

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

Bergen 28-30 October 2005

## WORKSHOP MATERIAL

*by Åslaug Ommundsen*





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





## Introduction

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

The elements of the workshop will be as follows:

1. status-reports from selected Nordic collections regarding their respective fragment projects.
2. study of specific fragments (mainly from copies and facsimiles).
3. discussions of different aspects of fragment research.

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

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

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

## Participants

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

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

### Friday 28.10

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

12.00-13.00: Lunch

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

19.30: Dinner

### Saturday 29.10

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

12.00-13.00: Lunch

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

19.30: Dinner

### Sunday 30.10

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

12.00: Lunch

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## Unearthing medieval scribes

### – Norwegian efforts

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

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

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

#### **I: "A Bergen scriptorium" ca. 1200?**

- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 764 (Mi 38)
- AM 619, 4° (*Gamalnorsk homiliebook*, Bergen, four hands ca. 1200)
- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1018 (Ant 7)

#### **II: The Stavanger breviary-missal, ca. 1250**

#### **III: The *Konungs Skuggsiá* scribe, 1270's**

- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 674 (Mi 28)
  - AM 243b • fol. (*Konungs Skuggsiá/Speculum regale*, ca. 1275)
- (See also Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 787 1 + 2, showing similar traits?)

#### **IV: The St. Olav scribe, towards 1300**

- Oslo, RA Old Norse fragment 47c (*King Magnus Lagabøter's Lawbook*)
- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1030 (Ant 17)
- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1031 (Br 1)

In addition three works are known from the same scribe:

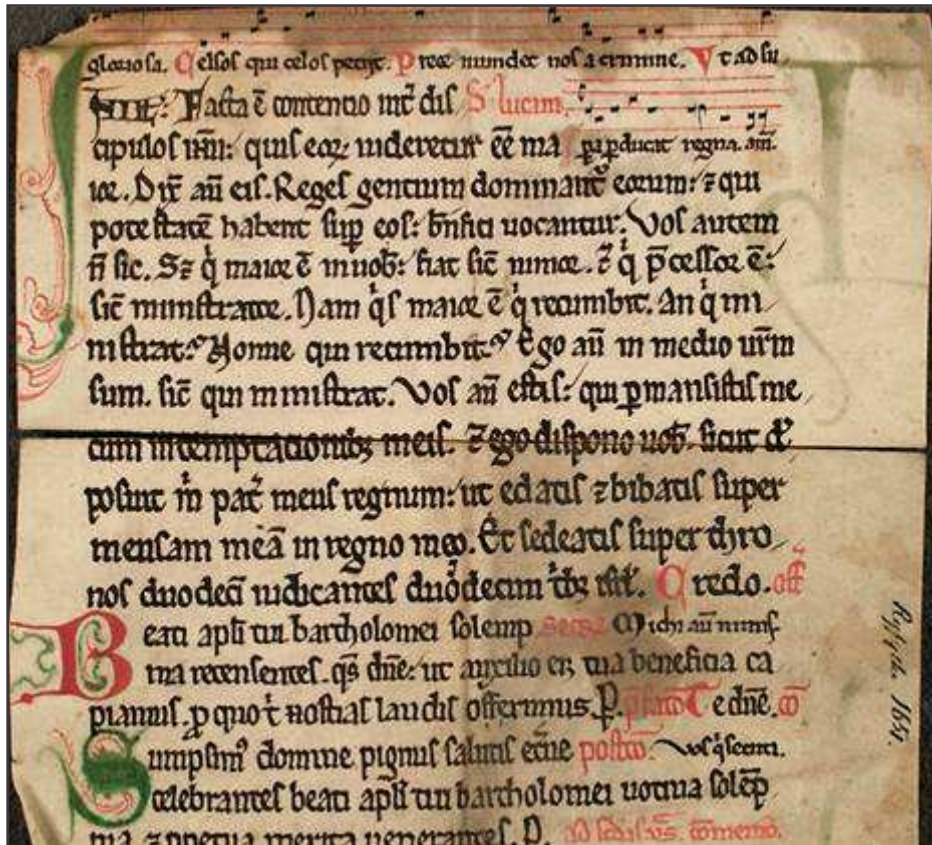
- MS Uppsala Delagardie 8 II = The legendary saga of St. Olav
- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 72 (Mi 27)
- Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 1028 (Man 1)





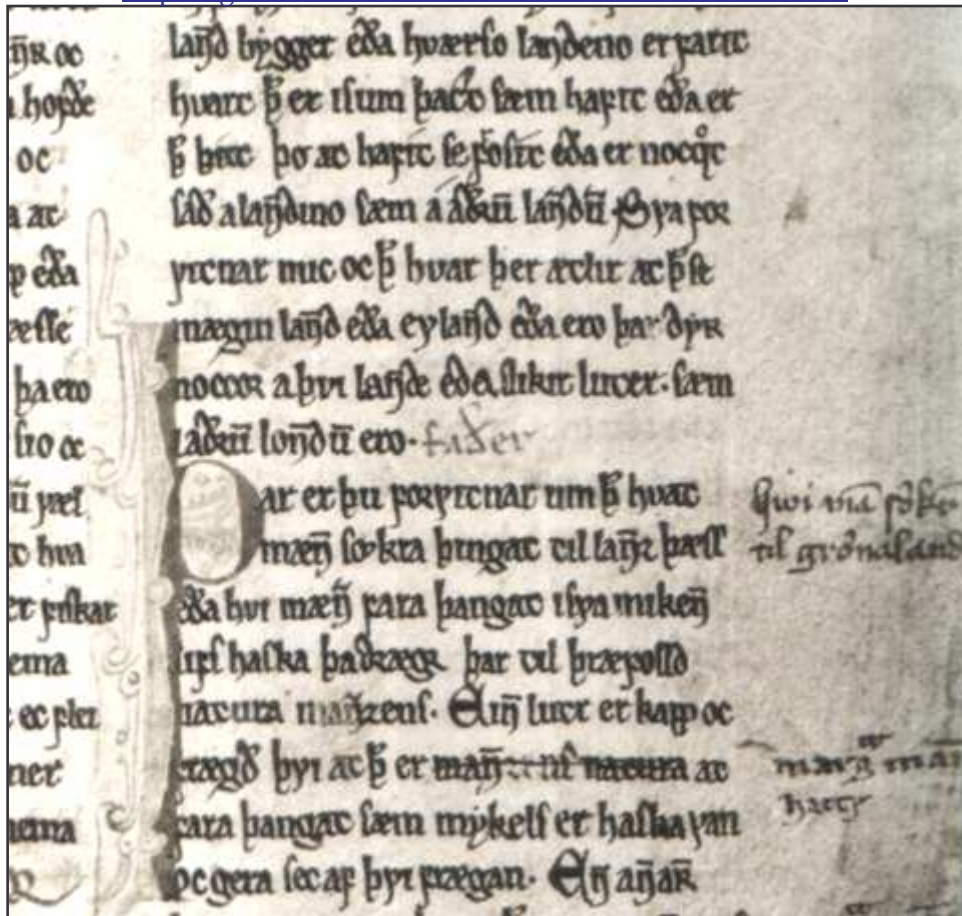


## II: The Stavanger breviary-missal, ca. 1250 (Oslo, RA Lat. fragm. 668r)



## III: The Konungs Skuggsiá scribe, 1270's (AM 243b a fol p. 37)

Picture taken from: <http://gandalf.aksis.uib.no/menota/ENMF/intro.html>





pascit illa. Nonne magis uos plures estis? <sup>illu</sup> Qui autem  
 uirum cogitant potest ad icere ad staturam suam cubitum unum.  
 Et de uestimento: quod solliciti estis? Considerate litra agri:  
 quomodo crescunt non laborant neque nent. Vico autem uobis  
 quoniam nec salomon in omni gloria sua cooptus est sicut unum  
 ex istis. Si autem tenuerit quod hodie est: et cetera in cubano unum  
 dicitur. deus sic uestit. Quanta magis uos minime fidei.  
 Nolite ergo solliciti esse dicentes: quid manducabimus: aut  
 quid bibemus: aut quod opremur. <sup>ly</sup> hęc enim omnia gentes iniquit.  
 Scit enim pater uir: quia hęc omnibus dicitur. Querite ergo  
 primum regnum dei: et iusticiam eius: et hęc omnia adiciuntur  
 vobis. **C**oncede nobis domine quod scilicet hostia <sup>scilicet</sup> uobis.  
 salutaris: et nostrorum fiat purgatio delictorum: et tue <sup>in</sup>  
 purificationis semper et in <sup>per</sup> <sup>co</sup> <sup>cratio</sup> potestates. <sup>p.</sup>  
~~inane tua faciemur uos deus: ad perpetue ducant salua~~  
~~tionis effectum. p. dicitur sepe dicitur.~~ .d. yvi  
**E**ccliam tuam domine miseracione continuata mun  
 decet et muniat: et quia sine te non potest salua con  
 sistere. tuo semper munere gubernetur. <sup>p.</sup> <sup>le ep. b. p. ap.</sup> ad effect  
**F**ris: Obsecro uos ne deficiatis in tribulationibus meis. <sup>p.</sup> <sup>ad effect</sup>  
 huius rei gratia flecto genua mea ad patrem domini nostri ihesu  
 christi: ex quo omnis paternitas in celis et terra nominatur.  
 Ut decet uobis secundum diuicias glorie sue iustitiam: corroborari



*Norsordeccum,*

est: tibi terra floribus.  
nemoribus et fructibus  
est depicta: tibi crea-  
tum est mare. *lc. vi.*

**T** campis est. in aqua.  
speciosa concinens mi-  
tabilis animam cum mul-  
titudine. ne gaudium  
noui seculi. tristis so-  
litudine confunderet.

**F**ecit te deus de terra homo.  
ut esses tu dominus  
terrenorum. et esses ip-  
sif ipsa substantie com-  
munionem communis. *su v*

**N**ec tamen te terrenum  
terrestribus sic equa-  
uit: ut non etiam celesti-  
bus animatum te celum  
exequaret: et esset tibi  
cum deo ratio. communio  
cum uniuersis. Dedit tibi animam  
de celo. dedit corpus etiam.  
ut in te conexa celi et ter-  
re concordia seruaretur. *S*

**N**ull. Defuncto hero. *coatham.*  
neque necro. *In epiphania dñi.* Ecce gentem quam nescie-

*Dignusit E:*

**O**mnnes *lc. pma.*  
ficientes ue-  
nite ad aquas.  
et qui non ha-

betis argentum prope-  
rate emite et comedite.

**V**enite emite absque ar-  
gento. et absque ulla co-  
mmutatione uini et lac.

**Q**uare appenditis ar-  
gentum non in panibus.  
et laborem uestrum non  
in saturitate. Audite

audientes me et come-  
dite bonum. et delec-  
tabitur in crassitu-  
dine anima uestra. Incli-  
nate aurem uestram. et  
uenite ad me. audite  
et uiuet anima uestra.

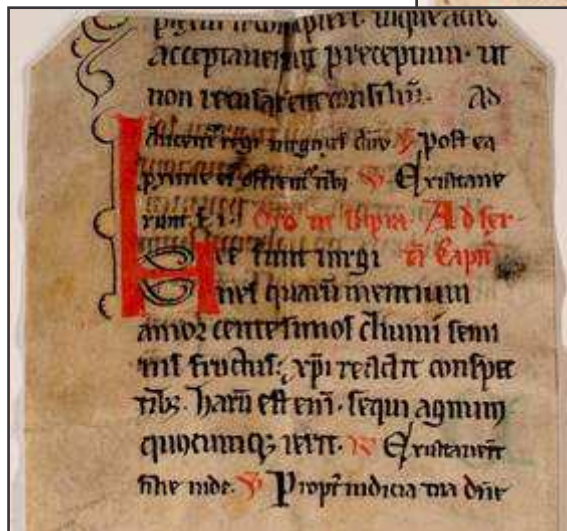
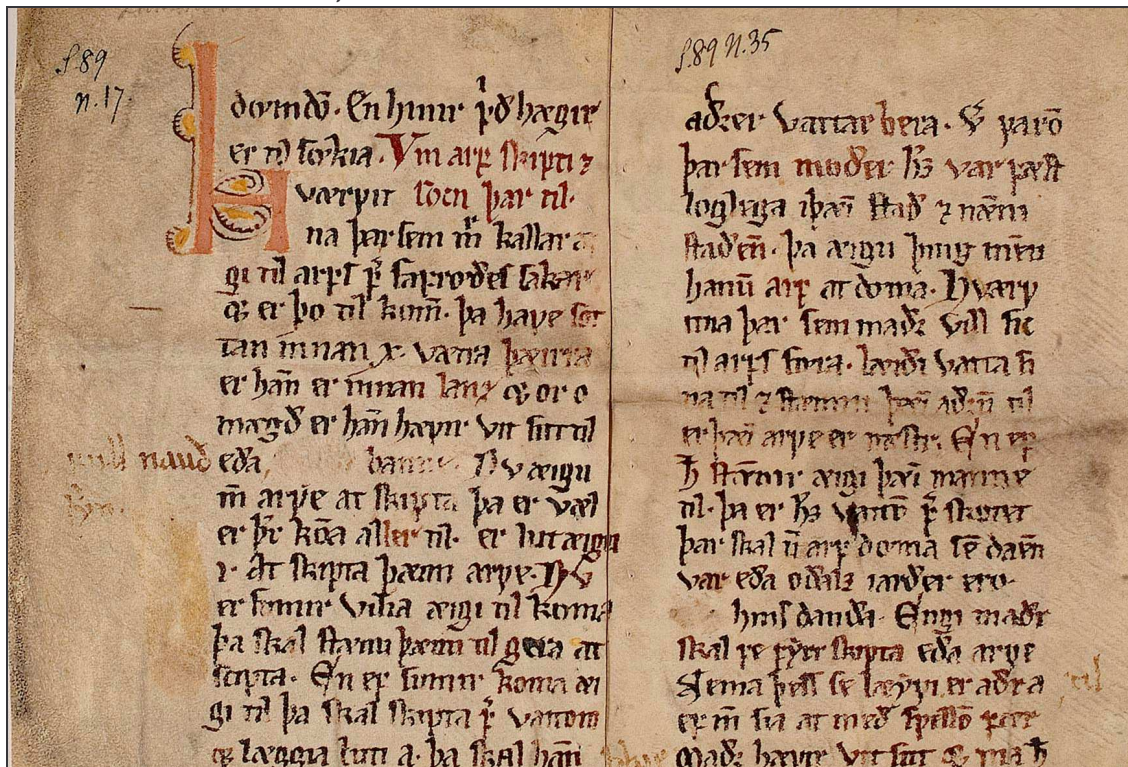
**E**t feriam uobiscum pac-  
tum sempiternum. mi-  
sericordias dauid fi-  
delis. Ecce testem populi  
dedi eum. ducem ac pre-  
ceptorem gentibus.

**E**cce gentem quam nescie-

*Bergenhuis Len.*  
1610.



IV: The St. Olav scribe, towards 1300



Top: NRA Old Norse fragments 47c  
 Middle: NRA Lat. fragm. 1030  
 To the left: NRA Lat. fragm. 1031  
 "The proficiency of the St. Olav scribe is matched by the correctness of his texts, but he had no sense of form or capacity for it. He does not write a beautiful hand." (Gjerløw 1968, p. 37)



## The 2003 and 2005 Oslo Workshops

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



*National Archives, Oslo, August 2003 (Photo taken from The National Archives' newsletter online): Marit Høye, David Ganz, Gunnar Pettersen, Michael Gullick, Andreas Haug. Front row: Gunilla Björkqvall, Gisela Attinger, Susan Rankin, Tessa Webber, Owain Edwards, Espen Karlsen.*

*National Archives, Oslo, March/ April 2005:*



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

*Lars Boje Mortensen (Prof. of Medieval Latin, CMS, Univ. of Bergen), Christian Heitzmann (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel), Roman Hankeln (Prof. of Musicology, NTNU, Trondheim).*

## **I. Continental script and English neumes – “the first Norwegian scriptorium”?**

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

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

## **II. English and Norwegian co-production**

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

## **III. An English 11<sup>th</sup> century missal imported to Tønsberg**

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

#### IV. Different aspects of scripts, scribes and book production for further research

- a. **A new scribal culture in the making – training and quality:** The fragments display a large variety in competence, from well trained scribes to pure autodidacts. It was indicated that fragments from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century show good quality local scribes, while the period 1180-1250 often shows rustic or clumsy traits, and a decreasing quality. The quality also differs with regard to tools and material, like parchment and ink. It has been remarked that in more cases than you would normally expect, good quality English scribes were writing on bad quality parchment (not imported books, but imported scribes?).
- b. **Initials:** The decorated initials of medieval manuscripts tend to fall between to chairs, unless they're of a historiated or inhabited kind. Decorative pen-flourishings have not been enough to engage art historians, and the palaeographers are too focused on the script. A closer study of initials could be useful in a search for "local symptoms".
- c. **Neumes – oral transmission:** The first generation of music scribes were taught by foreigners – abroad or in Norway in the late 11<sup>th</sup>, early 12<sup>th</sup> century. A closer study may reveal that a local form of writing developed, uncalligraphic but suitable to the purpose. A small community would be less suited to entertain an oral transmission of the melodies, and would therefore quickly absorb a feature like the staves. A manuscript with neumes would have no value whatsoever regarding the melody, without the cantor accompanying it.
- d. **Old Norse and Latin palaeography – closing the gap:** Latin palaeography has not enjoyed a strong position in Norway, and the terminology of the Old Norse palaeography has not been particularly suitable for the Latin script, even in cases of the same scribe writing in Old Norse and Latin respectively. Even if it is desirable to discuss scribes rather than script, it may prove useful to have a set of terms for educational purposes, provided we avoid the trap of over classifying.
- e. **Fragments in their historical setting:** After five different missal fragments had been assigned to Norwegian scribes around the mid 12<sup>th</sup> century, a very reasonable question was asked: "How many local centres could there possibly be ca. 1150?" The fragments are products of scribes in a specific historical situation, and it may be time to start comparing the evidence with the historical map.

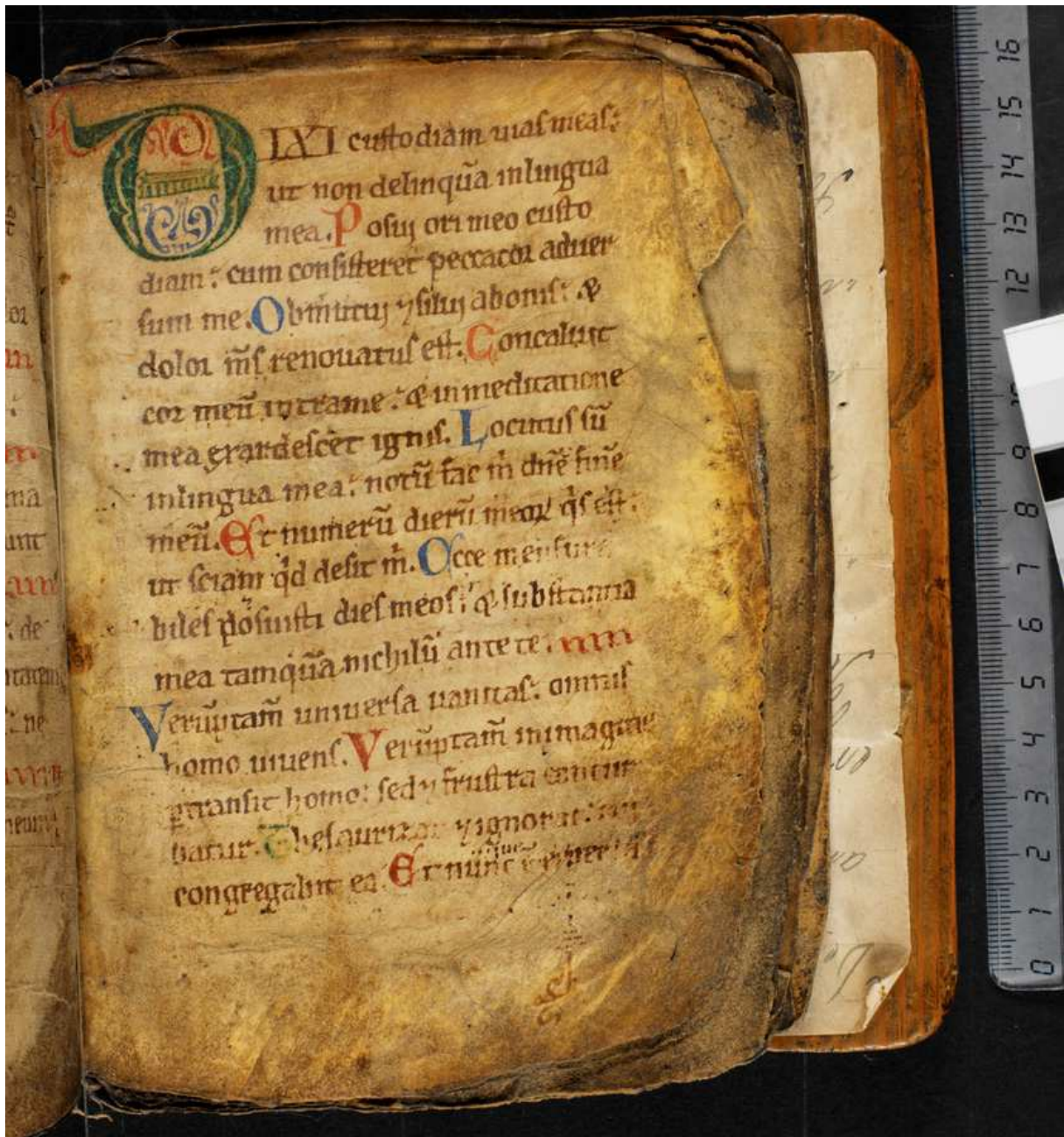












The Kvikne psalter (Norwegian national library MS 8vo 102), probably in Norway from the Middle Ages, still in medieval binding.



Tu es peccator  
 ipse hanc peccator  
 edificabo etiam  
 mea. Et postea in  
 si pualetit adus  
 caritatis dabo cla  
 ues regni celorum.  
 Quodcumque ligaueris  
 super terram erit ligatum  
 in caelis. Et quodcumque  
 fuerit solutum super terram  
 erit solutum in caelis.  
 Benedicite unumquemque  
 dominum. Mandatum  
 eius cupit nimis.  
 Potest intra erit se  
 cundum eius generatio  
 rectos inducet.  
 Gloria in excelsis deo  
 in terra pax hominibus  
 bonae voluntatis.  
 Desiderium anime eius  
 gustabit et uoluntate  
 labios eius non frust  
 rauerit. Quoniam pro  
 uenisti cum inuoluntate  
 dulcedinis. Posuisti super caput eius coronam de lapide precioso.

**S**omnipe deus. ut beatus. h. ap. tu  
 um pro nobis impleret auxilium.  
 ut ante reatibus absoluti. a  
 cunctis et periculis exuamur. p. ad. ff.  
**F**ratres. Iam non estis hospites. iad uene. S.  
 estis ciues sanctorum. idomestici dei.  
 Sup edificati sup fundamentum ap. lo  
 u. pp. harum. ipso summo angulari la  
 pide. xpo ihu. In quo omnis edifica  
 tio constructa. crescit in templum sc. m.  
 in domino. In quo et uos coedificami  
 ni in habitaculum dei. in spu sco. GRC.

nimis honora tu sunt amici tui deus  
 nimis confortatus est principatus  
 eorum. **O**numerabo e  
 os et uos per are  
 buntur. **Q**uatuor. **I**a.  
**I**n omnem terram exiit sermo

Jonna Louis-Jensen: MS AM 98 8vo from ca 1200 (here shown ff 24-27), "A small itinerant missal", Liturgica Islandica I, chapter 5, by Lilli Gjerlów suggested to be Icelandic. This origin is now being discussed as the ms is studied by a young musicologist.

Even though this is not a fragment, a discussion of origin would be interesting.



mus eorum & in fines or

bi terre uerba eorum.

**Ioan.**

**N** ill: **Or** hic d. s. Hoc e pceptum meu ut diligatis inuicem: sicut dilexi uos. Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet: ut animam suam ponat quis pami- cas suis. Vos amici mei estis: si feceritis que ego pcepto uobis. Iam n dicam uos seruos: quia seruus nescit quid faciat dominus eius. Vos aut dixi amicos: quia omnia quecumq; audiui a pre meo nota feci uobis. Non uos me ele- gistis s; ego elegi uos: & posui uos ut e- atis & fructu afferatis & fructu ut ma- neat. Et quodcuq; petieritis prem: in nomine meo det uobis.

**offer**

**C**onstituet e os principes sup om nem terram me- mares erunt nominis m: in omni pgenie &

**S**acrandum **S**er- tibi domine generatio ne- munus offerimus. quo beati .ij.

**Q**uare scie sciat aploz pncipi ad- itre. redoxq; regno- re. Etelesiaz moel- rura modare. Q- pdoctrina ma hie- let s ubiq;. Amio- r rem? scdi i pe- regni soliu. Guai- de tu paulo alze- andrma: uahhu g- tra. Etmopel octo- mathee agnelli uel- lere. Q maculal nes- cit aliqi ueluti iai- dido. Thoma bac- tholomee. iohs. phi- lippe. iunon. iato- biq; paula. qnd- a: uider di bellu- ues i hui. Et no- s occident. uouet. i- mo tot m di iui- lus se gaudet ha-

bere patet et expectat iudices. & idcirco m d' on laudes uob' & honore- scis debitu supplex impendit. adq.



apli tui sollempnia celebrantes purifi-  
cationem quoq. nris mrib; implorem. f.  
equum & salutare.

**Q**ue domine supplicat exo-  
rare: ut gregem tuum pastoe etne non  
deseras: s; pbeatos aplos tuos. n. con tunc  
a ptectione custodiaf. Vt eisdem recto-  
rib; gubernetur. quos opis tui uicarios.  
eidem contulisti pce pastores. Et ideo

**V**os qui secum etis me sedebitis in per se dem  
indicantes duodecim tribus israhel.

**P**receptis domine sacramentis suppli-  
cat exoram. ut mcedente beato. n.  
aplo tuo que pillius uenanda geri  
m. passione nobis pficiant ad mede

**S** qui nos **Q**uia lam. p.  
annua aplorum tuorum. n. sollemp-  
nitate letificas pra qd. ut quoru  
gaudem mital instruat exemplis. p.

**M**una dne que p aploru tuoru. n.  
sollempnitate deferim ppicius res-  
pice. mala omnia que mem aute.

enim dixit. aliquem anglorum filius meus est  
 tu ego hodie genui te. Et rursum. Ego  
 ero illi in patrem. et ipse erit mihi in filium.  
 Et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in  
 orbem terre dicit. Et adorent eum: omnes  
 angeli dei. Et ad angelos: quidam dicit. Qui  
 facit angelos suos spiritus: et ministros suos  
 flammam ignis. Ad filium autem. In honore  
 tuus deus in seculum seculi: virga equitatis  
 iuga regni tui. O dilexisti iustitiam et odisti  
 tu iniquitatem. propterea unxit te deus deus  
 tuus oleo exultationis pro participibus tuis.  
 Et tu in principio domine terram fundasti:  
 et iuga manuum tuarum sunt caeli. Ipse  
 subsistent tu autem permanebis: et omnia ut  
 vestimentum veterescent. Et velut a  
 mictum mutabis eos et mutabuntur. Tu  
 autem idem ipse es: et anni tui non deficient.

Viderunt omnes fines terre salutare deum nos  
 et in subilate deo omni in terra.

Quod fecit deus





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

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







Regarding the copies on the next three pages:

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

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

### 3. *Script and scribal errors*

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

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

Univ. &amp; Landesbibl. Sachsen-Anhalt

(HMM: shayes@csbsju.edu)

7c 4° 8

F ammen scrive for monnhen

Incipit op<sup>us</sup> Radulphi de calice spiritali.Limoniam sp<sup>iritu</sup>ale qua ex consideratione calicis di gr<sup>ati</sup>a

**A**collegi. ur̄is am̄inistro desidijs o karissime.  
 in dilectione ei qui faciat in bonis desidium  
 bonum. Qd̄ sp̄ualis edificationis decora &  
 utilia mystia calyx dñi contineat. Eviden  
 tissime recta sapientib; patet. Cum enī  
 templa & fundamenta eoz. & lapides. & con  
 secrationes. & om̄ia sacerdotalia induim̄ta.  
 in ministrium dñi consecrata. & alia mul  
 ta in ecclia. odorem vite in vitam nobis  
 spirare constat. Quis calicem in quo dñi  
 nissima mystia celebrant. sine uestali o  
 dore arbitretur. Videtur sane quenda  
 sp̄italem calicem in m̄tiori homine figura  
 re. in quo res sacram̄ti sp̄itali suscipit.  
 sic ipsum sacramentū visibili in calice  
 materiali celebratur. Quare forma  
 calicis atq; patena totaq; opatio  
 artificis calicem facientis. si quis  
 diligenter adiutat om̄ia instruit.  
 Si quia infirmata ē in paupertate vir  
 tus nra & non ē nob substantia &  
 manus nre ad offerendū dño nec.



duo minuta scilicet corporis ac animi. In  
 ficunt inuenire. quid ad nos de auro ca-  
 lice tractare? Viri diuitiarum qui in ihu  
 diuites facti sunt in omni uerbo et in omni sci-  
 entia ita uero nichil desit illis in ulla gratia.  
 qui in aureo calice angelice perfectionis diuina  
 solent celebrare: eorum sit hoc negotium. Nobis  
 autem sufficiat cum id supra uires nostras sit.  
 argentum qualemcumque perquirere: et idcirco de hoc  
 argento.

**A**rgenti ergo sit nobis sermo  
 de quo fabricandus est calix ad dominicum  
 sacramentum: non incongrue uidetur affig-  
 nari posse anime rationali: que ad imaginem  
 dei similitudinem dei creata est. Quia enim  
 plasmator tuus o adam inspirauit in faci-  
 em tuam spiraculum uite et tu factus es in ani-  
 mam uiuentem: nonne illa anima tua que  
 diu in gloria et honore sue creationis stetit.  
 quasi candore uenusta argento immo  
 omni auro et argento purissimo pu-  
 rior fuit. quam ymago dei et similitudo ho-  
 nestauit. O beata anima nobilis creatura:  
 uere digna deo: quia tota pulchra creata es.  
 et macula non est in te. Sed heu quomodo obscura-  
 tum est argentum hoc. mutatus est color optimus.  
 Quis fecit hoc? Inimicus utique homo fecit



67v to forchjellige skriuest

malum in bono uincē gaudet. & qd' omnibus  
 his maus uidetur. cum sic magna opetur. mag-  
 nam se nescit. omib; q; manifesta se solam latet  
 scitas eius. & cum sit scitate mirabilis. uidetur  
 sibi soli contemptibilis. Necessarium p̄suis ē sic  
 poliri aurum caritatis nre. nam caritas p̄t ue-  
 ritatem & mansuetudinem suam. patiens est. be-  
 nigna est. non emulatur. non agit p̄peram. non  
 inflatur. non ē ambitiosa. non querit que sua  
 sunt. non irritatur. non cogitat malum. non  
 gaudet sup iniquitate. congaudet aut ueritati.  
 Omnia suffert. omnia credit. omnia spat. omnia sus-  
 tinet. O felix anima quecūq; sic es deaurata. sic po-  
 lita. nimirum concupiscit rex decorem tuum.  
 quia complacuit dño in te. His igitur ita p̄fec-  
 tis. supradicte partes componi atq; conuungi de-  
 bent indissolubili nexu. ita ut ambe simul sint  
 unus calix. qd' neutra eaz sine altā ualeat ē.  
 Nam neutra eaz totum est. s; pars. Coniuncte  
 u. integrum faciunt. S; qm nos earundem  
 partium t̄p̄tiam distinctionē sup fecimus.  
 unionem singlāz uideamus. Anima p̄fecto  
 ut ip̄a calix dñi ē possit ē neutra suaz par-  
 tium carere possit. Nam p̄ inferiorem dis-  
 pensatio temporalium administrat. p̄ supi-  
 orem ū ad herendo dō ip̄a beatificatur. Qui

## Points for discussions

### I. Criteria for determining a local origin

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

1. The “ugliness” criterion: When the script is clumsy, the lines are crooked, the initials are “homemade” or missing, these might be signs to indicate a local origin?
2. The liturgical criterion A: Texts or songs in celebration of particular Norwegian saints or feasts, like Olav, Hallvard, Sunniva and the Seljumenn, or the Nidaros feast *Susceptio Sanguinis*. (A mere reference to Saint Olav bears no value, considering the wide dissemination of his cult).
3. The liturgical criterion B: *Post ordinal*-manuscripts in accordance with the Nidaros Ordo on characteristic points (Breviaries/antiphonaries are easier to determine. For missals and graduals: The Alleluia-verses between Pentecost and Advent?).
4. The “lectia” criterion: Gjerløw points out that Norwegian liturgical manuscripts seem to have a tendency to give the Norwegian a-ending to certain Latin female words with o-ending. A rubric with the words *postcommonia* (for *postcommunio*), *prefatia* (for *prefatio*) or *lectia* (for *lectio*) is likely to be of Norwegian origin (Gjerløw 1970, p. 107; 1979, p. 276).
5. The au-ligature criterion: Influences from the vernacular can also reveal a Norwegian origin, like the au-ligature, which sometimes made its way into the Latin mss.
6. The small caps criterion: It appears that there is a wider use of small capitals, especially R (Gjerløw 1979, p. 67), but also H, in manuscripts of such a late date that the reason seems to be influence from the vernacular. The capital R also appears in English manuscripts, and according to Albert Derolez the capital R never disappeared completely from the minuscule alphabet, but it came to play only a marginal role and mainly appeared at the end of a word or a paragraph, only rarely in the middle of a word (Derolez 2003, p. 63). The Oslo UB Lf. 5 from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century freely places the small capital R in words like *poneRE*, *placaRE* and *ageRet*.

### II. Scandinavia missing in Derolez’ classification?

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

### III. A palaeographical terminology

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

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

*The older Carolingian-Insular period (1150-1225)*

*The younger Carolingian-Insular period (1225-1300)*

*The Gothic period (1300-1550)*

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

For Latin palaeography the terminology would be:

*Carolingian (ca 800-1100)*

*Pregothic (Derolez 2003)/Protogothic (Brown 1990) (ca 1100-1200)*

*Gothic (ca 1200 - )*

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

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

N. R. Ker, the English palaeographer sets the shift from Norman/Protogothic to Gothic script around 1180 for English mss. Derolez also sets the full development of the Gothic script to late twelfth century for England, France and the Low Countries. For the rest of Europe, however, he places the change into the thirteenth century, giving a "ca 1200" general date of introduction of Gothic script. At this point a few characteristic changes have occurred:

- The ae-ligature *e caudata*, tailed *e*, began loosing its tail from ca 1150, and it disappeared by 1200 (cp. Gjerløw 1979, p. 228).
- The nasal abbreviation sign changed from a cup-shaped to a straight sign at the end of the twelfth century.



- Biting (or junction, or fusion) occurs from the end of the twelfth century when round shapes meet each other, and R-ligature occurs to other round letters besides O (=the rule of Wilhelm Meyer from 1897).
- The tironian note for "et" is crossed.

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

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

From Nyberg, Tore: *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800-1200*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2002.



From Hommedal, A. T.: "Hamarbiskopens gard på Storøya i Tyrifjorden. På sporet av eit monumentalbygg," in Pederesen, R (ed.): *Historien om historien. Fra kaupang og bygd* 1999. Hamar 1999, pp. 6-22.

## Monastic communities in Norway in the Middle Ages

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

### *V. Others.*

Varna, Østfold, Johanittes, late 12th century.

Source: <http://www.nla.no/ojj/kirkehistorie/tabell/kloster.htm> (now unavailable). As an alternative, see <http://www.dmmh.no/~ses/www-ses/kh/konfk/RomKat/klostre.htm>