. i. t. o. n. e. c. a. n. o. n. e. l. a. p. p. e. l. l. e. p. u. l. e. g. i. a. l. i. n. i. q. u. e.
 u. l. l. e. p. u. m. d. i. a. r. i. t. q. u. o. d. a. u. q. u. e. m. p. u. a. r. a. n. u. e. c. o. r.
 i. n. a. q. u. o. u. l. e. s. p. u. a. r. o. f. f. i. s. i. o. p. l. l. i. n. i. s. q. u. e. l. i. b. y.
 h. i. c. o. n. s. e. n. t. u. r. n. o. m. i. b. e. q. u. o. u. l. l. i. t. a. r. i. m. u. s.
 o. s. t. e. n. t. u. r. e. c. c. l. e. s. i. a. l. e. c. a. n. o. n. l. e. p. e. d. i. c. t. a. h. a. l.
 g. i. t. a. b. e. r. e. d. e. f. a. c. t. a. e. p. t. a. l. a. e. g. u. o. y. m. i. t. e. d. e. l.
 p. l. i. n. c. o. n. c. i. l. i. s. s. i. m. o. d. i. s. p. u. a. l. i. t. e. r. a. n. o. n. s. u. m. s.
 l. a. q. u. m. d. e. c. a. n. o. n. e. r. e. g. i. s. d. e. h. o. n. o. p. e. d. i. c. t. u. m.
 r. e. d. e. n. t. e. p. t. a. r. e. o. s. t. e. n. t. u. r. p. e. r. s. u. b. t. i. l. i. t.
 e. s. t. d. e. i. e. l. e. a. p. t. i. n. a. l. o. u. o. p. o. e. l. m. u. r. e. i. q. u. o. d. l.
 q. u. a. m. a. n. i. s. s. i. m. e. d. i. a. r. i. t. u. r. c. o. t. u. r. u. m. u. e. c. e. n.
 . b. q. u. o. d. i. n. c. a. p. t. a. s. i. n. e. c. a. p. t. a. n. o. s. i. b. o. l. e. g. e. p.
 l. o. n. a. g. i. s. t. i. s. i. n. e. c. e. n. t. u. r. n. a. s. i. d. u. i. m. u. r. e.
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6.1.18 Lat. Frag. 160, 1

Provenance: Stavanger 1629

Book type: Canon law

Date: Middle of the 13th century (MG)

Origin: France (PS)

Format: The fragment consists of half of a leaf from a two-column book, with the top part cropped off. It measures approximately 330 mm in height and 145 mm in width, the remaining written space 300 mm x 100 mm, containing 79 lines of text.

Contents: Bartholomew of Brescia, commentary on Gratian's *Decretum*, Causa 32, Question 5 (Chapter 11) to Question 7 (Chapter 2) (KV)

Decoration and colours: Alternating red and blue capitals, Question headings in red in the margins

Literature: Vadum 2015:421

6.1.19 Lat. Frag. 165, 1–2**Provenance:** Bergen 1621**Book type:** Canon law**Date:** 12th/13th century²³¹**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** The fragment consists of two pieces, the largest one measuring ca. 120 x 115 mm and the smallest one 110 x 100 mm.**Contents:** Gratian's *Decretum* with glosses by Bartholomew of Brescia (KV)**Decoration and colours:** Red and blue capitals and paragraph markers, rubrics and underlinings in red**Literature:** Vadum (2015:421)

²³¹ It has been suggested that the main text was written in the late 12th century and that the glosses were added a century later (Vadum 2015:421, note 1465). In my view, this would fit with the appearance of the script, although I would suggest a smaller time gap between the outline of the text and the addition of glosses. Gullick (2015) dates the main text to the second half of the 12th century, stating that the glosses are later without specifying by how much.

6.1.20 Lat. Frag. 168, 1–5

Provenance: Sunnmøre 1629

Book type: Canon law

Date: Early 14th century (MG)

Origin: England or France (MG)

Format: Five pieces forming part of a leaf, measuring approximately 200 mm in height and 270 mm in width. The glossed text is laid out in two central columns, together measuring ca. 170 mm in width, with the commentary arranged around them.

Contents: Gratian's *Decretum*, Causa 1, Quaestio 7, Chapter 27; Causa 2, Quaestio 1, Chapters 4–5 and 7 (KV)

Decoration and colours: Blue and red flourished initials, alternating red and blue paragraph markers

Literature: Vadum (2015:422)

6.1.21 Lat. Frag. 170, 1–2

Provenance: Nordland 1630

Book type: Roman law

Date: 13th century (MG)

Origin: England or France? (SM)

Format: Two pieces from the same leaf, each measuring approximately 85 x 70 mm. Commentary has been added in the margins.

Contents: Justinian, *Institutiones*, Book 3, ending of Chapter 24 – part of Chapter 26 with lacunae (KV, SM)²³²

Decoration and colours: Two small initials in red, one of them decorated with a blue line; rubrics and paragraph marks in red

Literature: Vadum (2015:422)

²³² Vadum (2015:422) registers the contents as 3. 25 pr.

6.1.22 Lat. Frag. 171, 1–3

Provenance: Halsnøy 1631 and Hardanger 1632

Book type: Roman law

Date: 13th century (MG)

Origin: France? (MG)

Format: Three pieces, two of which (171, 1–2) are conjoined, together measuring ca. 190 mm x 115 mm.

Contents: Justinian, Digest 23.4.12 (text), 16 and 19 (glosses), 23.4. 28–29 (text) (KV, SM)²³³

Decoration and colours: Narrow blue initials with red penline decorations

Literature: Ommundsen (2013a:113), Vadum (2015:422)

²³³ Vadum (2015:422) does not list 23.4.12 (“Si mulier pacta sit”).

6.1.23 Lat. Frag. 173, 1²³⁴

Provenance: Akershus sølvgruver [= silver mines] 1540

Book type: Roman law

Date: Around 1240 (PS)

Origin: France (Paris?) (PS)

Format: The fragment consists of a cropped bifolium, the leaf measuring around 365 x 255 mm, the text laid out in two columns measuring around 205 x 55 mm each. The margins are wide, containing references and commentary.

Contents: Justinian's Digest, 23.2.43–57 (KV)

Decoration and colours: Alternating red and blue initials, capitals, and paragraph marks. Blue and red chapter numbers in top margin. Pointing hands in the margins.

Literature: Vadum (2015:422)

²³⁴ Gullick (2015) identifies the fragment with NRA Lat. Frag. 182, 1–2. Patricia Stirnemann (2015) showed that the latter came from a different book, a copy of Gratian, and localised it to Italy.

6.1.24 Lat. Frag. 188, 1**Provenance:** Halsnøy 1631**Book type:** Roman law**Date:** 13th century (SM)²³⁵**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** The fragment is a cropped bifolium, around 80 mm tall and with a leaf width of around 140 mm. The text is laid out in two columns, one for the glossed text and one for the commentary. The glossed text column measures ca. 45 mm across, whereas the column with the commentary varies between 45 and 55 mm.²³⁶**Contents:** Justinian, Digest, 4.2.9–14 (KV)**Decoration and colours:** Alternating blue and red initials and paragraph marks**Literature:** Vadum (2015:425)

²³⁵ Gullick (2015) suggests the first half of the 13th century, but I believe it may be later.

²³⁶ There are similarities with Lat. Frag. 171, 1–3 that suggest these books may have been produced in the same environment.

6.1.25 Lat. Frag. 245, 1**Provenance:** Bratsberg 1652**Book type:** Gradual**Date:** Second half of the 12th century (SM)²³⁷**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** One piece from the bottom outer corner of a leaf, measuring ca. 90 x 70 mm.**Notation:** Neumes on staves, which are dry point-ruled.**Contents:** Chants from the common repertory of martyrs, pastors, and virgins (SM and ÅO)²³⁸

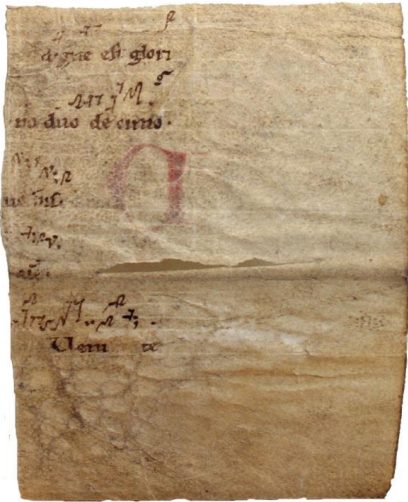
“Venite” (Alleluia verse), “Posuisti” (Offertory), “Beatus servus” (Communion)

“Dilexisti” (Introitus), “Optimam partem” (Alleluia verse)

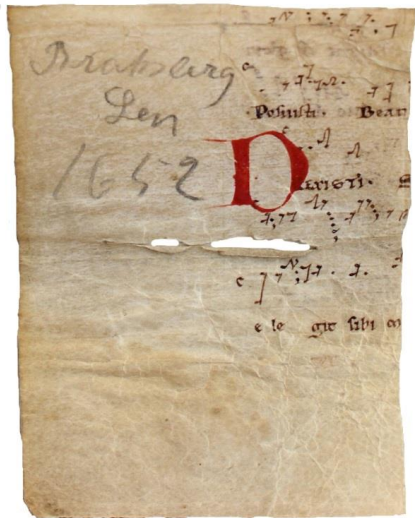
Decoration and colours: One red initial

²³⁷ Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.

²³⁸ The “Dilexisti” and “Optimam partem” might point towards Mary Magdalene, whose feast is on 22 July. In that case, the preceding “Posuisti” and “Beatus servus” were used for a male saint whose feast was shortly before this date. Benedict’s Translation (11 July) would fit, although the “Posuisti” is typically used for a martyr, which Benedict was not. As for the first chant on the recto page it ends with the words “[thro]no duodecimo”. I have not been able to identify this chant, though the chant “Magnus sanctus Paulus” contains the words “thronum duodecimum” and it is possible that the chant in our fragment is a gradual for the feast of Paul (30 June).



Lat. Frag. 245, 1 (recto above and verso below)



6.1.26 Lat. Frag. 251, 1–2

Provenance: Senja 1614 and Nordland 1614

Book type: Breviary-Missal

Gjerløw registration: Br-Mi 2

Date: First half of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (MG)

Format: The fragment consists of two leaves from a small book, each measuring ca. 220 mm in height and 150 mm in width.

Notation: Neumes in campo aperto

Contents: Readings, chants and prayers for the Octave of Epiphany, responsories for Holy Thursday, and sequences for Pentecost (see Gjerløw 1979:74–75 for details)

Decoration and colours: Initials in red, rubrics in red

Literature: Gjerløw (1979:74–75), Ommundsen (2007a:114–121), Ommundsen (2007b:133–136)

Celesti lumine qđ domine sep̄ a ubiq; nos p̄uenit. et uisum cui nos
participet. eē. uoluit. a puri cernam̄ inuicem. a die ma. et p̄adi
effectu. p.

Eccc uidiuim̄ dñm non habentem speciem neque decorem
aspectus eius in eo notū est hic peccata uia p̄i. aut
a p̄o nobis dolens ipse uicem uultuatus est prope
iniquitates uas cuius tuore s̄nate sumus. Vere
languores nostros ipse abstulit q̄ in firmates n̄is ipse
portauit. cui. Quia hora non potuitis uigila
re meam qui exortabamini in ore p̄ome uel
uidam non uideat quomodo non dormit sed festinat
credere me uideat. Dormite iam et requiescite
ecce ad propinquabit qui me cincturus est. uct.
Quida qui dereliquisti consilium pacis et cum uideat
consiliatus et triginta argentes uendidisti sanguinem
uittum et pacem osculo fecisti quam in peccatore
non habebat. hos tuum abundantia materia
q̄ lingua tua concignabit dolis. / p̄ao

Norske Rigskarkiv

Nordlands Len
1614

6.1.27 Lat. Frag. 257, 1–3 + Unnumbered Box III, [19], 1–2²³⁹

Provenance: Gudbrandsdal 1619 and Bragernes 1626 (257, 1–3), Bragernes 1624 (Unnumbered Box III, [19], 1–2)

Book type: Missal

Gjerløw registration: Mi 18 and Mi 119

Date: First half of 12th century (MG)

Origin: France or Norway? (MG)

Format: Five pieces from three leaves of a one-column book. The leaf size is approximately 330 mm in height and 185 mm in width, the written space approximately 240 x 140 mm.

Notation: Neumes in campo aperto

Contents: See Gjerløw (1974:98–101) for a full description and transcription of 257, 1–3. Unnumbered Box III, [19], 1–2 is conjoint with 257, 1 and contains liturgy for the Sunday (recto) and Monday (verso, depicted below) in the Quadragesima week.

Decoration and colours: Alternating red and green initials, capitals touched with red, rubrics in red.

Literature: Reiss 1908:11 on 257, 3; Gjerløw (1974:98-101) on 257, 1–3; Weidling and Karlsen (2014:129–131) on Unnumbered Box III, [19], 1–2

²³⁹ The two fragments were registered separately by Lilli Gjerløw as Missal 18 and Missal 119; the identification of the fragments and following reconstruction of the page depicted below was done by me in January 2016.

uictum nobis spiritale in. ne deficiamus impende. p.
 eius in nomine tuo saluum me fac & in misericordia tua iudica me. **FR. II.**
 deus exaudi orationem meam. **P** Quoniam alieni insurrexerunt.
Pra q̄s om̄ps d̄i. ut observationes sacras annua **OR.**
 deuotione recolentes. & corpore t̄ placeam̄ & in t̄p.
Tribus illis. Venerunt due mulieres **LIBRI REG. 6.**
 meretrices ad regem salomonem. steteruntq; corā eo.
Quarū una ait. Obsecro mi dñe ego & mulier hec
 habitabamus in domo una. & peperit apud eam in
 cubiculo. Tercia uero die postquam ego peperit.
 peperit & hec. Et eramus simul nullusq; alius
 in domo nobiscum. exceptis nobis duabus. **Mortuus**
 est autē filius mulieris huius nocte dormientis
 quippe oppressit eum. Et consurgens in tempesta
 noctis silentio. tulit filiū meū de latere meo ancille
 tue dormientis & collocavit in sinu suo. **Sui autē**
 filiū qui erat mortuus. posuit in sinu meo. **Cumq;**
 surrexissem mane ut dare lac filio meo. apparuit

6.1.28 Lat. Frag. 265, 1**Provenance:** So[g]n 1628**Book type:** Breviary**Date:** First half of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France (MG)**Format:** One small fragment from the middle of a leaf, measuring ca. 90 mm in height and 105 mm in width**Notation:** Neumes in campo aperto**Contents:** Lections and chants for the Octave of Christ's birth (SM)

Lectons from Origen's homily for the Sunday before the Octave of Christ's Birth²⁴⁰ and Fulgentius's sermon on "De duplici Nativitate",²⁴¹ the responsory "Beata et venerabilis" inserted between

Decoration and colours: Rubrics in red and dark blue ink

²⁴⁰http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&warn=N&id=Z500005169&div=4&FILE=../session/1466498370_28889&DBOFFSET=77819377&ENTRIES=7, accessed on 21 June 2016.

²⁴¹

http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/all/fulltext?ALL=Y&action=byid&warn=N&id=Z400035187&div=4&file=../session/1466499460_3814&SOMQUERY=1&DBOFFSET=53774431&ENTRIES=1&CURDB=pld, accessed on 21 June 2016.

em. Oenti contulit firmissima
 rni abstulit omnino libidinem.
 miserabiliter peccato dampnat' est
 eo sine peccato mirabiliter nat' e'
 N' Beata & uenerabilis. **l. i. vi.**
 lite frēs medicinalis grē lineas.
 ia nobis benignitate monstrata. **H** un

Lat. Frag. 265, 1 (recto above and verso below)

ia
 re
 sta
 in
 in. Jac.
viii.
 er &

cipiunt. Auunt enim. ecce as te
 rum. uidete qualis sit. Ego inquit
 & ego uiuificabo. peccatiam & san
 ē qui eruat de manib' meis. Auc
 dam. & non audiunt uiuifica
 unt peccatiam. & audire contemp
 ego sanabo. Istius modi occasio

*John Reginald
 1698*

6.1.29 Lat. Frag. 272, 1–3**Provenance:** Gudbrandsdalen 1614**Book type:** Missal**Date:** First half of the 12th century (SM)²⁴²**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** The fragment consists of three pieces from two leaves, one of which (272, 3) with the full height of the leaf. The two others make up the width of a leaf (272, 1–2, depicted below). The leaf measures about 270 mm in height and 175 mm in width. The written space is about 200 mm in height and 120 mm in width. The text is written in one column.**Notation:** Neumes on staves**Contents:** Readings and chants for the Friday (272, 3; 272, 1–2) and Saturday (272, 1–2) after Third Sunday of Lent (SM)

Numbers 20:1–3, 6–13 (reading), “In Deo speravit cor meum” (Gradual), John 4:5–28 (reading) – Friday after Third Sunday of Lent)

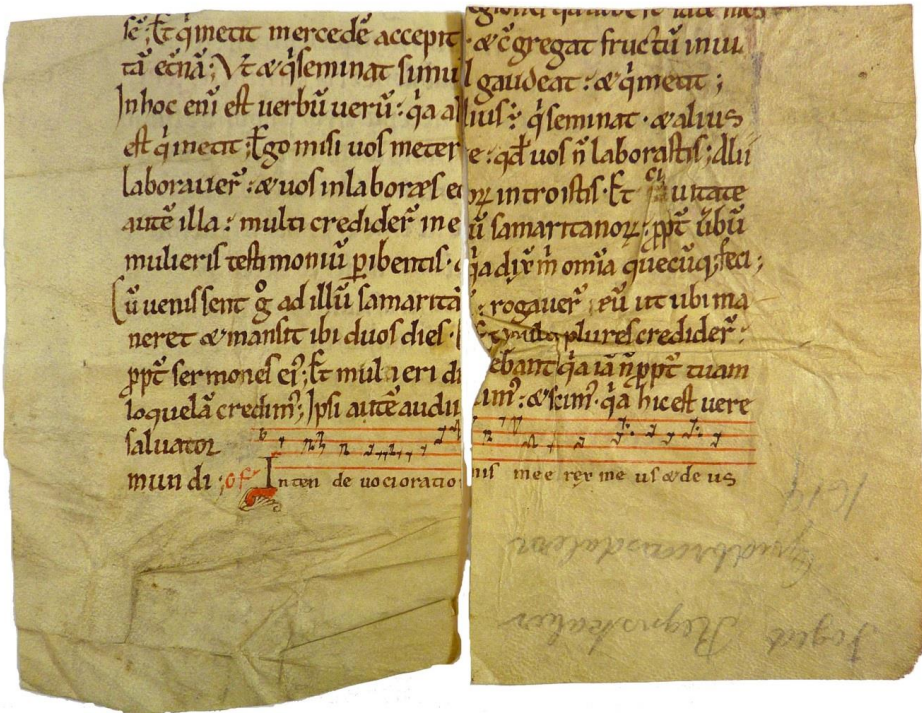
John 4:35–42 (reading)²⁴³ – Friday after Third Sunday of Lent

“Intende voci orationis” (Offertory), “Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut familia tua” (Prayer), Daniel 13:1–[9] (Reading) – Saturday after Third Sunday of Lent

Decoration and colours: Most of the initials are in red, but there is one initial in purple with a red filigrane decorating it. Several capitals in the text are marked with red. The *I* in the Offertory “Intende voci” has a somewhat peculiar decoration, like a red lump with wings attached to its foot.

²⁴² Gullick (2015) suggests the middle of the 12th century.

²⁴³ The full reading is John 4:5–42; the verses between 28 and 35 are missing.



Lat. Frag. 272, 1–2 (verso)

6.1.30 Lat. Frag. 292, 1–2 + 328, 1–6 + 348, 1–2²⁴⁴

Provenance: Buskerud 1623 (292, 1–2), Buskerud 1621 and 1622, Ringerike 1621 (328, 1–6), Akershus 1620 and 1621 (348, 1–2)

Book type: Gradual

Gjerløw registration: Gr 12

Date: 1150–1175 (MG)

Origin: France or Norway? (SM)²⁴⁵

Format: Ten pieces, two of which (292, 1–2) form a leaf, measuring ca. 200 x 155 mm. 328, 1–6 consists of six pieces from three leaves, whereas 348, 1–2 consists of two pieces forming a part leaf.

Notation: Petit carré

Contents: See Hartzell (2006:370–371) for the contents of Lat. Frag. 292, 1–2 and 328, 1–6.

Lat. Frag. 348, 1–2 contains chants for the feasts of the Birth of the Four Crowned Martyr and St Martin, as well as two other occasions with chants taken from the common repertory.²⁴⁶

“Mirabilis deus” (Offertory), “Beati mundo corde” (Communion)

“Intret in conspectus” (Introitus), “Vindica domine” (Gradual) – Birth of the Four Crowned Martyrs

²⁴⁴ The identification of fragments 292, 1–2 and 328, 1–6 was done by Lilli Gjerløw. Michael Gullick later added 348, 1–2 to the group. The reconstruction of the fragment and identification of chants was done by me in 2016.

²⁴⁵ This fragment has been discussed in several works, cf. notes on the literature. Hartzell (2006:370–371) proposes an English origin, which is rejected by Gullick and Rankin (2009:285).

²⁴⁶ 348, 1–2 is somewhat puzzling, as the rubric on one side states that it contains chants for the Birth of the Four Crowned Martyrs (8 November), whereas a rubric on the other side states that it contains chants for the Translation of St Martin (4 July). The latter would also fit with the chants on the same side, “Gloria et honore” and “Magna est”, which according to the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* are for the Vigil of St John the Baptist on 23 June (Gjerløw 1968:354). However, it is possible the Translation was confused with St Martin’s feast on 11 November.

talem leticiam. *sec* pugnavit cum antiquo serpen-
 te viriliter. *Osado* coronatus &
 pfructur pal- ma quia fideliter vicit inman-
 datis de. *Veritas mea. Co. Beatus serui.*
Rokate celi s. *Annuncio Sae marie.*
GR Qui sedet s. *Kate* Ave
 maria gratia plena dominus tecum. *Be*
 nedicta tu *in* muliere *ibid* & benedictus
 fructus ventris tui. *te* *conci*
 ptes & paries filium & uocabitur nomen
 eius emanuel. *Quomodo inquit fiet i*
stud quomam uirum non cognos *co*
 & respondens angelus intulit ei.

Handwritten notes on the right margin:
 1625
 Reginald
 Reginald
 1625
 Reginald

“Gloria et honore” (Offertory), “Magna est” (Communion)

“Statuit ei” (Introitus), “Domine prevenisti” (Gradual), “Beatus vir sanctus martinus” (Hymn),²⁴⁷ “Inveni David” (Offertory), “Veritas mea” (Offertory) – Translation of St Martin

Decoration and colours: Red, green, and blue plain initials, rubrics and line-fillers in red, notation on brown staves

Literature: Hartzell (2006:370–371), Gullick and Rankin (2009:284), Gullick (2013:150)

²⁴⁷ Cf. <http://gregobase.selapa.net/chant.php?id=988>, accessed on 5 July 2016.

6.1.31 Lat. Frag. 296, 1**Provenance:** Buskerud 1624**Book type:** Missal**Gjerløw registration:** Mi 56**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France (north)? (SM)²⁴⁸**Format:** A single piece from the top of a leaf, measuring ca. 80 mm in height and 290 mm in width.**Notation:** Petit carré**Contents:** Chants and readings for the Masses of Saints Gervasius and Prothasis and of the Vigil of St John the Baptist (LG)²⁴⁹**Decoration and colours:** Rubrics, small initials, and music staves in light red/orange, one small green initial (within a rubric)**Literature:** Gjerløw (1968:97)

²⁴⁸ This is my assessment on palaeographical grounds. Gullick (2015) suggests the hand might be French but that the fragment might be from a Danish or German book, referring to Gjerløw (1968:97) who points at textual links to Honorius possibly stemming from an old missal of Lund. In my view, this does not preclude a French origin.

²⁴⁹ See Gjerløw (1968:97) for a transcription of the contents.

e 1 N
 coram domino & spiritu sancto
 replebitur ad huc circumo maris in
 e & multy maritimarum eius gau
 I. **N** otum est quia lea

Au dñs omnipotens. **Gr.**
 tur bo mo nif facta
 Deo cui nomen iohannes e rñr hic
 ue **V** estamoni

6.1.32 Lat. Frag. 340, 1–2**Provenance:** Tønsberg 1640**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** England or France? (SM)**Format:** Two small pieces seemingly from one leaf, each measuring approximately 50–55 mm in height and 95 mm in width**Notation:** Petit-carré**Contents:** Chants for the feast of St Pancras and companions, which I have not been able to identify elsewhere.²⁵⁰ A transcription of the legible lines follows.

[?]menda pastori alleluia / summe adesto nobis ut / custode? valeamus?

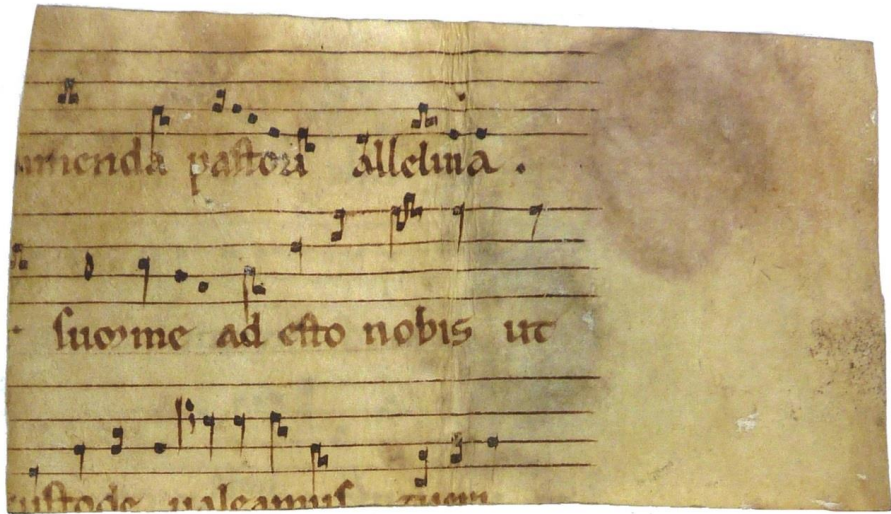
Sancti pancratii sollempni / [?]em deitatem alleluia alle

[re]ligionis alleluia / que cupiens secretius exorare / ?? beato pancratio

Beatum pancratium invocem /]evo]vae A[ntiphon] Jam vere sine tem[?]

Decoration and colours: N/A

²⁵⁰ The *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* contains the feast, but not, as far as I can tell, any of these chants, cf. Gjerløw (1968:117, 342).



sancti pancrati sollempni
em deitatem alleluia alle
psalmos.

This fragment shows two staves of musical notation in square neumes on a four-line red staff. The text is written in a Gothic script below the notes. The first line ends with a period. The second line ends with a period. The third line begins with a period. There is a small handwritten mark '6.' in the upper right corner of the fragment.

Lat. Frag. 340, 1-2 (recto?)

6.1.33 Lat. Frag. 343, 1–2**Provenance:** Oslo 1601**Book type:** Gradual**Gjerløw registration:** Gr 13**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** Two pieces make up one leaf, measuring approximately 210 mm in height and 125 mm in width; the notation and chant texts are laid out in a column measuring ca. 135 x 95 mm.**Notation:** Petit-carré**Contents:** Chants for the Septuagesimae, Sexagesimae, and Quinquagesimae Sundays (LG, SM)

“[Illumina...] invocavi te” (Communio) – Septuagesimae Sunday

“Exsurge, quare obdormis” (Introitus), “Deus auribus” (Psalm), “Sciant gentes” (Gradual), “Deus meus pone” (Verse), “Commovisti” (Tract), “Sana contritiones” (Verse), “Ut fugiant” (Verse), “Perfice gressus meos” (Offertory), “Introibo ad altare” (Communion) – Sexagesimae Sunday

“Esto michi” (Introitus) – Quinquagesimae Sunday

Decoration and colours: Three red initials, two of which are darkened, and one pale green initial contoured with a red line. The rubrics and staves are written in pale red/orange.

domine non confundar quoniam in uocauit te. *Deus in. in. f.*

Ergo quare obdormit domine exurge & ne
 repellas in finem quare faciem tuam aueris
 auii sceris tribula. onem nostram ad hunc in terra uen
 cer uider exurge domine ad iura uos & libera uos. *Deus*
 auribus exorae. *Deus* Si autem genui cet quoniam no
 men tuum deus tuus cu lo lus alius simus
 super om nem cer ram. *Deus*
 me us pone alios ut ro cam & sicur
 ari pulam ante fa ciem uen
 ci. *tract.* **E** Ochojomisti

6.1.34 Lat. Frag. 395, 1**Provenance:** Nummedal 1628**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** One piece from the top corner of a leaf, measuring ca. 75 mm in height and 85 mm in width.**Notation:** Petit-carré**Contents:** Chants for the dedication of a church (SM)

“Egredietur dominus de loco sancto suo” (Responsory), “Dominus regnavit” (Psalm), “Templum domini” (Verse), “Domus mea domus orationis” (Antiphon), “Terribilis est locus iste” (Responsory)

Decoration and colours: Rubrics and staves in light red/orange

Skaffemant al over
 Kummredal
 1628

de loco sancto suo a^lluia.
 Dñs reg. Templū dñi.
 me a domus oratio nri

 A fragment of a medieval manuscript on aged, yellowed paper. The top section contains handwritten text in a cursive script: "Skaffemant al over", "Kummredal", and "1628". Below this, there are three staves of musical notation. The first staff has a single note with a long horizontal line above it. The second staff begins with a red initial "Dñs" followed by "reg. Templū dñi." and musical notation. The third staff begins with "me a domus oratio nri" and musical notation.

Lat. Frag. 395, 1 (recto above and verso below)

Terribilis est locus iste
 hic aliud nisi domus d
 ca celi idē re a^l eu

 A fragment of a medieval manuscript on aged, yellowed paper. It features three staves of musical notation. The first staff begins with a red initial "T" followed by "Terribilis est locus iste" and musical notation. The second staff begins with "hic aliud nisi domus d" and musical notation. The third staff begins with "ca celi idē re a^l eu" and musical notation.

6.1.35 Lat. Frag. 408, 1–4**Provenance:** Eker og Brunla 1626 and 1630**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** Second half of the 12th century (SM)²⁵¹**Origin:** France or England (SM)²⁵²**Format:** The fragment consists of four pieces from two leaves. Two of the pieces (408, 3–4) form an approximate leaf-wide strip, measuring ca. 190 mm in width; a third piece (408, 1) comes from the same leaf but is not quite conjoint.**Notation:** Neumes on staves**Contents:** Chants for Palm Sunday and the Holy Week (SM)

“Testimonium ergo” (Verse), “Cum audisset” (Responsory), “Et cum appropinquaret” (Verse) – Palm Sunday

“Insurrexerunt in me” (Responsory) – Monday

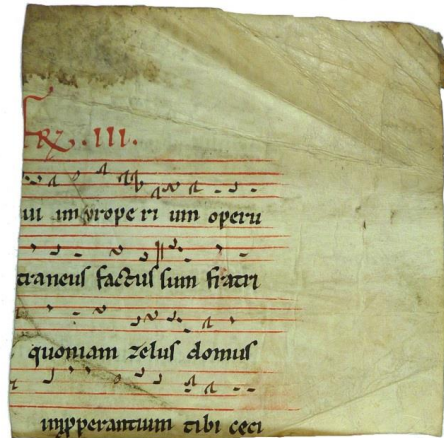
“Deus Israel propter te” (Responsory), “Impropria impropertium” (Verse), “Viri impii dixerunt” (Responsory), “Hec cogitaverunt” (Verse), “Cogitaverunt autem” (Responsory), “Testimo” (Verse), “Vide domine et considera” (Antiphon), “Discerne causam meam” (Antiphon), “Deus deus meus” (Psalm), “Domine vim patior” (Antiphon), “Dixerunt impii” (Antiphon) – Tuesday

“Contumelias et terrores” (Antiphon) – Wednesday

Decoration and colours: One green and one red initial, both of which have been cropped. Rubrics and staves are in red, and the capitals are touched with red.

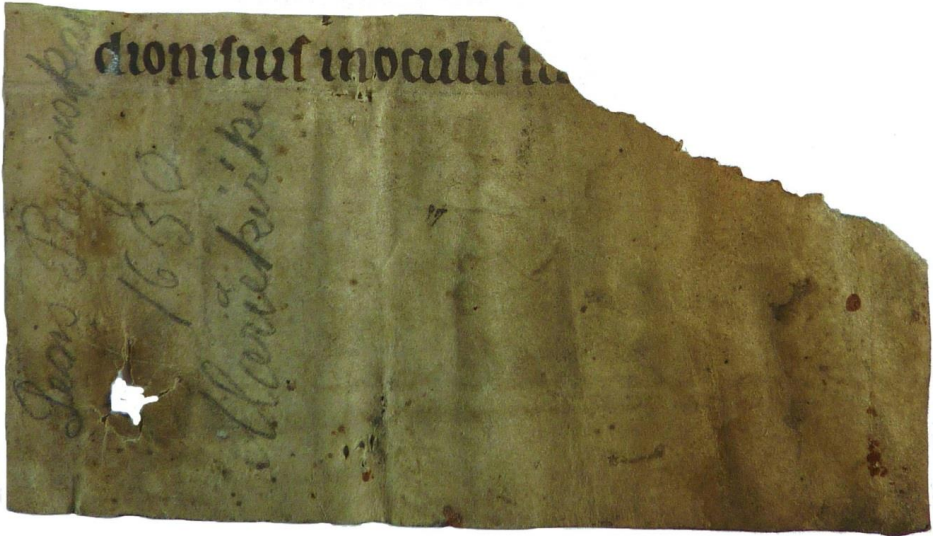
²⁵¹ Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.

²⁵² The black ink and general aspect point towards France, but the cross-stroke on the ampersand is a typical English trait (Patricia Stirnemann, personal communication). However, such “crossed” ampersands can be found outside of England, see for instance Derolez’s Plate 11, copied in Belgium between 1178 and 1183 (Derolez 2003).

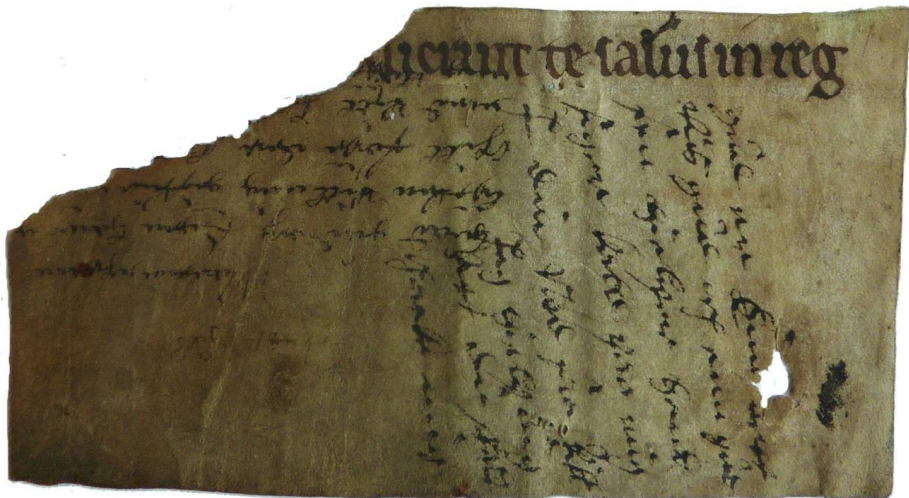


Lat. Frag. 408, 1 and 3-4 (recto)

6.1.36 Lat. Frag. 426, 3**Provenance:** Mariakirken 1630**Book type:** Lectionary?**Date:** Second half of 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** One small piece from the bottom of a leaf, measuring ca. 55 mm in height and 100 mm in width**Contents:** Hilduinus Sandionysianus, *Passio Sanctissimi Dionysii*, Chapter 28–29 (SM)**Decoration and colours:** N/A



Lat. Frag. 426, 3 (recto above and verso below)



6.1.37 Lat. Frag. 485, 1–9, 11–12, 14–16²⁵³

Provenance: Tønsberg 1620, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1625, 1627, 1630, 1637 and 1641

Book type: Breviary

Date: 13th century (SM)²⁵⁴

Origin: France (SM)

Format: Fourteen pieces from eight leaves of a one-column book. No whole leaf remains or can be reconstructed, but some pieces, such as 485, 3–4 (depicted below), indicate a leaf width of ca. 180 mm.

Notation: Square

Contents: Chants for St Stephen (26 December), Epiphany (6 January), Wednesday and Thursday after the first Sunday after Epiphany, Sundays Quinquagesimae and Septuagesimae, Easter, Peter and Paul (29 June), and St Peter in chains (1 August); additionally there is a reading for Epiphany, the text of which is largely illegible (SM)

“Positis autem genibus” (Verse), “Patefacte sunt ianue celi” (Responsory?), “Patefacte sunt” (Antiphon?), “Vidit beatus stephanus” (Verse) – St Stephen

“Venit lumen tuum” (Antiphon), “Apertis thesauris” (Antiphon), “Maria et flumina” (Antiphon), “Tria sunt munera” (Antiphon), “Hodie celesti sponso” (Antiphon), [largely illegible text] (Reading), “Tribus miraculis ornatum” (Antiphon) – Epiphany

“Speret Israel in domino” (Antiphon), “Domine non est” (Psalm), “Dirigatur” (Verse), “Quia fecit michi” (Antiphon) – Feria 4 after the first Sunday after Epiphany

“Adoremus dominum” (Invitatory), “Venite” (Psalm), “Nox atra” (Hymn), “Domine deus” (Antiphon), “Salvum me fac” (Psalm), “Deus in te speravi” (Responsory), “Esto mihi in deum” (Verse), “Repleatur os meum” (Responsory) – Feria 5 after the first Sunday after Epiphany

²⁵³ A reconstructed version can be viewed here: <http://fragment.uib.no/?k=4643>, accessed on 15 August 2016.

²⁵⁴ Gullick (2015) suggests early 13th century, but I believe it might be later.

non confun dar in ter num in tu a in
 su cia libera me et e ri
 pe me. **E**sto michi in deum pecto rem
 et in locū refugij ut saluum me faci as. In.

Boplectur of meum laude ut ymnū.

Lat. Frag. 485, 3-4 (recto)

“Pro eo quod non obedisti” (Verse), “Ubi est abel frater tuus” (Responsory), “Deus deus meus” (Antiphon), “Benedictus es in firmamento” (Antiphon), “Benedicite” (Psalm), “Voca operarios” (Antiphon), “Hii novissimi” (Antiphon), “Dixit autem paterfamilias” (Antiphon), “Erunt primi novissimi” (Antiphon), “Sic erunt novissimi” (Antiphon), “Multi enim sunt”(Antiphons) – Sunday Septuagesimae

“Cecus sedebat” (Antiphon), “Et qui preibant” (Antiphon), “Angelus domini vocavit” (Responsory), “Et benedicentur in te” (Verse), “Vocavit angelus domini” (Responsory) – Sunday Quinquagesimae

“Domine deus salutis” (Psalm), “Captabant in animam” (Antiphon),²⁵⁵ “Deus ultionum” (Psalm), “Tradiderunt me” (Responsory), “Astiterunt reges terre” (Verse), “Tenebrae factae sunt” (Responsory), “Et velum templi” (Verse) – Good Friday

“Si diligis me Simon Petre” (Responsory), “Si oportuerit” (Verse), “Adveniente Petro circumsteterunt illum” (Antiphon), “Exaudi deus” (Psalm), “Ponens Petrus genua sua” (Antiphon) – Peter and Paul

“Surge Petre et indue te” (Responsory), “Angelus domini astitit” (Verse) – St Peter in chains

Decoration and colours: Two blue initials with red pen decoration as well as the traces of what appears to be the blue pen decoration of a red (?) initial, red and blue capitals, rubrics and staves in red

²⁵⁵ Both Cantusdatabase.org and the Ordo Nidrosiense have “Captabunt”, cf. Gjerløw 1968:227.

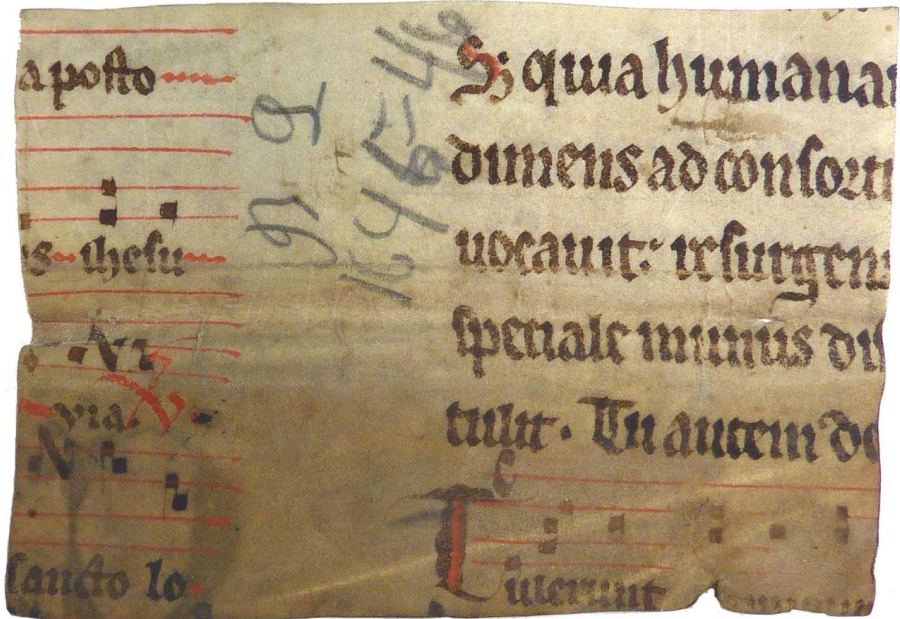
6.1.38 Lat. Frag. 495, 1**Provenance:** Brunla 1645/1646**Book type:** Breviary**Date:** Around 1250 (SM)²⁵⁶**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** One small piece from the middle of a leaf, measuring ca. 80 mm in height and 100 mm in width.**Notation:** Square**Contents:** Liturgy for Easter week: the homily LXXIV by Haymo of Auxerre²⁵⁷ as well as four chants (SM)

“Virtute magna” (Responsory), “Repleti quidem” (Verse), “Tulerunt Dominum” (Antiphon?), “Videte manus meas” (Antiphon)

Decoration and colours: One blue initial with red pen decoration. Black capitals touched with red, some of them “spiky”, cf. [fragments] 789, 1–4 and 801, 1–2 and others.

²⁵⁶ Gullick (2015) has 12th/13th century.

²⁵⁷ Following the numbering in *Patrologia Latina*, which attributes the homily to Haymo of Halberstadt. It is by now thought that this attribution is mistaken and Haymo of Auxerre is the author (Storchenegger 1973:12). Cf. Lat. Frag. 659, 1–2.



Lat. Frag. 495,1 (recto above and verso below)



6.1.39 Lat. Frag. 500, 1–2**Provenance:** Unknown, 1629**Book type:** Missal**Date:** 13th century (MG)**Origin:** France or England (SM)**Format:** Two conjoint pieces from the middle of a leaf, measuring ca. 70–75 mm in height and 160 mm in width. The text and notation are laid out in two columns, each column ca. 60 mm wide.**Notation:** Square**Contents:** Readings, prayers, and chants for the Monday (recto, verso) and Tuesday (verso) after the third Sunday of Lent (SM)²⁵⁸

II Kings 5: [1] –15 (Reading), “Miserere mihi” (Verse), Luke 4: [23] –30 (Reading), “Exaudi deus” (Offertory), “Subveniat nobis quesumus” (Postcommunion) – Monday

“Ego clamavi” (Officium) – Tuesday

Decoration and colours: One blue initial with red flourishes and one red initial with blue flourishes; rubrics, staves, and linefillers in red, capitals in the chant texts touched with red.

²⁵⁸ The contents do not correspond with the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, but with the Sarum missal: http://www.archive.org/stream/sarummissaledite00cathrich/sarummissaledite00cathrich_djvu.txt, accessed on 21 June 2016.



Lat. Frag. 500, 1-2 (recto above, verso below)



6.1.40 Lat. Frag. 659, 1–2

Provenance: Stavanger 1616

Book type: Lectionary

Date: First half of 12th century (SM)²⁵⁹

Origin: France or Norway (SM)

Format: Two small pieces from different leaves, the largest measuring ca. 80 x 80 mm, the smallest ca. 80 x 75 mm.

Contents: The smaller piece contains readings from Proverbs 8:3–9, Proverbs 9:18, and Proverbs 10:1–5.²⁶⁰ The larger piece contains an excerpt from Haymo of Auxerre's Homily CXXIII (SM)²⁶¹

Decoration and colours: One red and one green initial, the latter of which has been cropped, rubric in red.

²⁵⁹ Gullick (2015) suggests middle of the 12th century.

²⁶⁰ The piece contains the rubric “feria vi”, but I have not so far succeeded in locating the reading's place in the Church year.

²⁶¹ Following the numbering in *Patrologia Latina*, which attributes the homily to Haymo of Halberstadt. It is by now thought that this attribution is mistaken and Haymo of Auxerre is the author (Storchenegger 1973:12). Cf. Lat. Frag. 495, 1.

inferni conuue eius;
 uul sapient **fr. vi.**
 lectificat patre: filius a
 stule nefticia e. matris sue;
 Non pderunt thesauri im
 pietatis. iusticia libabit amo
 er; Non affliget dril fame
 anima iusti: & insidias impi
 subuete; Egestate opata est
 man remissa. man aue forcici
 diuicias parat; Qui congregat
 in messe filius sapient e: qu
 aue stercit estate filius co

ad inferna desce
 aut hie humilia
 turo exaltantur:
 & illi pcpue q p
 sua relinquentes
 spontanea uolun
 hanc. & infucut
 altari merent;
 consorcium nos p
 qui cu patre
 & reonac

Lat. Frag. 659, 1-2 (both sides)

pham dicit; Peccati
 e conditio fuerit
 erit: omnia peccata
 u tradent; Qua ppe
 nos q peccatis con
 une publicanum.
 mala que gessim.
 id e. consorcio sedu
 iudicem; Respicia
 tram & me
 sidem:

impiis forat; loquit dicens;
 qui ad uos clamato. & uox mea
 ad filios hominu; Intelligite
 paruuli astucia: & insipien
 tes animaduete; Audite qui
 de reb; magnis locutura su:
 & appient labia mea ut rec
 ta predicet; Ueritate medi
 tabit guttur meu: & labia
 mea detestabunt impium;
 usti sunt sermones mei. n
 in eis prauu qd neq; pusu;
 sunt intelligentib; & eq

6.1.41 Lat. Frag. 663, 1–4

Provenance: Stavanger 1624

Book type: Antiphoner

Date: First half of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (north) (SM)

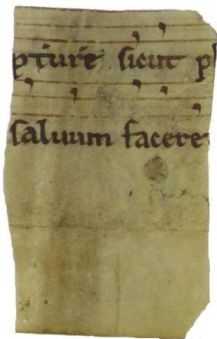
Format: Four pieces from what seems to be one leaf, forming a vertical strip with lacunae; the leaf would perhaps have measured around 240 mm in height.

Notation: Neumes on staves

Contents: Chants (all of them antiphons) for the Circumcision of Christ (SM)

“Qui de terra”, “Dominus dixit”, “O admirable commercium”, “Quando natus est”, “Rubum quem viderat”, “Germinavit”, “Ecce Maria genuit”, “Mirabile misterium”

Decoration and colours: Part of an initial remains, the colour of which looks green but may originally have been purple; the staves seem to be in darkened orange.



6.1.42 Lat. Frag. 665, 1–2**Provenance:** Stavanger 1633**Book type:** Gradual**Date:** Ca. 1150 (SM)²⁶²**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** Two conjoint pieces, almost leaf-wide (one of the margins seems to be cropped), measuring ca. 95 mm in height and 160 mm in width.**Notation:** Petit-carré**Contents:** Chants for Easter Day (SM). One side of the fragment is damaged and difficult to read and I have not succeeded in identifying the chants; a tentative transcription is provided.

“Respondens autem angelus” (Antiphon), “Cito euntes” (Antiphon), “Hec dies” (Gradual), “Confitemini” (Verse), “Pascha” (Alleluia Verse), “Surrexit dominus” (Verse), “Et valde mane” (Antiphon)

optant christum orto iam (??) quem querebant non / videbant fulgente sole. Alleluia. Gloria deo (??) / omnia gubernat secula nec non et almo filio qui (??) / in sepulchro atque resurgens (??) destinere (??)

Decoration and colours: One red initial (cropped), rubrics in the same red; the staves are drawn in a darker colour.

²⁶² Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.



Lat. Frag. 665, 1–2 (the side with unidentified chants below)



6.1.43 Lat. Frag. 704, 1–2**Provenance:** Sunnhordland 1618**Book type:** Gradual**Gjerløw registration:** Gr 57**Date:** Second half of 12th century (SM)**Origin:** France? (MG) or Norway**Format:** Two pieces forming part of a leaf, one on top of the other, measuring ca. 200 mm in height and 95 mm in width, with text and notation laid out in one column.**Notation:** Neumes on staves**Contents:** Chants for the Masses of John the Baptist (24 June) and of John and Paul (26 June)

“Hic precursor directus domini” (Verse), “Iustus ut palma” (Offertory), “Tu puer” (Communion) – John the Baptist

“Mille tribulationes” (Officium),²⁶³ “Benedicite” (Psalm), “Ecce quam bonum” (Gradual), “Sicut unguentum” (Verse), “Mandavit” (Verse), “Isti sunt due olive” (Verse), “Gloriabuntur in te omnes” (Offertory), “Quoniam ad te orabo” (Verse), “Et si coram hominibus” (Communion) – John and Paul

Decoration and colours: One red initial with blue decoration, rubrics and staves in bright red/orange.

²⁶³ The standard form seems to be “Multae tribulationes”, cf. the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (Gjerløw 1968:357).

Goudhorcland 1618
 Dic precem suam directus do mini sequi
 miter na ut mulierem
 baptista. of. Iustinus ut p. co. Tu pu er
 cabe ut pi bis em an te faciem domi
Multis tribulationibus iustorum et de
 omnibus liberant eos dominus dominus
 eorum unum ex his non conteretur. Ber
 ce ce quia bonum et quantum iocundum
 u num. Sicut unguentum
 quod descen dit in bar
 aaron. Mandavit do
 Goudhorcland
 1618
 H. XII

6.1.44 Lat. Frag. 721, 1–2**Provenance:** Bergen 1613**Book type:** Lectionary**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France (SM)**Format:** Two conjoint pieces forming most of a vertical half of a leaf, measuring ca. 280 x 95 mm.**Contents:** Readings for the feast of St John (SM)

Maximus of Turin's Homily XLV, *In die nativitatis sancti Joannis Baptistae I*, morphing into Sermo CXCIX, *In Natali Joannis Baptistae, IV* by an unknown author

Sermo LI ascribed to St Ambrose, *De praerogativa ejusdem S. Joannis Baptistae*, morphing back into Maximus of Turin's Homily XLV

Bede, Homilia XIV, *In nativitate sancti Joannis Baptistae*

Decoration and colours: Rubrics in red, two of the capitals touched with red

s' non illi pater inquit apert: ut cuius natiuitate
 expectabas nati uocabitur loqueret. & noscere
 sibi redditi ee sermone. que de se non crederet
 bitaret ultra celitus illi pmissum fuisse. ut nati
 sisse se probat & recepisse sermone. Hec eni pote
 dine facti morales seruare natura. quando p
 nouu saluti omniu miseriu parabat. Hic g
 cauit ysaas dicent. Ver clamantis in deserto. pa
 faete seminat ceteri. Ver inqo clamantis. Qua
 enoe celestis: in carne hominis amgeneti dei
 bat. Recte uer dicit: cuius inuante pmo sacra
 ne. fuita dicit cepte. angre moralitas. Ver em ue
 muto pater apert. inqna: ita aures hominu salu
 auctum. Erat quidem elzabeeth steris coope. sed
 tarda sobari: sed non tarda dco. Non germinis causa:
 pignoro: sed serua. histerio. Non erit ses illius
 lacus clonee transire tempus carnis. passio corp
 tal' uoluptate. quia empuat' sentis. & acti q's
 unclat' in un longo tempore sacrifici

ista dicit in quibus: a spō dei habitat in uobis. U
 sedata est quare in me. sterilitas fugit. recurre
 pte. castitas pte. Nascunt. maior hominu. par ang
 archanti pater. filij natiuitas. signifer supm reg
 cleoz correptio. gentium uocatio. & ut p'prie cle
 que d'plōide summi sacerdotis sacro ungelur
 u turcates pater. mar' d'q' elefer ibid' ut ex gene
 tal nascere germinis. & pharet maior iohanne q
 bar lege natiuitatis humane. Nascere enim iohi
 ciuitas xpi Surrex nouis luciferi quia iubar
 Paratōe p'pico. quia ad est uider. Clamat tuba q
 p'cessurus est d's: ang's tam p'cedet. Uerū q
 est. homo referre non sufficit. u' d'ne natiuitas.

Ioh. v. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

6.1.45 Lat. Frag. 730, 1 + 868, 1²⁶⁴**Provenance:** Nordmøre 1642 (both)**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** Second half of the 12th century (SM)²⁶⁵**Origin:** France? (SM)**Format:** Two conjoint pieces, forming part of a leaf measuring ca. 80 mm in height and 125 mm in width.**Notation:** Petit-carré**Contents:** Chants for the time of Advent (SM)

“Venite” (Psalm), “Dominus defensor” (Antiphon), “Ex syon species” (Verse), “Ecce Radix Jesse” (Responsory), “Dabit ei dominus” (Verse), “Radix Jesse” (Responsory)

“Hoc est testimonium quod perhibuit Johannes” (Antiphon), “Confitebor tibi” (Psalm), “Dabit ei dominus sedem David” (Antiphon), “Non auferetur” (Antiphon?), “Laudate” (Psalm?), “Vox clara” (Hymn?), “Vox c[lamantis] i[n]” (Verse), “Ite dicite Johanni” (Antiphon), “Dicit dominus penitentiam” (Antiphon)

Decoration and colours: One blue initial, rubrics and staves in light red/orange

²⁶⁴ The fragments were identified by Michael Gullick, the reconstruction was made by me in December 2015.

²⁶⁵ Gullick (2015) suggests the first half of the 12th century.

Den
1641

Venite. & Dñs defen
Ecce radix ies
 gentes dep
Dabit ei domi
 mo iacob in e te

1642

Sæta. & Erion species decor.
 ascen dit in salu tem p
 buntur & erit nomen eu
 deus sedem dauid patris e
 num. & erit. **R**adix

Lat. Frag. 730, 1 + 868, 1 (recto above and verso below)

n quod phibuit iohannes e
 Confitebor t. *1642*
 bit in eternum. Laudate
 ite iohanni ceci uident &
 undantur. B. **a** D

post me uenit an
 ul sedem dauid
Am Non auferet.
 Vox clara & Vox. i.
 li audiunt claudi
 dominus peniten

6.1.46 Lat. Frag. 789, 1–4**Provenance:** Hardanger and Halsnøy 1626**Book type:** Gradual**Date:** Last quarter of the 13th century (PS)²⁶⁶**Origin:** France (SM)**Format:** Four pieces from one leaf, measuring ca. 300 mm in height and 70 mm in width, the written area being ca. 220 mm in height, the text and notation laid out in one column.**Notation:** Square**Contents:** Mass chants from the common repertory of the apostles and the saints.

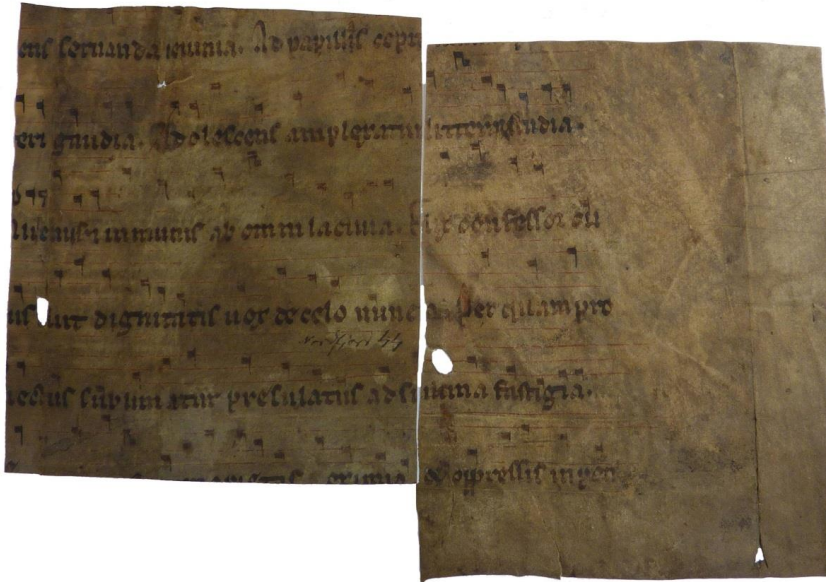
Communions: “Vos qui secuti estis me”, “Ego vos elegi”, “Amen dico vobis” – For the Birth of an Evangelist

Officiums: “Letabitur justus in domino”, “Protexisti me deus”, “In virtute domine tua letabitur”, “Justus non conturbabitur”, “Gloria et honore coronasti”, “Justus ut palma florebit”; Graduals: “Posuisti domine”, “Justus non conturbabitur”; Tract: “Desiderium animae” – For the Birth of a Martyr

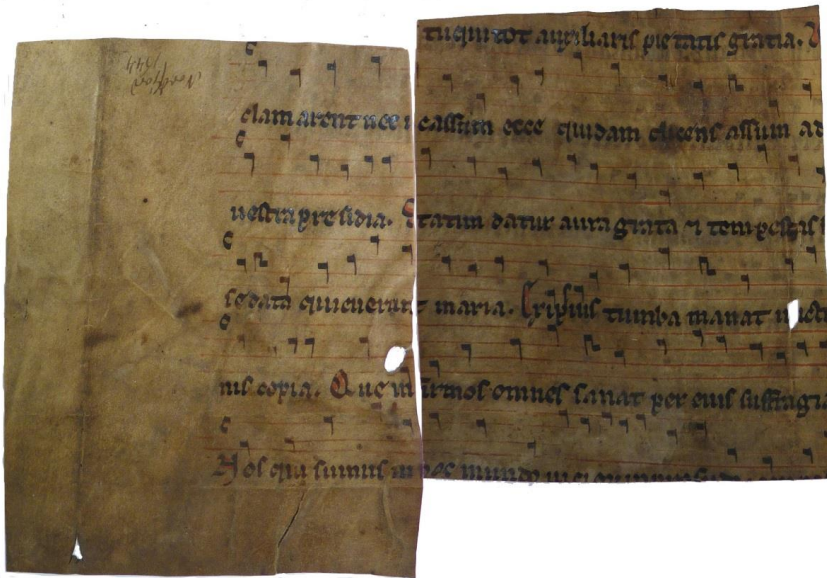
Decoration and colours: Three larger initials in blue and red, two of which (the L and P) have been cropped; one smaller blue initial; black and red capitals, many of which have “spikes”; rubrics and staves in red. The red is faded/pale and close to orange.

²⁶⁶ Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 13th century.

6.1.47 Lat. Frag. 798, 1–2**Provenance:** Nordfjord 1644**Book type:** Gradual?**Date:** First half of the 13th century (MG)**Origin:** France or Scandinavia? (MG)**Format:** Two pieces from one leaf, measuring ca. 105 mm in height and 130 mm in width, text and notation in one column.**Notation:** Square**Contents:** The sequence “Congaudentes exultemus” for the feast of St Nicholas**Decoration and colours:** Staves drawn in red, capitals touched with red**Literature:** Ommundsen (2007b:208-210)



Lat. Frag. 798, 1-2 (recto above, verso below)



6.1.48 Lat. Frag. 801, 1–2

Provenance: Hardanger 1618 and 1619

Book type: Gradual

Date: 13th century (SM)²⁶⁷

Origin: France (north) (SM)

Format: Two pieces from different leaves, each approximately 255 mm in height and 120 mm in width, text and notation in one column.

Notation: Petit carré

Contents: Chants for the Saturday after Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and the Sunday after Trinity (801, 1); Sunday 11–13 after Trinity (801, 2) (SM)

“Laudate dominum omnes gentes” (Alleluia verse), “Confirma hoc deus” (Offertory), “Non vos relinquam orphanos” (Communion) – Saturday after Pentecost

“Benedicta sit sancta trinitas” (Introitus), “Benedictus es domine” (Gradual), “Benedictus est” (Verse), “Benedictus es domine” (Alleluia verse), “Benedictus sit deus” (Offertory), “Benedicamus” (Verse), “Benedicamus deum celi” (Communion) – Trinity Sunday

“Domine, in tua misericordia speravi” (Introitus), “Usquequo domine” (Psalm), “Ego dixi domine” (Gradual), “Beatus qui intellegit” (Verse), “Domine deus meus in te speravi” (Alleluia verse) – Sunday after Trinity

“Deus in loco sancto” (Introitus), “Exurgat deus” (Psalm), “Domine deus salutis” (Alleluia verse), “Exaltabo te domine” (Offertory), “Honora dominum” (Communion), “Benedicam dominum” (Gradual), “In domino laudabitur” (Verse), “Domine refugium” (Alleluia verse), “Precatus est moyses” (Offertory), “De fructu operum” (Communion), “Respice domine in testamentum” (Introitus), “Respice domine” (Gradual) – Sundays 11–13 after Trinity

Decoration and colours: One larger green initial with red flourishes, rubrics and staves in light red. Capitals are either red or blue, or black and touched with red (many of which have “spikes”)

²⁶⁷ Gullick (2015) suggests second half of the 12th century.

In domino laudabitur
mansuetentur
century. **R**espice
Do mine iesu
a generatio
est moyses. **D**e fructu oper
tu ut educas panem de terra et
la ut faciem eius in oleo. **D**e
Respice domine in iustitiam
pauperum tuorum ne declinet
causa tua et ne obli
quid deus respicisti in finem
tue tue. **R**espice domine.

6.1.49 Lat. Frag. 851, 1–2

Provenance: Inderøy 1627

Book type: Missal

Gjerløw registration: Mi 13

Date: Late 11th or early 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (north) (SM)

Format: Two conjoint pieces from one leaf, measuring approximately 185 mm in height and 110 mm in width, the text laid out in one column.

Content: Good Friday Solemn prayers, Veneration of the Cross, the Exultet, beginnings of the preface (see Gjerløw 1961:77 for details)

Decoration and colours: Initials and rubric in red, except for one initial in a faded purple

Literature: Gjerløw 1961:77

deca egypti parati erant saluati tuo. Agios otheos. ischros agios a
 elenon. **V** Scis ds ser foras. ser & immoat miserē nobi. **I**ud educe p
 quadraginta annis ex manna cibau te: & introdyte meā sacis opomā.
 cruce saluati tuo. Agos. ut sup. scs m. **V** Quid nte debui facere tibi
 ego quide plantau te. tinea mea fructu dechora & tustactaer m nmnis a
 ceto namq: scti meā potasti. & lancea pforasti later saluati tuo. Agios
 Scs m. **A** Ecce lignū crucis in q salu mundi pependit uenit adoremus
A Cruce tuā adoram dñe & sanctam resurrectionē tuā laudamus &
 canim ece eni ppe cruce uenit gaudū munuūo mundo. **V** S miser
 yoni Pange lingua gloriosi. **V** Crux fidel mē omi. **V** Deparens p popla
V Hoc opus mē saluati. **V** Juando uente. **V** Vag infans mē. **V** Crux fidel
 sex q iā pecta. **V** Crux fidel. hic accetu sel arundo. **V** Crux fidel. E
 ramos arbor. **V** Crux fidel. Sola digna tu fusti. **V** Crux fidel. **V** Gl
A Sup omia ligna cedros. **A** O crux splendor. **C**ū hec o
 nunt & crux in te. **C**ū uero reportat. **A** Accipit Sacc
 pane ē uicari & impera malice unū nō. **V** tate
O Remus pceptis salutarib moniti & dhuma instituci
 mati audemus dicere. **P**at mē

Exultet iā anglica turba celos: gultent dhuma misteria & p
 regis uictoria tuba inuocet salutaris. Gaudet se cell' tamē in
 fulgore: & cetera regis splendore lustrata toti orb' se sentiat am
 lignē. **L**ectē & matē ecclia tanti luminis adomata fulgore: &
 poplor & uocibus. **H**ec aula resurget. **Q**ua ppe adstantib' uol
 acta mira scti luminis claritate: una mee queso dñi ompis miser
 cate: ut q n mei meriti mē leuantiū numerū dignat: & aggr
 luminis sui grā infundente cerei hui' laudē implere pficiat.
 m m ihm xpm filiu suū. c q unū & regnat ds in unitate sps scti:
 scti sctos & am. Dñs uobē. **E** spū. **S**ursū corda habent. **C**ri
 dñodo mō. **D**ignū & iustū est. **P**REF
V **E** **R** **E** **Q**uia dignū & iustū est: inuisibile dñm prēm omi

6.1.50 Lat. Frag. 853, 1**Provenance:** Trondheim**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** First half of 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France (north) (SM)**Format:** One piece making up most of a vertical half of a leaf (with a triangular gap at the bottom), measuring ca. 215 mm in height and 80 mm in width, the text and notation laid out in one column.**Notation:** Neumes on staves**Contents:** Chants for Easter Week (SM)

“Congratulamini mihi” (Responsory), “Ite nuntiate fratribus” (Antiphon), “Et recordate sunt” (Antiphon), “Precedam vos in Galileam” (Antiphon), “Surrexit Christus” (genre uncertain), “Christus surrexit a mortuis” (Antiphon), “Surrexit dominus” (Antiphon), “Mortuus est” (Verse), “Crucem sanctam” (Antiphon)

“Magna et mirabilia opera tua” (Antiphon), “Dignus es” (Responsory), “Fecisti enim” (Verse), “Ego sicut vitis” (Responsory), “In me gratia” (Verse), “Audi...” (chant/genre uncertain; missing text)

Decoration and colours: Rubrics and staves in red, capitals touched with red

monumentum uidi dominum meum
 ce fratrib; meis alleluia uocant in g
 alleluia alla . e uocae. **E**t recordate
 regresse a monumento nunciauerunt
 q̄ ceteris omnib; alla . e uocae. **A**
 am ibi me uidebitis sicut dixi uobis
 xpe q̄ illu opulo suo quem red
 e uocae **A** uul surrexit a mor
 alle luia **A** Surrexit don
 nobis per uo alleluia . e uo
 sper de q̄ resurrexit p̄
 alla .
 fr̄gio uicem sanctum
 ncia surre

6.1.51 Lat. Frag. 857, 1 + 900, 1–4²⁶⁸

Provenance: Trondheim 1629 (857, 1), Trondheim 1614, 1618, 1623 (900, 1–4)

Book type: Missal

Gjerløw registration: Mi 140 (857, 1)

Date: Middle of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France? (north) (SM)

Format: Five pieces, two pairs of which – 857 + 900, 4 and 900, 1–2 – are conjoint. Both the piece 900, 3 and the pair 900, 1–2 are almost the width of a leaf. 900, 1–2 is the largest, measuring ca. 160 mm in height and 190 mm in width.

Notation: Neumes on staves

Contents: Liturgy for the feasts of St Matthias (24/25 February) and St Albinus of Angers (1 March), the Holy Week (857 + 900, 4), Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter Week (900, 3), and Second to Third Sunday after Pentecost (900, 1–2) (LG, SM)

Readings from the sacramentaries of Gregory I (Matthew) and Leo I (Albin)

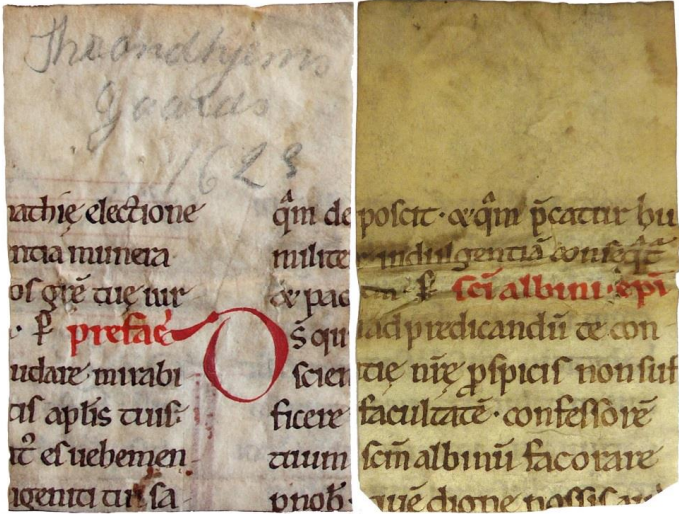
Readings from Acts 1 and Luke 22 (the Holy Week)

“Praesta [...] ut per haec” (Prayer), “Deus qui conspicias familliam” (Prayer before the altar) – Tuesday in Easter Week

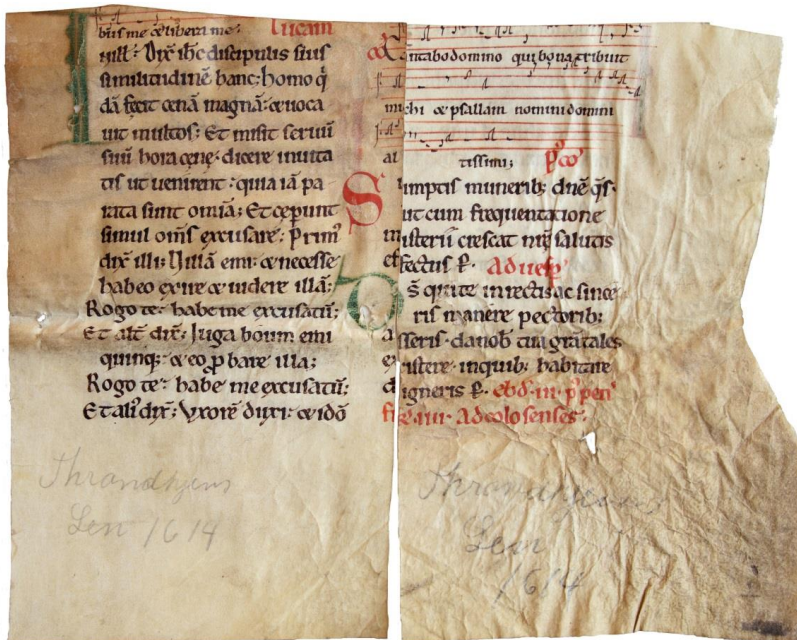
“Venite benedicti”, “Confitemini”, Reading from Acts 3, “Hec [dies?]” (Gradual), “Dextera domini” (Verse), “Venite” (Verse), Reading from John 21, “Portas celi” (Offertory), “Sacrificia domine” (Secret), “Communicantes” (Prayer), “Hanc igitur” (Prayer), “Christus resurgens” (Communion) – Wednesday in Easter Week

Reading from Luke 14, “Cantabo domino” (Communion), “Sumptis muneribus” (Postcommunion), “Deus qui te” (Prayer) – Second Sunday after Pentecost

²⁶⁸ The identification of the two fragments on palaeographical grounds was done by Michael Gullick; the reconstruction of the leaves was done by me in June 2016.



Lat. Frag. 857, 1 + 900, 4 (recto)



Lat. Frag. 900, 1-2 (recto)

Reading from Matthew 5, “Deprecationem nostram” (Prayer), reading from 1 Petri – Third Sunday after Pentecost)

Decoration and colours: Red, blue, and green initials, rubrics and staves in bright red.

6.1.52 Lat. Frag. 859, 1

Provenance: Trondheim 1612

Book type: Antiphoner

Gjerløw registration: Ant 61

Date: Early 13th century (SR)²⁶⁹

Origin: France (SM)

Format: One piece from a single-column book, measuring ca. 100 mm in height and 175 mm in width. The width of the written space is approximately 110 mm.

Notation: Petit carré

Contents: Chants for St Clemens (23 November) (SM)²⁷⁰

“Non meis meritis” (Antiphon), “Dominus regnavit” (Psalm), “Orante sancto” (Antiphon), “Vidi supra montem” (Antiphon), “De sub cuius pede” (Antiphon), “Omnes gentes per” (Antiphon), “Beatus vir qui suffert” (Reading), “Martyr dei” (Hymn), “Iustus ut palma” (Verse), “Invenerunt in modum” (Antiphon)

“Plantatus. Gloria” (Verse), “Filii hominum” (Antiphon), “Cum invocarem” (Psalm), “Scuto bone” (Antiphon), “Verba mea” (Psalm), “In universa terra” (Antiphon), “Deus dominus noster” (Psalm), “Posuisti domine” (Verse), “Iste cognovit” (Responsory), “Iste est qui contempsit” (Verse), “Stolam iocunditatis” (Responsory), “Cibavit illum” (Verse), “Coronam auream” (Responsory), “Quoniam prevenisti” (Verse), “Iustus dominus” (Antiphon), “In domino confido” (Psalm), “Habitabit” (Antiphon), “Domine quis habitabit” (Psalm), “Posuisti domine” (Antiphon) – these are all incipits with no notation or texts filled in apart from rubrics

“Orante sancto clemente” (Antiphon), “Domine in virtute” (Psalm), “Gloria et honore” (Verse)

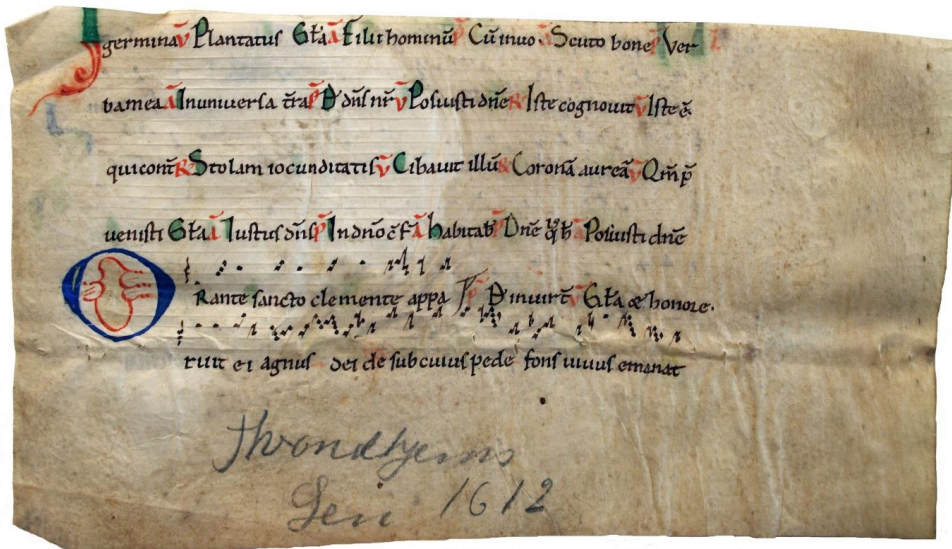
Decoration and colours: Two green initials with red decoration, one blue initial with red and yellow decoration; capitals touched with green, rubrics in red

²⁶⁹ Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.

²⁷⁰ In her unpublished list, Gjerløw lists the fragment as “Clemente” but does not specify the chants.



Lat. Frag. 859, 1 (recto above, verso below)



6.1.53 Lat. Frag. 861, 1–2**Provenance:** Trondheim 1621**Book type:** Antiphoner**Gjerløw registration:** Ant 62**Date:** Second half of the 12th century**Origin:** France (north) (SM)

Format: Two conjoint pieces from the top of a leaf, the reconstructed piece [pictured below] measuring ca. 100 mm in height and 205 mm in width. The text/notation is laid out in one column, measuring ca. 130 mm in width.

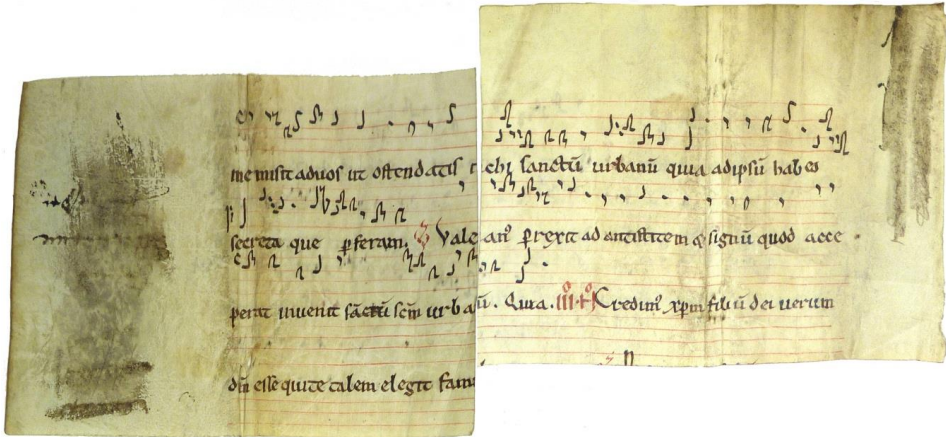
Notation: Neumes on staves

Contents: Chants for the feast of St Cecilia, Night Office and Lauds (22 November) (SM)²⁷¹

“Cecilia me misit” (Responsory), “Valerianus” (Verse), “Credimus Christum” (Antiphon), “O beata Cecilia” (Responsory), “Beata es virgo et gloriosa” (Verse), “Virgo gloriosa semper” (Responsory), “Cantantibus organis” (Verse)

Decoration and colours: Rubrics and staves in light red

²⁷¹ In her unpublished list, Gjerløw lists the fragment as “Cecilia” but does not specify the chants.



Lat. Frag. 861, 1—2 (recto above, verso below)

Herandhyon
 angelico demonstrasti. **B**eata es uir-
 ginis. **A**nnac. **V**irgo gl'osa semper eua-
 gelia xpi gerebat in pectore q' n'
 dieb; neq; noctib; cessabat alloquit' diuin'
 & oratione. **C**antantib;
 cor meū inmaculatū ut uincō

Herandhyon
die 1221

6.1.54 Lat. Frag. 862, 1–4**Provenance:** Trondheim 1628 and 1629**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** Around 1200 (PS)²⁷²**Origin:** France (PS)**Format:** Four pieces forming most of a leaf, measuring ca. 215 mm in height and 160 mm in width, text and notation laid out in one column.**Notation:** Petit carré**Contents:** Chants for the feast of St Agnes (21 January)

“Induit me dominus” (Responsory), “Tradidit auribus meis” (Verse), “Pulchra facie sed pulchrior fide” (Responsory), “Specie tua” (Verse), “Cuius pulcritudinem” (Antiphon), “Christus circumdedit” (Antiphon), “Domine quid multiplicati” (Psalm), “Ipsi sum desponsata” (Verse?), “Omnipotens adorande colende” (Responsory)

“Ingressa Agnes” (Antiphon), “Mecum enim habeo” (Antiphon), “Stans a dextris eius” (Antiphon?), “Benedico te pater” (Antiphon), “Congaudete mecum” (Antiphon), “Beata Agnes in medio” (Antiphon), “Benedictus” (Psalm)

Decoration and colours: Rubrics in red, staves in brown ink

²⁷² Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.

uestimento sa lu tis et indumento legi tie circuyde
 lecorauit me corona. **Indidit** auribus meis
 gaudia me uertantibus atq: corus cantibus gēnis.
 pulcor fide beata es agnes respues mi. **Am**
 et ce de pro omnibus nobis. **Specie**
e. H. u. H. A Cuius pulcritudinem sol eclima in
 ndño confido. **ex o. u. e. d.** **Xp**itus circum dedit
 ucantibus gēnis preciosis. **D**ne qu admittit uo
 in angeli seruiunt cuius pulcritud in sol eclim
 ppetens adorande colende tremend

6.1.55 Lat. Frag. 863, 1–8

Provenance: Trondheim 1627 and 1628

Book type: Antiphoner

Date: Late 12th century (PS)²⁷³

Origin: France (MG) (north)

Format: Eight pieces from three leaves, four of which (863, 5–8) make up most of a leaf measuring ca. 230 mm in height and 110 mm in width. Another piece, 863, 1–2, is part of a bifolium and suggests the original leaf width was around 200 mm, with the width of the written space approximately 140 mm (cf. Chapter 4.2.2).

Notation: Petit-carré

Contents: Chants for the Wednesday *per annum*, the Friday *per annum*, the Saturday *per annum*, and the Second Sunday after Epiphany (SM)

“In manu tua” (Invitatory), “Avertet dominus” (Antiphon), “Dixit insipiens” (Psalm), “Quoniam in te” (Antiphon), “Miserere” (Psalm), “Juste iudicate” (Antiphon), “Dum anxiaretur” (Verse), “Amplius lava” (Antiphon), “Miserere” (Psalm), “Te decet” (Antiphon), “Labia mea” (Antiphon), “Deus deus meus” (Verse?), “Dominus iudicabit” (Antiphon) – Night Office and Laudes, Wednesday *per annum*

“Tu solus altissimus” (Antiphon), “Benedixisti domine” (Antiphon), “Fundamenta eius” (Antiphon), “Misericordia” (Psalm), “Cantate domino” (Antiphon), “Intret oratio” (Verse), “Confitebor tibi” (Responsory), “Et eripuisti” (Verse), “Misericordia tua” (Responsory), “Sacrificium deo” (Antiphon), “Domine exaudi” (Psalm), “In veritate” (Antiphon), “Deus deus” (Psalm), “Domini audivi” (Antiphon), “In tympano et choro” (Antiphon), “Laudate” (Psalm), “In matutinis” (Verse), “Per viscera” (Antiphon), “In conspectu angelorum” (Antiphon), “Eripe me” (Psalm), “Domine clamavi” (Antiphon), “Portio mea” (Antiphon), “Suscepit deo” (Antiphon) – Night Office, Laudes, and second Vespers, Friday *per annum*

“Clamor meus” (Antiphon), “Ipsum” (Verse), “Visita nos” (Antiphon), “Confitebor domino” (Antiphon), “Misericordiam et iudicium” (Responsory), “Perambulabam” (Verse), “Domine exaudi” (Responsory), “Et in servis suis” (Antiphon), “Audite celi” (Psalm), “Laudate” (Psalm), “In matutinis” (Verse) – Night Office, Saturday *per annum*

²⁷³ Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.



“Deficiente vino”, “Quid mihi et tibi est” – Magnificat/Benedictus antiphons, Second Sunday after Epiphany

Decoration and colours: Green, red, and blue initials, rubrics and staves in light red/orange

6.1.56 Lat. Frag. 864, 1–2**Provenance:** Trondheim 1621 and 1622**Book type:** Gradual**Date:** Around 1200 (PS)²⁷⁴**Origin:** France or England (PS)**Format:** Two pieces forming part of the upper corner of a leaf, measuring ca. 110 mm x 110 mm.**Notation:** Petit carré**Contents:** Chants for the second and third week of Lent (SM)

“Avertantur retrorsum” (Offertory?), “Tu domine” (Communion) – Friday in Second Week of Lent

“Lex domini” (Introitus), “Celi enarrant” (Psalm), “Bonum est confiteri” (Gradual), “Illumina oculos meos” (Offertory), “Oportet te fili” (Communion) – Saturday in Second Week of Lent

“Oculi mei” (Officium) – Sunday in Third Week of Lent

Decoration and colours: One red initial, rubrics in red, staves in brown ink

²⁷⁴ Gullick (2015) suggests first half of the 12th century.



Lat. Frag. 864, 1-2 (verso)

6.1.57 Lat. Frag. 883, 1–2

Provenance: Trondheim 1628

Book type: Missal

Date: First half of 12th century (MG)

Origin: France or Norway (SM)

Format: Two conjoint pieces approximately the width of a leaf, ca. 35 mm tall and 135 mm wide. The text is laid out in one column, ca. 100 mm wide.

Contents: Reading from Ecclesiastes 24, abbreviated. The other side is damaged and hard to read, but the rubric “co(mmunio)” can be made out, suggesting the fragment is from a missal (SM)

Decoration and colours: One blue initial, rubrics in red

glabit. In medio populi calcabit: & in
mirabit. In multitudine electorum habet laudem & in
benedicti benedictur. Ego ex ore abissi
genita ante omnem creaturam. Ego quasi in
uaporem habitatione mea & quasi balneum

Lat. Frag. 883, 1-2 (both sides)



6.1.58 Lat. Frag. 891, 1–2

Provenance: Trondheim 1633

Book type: Antiphoner

Date: Middle of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France or Norway (SM)

Format: Two pieces from the same leaf, forming a vertical strip from a leaf, approximately 185 mm tall and 70 mm wide, the text and notation seemingly laid out in one column.

Notation: Petit carré

Contents: Chants for the Night Office of Peter and Paul (29 June) on one side; the other side is largely illegible (SM)

“Tu es pastor ovium” (Responsory), “Tibi enim” (Verse), “Cornelius centurio vir” (Antiphon), “Aperiens Petrus” (Antiphon), “Petre amas me” (Responsory), “Petre amas me” (Antiphon), “Cornelius” (Responsory), “Cum orasset” (Verse), “Petre amas me” (Antiphon)

Decoration and colours: One green initial with red decoration, rubrics in red, staves drawn in brown ink.

in capite apollis pini ubi
 ...
 ...
 ... **Comelius** ...
 ...
 ... Anglin di dicentem sibi ...
 ...
 ... petrus hic dicit ...
 ...
 ... dixit inuentione ...
 ...
 ... tunc dicit inopar uisura accipit

... quia mo te pat ...
 ...
 ... in seis dne qz a mo te pat **Con** ...
 ...
 ... uidio manifeste Anglin de ...
 ...
 ... cognomina ...
 ...
 ... trus hic dicit ...
 ...
 ... on dum in xpo reuatus apparuit ...
 ...
 ... seis oues meas tu seil dne qz amo ...

6.1.59 Lat. Frag. 906, 1–2

Provenance: Romsdal 1609

Book type: Lectionary

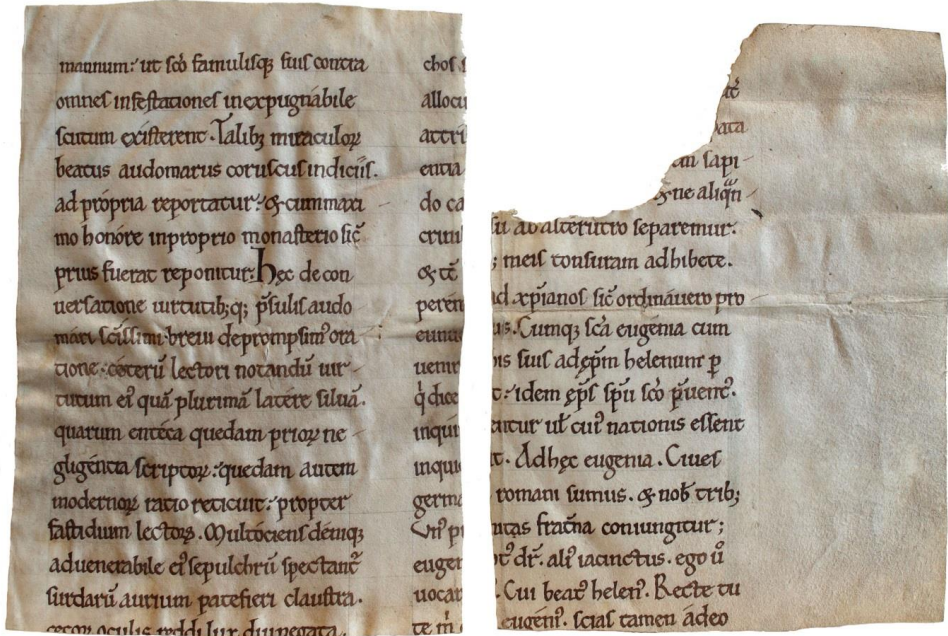
Date: First half of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (north) (SM)

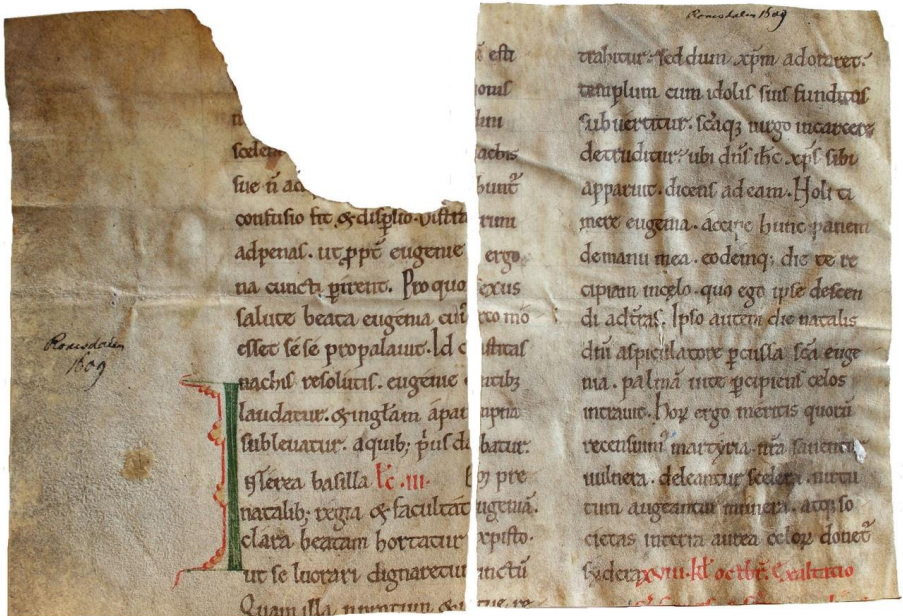
Format: Two pieces forming the upper half of a leaf about 130 mm tall and approximately 200 mm wide. The text is laid out in two columns, each of the columns being about 60 mm in width.

Contents: Readings for the feasts of the saints Audemar (9 September) and Protus and Hyacinth (11 September) (SM)

Decoration and colours: One green initial decorated with red and yellow, rubrics in red



Lat. Frag. 906, 1-2 (recto above, verso below)



6.1.60 Lat. Frag. 914, 1–3 + 1004, 1–2²⁷⁵

Provenance: Trondheim 1610 and 1611 (914, 1–3), Nordland 1620 (1004, 1–2)

Book type: Gradual

Gjerløw registration: Gr 39 (1004, 1–2)

Date: Early 13th century (MG)

Origin: France (SM)

Format: Five pieces in total, two of which (914, 1–2) make up the majority of a vertical half of a leaf, ca. 215 mm tall. Two other pieces (1004, 1–2) form the lower part of a leaf, ca. 170 mm wide. The text/notation is laid out in one column, ca. 120 mm wide and 160 mm tall when assessing the two conjoint pairs together.

Notation: Square

Contents: Chants for the Paschal Vigil on Holy Saturday (1004, 1–2), the masses of Ascension and the Sunday after Ascension (914, 1–2), for Saturday after Easter, and for the procession before Mass on the Sunday after Easter (914, 3) (SM)

“Oramus ergo te domine” (Antiphon?), “Cantemus domino” (Canticle), “Vinea facta est” (Canticle), “Et materiam” (Verse), “Et torcular” (Verse) – Paschal Vigil²⁷⁶

“Benedictus qui venit” (Offertory), “Omnes qui in Christo” (Communion) – Saturday after Easter

“O mira Christi” (Responsory verse), “Gloria patri” (Responsory), “Ego sum alpha” (Antiphon) – Procession before Mass on the Sunday after Easter

“Cumque intuerentur” (Psalm), “Ascendit deus” (Alleluia verse), “Ascendens Christus in altum” (Alleluia verse), “Ascendit deus” (Offertory), “Psallite domino” (Communion) – Ascension

²⁷⁵ The identification of the two fragments was done by me in June 2016, along with the reconstruction of 914, 1–3.

²⁷⁶ Additionally there are incipits for two readings: “In principio” and “Factum est in vigilia”, as well as a prayer: “Deus qui mirabiliter”. These are part of the Paschal Vigil and are sometimes indicated in graduals, as here (Hughes 1982:250–53, 263–64).

et in uestibz albis qui exiuerunt.
 Ascendit deus in nubila tione
 in uoce tu be
 Ascen
 uiam dixit captiuita
 tem dedit do na homi
 ut in in bulatio
 nis in uoce tu be al le
 O saluice domi no qui ascendit sup celos celo
 rum alle lina. *Vñc. in f. oct. asc.*
 do mine uocem meam qua clamam ad te

“Exaudi domine” (Officium), “Dominus illuminatio” (Psalm), “Dominus in syna” (Alleluia verse), “Non vos relinquam” (Alleluia verse), “Lauda anima mea” (Offertory), “Pater cum essem” (Communion) – Sunday after Ascension

Decoration and colours: Two green initials with red decoration, one red initial with green decoration, rubrics and linefillers in red, capitals touched with red, staves drawn in brown ink.

6.1.61 Lat. Frag. 924, 1**Provenance:** Trondheim 1625**Book type:** Missal**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** One piece from the middle of a leaf, measuring ca. 75 mm in height and 100 mm in width, with text/notation in two columns measuring between 60 and 70 mm each.**Notation:** Neumes on staves**Contents:** Reading and chant for Monday after Passion Sunday (fifth Sunday of Lent): Jonah 3:1– [10], John 7:[32] –39, and the Offertory “Domine convertere” (SM)**Decoration and colours:** A cropped initial and rubrics in darker red, staves drawn in lighter red.

...pham secto dicens; Sur-
 ge & uade in ninuie cui-
 tate magna: & p'dica in
 ea p'dicatione. quia ego
 loquor ad te; Et surrexit
 ionas: & abiit in ninuie
 iuxta uerbu dñi; & ni-
 nuie erat ciuitas magna:
 inuere die u' dñi. Et

Lat. Frag. 924, 1 (recto above, verso below)

aque uiue; uocauit aut
 de spu: que acceptari
 erat: credentes in eum;

Domine conuertere
 & eripe animam meam
 saluum me fac propter

6.1.62 Lat. Frag. 943, 1–2**Provenance:** Trondheim 1629**Book type:** Missal**Date:** 13th century (SM)²⁷⁷**Origin:** France (north) or England?²⁷⁸ (SM)**Format:** Two pieces from one leaf, each of which measuring approximately 145 x 110 mm. The text/notation is laid out in two columns, ca. 60–65 mm wide.**Notation:** Square**Contents:** Prayers, chants, and readings for the Friday (943, 1 recto) and Saturday (943, 1 recto – 943, 2) for the 15th week after Trinity (quattor temporum septembris) (SM)

“Accepta” (Secret), “Aufer a me” (Communion), “Quesumus omnipotens deus” (Postcommunion) – Friday

“Venite adoremus deum” (Officium), “Venite” (Psalm), “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per continentiam” (Prayer), “Decimo die” (Reading from Leviticus 23), “Propicius esto” (Gradual), “Quintodecimo die” (Reading from Leviticus 23), “Salvum fac populum” (Gradual), “Ad te domine” (Verse), “Ut nos domine” (Prayer), “Angelus domini descendit” (Reading from Daniel 3), “Omnipotentem semper adorant” (Tract), “Deus qui tribus pueris” (Prayer) – Saturday

Decoration and colours: Red initials with blue flourishes, the ink of which has paled; capitals touched with red; rubrics and staves drawn in red

²⁷⁷ Gullick (2015) suggests 13th/14th century.

²⁷⁸ The cross-stroke on the ampersand might point to England, although this is not a hundred percent certain indication (see note on Lat. Frag. 408, 1–4).

6.1.63 Lat. Frag. 956, 1–2

Provenance: Nordmøre 1635

Book type: Missal

Date: Second half of 13th century (MG)

Origin: France (north) or England (SM)

Format: Two pieces from the same part of a book, but most likely not from the same leaf. The largest piece (956, 1) measures ca. 165 mm in height and 110 mm in width. The text and notation are laid out in two columns, each ca. 75 mm wide.

Notation: Square

Contents: Readings and chants for Tuesday (956, 2) and Wednesday (956, 1) in the Holy Week (SM)²⁷⁹

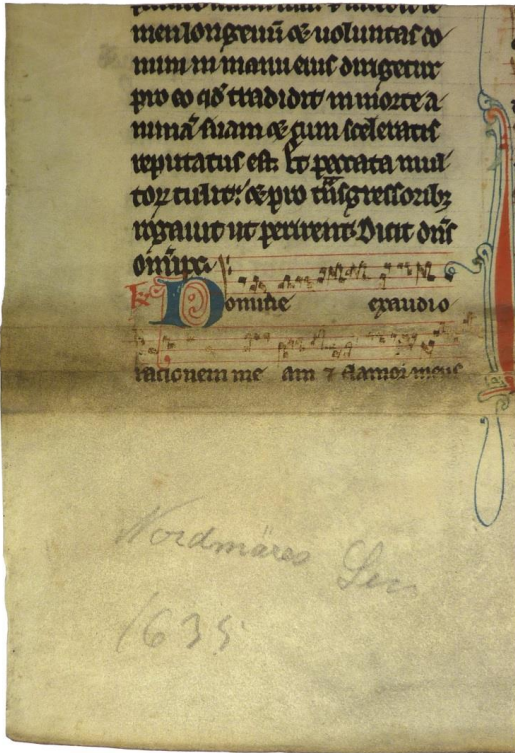
“Dominus vobiscum” (Reading from the Benedictio in Palmis, PL) – Tuesday²⁸⁰

“Dixit Jesaias” (Reading from Isaiah 53), “Domine exaudi” (Tract) “Appropinquabat” (Reading from Luke 22) – Wednesday

Decoration and colours: One blue initial with red decoration and one red initial with blue decoration, capitals touched with red, rubrics and staves in red

²⁷⁹ These contents follow those listed by Gjerløw in her description of NRA Lat. Frag. 690, which according to her was derived from Sarum (Gjerløw 1968:80–81). This, alongside the crossed ampersand, might point to an English origin for Lat. Frag. 956, 1–2. However, as is the case for the fragments 1073, 1–3/1095, 1–13 there are traits (such as the black ink) pointing towards France, and I therefore do not exclude either origin as possible.

²⁸⁰ Additionally, 956, 2 contains music – a chant and a Verse – which I have not succeeded in identifying (depicted below).



Lat. Frag. 956, 1 (recto)



Lat. Frag. 956, 2

6.1.64 Lat. Frag. 1073, 1–3 + 1095, 1–13²⁸¹

Provenance: Nordland 1628 (1073, 1–3), Vesterålen 1626, Nordland 1627, Nordland 1629 (1095, 1–13)

Book type: Missal

Gjerløw registration: Mi 50 (1095, 1–2)

Date: Late 13th century (SM)²⁸²

Origin: England or France (north)²⁸³ (SM)

Format: Sixteen pieces from a two-column book, two of which make up almost an entire leaf (depicted below). The leaf measures approximately 280 mm in height and 180 mm in width, each of the two columns approximately 195 x 60 mm.

Notation: Square

Contents: Chants, prayers, and readings for use in the time from Friday after the third Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany to the Second Sunday after Trinity (SM)

“Scio et confido” (Reading from Romans 14–19), “Descendit Ihesus” (Reading from Luke 4) – Friday after the third Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany)

“Adorate deum” (Introitus) – Fourth Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany

“Simile est regnum” (Reading from Matthew 20), “Bonum est confiteri” (Offertory), “Muneribus nostris” (Secret), “Illumina faciem” (Communion), “Fideles tui deus” (Postcommunion) – Septuagesima Sunday

“Si opertum est” (Reading from 2 Corinthians 4), “Ibat per Galileam” (Reading from Mark 29) – Wednesday after Septuagesima Sunday

²⁸¹ The identification of the two fragments was done by me in July 2015. A reconstructed version can be viewed here: <http://fragment.uib.no/?k=4643>, accessed on 15 August 2016.

²⁸² Gullick (2015) suggests 13th/14th century.

²⁸³ Gjerløw notes “Sarum” in her unpublished list, and indeed the contents do follow Sarum. As is the case with the fragment 956, 1–2, which is stylistically similar, the contents and the crossed-bar ampersand point to England, but the black ink points towards France, and the general aspect is not dissimilar to many French manuscripts.

chioderem. y ait illi. Si quis enim
 uult salu' esse erit omnium inuulsum
 y omni inuulsum. Et accipiet pueri
 statuit enim in medio eorum. Que cu' comple-
 ul' eet ait illis. Quisq; unu' ex hui'
 modi pueris recepit in noie meo me
 recipit. Et quicunq; me suscipit sus-
 cipit eum qui me misit. Qui habet
 annos audientis. *Res. Vi ad*
Res: Habentes hui' fidei. *am*
 hui' sapientum. *hegg*
 quod locut' sum. y nos credimus
 ppe q' eo loquimur facientes qm qui
 suscitauit hui' nos cu' ihu suscita-
 bre y conditauer uobiscu'. Omnia eni
 ppe nos. ut gra' habundant' y inuul-
 ras gra' y acciones habundet. igitiam
 dei ppe quod non deficiat. Si nec
 hui' qui foris. nost' homo corrupta-
 tur. tam hui' qui me' renouat' de
 die in diem. Id eni qd' in present' mo-
 ritaneu' y leue tribulaciones nre sup'
 modum insubilitate etnu' q'ie p'p'e
 opat' in nobis. no' contemplant' no-
 bis q' uident' q' no' uidentur. Que
 eni uident' temporalia sunt. que au'
 no' uident' eterna sunt. *Sec mach*
Hillo p' Dixit ihc pharis. Q' n'
 mecu' contra me. Et qui no' cogre-
 gat mecu'. Igit' Ideo dico uobis. Om-
 ne peccatu' y blasfemia remittetur
 hominib'. h'c aut' blasphemie n'
 remittetur. Et quicunq; dixerit ubi
 contra filiu' hois. remittetur ei.

ante dixerit contra hui' scilicet. n' remit-
 tatur ei h'c nec in futuro. Aut facte
 arbozem bonam y fructu' ei bonu'.
 aut facte arbozem malam. y fruc-
 tu' ei malu'. Si quidem ex fructu' arbor
 cognoscat'. Progenies uipary q'modo
 potest bona loqui. cu' facit malu'.
 Ex habundancia cordis os loquit'.
 Bonus ho' de bono testimo' p'fert bo-
 na. y malus ho' de malo testimo' p'fer-
 fert mala. Dico aut' uobis. qm de
 ubum ociosum q' locuti fuerint ho-
 mines. reddent' ratione inde i' die
 iudicij. Ex ubi' eni tuis iustificabis.
 y ex ubi' tuis condempnabis. *Doc i' ter*
agelima
Possidens uita' uita' ab ipa uo-
 lent' noe. *De q' q' q' ad*
Fuge quare oleum domine *multa*
offi
am
 gurge y ne repellas in finem quare faciem
 tuam a dext'is obliuiscens tribulacionem
 nostram ad hec uerba uenit' nos ex
 mige ante ad uina nos et libem' nos. *Os*
Qui ex nulla uita' *auray. S. a*
 acione conficiam' concede' p'caus ut
 cont' omnia ad uita' doctoru' genium
 p'ccacione immunit' y *ad uita' hos*
Res: Libent' suffert' insipientes.
 cu' facit ipi sapientes. Sustinet'

“Habentes spiritum fidei” (Reading from 2 Corinthians 4), “Dixit Ihesus Phariseis” (Reading from Matthew 12) – Friday after Septuagesima Sunday

“Benedictus Abraham” (Antiphon), “Volens Noe” (Responsory),²⁸⁴ “Domine refugit” (Verse), “Deus qui conspicis” (Prayer) – Procession of Sexagesima Sunday

“Exsurge quare obdormis” (Officium), “Deus auribus” (Psalm), “Deus qui conspicis” (Prayer), “Libenter suffertis” (Reading from 2 Corinthians 11), “Propter gloriari” (Reading from 2 Corinthians 12), “Commovisti” (Tract), “Cum turba plurima” (Reading from Luke 8), “Perfice gressos meos” (Offertory) – Mass of Sexagesima Sunday

“Egressus” (Reading from Matthew 15), “Meditabor in mandatis tuis” (Offertory), “Ecclesie tue” (Secret), “Intellige clamorem” (Communion), “Corporis et sanguinis” (Postcommunion) – Second Sunday of Lent

“Redime me domine” (Officium), “Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut familia tua” (Prayer), “Domine deus qui eduxisti” (Reading from Daniel 9) – Monday after Second Sunday of Lent

“Satiati munere celesti” (Postcommunion), “Adjuva nos” (Super populum) – Monday in the Holy Week

“Omnipotens sempiterne deus da nobis ita” (Prayer), “Dixit Ieremias” (Reading from Jeremiah 11), “Erat pascha” (Reading from Mark 14), “Et confestim mane” (Reading from Mark 15) – Tuesday in the Holy Week

“Ego dixi domine” (Gradual), “Beatus qui intelligit” (Verse), “Verba mea auribus” (Alleluia verse), “Homo erat dives” (Reading from Luke 16), “Intende voci” (Offertory) – First Sunday after Trinity

“Factus est dominus” (Officium), “Diligam te” (Psalm), “Sancti nominis” (Prayer), “Nolite mirari” (Reading from John 3), “Ad dominum” (Gradual) – Second Sunday after Trinity

Decoration and colours: Blue initials with red flourishes alternating with red initials with blue flourishes; foliations, line-fillers, rubrics, and staves drawn in red; capitals touched with red.

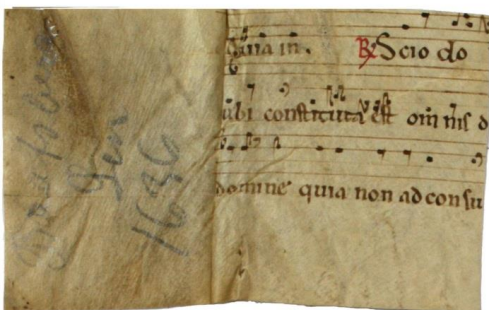
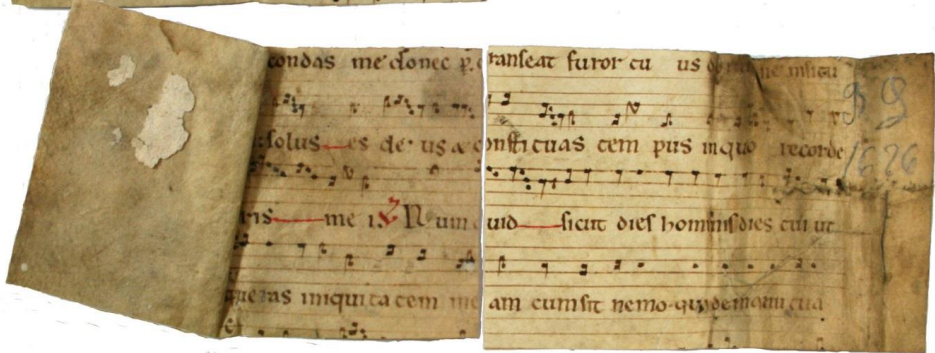
²⁸⁴ The rubric says “VP”, possibly for V(ersus) P(rocessionalis).

6.1.65 Lat. Frag. Box 45, XI, 1–8**Provenance:** Bratsberg 1626, 1636, 1637**Book type:** Antiphoner**Date:** Second half of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France (SM)**Format:** Eight small pieces from two leaves of a one-column book. Six pieces make up most of a leaf, the reconstructed leaf measuring ca. 240 mm in height (very approximately) and 170 mm in width, the written space ca. 120 mm in width.**Notation:** Petit-carré**Contents:** Chants for the first of September and the first Sunday of November (SM)

“Apprehende” (Verse), “Nocte os meum” (Responsory), “O custos hominum” (Verse), “Memento mei deus” (Responsory), “De profundis” (Verse), “Nec abscondas” (Responsory), “Voca me” (Verse), “Adesto dolori” (Responsory), “Versa est” (Verse), “Quis mihi tribuat” (Responsory), “Numquid sicut dies” (Verse), “Inclinans faciem” (Responsory), “Quae est enim” (Verse), “Scio domine” (Responsory) – First of September

“Aspice” (Antiphon), “Qui caelorum continet” (Antiphon), “Qui regis israhel” (Verse), “Aspice” (Responsory) – First Sunday of November

Decoration and colours: Rubrics and line-fillers in red, staves drawn in brown ink.



6.1.66 Lat. Frag. Box 45, XII, 1

Provenance: Nedenes og Råbyggelaget 1607

Book type: Gradual

Gjerløw registration: Gr 37

Date: First half or middle of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France? (MG)

Format: One piece from a leaf that is cropped at the margins, measuring ca. 215 mm in height and 140 mm in width. The text/notation is laid out in one column, ca. 125 mm wide.

Notation: Petit-carré

Contents: Chants for several feasts: the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), Cornelius and Cyprianus (14 September), Nicomedes (15 September), Eufemia (16 September), Matthias (21 September, including vigil and mass), Mauricio and companions (22 September), Cosmas and Damian (27 September), Doda of Astarac [?]²⁸⁵ (28 September), Michael the Archangel (29 September) (SM)²⁸⁶

“Dulce lignum” (Verse), “Protege domine” (Offertory), “Per lignum servi” (Communion) – Exaltation of the Cross

“Sacerdotes dei” (Introitus), “Sacerdotes eius” (Gradual), “Mirabilis” (Verse), “Ego vos” (Communion) – Cornelius and Cyprianus

“Letabitur Justus” (Introitus), “Posuisti” (Gradual), “Justus germinabit” (Verse), “Gloria et honore” (Offertory), “Qui vult” (Communion) – Nicomedes

²⁸⁵ The parchment is crumpled so that the rubric is illegible. My guess of Doda is based on a list of saints whose feast is on 28 September, between that of Cosmas and Damian and that of Michael: <http://www.katolsk.no/biografier/historisk/kronologisk/september#28>, accessed on 15 July 2016.

²⁸⁶ In her unpublished list, Gjerløw lists the contents as “Exalt. Crucis – Michaelis”

“Vultum tuum” (Introitus), “Diffusa est” (Gradual), “Specie tua” (Verse), “Offerentur” (Offertory), “Simile est” (Communion) – Eufemia

“Justustus [sic] ut palma” (Gradual), “Gloria et honore” (Offertory), “Posuisti domine” (Communion) – Vigil of Matthias

“Os justii” (Introitus), “Beatus vir” (Gradual), “Primus ad Syon” (Alleluia verse), “Justus germinabit” (Alleluia verse), “Posuisti domine” (Offertory), “Magna est” (Communion) – Matthias

“Judicant sancti” (Introitus), “Gloriosus deus” (Gradual), “Te martyr” (Alleluia verse), “Mirabilis deus” (Offertory), “Et si coram” (Communion) – Mauricio and companions

“Sapientiam sanctorum” (Introitus), “Clamaverunt” (Gradual), “Exultabunt” (Alleluia verse), “Justi epulentur” (Alleluia verse), “Gloriabuntur” (Offertory), “Posuerunt” (Communion) – Cosmas and Damian

“Adorate dominum” (Introitus), “In virtute” (Offertory), “Dico” (Communion) – Doda of Astarac?

“Benedicite dominum” (Introitus) – Michael the Archangel

Decoration and colours: Initials in blue, green, and red; rubrics and staves in light red/orange.

6.1.67 Lat. Frag. Box 52, 2, 1**Provenance:** Trondheim**Book type:** Theology**Date:** First half of the 12th century**Origin:** France (SM)²⁸⁷**Format:** A single piece, measuring ca. 240 x 160 mm; the remaining part of the written area measures ca. 205 x 85 mm.**Contents:** Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, Book 11, Chapter 13**Decoration and colours:** Two red initials, rubrics in red.**Literature:** Karlsen 2013:226, 250

²⁸⁷ Gullick (2015) suggests the Low Countries with two question marks.

L I B E R

perie uisus. Ac si aperte deplorat
 caritatis uoluntate impetis cui
 unquam te interpretatione cognoscis.

Sed et qui contra me amaritudi
Quero scribum manet. ds non loq
 scribitur amaritudines dicit. cu di
 nos eius flagelli pdurant. Semel
 peccanti homini dictu est. Terra e
 terram ibis. Et sepe apparentis an
 hominib: precepta de aie. Moys
 is dicitur per amara uocem pecc
 euit. que unigenitus filius p
 redimendos uenit. mercede
 probat. dicitur per peccata dentum
 nobis qua ostendit in se. sed tame
 que in paradiso data e de morte e
 ante se uita. ab ipso inicio gene
 mani usq: ad fine seli non mutat.

Quod est enim homo qui uiuit. e
 uiuit in morte. Quod bene rur
 uenit. dicitur. Tu terribilis e
 e. dicitur tibi. Et tunc uenit
 uiuit. peccanti in paradiso hor
 terat. semel. de mortalitate e
 in se uita. dicitur. que et nunc

6.1.68 Lat. Frag. Box 53, Bech 1

Provenance: Trondheim

Book type: Theology

Date: Late 13th century/early 14th century (MG)

Origin: France? (MG)

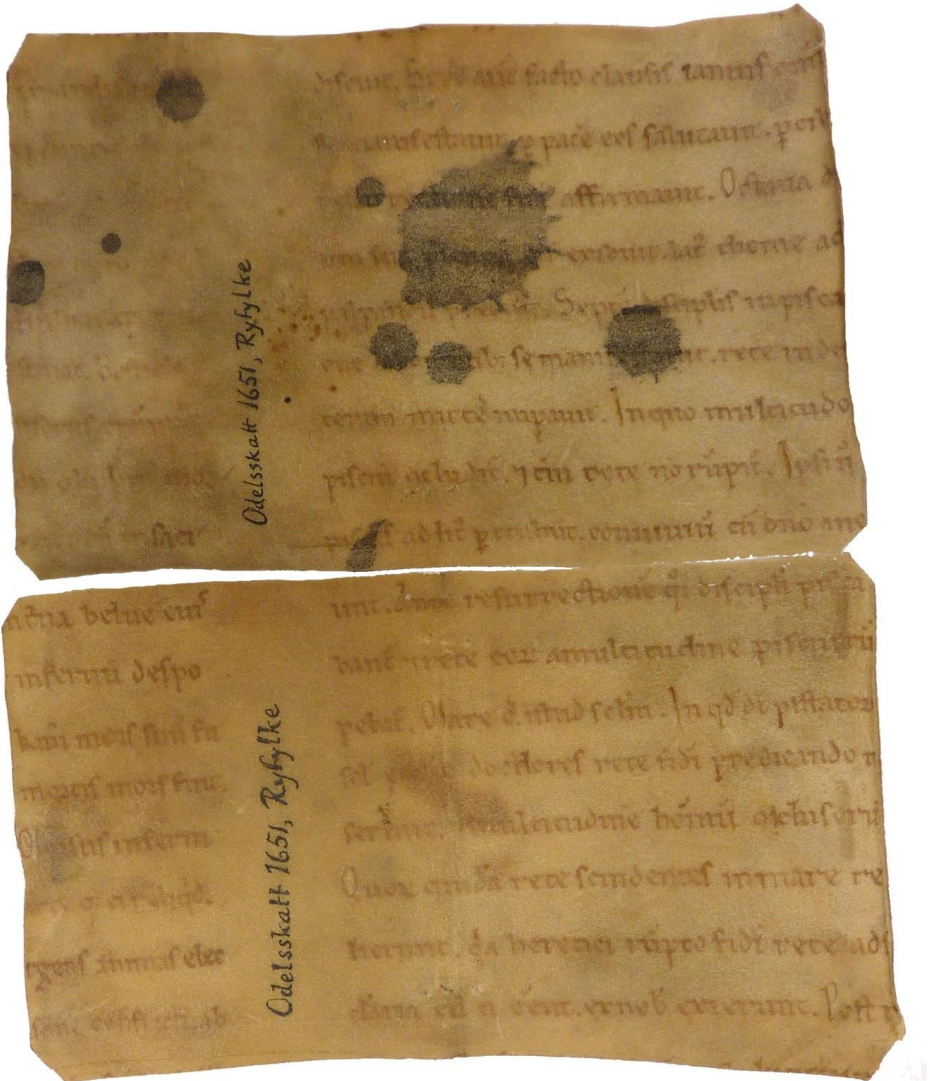
Format: A bifolium, measuring approximately 350 mm in height and 205 mm in width. The text is laid out in two columns, measuring ca. 240 mm x 70 mm.

Contents: Thomas Aquinas, *Commentaria in octo libros physicorum*, liber III, lectio 5, liber IV, 7 (SM)

Decoration and colours: Pen-decorated blue and red initials, red and blue marginal headings, alternating red and blue paragraph marks, lemmata underlined in red, capitals touched with red.

6.1.69 Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III, 6, 1–2**Provenance:** Ryfylke 1651**Book type:** Sermon collection**Date:** Middle of the 12th century (MG)**Origin:** France? (MG)**Format:** Two pieces from one leaf, each measuring ca. 65 mm in height and 100 mm in width.**Contents:** Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae* (MG), sermon for the octave of Easter Sunday or for any day of the Holy Week²⁸⁸**Decoration and colours:** N/A

²⁸⁸ I reconstructed the page in May 2016.



Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III, 6, 1-2 (recto)

6.1.70 Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box III, 30, 1–2

Provenance: Sunnfjord 1644–45, Ytre Sogn 1645–46

Book type: Antiphoner

Gjerløw registration: Ant 60

Date: Middle of the 12th century (MG)

Origin: France (north) or England (SM)

Format: Two small conjoint pieces, measuring ca. 80 mm in height and 110 mm in width.

Notation: Neumes on staves

Contents: Chants for the feast of St Andrew (30 November) (SM)

“Andreas apostolus dixit” (Antiphon), “Ego crucis” (Antiphon), “Dum perambularet dominus” (Verse), “Mox ut vocem” (Responsory)

Decoration and colours: One green initial, rubrics and staves in red.

Literature: Weidling and Karlsen (2014:137–138)



Lat. Frag. Box III, 30, 1–2 (recto above and verso below)



7. Concluding remarks

7.1 Summary of the findings

As stated in the introduction, the aim of the study was twofold: to obtain a clearer picture of the French-origin fragment material, and to situate the fragments in their historical context. To this end, three questions were asked:

- How many fragments in the National Archives come from French manuscripts?
- Who could have brought the manuscripts here?
- What was the use and purpose of the manuscripts?

The first question may be answered, however tentatively, by examining the fragment material itself. As a result of my examinations of the material and consulting the opinions of experts, I have compiled a list of fragments representing 70 codices. If the estimate of 1200 codices is close to the truth (cf. Chapter 1.2.1), these represent 6 % of the total number of codices; however, it should be stressed once again that these numbers are all tentative. Here we may reprise the table from the Introduction:

Period	Total	Liturgical books/Bibles	Non-liturgical books
Before 1150	14	13	1
1150–1220	31	25	6
1220–1320	25	11	14
Total	70	49	21

Table of all the fragments with dating and book type

The table shows the total number of books, along with the numbers for liturgical books (defined as missals, breviaries, antiphoners, graduals, lectionaries, psalters,

homily/sermon collections) and Bibles, and non-liturgical books (defined as theology (including exegesis and distinctions/florilegia), law, and medicine).²⁸⁹ These categories, while heterogenous, allow for a broad analysis of the material with regard to time frame. They show us that the middle period, the latter half of the 12th century and the first decades of the 13th, is the one in which the number of liturgical fragments is highest. That would correspond to the expansion of the church's organisation in Norway, the establishment of cathedral chapters and abbeys of regular canons (cf. Chapter 4). The largest group of non-liturgical fragments, on the other hand, is the one dated to the third period, 1220–1320. This corresponds to a rising number of Norwegian university students abroad, as well as the development of international connections discussed in Chapter 5.

Breaking down the categories, we see that antiphoners and graduals are in the majority when it comes to the most common books used for celebrating Mass and Office. However, there is a danger of misdiagnosis; for instance, a fragment containing musical notation may have been labelled “antiphoner” despite originally coming from a breviary.

Period	Total	Missals	Graduals	Breviaries	Antiphoners
Before 1150	9	5	0	2	2
1150–1220	22	2	9	0	11
1220–1320	8	4	2	2	0
Total	39	11	11	4	13

The most frequent book types for celebrating the Mass and Office

²⁸⁹ This distinction is not without its problems. A homily, for instance, could be counted as exegesis; however, I have included the fragments from homiliaries or lectionaries amongst the liturgical fragments due to their liturgical function. As for Bibles, I included them with the liturgical books in the tables as I consider them to have more in common with these than with law, medicine etc.

I have also included a table of other liturgical books, i.e. lectionaries, psalters, and homiliaries/sermon collections, along with Bibles. These are not as frequent as the other liturgical books, and it is hard to speak of any trends based on their number.

Period	Lectionaries	Bibles	Psalters	Homilies/sermons
Before 1150	3	0	0	1
1150–1220	1	0	1	1
1220–1320	0	2	0	1
Total	4	2	1	3

Lectionaries, Bibles, psalters, homiliaries/sermon collections

As for the non-liturgical books, they break down quite evenly when it comes to theology (in a wide sense) and law, with two fragments from medicine books dating to the 13th century.

Period	Total	Theology	Law	Medicine
Before 1150	1	1	0	0
1150–1220	6	4	2	0
1220–1320	14	6	6	2
Total	21	11	8	2

Non-liturgical books

All in all, the majority of French-origin fragments coming from liturgical books (49) is not surprising.²⁹⁰ What is interesting, on the other hand, is the fact that 21 out of 70,

²⁹⁰ Cf. Ommundsen's (2007a:79) estimations of around 10 000–12 000 liturgical books and 500–1000 non-liturgical books in Norway by the end of the 13th century.

or 30 %, of the French-origin fragments are from non-liturgical, i.e. “learned” books. In comparison, the list of fragments localised as Norwegian in Chapter 8.2.3 shows that only six out of 96 fragments, or 6 %, of the latter are from correspondingly non-liturgical books.²⁹¹ This indicates that French books finding their way to Norway were to a considerable extent related to intellectual and educational pursuits. As has been discussed in Chapters 3–5, the historical evidence suggests this was indeed the case.

The second question, of who brought the manuscripts here, could only be tackled by examining the historical evidence of contacts between Norway and France. Going through the period from the early days of the Norwegian church to the early 14th century indicates that these contacts grew more comprehensive in the second half of the 12th century, when historical evidence of Norwegians travelling through France and staying at St Victor begins to appear. Throughout the 13th century the French-Norwegian connections seem to have solidified and grown: through Norwegian students at French universities, through alliances between the French and Norwegian courts, and through the international network of the Church, whose high-ranking members also interacted with their social peers amongst lay people. Although it is impossible to determine that any given fragment was from a book brought to Norway by a specific person, the historical evidence as laid out in Chapter 3–5 forms a context which makes clear that the French fragments’ presence in Norway in the Norwegian National Archive is unlikely to be a coincidence. While some of them may have been brought here after the Reformation for the sole purpose of being used as binding material, the overarching impression of the material is that it reflects connections that were created and maintained by religious ties, diplomatic and political ties, and intellectual ties.

This brings us to the third question: the use and purpose of the manuscripts. The fragment material does not only reflect French-Norwegian connections as these are

²⁹¹ These fragments are Lat. Frag. 28, 1–8; 36, 1; 127, 1; 130, 1–2; 162, 1, and 378, 1–2.

evidenced in historical sources, it shows that the books brought to Norway from France appear to have been of a diverse nature, from liturgical books such as lectionaries and antiphoners to theological works by authors such as Gregory the Great, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Thomas Aquinas. This reflects, again, the nature of the connections, which were formed and maintained by people that were part of both the clerical and secular higher spheres: from Ernis and his Norwegian relatives to Arne and Audfinn, bishops and royal confidants. While the liturgical manuscripts fed into the growing church organisation's need for books, the non-liturgical manuscripts fed into this elite's need for edification.

7.2 Answers, or merely new questions?

The fragment material which exists in the Norwegian National Archives, as well as in the smaller archives and collections, is a source of information whose potential is far from being exhausted. In the following, I will pose some questions prompted by the findings in my study, and suggest some possible avenues of future research.

In this study, we have examined the historical context of the French-origin manuscript fragments. Whether these fragments testify to a French influence on early Norwegian book culture is an interesting question. The number of 70 fragments (in the sense of "codicological units") may be small compared to the overall estimate of 1200 codicological units in all of the Archives, but it should be remembered that the latter number includes fragments that were still *in situ* and not part of my project. Furthermore, the presence of French manuscript fragments are only part of the picture; in order to gain a full impression of French influence on the fragment material it would be of interest to study further the fragments localised to Norway for points of comparison and difference. Such an undertaking would be beyond the scope of the present study, but it is my hope that the latter can serve as a stepping-stone for the former.

With a fuller grasp of the extent of French influence on early Norwegian book culture, we will be able to make more comparisons and draw more parallels: not only

to the French influence on other aspects of medieval Norwegian culture such as architecture and visual art, but also to influences from other regions, most notably England. As stated early on in Chapter 2, the English influence on the early Norwegian church (and with it, early Norwegian book culture) is well known, and this influence on the fragment material has been the subject of several studies.²⁹² The results of the present study, with 70 fragments suggested as being of French origin, suggests a presence of French material which, while in a minority to the English material, is still significant.²⁹³

Delving more into the French influence, it would be interesting to do a more comprehensive study of the Northern French manuscript material and compare it to the Norwegian manuscripts beyond what has been possible to do here. While historians concerned with French-Norwegian connections in the Middle Ages have tended to focus on Paris in general and St Victor in particular, the historical evidence of Norwegians en route from the coast of Flanders and southwards has played a secondary part. Looking for more evidence of Norwegians visiting Flemish or Northern French abbeys and churches, both in the form of historical records and as indirect evidence (for instance, in the shape of texts such as the *Passio Olavi*), could be a fruitful pursuit shedding new light not only on manuscript culture but on medieval patterns of travel, communication, and perceptions of cultural community as well.

As stated before, the aim of my project has been to make a survey of French-origin manuscript fragments and to situate them in their historical context. The picture that emerges is one of Norway's gradual integration into an international or perhaps supranational (anachronistic as these terms may be), intellectual culture: the culture

²⁹² E.g. Gjerløw (1961), Gullick (2013a and b), Rankin (2013), Watson (2015).

²⁹³ The difficulty in comparing results directly is that selection criteria or means of organising data may vary. For instance, Gullick's list of English fragments counts 43, excluding diplomas and fragments still *in situ* (Gullick 2013b:127–133), whereas his list of fragments with English features counts 68 (Gullick 2013b:136–146). The latter list includes both Norwegian fragments with English traits and fragments that could be of English origin. Comparing his "English" list of 43 to my "French" list of 70 would be unsound, especially if one were to make the argument that this "proves" that the French influence was greater than the English.

of Gregory the Great, Peter the Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas, of universities and law studies; a culture which, while elitist, had a wide influence on Norwegian society through church and court.

The study of manuscript fragments gives us a glimpse into a culture where academic texts were disseminated throughout Europe, where teachers and students would seek out institutions of renown far away from their own places of birth, where scholars would attempt to write dissertations and learned works in a language not their own: a culture which, in other words, is not as incomprehensible in all respects as one might often think. In that sense, the connection dealt with in this thesis is not only the one between Norway and France in medieval times, but the connection between our modern-day world and the history of medieval book culture. As such, the fragments offer us a chance to bridge the gap between our medieval counterparts and ourselves, between then and now, across the centuries.

8. Appendix

8.1 Norman fragments in the National Archives

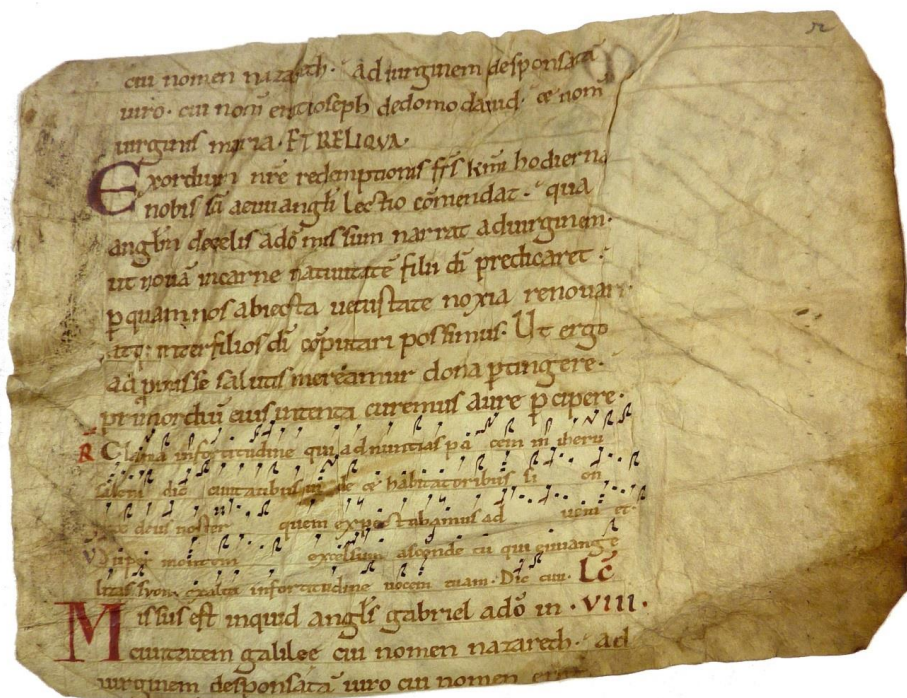
As discussed in Chapter 1.3, I decided against including Norman fragments in my corpus, a decision following my use of “French” as shorthand for “Orleans, Paris, and the regions to the north of these cities”. The lack of comprehensive historical evidence for Norwegian-Norman contacts after 1050 backs up this reasoning. Any fragments from Norman books would most likely have come to Norway via England, not directly. Additionally, English fragments may be very similar to Norman ones, as exemplified by two fragments originally listed as “possibly Norman” in Gullick’s handlist and which have been reassigned to England in the list in Chapter 8.2.1.

Two Norman fragments that have not been reassigned to an English or French origin will be discussed in this section. As it turns out, they may be related, as the scribe of one – Lat. Frag. 381, 1 – was involved in the making of the other, having written the piece 246, 7 (Gullick 2013b:130, note 33)

The fragment Lat. Frag. 231, 1–2 + 246, 1–9 consists of 11 pieces from a breviary-missal written around 1100.²⁹⁴ Michael Gullick (2015) noted that the music scribe appears to be the same in all of the fragments except for 246, 9.²⁹⁵ He identifies four scribes in the fragments 231, 1–2 and 246, 1–8: the first one wrote the pieces 231, 1–2 and part of 246, 8. The second one wrote 246, 1–5; the third one wrote 246, 6 and part of 246, 8. The fourth one wrote 246, 7 and also Lat. Frag. 381, 1.

²⁹⁴ See Gjerløw (1979:71–74) for a detailed description and a transcription of the contents. Her dating is later, to the second third of the 12th century; the dating here is based on Gullick (2015). Gjerløw first identified the two fragment envelopes (231 and 246), designating the combined fragment Br-Mi 4.

²⁹⁵ The piece 246, 9 looks different enough from the rest that in my opinion there is reason to doubt it was part of the same book. I therefore exclude 249, 9 from the discussion here.



Lat. Frag. 246, 7 (recto)

Lat. Frag. 381, 1, registered by Gjerløw as Coll-Cap 5, is a fragment of a collectar dated to the late 11th century (Gullick 2015). The format seems to be similar to that of Lat. Frag. 231/246, the width of the text column ca. 100 mm. Michael Gullick localises the fragment to Normandy based on parchment and script, but considers it most likely that it came to Norway via England (Gullick 2013a:106), an opinion I share due to the aforementioned lack of evidence of historical ties.

If indeed the same scribe wrote Lat. Frag. 381, 1 and 246, 7 the question becomes whether it is possible that the fragments are from the same book – in other words, reducing the number of presumably Norman codices from two to one. At any rate, the low number of Norman materials in the Norwegian fragment collection corresponds to the meagre evidence of Norman-Norwegian connections in the period under study, as such offering no surprises.

Bruckberg
 Gen
 1636
 ignoscet. afflicti populi lacrimas respice. &
 iram tuam indignationis quam iuste meremur
 propitiatus. **A**LIA.
Conserua qd dñe populo tuo. & ab omnibus
 quas meremur aduersa fiat. reddet securum
 ut tranquillitate peccata. deuota mente serua
Ab omnibus. nos qd dñe peccatis propitiatus. **A**LIA.
 absolute. ut peccata uenia peccator u. libera
 ab inuentibus. serua. **A**LIA.
Presta populo tuo dñe qd consolationis auxilium
 & diuinum in calamitatibus. laborantem.
 propitiatus respicere concede. **A**LIA.
Quoniam dñs. uequi nri facti sumus offensi.
 & merito propter iniquitatem affligimur. pro
 peccatis que gerimus consequamur. **A**LIA.
Dona nobis dñe de tribulatione leticiam. ut
 qui dum peccati sumus affligimur. ut
 cedente beati dñi genitricis. u. u. u. u.
 misericordia respicere. peccati. **A**LIA.
Clamantem. dñe dñe qd precibus clamantem
 exaudi. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u.
 postulat peccati. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u. u.
 tribulatione siccurte. **A**LIA.
Miserere iam qd dñe populo tuo. & de tantis
 tribulationibus. laborumque celeriter propitiatus
 one laetificet. **A**LIA.
Auxiliare dñe querentibus. misericordiam tuam
 & da uerba confortantibus. peccati.

8.2 Rejected fragments

This section contains lists of fragments that were either excluded from the corpus on the basis of their known provenance (or lack thereof), or which were assigned another origin by me when I examined them. Some of the fragments' contents and/or book type were listed as unidentified in the handlist; for the sake of accountability I have indicated where the assessment of contents/book type is mine.

If further examination shows that some of the rejected fragments are indeed more likely to be French, they should be added to the list. The same is true for any French-origin fragments still *in situ*, i.e. not removed from the accounts they were fastened to.

8.2.1 Fragments listed as French or possibly French in Gullick (2015)

The following is a list of fragments listed as French, often with one or more question marks, in the handlist. Two of the fragments – Lat. Frag. 873, 1–31 and 1011, 1–4 – are suggested to have a Norman origin (again with question marks); I have classified them as English, based on their use of the *d* clef, which is a specifically English trait.²⁹⁶ Another fragment, Lat. Frag. 132, 1, was noted as possibly “English or French” in the list. I did not include it, as to me it did not look French; however, this is a subjective judgement which may well be up for debate.

Fragment	Book	Comment
Lat. Frag. 17, 1–4	<i>Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis</i>	England, first quarter of the 13th century (PS)
Lat. Frag. 29, 1–2 + 134, 1–2	Commentary or Sermons	London, ca. 1210; the same penwork initials are found in

²⁹⁶ I thank Susan Rankin for this information.

		British Library Add. Ms. 14252 (PS)
Lat. Frag. 132, 1	Gloss on Haggai	England? (SM)
Lat. Frag. 306, 1–4	Luke	Denmark (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 341, 1–2	Gradual	England; the e clef is used in the musical notation (SM)
Lat. Frag. 347, 1–4	Gradual	Germany; the notation is German (GA)
Lat. Frag. 669, 1	Gradual	Norway? (SM)
Lat. Frag. 867, 1–2	Troper or gradual	Norway, but probably French-influenced (SM)
Lat. Frag. 873, 1–31	Antiphoner	England; the d clef is used in the musical notation (SM)
Lat. Frag. 929, 1–3	Missal	Norway; 929, 2 is from the same leaf as Lat. Frag. 875, 1 (SM) ²⁹⁷
Lat. Frag. 1011, 1–4	Breviary	England; the d clef is used in the musical notation (SM)
Lat. Frag. Box 46, [20], 1	Bede	Norway (SM)
Lat. Frag. Unnumbered Box II, 5, 1–2	Antiphoner	England; the d clef is used in the musical notation (SM)

²⁹⁷ The piece 929, 3 may be from a different book than the others (ÅO).

8.2.2 Fragment rejected on the basis of provenance

Fragment	Book	Comment
Lat. Frag. 16, 1–2	<i>Historia Scholastica</i>	Provenance unknown
Lat. Frag. 20, 1–2	Bible	Identified with fragments in Copenhagen (KB 34 + 35 + 557 + 646; RA 8433 + 8447 + 8527)
Lat. Frag. 60b, 1	<i>Historia Scholastica</i>	From a Danish account book
Lat. Frag. 154, 1	Gratian's <i>Decretum</i>	Identified with fragments in Copenhagen (RA 289 and 290)
Lat. Frag. 180, 1–3	University book (unid.)	Provenance unknown
Lat. Frag. 185, 1	Letters of Petrus de Vignea	Provenance unknown
Lat. Frag. 569, 1–2 + 591, 1–9 + 681, 1–19 + Box 54, [3], 1 + Unnumbered Box II, [10], 1–2	Antiphoner	Identified with fragments in Copenhagen (RA 40 + 137 + 138 + 139)
Lat. Frag. Box 45, 2, 1–5	Chalcedius/Cicero	From a Danish account book
Lat. Frag. Box 54, [1], 1–2	Unidentified	Provenance unknown

8.2.3 Fragments without localisation in Gullick (2015)

The following is a list of fragments for which I (or others) propose an origin where none is suggested in the handlist. It is a rather long list and I have therefore divided it into tables according to my suggested origins. The group of Norwegian fragments is the largest by far, with 96 fragments, followed by the English group of 32 fragments

(including in both cases the fragments which are on both lists). Many of the localisations are tentative, while others are based on a more in-depth examination.

The unpublished handlist by Michael Gullick (2015) has been the starting point; fragments listed together in the lefthand columns are fragments which have been coupled there.

Norwegian fragments

Fragment	Book	Comment
Lat. Frag. 28, 1–8	Bruno of Asti, <i>Sententiarum</i>	Same scribe as Lat. Frag. 38, 1 (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 32, 1–2	Hymnal	
Lat. Frag. 36, 1	Peter Lombard, Glossed ep.	Or England?
Lat. Frag. 85, 1–2	Bible	
Lat. Frag. 127, 1	Glossed Matthew	English exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 130, 1–2	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
Lat. Frag. 146b, 1	Antiphoner	English exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 150, 1–2 + 248, 1–25	Missal with calendar	Kal 5 + Mi 46 (LG). French exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 162, 1	Bernard of Parma, <i>Casus longi</i>	
Lat. Frag. 203, 1–5	Missal	Mi 4a (LG). English exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 214, 1	Breviary	Br 46 (LG)

Lat. Frag. 216, 1–3	Breviary	Br 48
Lat. Frag. 237, 1–6	Breviary (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 238, 1–4	Antiphoner	Ant 9 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 240, 1–2	Missal	
Lat. Frag. 243, 1–4	Missal	Belongs with 717, 1–4 + Box III, 41, 1–2 (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 258, 1	Missal (SM)	Same scribe as 434 (MG and ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 259, 1–4	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 261, 1–2	Gradual or sequentiary	German exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 296, 2–3	Breviary or missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 303, 1–4	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 312, 1–4	Breviary (SM)	French exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 330, 1–6	Antiphoner	Ant 76a+b (LG). English exemplar? (SR)
Lat. Frag. 337, 1–2	Breviary	Br 39 (LG). Same scribe as 237 (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 344, 1 + 345, 1–3	Missal	Mi 132 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 346, 1	Lectionary	Lec-Br 24 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 350, 1	Breviary? (SM)	Text from Book of Esther
Lat. Frag. 363, 1–3	Missal	Mi 134 (LG). French influence?
Lat. Frag. 363, 4	Breviary? (SM)	French influence?
Lat. Frag. 369, 2–3	Lectionary? (SM)	Text from II Timothy

Lat. Frag. 373, 1–2	Manual	Man 14 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 374, 1–3	Missal	Same scribe as 375, 1–2 (MG)
Lat. Frag. 378, 1–2	<i>Verba seniorum</i>	
Lat. Frag. 387, 1	Breviary? (SM)	Text on one side from Alcuin's <i>Vita Sancti Vedasti</i> , the chant "Ecce vere Israelita" on the other. French exemplar?
Lat. Frag. 389, 1–2 + 393, 1–2	Missal	Mi 58 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 396, 1–2	Gradual	Gr 14 (LG). French influence?
Lat. Frag. 398, 1–2	Antiphoner (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 399, 1	Antiphoner (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 401, 1–8	Antiphoner	Ant 58 (LG). Or England? 401, 8 is from a different book
Lat. Frag. 411, 1	Breviary (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 413, 1	Antiphoner (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 425, 3–5	Missal	Mi 174 add (LG)
Lat. Frag. 441, 1	Missal or breviary (SM)	Or England?
Lat. Frag. 449, 1–4	Lectionary? (SM)	Contains readings from the gospels
Lat. Frag. 454, 1–6	Missal (SM)	Belongs with 457, 1–6 (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 462, 1	Breviary (SM)	Feast of Trinity. Belongs with Box I [5], 1–2 (SM). English exemplar (MG)
Lat. Frag. 466, 1	Antiphoner (SM)	Chants from the Common of Evangelists

Lat. Frag. 467, 1–2	Breviary (SM)	English influence?
Lat. Frag. 468, 1–2	Book of Hours	<i>Horae</i> 2 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 472, 1–2	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 497, 1–2	Missal with sequentiary	Or England (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 501, 1–2	Breviary (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 502, 3–4	Breviary	Same music scribe as in 476, 1–2; 478, 1–9 etc; 486, 10 etc; 487, 1–2 (GA)
Lat. Frag. 505, 1	Breviary or missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 539a, 1–33	Breviary	Same scribe as 539, 1 (MG)
Lat. Frag. 539a, 34	Breviary (SM)	French influence?
Lat. Frag. 542, 5–6	Breviary (SM)	Note in Old Norse: “[...] rôyndum”
Lat. Frag. 550, 3–4	Antiphoner (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 575, 1–2	Missal	
Lat. Frag. 624, 9	Antiphoner or gradual (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 703, 1–2	Missal	French influence?
Lat. Frag. 718, 1	Lectionary (SM)	Text from Gregory’s I Homily XV and Genesis
Lat. Frag. 727, 1–2	Breviary? (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 752, 1	Missal? (SM)	Belongs with 751, 4–9 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 765, 1–3	Antiphoner	Ant 20 (LG). Belongs with Fragment 13 in the Norwegian National Library (MG)

Lat. Frag. 775, 1–4	Gradual	French influence?
Lat. Frag. 778, 1–2	Lectionary? (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 779, 4	Antiphoner	Ant 50b (LG)
Lat. Frag. 788, 1–2	Lectionary (SM)	Text from Hieronymus Stridonensis
Lat. Frag. 852, 1–5	Breviary or missal (SM)	Chants and readings without rubrics
Lat. Frag. 854, 1–2	Antiphoner (SM)	French influence? Chants for <i>De Sapientia</i>
Lat. Frag. 858, 1–2	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 865, 1	Missal	Or English?
Lat. Frag. 866, 1–6	Gradual	Gr 33 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 871, 1–2	Breviary (SM)	French influence? Belongs with 909, 1 (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 875, 1	Missal	Belongs with 929, 1–3 (see list in Chapter 8.2.1)
Lat. Frag. 880, 4–5 + 878, 25	Missal	
Lat. Frag. 884, 1	Missal (SM)	French influence? Belongs with 874 and 894 (GA)
Lat. Frag. 903, 1–2	Lectionary? (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 920, 1–7	Missal	English traits (Gullick 2013b:144)
Lat. Frag. 923, 1–9	Breviary (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 944, 1–2 + 948, 1–8	Antiphoner	Ant 21+22 (LG). Belongs with a fragment in Stockholm, RA No Fr 28
Lat. Frag. 954, 1	Gradual or antiphoner?	Almost no text

Lat. Frag. 972a, 1	Antiphoner	Ant 40 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 1002, 1	Missal	Belongs with 218, 1–3 (ÅO)
Lat. Frag. 1005, 1	Breviary	Br 45 (LG)
Lat. Frag. 1016, 4–5	Missal	Mi 64b (LG). Or England?
Lat. Frag. 1045, 1	Breviary (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 1106, 1–33	Gradual	German influence?
Lat. Frag. Box (45) VII, 1-2	Missal (SM)	Or England?
Lat. Frag. Box (45), 36a + 36b	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. Box (46.50.51) [4], 2	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. Box I, [4], 1–2	Missal	Mi 84 (LG)
Lat. Frag. Box I, [5], 1–2	Breviary (SM)	Belongs with 462, 1 (SM)
Lat. Frag. Box III, [1], 1–2	Missal	Mi 100a (LG)
Lat. Frag. Box III, [35], 1–2	Antiphoner (SM)	

English fragments

Fragment	Book	Comment
Lat. Frag. 36, 1	Peter Lombard, Glossed Epistles	Or Norway?
Lat. Frag. 71, 1–5	Bible	Discussed in workshop in Oslo, 2014
Lat. Frag. 74, 1–4	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates</i>	Vertical ruling 2-3-2
Lat. Frag. 125, 1–5	Psalter	
Lat. Frag. 135, 1–2	Bede, Homilies (AM)	Localisation by PS
Lat. Frag. 142, 1–2	Usuard's <i>martyrologium</i>	Double-crossed tironian <i>et</i>
Lat. Frag. 146a, 1	Calendar	Norwegian additions (Gullick 2014:72–75)
Lat. Frag. 226, 1–2	Antiphoner	Listed as English in Gullick (2013b:129)
Lat. Frag. 280, 1–2	Breviary	Or Norway?
Lat. Frag. 401, 1–8	Antiphoner	Or Norway? 401, 8 is from a different book
Lat. Frag. 441, 1	Breviary or missal (SM)	Or Norway?
Lat. Frag. 459, 1–3	Lectionary? (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 463, 1	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 470, 1–6	Missal	
Lat. Frag. 485, 13	Breviary (SM)	Resembles 485, 17
Lat. Frag. 485, 17	Breviary or antiphoner (SM)	Resembles 485, 13

Lat. Frag. 490, 1	Breviary	
Lat. Frag. 496, 1–10	Breviary	
Lat. Frag. 512, 1–2	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 536, 1	Missal (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 539a, 35–37	Antiphoner (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 548, 1	Lectionary or breviary (SM)	
Lat. Frag. 670, 1–3 + 672, 1–2	Missal	Gullick (2013b:142) considers it to have English traits
Lat. Frag. 712, 1–2	Missal	
Lat. Frag. 865, 1	Missal (SM)	Or Norway?
Lat. Frag. 1016, 4–5	Missal	Or Norway?
Lat. Frag. 1036, 1	Breviary	
Lat. Frag. Box (45) VII, 1–2	Missal? (SM)	Or Norway?
Lat. Frag. Box (45) XIXb, 1	Breviary? (SM)	
Lat. Frag. Box (46) [21], 1	Antiphoner	
Lat. Frag. Box III, [54], 1–5	Augustine, <i>Enarrationes in psalmos</i> (SM)	Listed as English in Gullick (2013b:133)
Lat. Frag. Box III, [55], 1	Lectionary, breviary or missal (SM)	

Others

Fragment	Book	Comment
Lat. Frag. 18, 1	<i>Verba seniorum</i>	Germany?
Lat. Frag. 31, 1	<i>Speculum virginum</i>	Germany?
Lat. Frag. 44, 1–2 + 69, 1 + 365, 1–6 + 855, 1–2 + Box II, 4, 1–2	Bible	Bi 1 (LG). Germany? Matches fragments in Copenhagen (RA 191 + 519 + 3235) (LG, MG)
Lat. Frag. 91, 1–4 + 94, 1–3	Gospels	Germany?
Lat. Frag. 93, 1 + Lensrekneskapar Verne kloster 1639–40	Breviary (on gospels)	Germany
Lat. Frag. 178, 1–2	Commentary on canon law	Germany?
Lat. Frag. 181, 1–11	Commentary on Roman law?	Italy?
Lat. Frag. 242, 1–4	Missal	Germany
Lat. Frag. 264, 1–5	Breviary	Germany
Lat. Frag. 268, 1–2	Breviary	Late, but neumes in campo aperto. Germany
Lat. Frag. 351, 1–2	Missal	Germany? Or Denmark?
Lat. Frag. 503, 1–6	Breviary	Contents from the Night Office of the Dead. ²⁹⁸ Germany
Lat. Frag. 910, 1–2	Missal or breviary?	Germany?

²⁹⁸ The responsory “Peccante me” appears as number six (before the third nocturne). Along with the reading of 1. Thessalonians 5:2–5 this suggests that the breviary belonged to the group of “the Bamberg minor series” (Ottosen 1993:263).

Lat. Frag. 1068, 1–2	Bible	Germany?
Lat. Frag. Box (46) s.n. [22], 1	Lectionary	Lec-Br 26 (LG). Denmark?
Lat. Frag. Unn. Box I, [2], 1	Benedictional	Ben 1 (LG). Germany?

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