

The Beginnings of Nordic Scribal Culture, ca 1050-1300:

REPORT

from a Workshop on Parchment Fragments,
Bergen 28-30 October 2005

edited by Åslaug Ommundsen

CMS - Centre for
Medieval Studies

Parchment fragment used on cover (cropped): Bergen University Library, MS 1549, 2

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Introduction

28-30 October 2005 a group of 28 scholars from the Nordic countries, England and Germany gathered in Bergen for the workshop "The beginnings of Nordic scribal culture, ca 1050-1300. A workshop on parchment fragments". Hosting the event was the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bergen (CMS). The participants came from many disciplines and institutions, but with at least one thing in common: An interest in manuscripts, parchment fragments and the study of early Nordic scribal culture. This report is made both for the workshop participants, and for other interested members of the public.

The earliest sources to Nordic scribal culture in the Middle Ages only rarely appear in the form of well kept codices. The study of early scribal culture has to rely mostly on the study of fragments from medieval manuscripts, fragments which have survived through the re-use of parchment for the binding of account books in the 16th and 17th centuries. This situation is common for all the Nordic countries, although there are great variations in the size of the fragment collections, and how far the process of registering and cataloguing them has come. The Swedish fragments are large, predominantly bifolia, while the Norwegian fragments often are smaller strips, which constitutes an additional challenge in the analysis of the material.

In 1993 there was a Nordic conference at the National Archives in Stockholm regarding Nordic medieval parchment bindings, where status-reports of fragments and fragment registration in the five Nordic countries were presented (Brunius 1994). At the same time there was a major effort to raise funding to finish the catalogue of the Swedish parchment fragments, and awareness was raised through an exhibition and publication called "Helgerånet" (Brunius, Benneth, and Abukhanfusa 1993). Now, twelve years later, a complete catalogue and searchable database of the Swedish fragments is available for scholarly use in the National Archives in Stockholm, and hopefully also on the internet in the near future.

The Swedish project was not only an inspiration, but also a supplier of valuable experience and computer database software, when Andreas Haug, then Professor of Gregorian music at the University of Trondheim (NTNU), initiated a project to register the Norwegian liturgical fragments in a database. After the first meetings in the National Archives in Oslo in 2000 and 2001, the project finally received funding from the National Research Council of Norway. In August 2003 Haug organized the first international workshop to explore the potential of determining more specific origins for individual fragments. Among others he invited the English palaeographers David Ganz, Michael Gullick, Susan Rankin and Teresa Webber. The results were fruitful, and held promise for further progress when a second workshop was put together in March/April of 2005. The international network was expanded with Christian Heitzmann from Germany, and this time the workshop was a collaboration between the National Archives of Oslo, Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Trondheim (NTNU), and CMS, Bergen.

With this latest workshop in Bergen CMS wanted to combine both the idea from the 1993 Stockholm conference, where fragments were treated as a matter for Nordic collaboration, and the experience from the Oslo workshops, which so clearly had demonstrated the benefits of international expertise. It was also time to emphasize further the importance of a broad interdisciplinarity. Latin philology and medieval history, normally considered “heavy-weights” in the study of medieval culture, have played only marginal roles – if any – in the study of the Latin fragments, at least in Norway and Iceland. The person keeping the Latin part of palaeography alive in Norway for the last fifty years of the last century was the liturgist Lilli Gjerløw (1910-1998). Given this background it was only natural that the Norwegian initiative to register the fragments had its roots in an interest in medieval liturgy, and came from the field of musicology. While liturgists and musicologists have been in front in the study of medieval fragments, the field of palaeography, so indispensable to the study of medieval manuscript material, has been dominated by Old Norse philology, not Latin. Therefore, any attempt to advance in the study of Nordic Latin palaeography would be futile without the inclusion of experienced palaeographers working with the Vernacular. Both Latin and Vernacular philologists are natural participants in the process of studying the oldest scribal culture, along with musicologists, historians and art historians.

CMS did not want a formal conference, and therefore made a “composite” workshop with different elements: Status-reports from selected collections in the Nordic countries, discussions about specific fragments and manuscripts, and discussions about specific topics. What came out of it was a generally increased knowledge of what actually exists in the Nordic collections of fragmented manuscript material and how far the institutions have come in cataloguing it. The study of the specific fragments gave results, and the extended online catalogue and fragment website for the University Library in Bergen also benefited greatly. The discussions were fruitful and we now feel on firmer ground in dealing with manuscripts, fragments and palaeography for different purposes: Teaching, cataloguing and scholarly in-depth research. The workshop was concluded with hopes and plans for further international collaboration and research on fragments and manuscript material.

Many thanks to Gunilla Björkvall, Erik Petersen, Espen Karlsen, Tone Modalsli, Tuomas Heikkilä and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugson for their status-reports, to Birger Munk Olsen for his closing lecture, and to Lars Boje Mortensen, Rune Kyrkjebø, Odd Einar Haugen, Else Mundal, Jonas Wellendorf and Aidan Conti for valuable assistance during the workshop and on this workshop report. Thanks also to all the other participants in the workshop for being so generous with their knowledge.

Åslaug Ommundsen

Program

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: Sjøtønnen, Hotel Admiral

Saturday 29.10

09.00: *A visit to the University library to look at the fragment collection, including some fragments from Bergen 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: Bølgen og Moi

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

The workshop was held at Clarion Hotel Admiral, Bergen.

Participants

Attinger, Gisela	Universitetet i Oslo
Bagge, Sverre	CMS, Bergen
Björkvall, Gunilla	Riksarkivet i Stockholm
Conti, Aidan	CMS, Bergen
Ganz, David	King's College, University of London
Gullick, Michael	Walkern
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
Høye, Marit Johanne	NTNU, Trondheim
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
Marcussen, Maja Lillian	Bergen
Modalsli, Tone	Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo
Mundal, Else	CMS, Bergen
Munk Olsen, Birger	Københavns Universitet
Nedrebø, Yngve	Statsarkivet i Bergen
Petersen, Erik	Det kongelige bibliotek, København
Pettersen, Gunnar	Riksarkivet i Oslo (<i>unable to attend</i>)
Rankin, Susan	Emmanuel College, Cambridge
Svellingen, Ragnhild	Universitetet i Bergen
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Status-reports from the five Nordic countries

Sweden

Gunilla Björkvall, the National Archives, Stockholm

The cataloguing of medieval parchment fragments at the Swedish National Archives. The Database and its Research Application

Number of fragments and database status

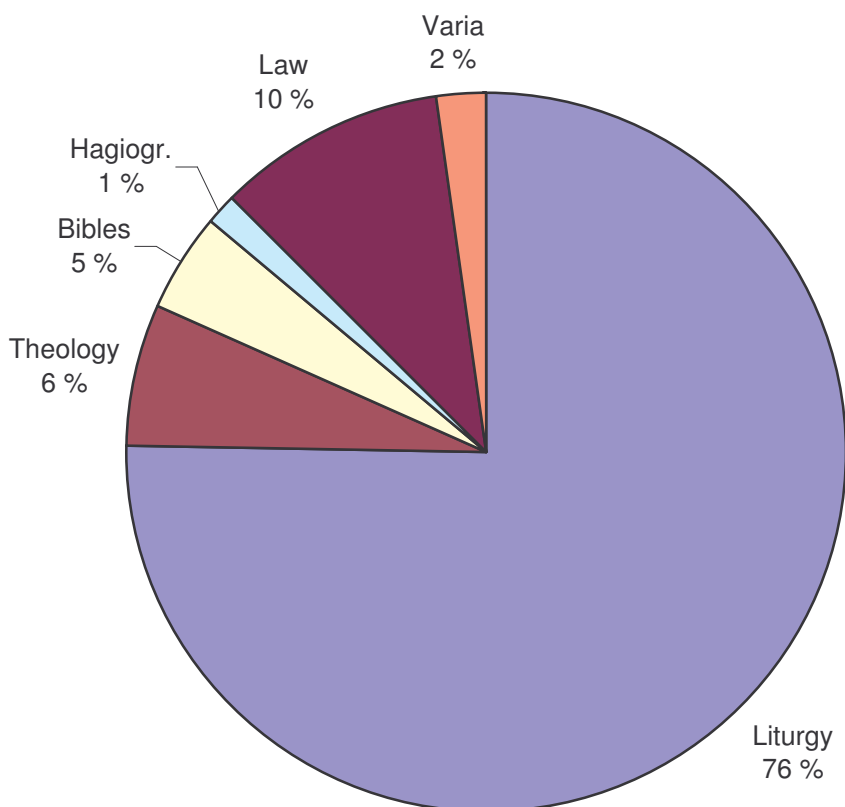
The cataloguing of the medieval parchment fragments in the National Archives in Stockholm has been supported by the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters History and Antiquities and is now basically completed. The database catalogue comprises around 22 700 items. This huge number represents the remains of more than 6000 medieval books, most of them used as wrappers for accounts of the crown in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is not possible to give a more exact figure concerning the number of books, since much work of reconstructing codices remains to be done. Therefore rather than being definitively closed, the catalogue offers material for much further investigation which no doubt will change these figures.

Like many other database catalogues, the Swedish one consists of different parts: an older part that was retroconverted, based on a handwritten card catalogue called the CCM (Catalogus codicum mutilorum). It uses Latin terminology of manuscript description, and in many respects provides scarce information on contents, measurements etc.; and a new part, the MPO (Medeltida PergamentOmslag), conceived as a database from the beginning and using the terminology of the guidelines for manuscript descriptions published by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 1992). Some efforts have been made to make the two parts compatible, but in order to reach a total correspondence it would have been necessary to return to the originals once again. In view of the large number of fragments this was not feasible.

Genre distribution

An overview of the types of books appearing in the material gives the following picture. The predominant part are leaves from liturgical books: 76%; 10% come from law books; 6% from theological writings; 5% from Bible books; only 1% from hagiographic works and, finally, 2% labelled "Varia", coming from different writings, such as philosophy, history, natural sciences, medicine or encyclopedias and vocabularies. The leaves are almost always made of parchment, rarely of paper, in the latter case the fragments are not wrappers but fillings. The language is almost always Latin, but there are around 75 leaves written in church Slavonic coming from Russian liturgical books, and a restricted number written in old Swedish, old German and French.

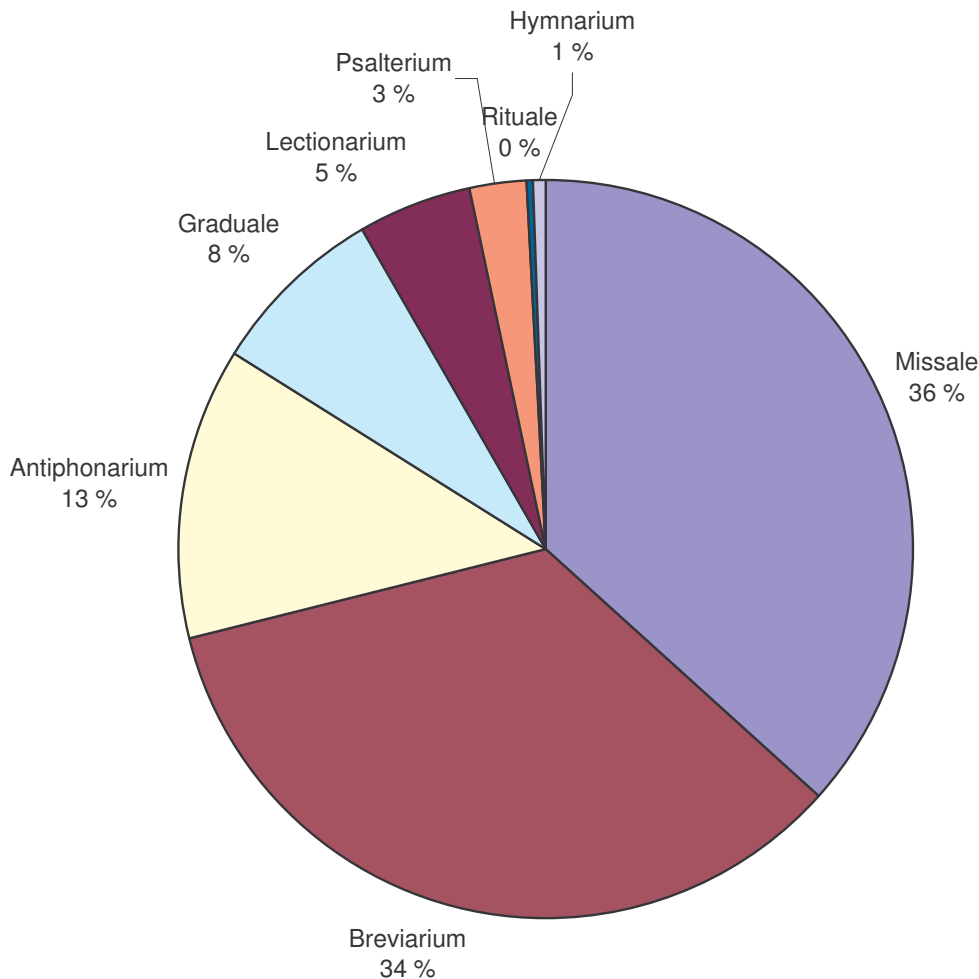
The Stockholm fragments



It must be stressed that these figures are neither representative of the number of books nor of the types of books that existed in Sweden during the Middle Ages. Based on the assumption that all accounts of the crown once were bound, Jan Brunius has estimated that only 50% of the parchment wrappers remain today. The rest have been destroyed or are lost. Therefore, what remains is very much due to chance, and it would be difficult to tell how the loss affected the chronological distribution of the leaves. As far as one can tell, the persons making the wrappers did not proceed in any chronological order but they used leaves from old and newer books indiscriminately.

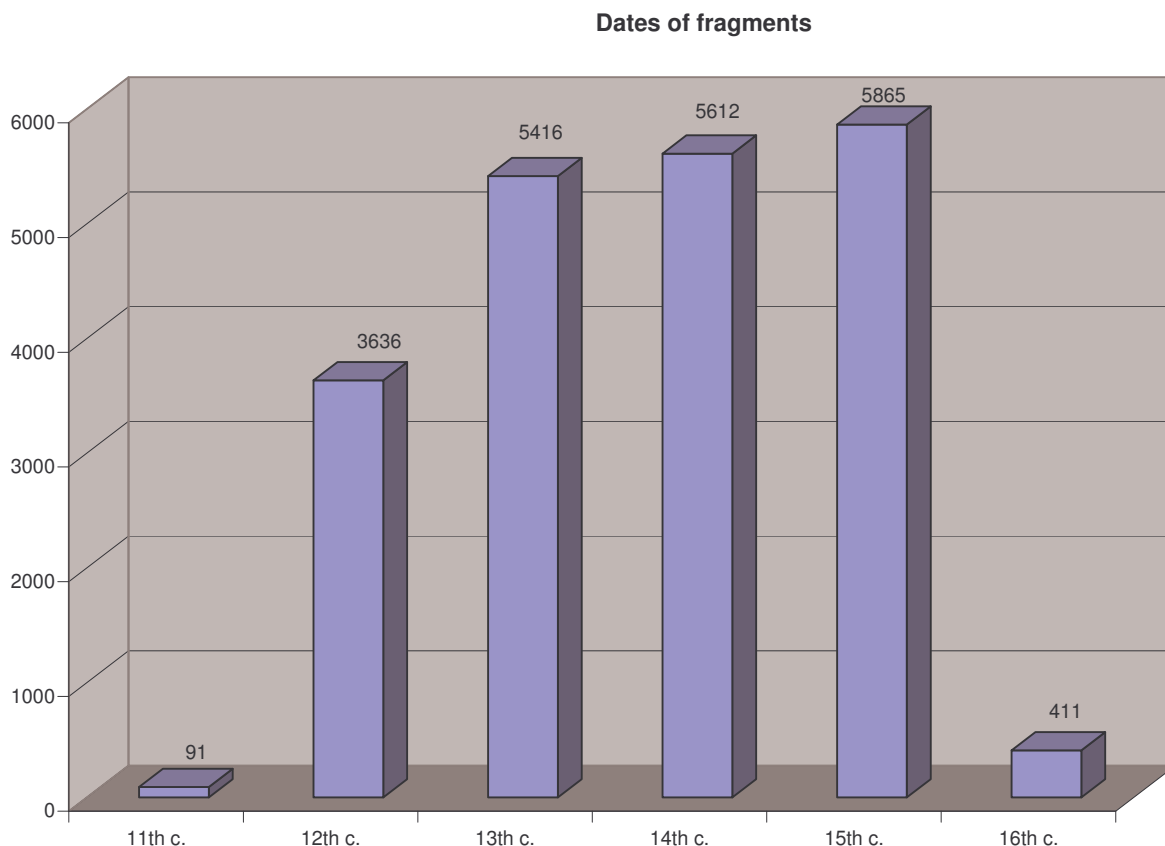
What is significant, however, is that the requirements of the accounts have determined what remains as fragments in Sweden. Normally, the accounts have measurements corresponding to modern A4 format, which led to a preference for large size books and good quality parchment fitting as wrappers. This explains the overwhelming number of leaves from liturgical books, especially missals and large notated breviaries. At the same time, this explains why leaves from books of small size, such as portable breviaries, prayer books (*livres d'heures*), poetry, grammar, classical authors etc. are virtually absent in the material. Another aspect of what was

used as wrappers is that after the reformation, liturgical books were more easily available for reuse than other books of neutral contents. Even leaves from liturgical incunables printed on parchment for Swedish dioceses, as well as leaves from Gutenberg's Bible, were used as binding material.



Chronological distribution

The chronological distribution of the material based on the total number of items (not on reconstructed books) shows a rather even level for the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, while the number is smaller for the 11th and 12th centuries as well as for the 16th century. The figure below shows the exact chronological distribution. Thus the database allows a first access into the material inviting further research.



Research application

That much more progress can be made was demonstrated at an international fragment seminar in Stockholm in November 2003. The contributions, that are about to be published,¹ discuss the special methods necessary in dealing with the problems involved in fragment material. I will briefly summarize some important results from these articles in order to show how the database catalogue can be used. The questions deal with the fields of law, theology, Church Slavonic and palaeography.

The complete number of law fragments amounts to 2 100 fragments representing around 650 manuscripts of Canon and Roman law. Fragments of Canon law are by far the most numerous. Most of them belong to the period 1250-1350 and come from the main bulk of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* with a large amount of standard commentaries. Only a few are earlier or later. For example, early witnesses of Gratian's *Decretum* up to around 1200 are entirely absent in the material. It suggests that import of law books started much later than import and even local production of liturgical books. Conversely, that so few leaves from the later period are represented in the material can probably be explained partly through changes in binding practice, partly through the increasing use of paper as writing material. Most of the law commentaries are such that are usually used in an academic context. Many of them are likely to come from either the universities of Bologna/Padua or from Paris. It has

¹ Published in December 2005: Jan Brunius, *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademin, Konferanser 58, Stockholm 2005.

been difficult to define the origin of other fragments more precisely on palaeographic criteria; Dr. Martin Bertram has examined a number of the law fragments and an important conclusion of his is that the large number of fragments from Canon law books is surprisingly high for such a small country like Sweden, and yet the original number must have been even higher in view of the losses! The question is: Who were the users and in which context were the books brought to Sweden? A comparison with other types of documents such as testaments gives interesting results and enables Dr. Bertram to sketch a picture of the circles that owned and bequeathed the Decretals. It was mainly canons and clerics, even parish priests in some cases, who owned Decretals. A wider comparison with a European situation would have been highly interesting, but is hampered by the fact that estimations of the distribution of law books, also including fragments, so far has only been made systematically in Hungary and the Netherlands.

The group of theological writings is represented by a relatively restricted number in the Swedish fragments. As we know, by tradition this is a category of great interest for research as they are witnesses to medieval teaching and learning. Since the completion of the Uppsala catalogue on the C-collection of Latin manuscripts, much new material has been brought forth related to the Vadstena library which was an intellectual centre during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Without doubt more Vadstena material is extant among the fragments waiting to be more closely examined.

For many years Dr. Anja Inkeri Lehtinen has been preparing the Finnish catalogue of the fragments of law and theology, which will appear as a printed publication. This will be tremendously welcome and will demonstrate the profound links between Sweden and Finland during the Middle Ages. The overall question is to try to sort out whether the books taken for the binding of both Swedish and Finnish accounts were originally used in Sweden or in Finland. Dr. Lehtinen deals with this question listing the theological fragments that have counterparts in Sweden and in the British Library in London. The English fragments belong to the George Stephen's collection, a collection of manuscripts and fragments donated by Stephen to the British Museum in the second half of the 19th century. Her aim is to sketch a picture of the medieval libraries in Finland and Sweden. Of a total of 250 works in Lehtinen's catalogue as many as 70 are represented by leaves elsewhere, mostly in Stockholm. Among these there are especially many postills and commentaries by both known and unknown authors: for example, 3 different codices containing Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, 3 different codices containing Peter Lombard's *Magna glossatura super psalmos*, 4 different codices containing Thomas de Aquino's *Summa*, 4 different codices containing Iacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* etc. The basic question as to whether these books were actually used in Sweden or in Finland is in principle relevant for fragments of other categories of books as well. Dr. Lehtinen's article illustrates the utmost importance of combining the Swedish and Finnish fragments. Within the field of liturgical music, the Finnish scholar Ilkka Taitto has undertaken similar approaches in his recently printed catalogue of antiphonaries.

The group of Church Slavonic fragments in Stockholm offers quite a different picture. There are 75 leaves kept in the Swedish National Archives and together with

leaves from other Swedish institutions they represent 46 different codices. Professor Lars Steensland has combined these with additional leaves that could be found in Saint Petersburg, Helsinki and London (providing a total of 289 preserved leaves). The majority of the fragments date to the 14th century. Linguistic examination points to that they were all written in the northwest of Russia, the region of Novgorod. Since a large part of them are hagiographic literature used for monastic readings, usually labelled Prologues, they were probably taken from monasteries in that area in connection with the repeated Swedish war campaigns from 1580 and onwards and the occupation in 1611-17. Leaves from these books were used for binding purposes from around 1580 to 1620. The predominance of leaves containing prologues is once again explained by their size: large size folios well suitable for bindings. A question so far not solved is whether the actual binding process took place in Stockholm or in the Baltic countries.

The theme of this conference “The beginnings of Nordic scribal culture” was also a theme dealt with by Michael Gullick in our seminar, although specifically related to Sweden. The earliest fragments in our material date from around end of the 11th c. through the 12th c. The two much debated questions on the process of Christianisation in Sweden and the beginnings of Swedish book production were an instigation for us in Stockholm to try to interest expert scholars for this earliest layer of fragments. Just like in Norway – although 11th century fragments are much fewer in Sweden -- many fragments from this period appeared to be written in an English script. Michael Gullick has dealt with 260 of these fragments gathering them into groups according to decoration and palaeographic features: 1) Fragments probably or certainly written in England; 2) Fragments with English features; 3) Fragments certainly written in Normandy; 4) Fragments probably or certainly written in Sweden; 5) Fragments probably written in Sweden. As Michael Gullick points out, a basic problem for general conclusions about early book import is that there is very little information on how and by whom books were brought to Sweden during the early period. One cannot entirely exclude that books may have arrived long after their production. Michael Gullick’s article (Brunius 2005) exemplifies very well the advantage of combining different criteria: not only script and decoration, but codicological features as well, such as ruling and parchment quality. In addition Michael Gullick uses the evidence of charters. For a long time the Vallentuna Missal from around 1200 was considered as the first example of Swedish book production, but the evidence of the fragments now suggests that the beginnings took place considerably earlier.

A wider discussion of the early Swedish material comparing it with Norwegian fragments would be very interesting. The circumstance that some of the earliest Swedish liturgical fragments were also used as wrappers for accounts from the western parts of Sweden, close to Norway, may be an indication that the original books were used in western Sweden and may have found their way there from or via Norway. Our Mi 1 and Oslo’s Mi 5 are a challenging example. A comparison between the Swedish and Norwegian material in Oslo would not be too difficult to pursue in view of our common database form.

This brings me back to a few concluding words about the actual state of the Stockholm database. It is still available only as a local station in the National Archives, but it will be released in two formats. One version will be accessible on-line with a simplified search function as a file maker database. This is planned to be completed within one year. The local database with its more advanced search function will be available as a DVD-version that can be purchased. Our aim has been to present scanned pictures of the fragments together with the descriptions. Unfortunately funding for scanning was not included in the project budget and had to be applied from different sources. Hitherto it has not been possible to scan all the fragments, and it is uncertain when the rest can be scanned. Around 50% of the MPO material is scanned and minor parts of the CCM material. Those pictures that have been scanned so far, however, will be available together with the descriptions.

Denmark

Erik Petersen, the Royal Library, Copenhagen

Medieval manuscript fragments in Danish institutions

Major collections of medieval fragments in Denmark are housed by the following institutions, all based in Copenhagen: the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection (Den Arnamagnæanske Samling), the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet), and the Royal Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek).

Several fragments both in the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection and in the Royal Library originally belonged to the Danish National Archives where they had been used as covers of archival documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from various administrative regions in Denmark, Sweden and Northern Germany. The question of the medieval provenance of the fragments is complex and still open to discussion.

The majority of fragments in Danish collections have not been thoroughly identified and analysed. Detached fragments still in the Danish National Archives have been inventoried by Esben Albrechtsen, in *Middelalderlige håndskriftfragmenter: Aftagne fragmenter; Omslag om lensregnskaber* (Albrechtsen 1976). Many fragments, however, remain undetached and have not been inventoried. A project on *Danish Liturgical Fragments* has been undertaken by Knud Ottosen, at <http://www.liturgy.dk/>.

The *Collection of Fragments* ("Fragmentsamlingen", abbreviated Fragm.) in the Royal Library forms a separate unit in the Manuscript Department. It consists of more than 3350 items. They were individually numbered and categorized in an inventory by Merete Geert Andersen and Jørgen Raasted in *Inventar over Det kongelige Biblioteks Fragmentsamling* (Raasted and Geert Andersen 1983). Most of the fragments contain texts in Latin, but other languages, i.a. Greek, Danish and German, are represented as well. Several fragments are remnants of liturgical books and contain musical notation.

A large group of the fragments were transferred from Danish National Archives to the Royal Library in the last decades of the 19th and the first of the 20th century. Other fragments, including some of the oldest in the collection, have been used as covers or part of bindings of books in the Royal Library.

There are fragments even outside the Collection of Fragments. Some of these, for example a small group of fragments collected by Frederik Rostgaard and later in the University Library, were numbered by Andersen and Raasted but not included in their inventory. This is the case also with other fragments formerly in the University Library whose manuscript collections were transferred to the Royal Library in 1938. Other fragments outside the Collection of Fragments remained unnoticed.

The curatorial and scholarly attention paid to the fragments has been varying from neglect to intensive study. Some fragments were incorporated in the New Royal Collection with a status as individual manuscripts because of their value as literary, historical or palaeographical sources, whereas others have hardly been studied since they were parts of books in the Middle Ages.

On a new website, *Fragmenta Latina Hauniensia*, fragments from c. 800 to c. 1500 from most parts of Europe and now in the Royal Library are introduced and made available as digital facsimiles on the internet. More will be added.

<http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/flh/index.htm>

Norway I: The National Archives

Espen Karlsen, University of Trondheim/the National Archives

The collection of Latin fragments in the National Archives of Norway

In the National Archives there are 5–6000 fragments of medieval books in Latin on parchment. The collection is by far the largest in Norway. In addition, there is a collection of Old Norse fragments, mainly from law manuscripts. The approximately 500 Old Norse fragments have received more attention than the Latin ones, and are fully catalogued. There are a few other vernacular fragments as well.

As in Stockholm the fragments in the National Archives come from medieval books that were dismembered into leaves that were used as binding materials on the bailiffs' account books mostly between 1560 and 1640. The earliest instance, however, is the account books of the last Catholic archbishop of the province, Olav Engelbretsson, who used leaves from a 12th century Bible manuscript as wrappers around two of his account books for the year 1537.

In the early 1900s most of the fragments were separated from the account books and located in a collection of their own. The fact that they no longer are attached, facilitates the reconstruction work. Today only a few fragments are still attached to the account books and are consequently located elsewhere in the National Archives. Occasionally some fragments are still discovered in the bindings of account books.

The size of the collection

The collection, which consists of 5–6000 fragments, is considerably smaller than the one in Stockholm, which consists of some 22 700 fragments. This does not mean that books necessarily were much rarer in Norway than in Sweden. The discarding of the majority of account books earlier than 1610 during the 18th century was fatal for the fragments, which were destroyed along with the account books to which they were attached. This discarding may also have affected Danish fragments. Preserved fragments from account books earlier than 1610 are mainly double leaves or complete single leaves. After 1610, there was less parchment available and the leaves were frequently cut into smaller pieces (Plate 1).

The contents of the collection. The registration work

The majority of the fragments, approximately 4–5000, are from liturgical books, many of which contain musical notation.

Earlier registration work was done by the great Norwegian medievalist Lilli Gjerløw. She had a catalogue primarily meant for her own use, which, along with her publications, has proved most useful in our registration work. Her inventory included some 2000 liturgical fragments. Some manuscripts she reconstructed in full, whereas in other cases she just gave the manuscript a designation.

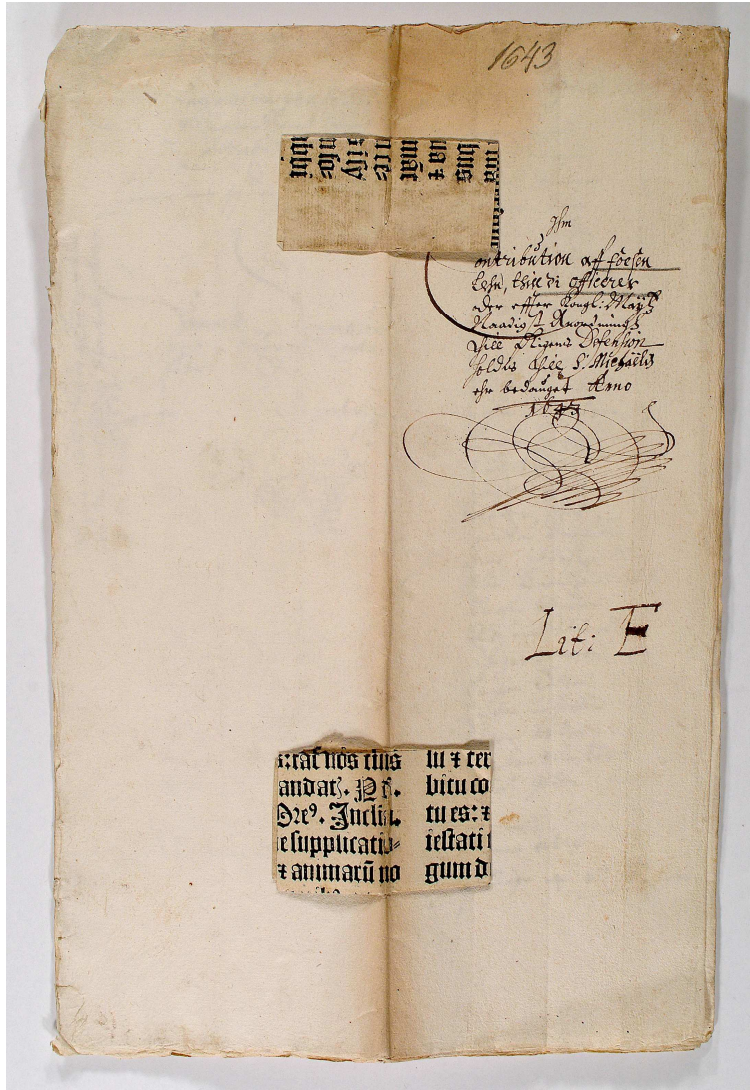


Plate 1. Small fragments still attached to an account book (Oslo, NRA Rentekammeret, Lensrsk. Trondheims len 1643–1644 nr. 80.2).

Among musicologists the need was felt for a registration according to relevant criteria, such as book genre, date, script, musical notation, contents etc. Some of them made contact with the National Archives in the 1990s. The National Archives were not able to undertake such a registration on their own, and in 2001 finally an agreement was made between the National Archives and the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Trondheim about a cooperation at the initiative of the musicologist Andreas Haug. As the project developed, the results proved significant also in other fields than musicology, such as the development of writing in Norway, book history and cultural history in general.

The registration work in Oslo has not only been concerned with a catalogue of the fragments, but also with the reconstruction of books, as there are many fragments coming from the same manuscripts. The fragments are catalogued in the same database program as is employed in Stockholm. We are also happy to hear that other institutions are considering using the same database, as this will give an opportunity to connect the databases for searching at a later stage. However, there are some differences to the approach in Stockholm, mainly since we deal with smaller pieces.

Chronological distribution of reconstructed graduals and missals

The reconstruction allows us to give statistics of reconstructed books rather than the number of fragments from each century.

Table: A chronological survey of reconstructed missals and graduals in the National Archives, Oslo (early printed books not included).²

Date	Missals	Graduals	Total
Earlier than A.D. 1000	2	—	2
11th century	19	2	21
11th/12th century	8	1	9
12th century	60	17	77
12th/13th century	7	3	10
13th century	37	4	41
13th/14th century	2	2	4
14th century	6	3	9
14th/15th century	2	2	4
15th century	11	15	26
15th/16th century	1	2	3
Total	155	51	206

In the interpretation of the statistics in this table, one should bear in mind that these fragments probably are leftovers from the main bulk which were discarded during the 18th century. These fragments probably document only a small part of the service books of the medieval church of Norway.

The earliest missal fragments, Mi 9 and Mi 30, may date from the 9th or 10th century, but from c. A.D. 1000 on there are several missals, mainly English. Later in the century there are other influences as well, and a few books that are probably produced locally.

It is no surprise that the number of manuscripts from the 12th century is particularly high, as this is the century during which the Province of Nidaros was established. It is also possible to link these figures to the number of churches built before 1200. In the middle part (Trøndelag) of Norway 83% of the medieval churches were built before 1200, most of which also had their missals. (The smaller chapels in this number may not have had their own books.) It is also probable that the churches continued using the same missal from the 11th and 12th centuries until the reformation, as there is an indication that in Sweden the same missal was used in a church for a very long time (Helander 1993: 105-6). Taking into consideration the very high prices on books compared to modern standards, this is no surprise.³

² It is possible that fragments of a few more missals and graduals will be added to the figures in this table in the future. However, statistically significant additions are not be expected

³ For examples from Norway, see Karlsen (2005: 151–152).

A clear majority of the books predate 1300, i.e., approximately 78% of the books (160 out of 206). The figures for the 13th century are more moderate than for the 12th, and after 1300 the production almost came to an end. As this stagnation happened before the Black Death, it should not be explained by the plague alone. The churches probably had the service books they needed by the year 1300.

As for the graduals in particular (and possibly the antiphonaries), there is an increase of new books in the 15th century. The musical notation in the old books was probably outdated at the time. This may have led to the production of new books. The missals indicated the texts to be used in the service, so that musical notation probably was not that important since a gradual anyway usually was at hand. (Many missals have no musical notation at all).

This distribution over the centuries may vary considerably between the different genres of liturgical books, and we can only get a true picture of the development after surveying the whole collection. The manuals, for instance, seem to date mostly from the 13th century. The inclusion of the antiphonaries may change the figures concerning the late Middle Ages, as there seem to be several of them from the 15th century.

As I have argued in a recent article, the main impression from the collection is that there is quite a difference in terms of professionalism and unprofessionalism in script and musical notation as far as the service books are concerned (Karlsen 2005: 153-154, 157-158). There are instances of mixture of elements, such as English musical notation and Continental script, combined with an unprofessional level of execution. Books seem to have been produced locally to supply local demands by scribes who did not write books professionally. Consequently, there seem to have been few professional scriptoria and little coherence in the scribal tradition.

Non-liturgical fragments

In 2006, we will start going through the non-liturgical fragments, a part of the collection which has not received much attention. This is a small category in numbers, but still it consists of the most important remains of such books used in medieval Norway. This part belongs to the most chaotic part of the collection, and they are mostly unknown to scholarship. It is worth noting that in the 19th century the few fragments that were considered interesting, were transferred to the Old Norse collection, such as fragments from a manuscript of Sallust.

They belong to different genres, such as classical, patristic and medieval authors (classical authors are very rare), hagiography, theology, canon law, Roman law etc. There are also some medical handbooks, which show that international medicine with Arabic roots was known in Norway. From classical (including patristic) and medieval authors there are not much more than a 100 fragments. There is only one text composed in Norway: A description of a journey to the Holy Land by Mauritius. Medieval authors from the Continent include Thomas Aquinas, Petrus Lombardus and Petrus Comestor.

Fragments of canon law and Roman law are in fact more frequent and date mainly from the 12th and 13th centuries.

Also as far as the non-liturgical fragments are concerned, many of them seem to date from the 12th and 13th centuries. So far, they seem to have a different background from the liturgical ones. There is less English influence. And whether they were imported or produced locally, they seem to document mainly continental influences.

Conclusion

This is just a brief survey of some of the results of the fragment project. As for future perspectives, we will start working on the non-liturgical fragments in January 2006, since these are the most neglected.

There are plans for digitalization, but it is now clear that it will take some years before this work will begin, as there are other more urgent needs within this field in the National Archives. When the database is revised and completed, it will probably be made available on the internet with digitalizations of the fragments.

Moreover, we will also prepare a book in English on the fragments as sources of cultural history and the establishment of writing in Norway between 1000 and 1300. The book will include a general study and commentaries on all 11th century manuscripts and selected 12th and 13th century manuscripts with colour plates. This book will also include a discussion of where the books might have been used in the Middle Ages. To which degree is it possible to link a book to the area for which the account book was written? So far, the evidence is ambiguous and calls for further study. The project will be a collaboration between a local group (Espen Karlsen, Gunnar Pettersen, and Gisela Attinger) and an international group with participants from England, Germany and Sweden, i.e. Gunilla Björkvall, David Ganz, Michael Gullick, Christian Heitzmann, Susan Rankin, and Tessa Webber.

Norway II: The National Library

Tone Modalsli, the National Library, Oslo

The collection of medieval manuscripts and fragments in the National library

The National library of Norway was formally established in 1999, but had in fact existed since 1811, as part of the then founded University Library of Oslo. But in 1999 the two institutions split and divided the functions and collections between them. The National library contains first and foremost our national collections, among them the manuscript collection. In comparison with our sister institutions in the other Nordic countries and on the continent we have only a very small collection of medieval manuscripts and fragments. It numbers around 60 codices and ca 160 known fragments.

Provenance

These manuscripts and fragments can only to a very small degree testify to domestic medieval book culture. Most of our medieval things have come from abroad during the last two centuries, incidentally and through collectors. But in a larger European context this material is of importance. We do, however, have two important Norwegian law books from the early 14th century, and a Psalter which probably has been used here (I shall return to this in the end). Among the fragments it is possible to identify a limited number that most probably have been in the country since the Middle Ages.

Catalogues

The codices are all registered in our main catalogue, which is still handwritten and not available on the internet. Some of them have been exhaustively described, some only summarily. Only a few of the fragments are catalogued the same way, most of them are not catalogued at all. It is a strong wish of ours to have the whole collection, codices and fragments, catalogued according to modern international standards; with such a small number, the project would be manageable, given the right person to do the job. We do not have qualified staff ourselves. It would be a sensible solution to be included in or in some way associated with the ongoing project in Riksarkivet. That would secure quality and consistency. We cannot afford to develop parallel or different projects in a field which in this country is so limited and special.

Holdings

The fragments are found in three different “settings” in the library: fragments still in printed books, fragments around manuscripts, and loose fragments. We know about 23 fragments still *in situ* as binding material in printed books. To my knowledge a complete search on the shelves has never been performed, so there may be more to find. That is also the case with the University Library of Oslo. According to a list I made in 1993, when we were still a part of the University Library, at least 18 such fragments in old books now in the University Library are known, but a further examination in the stacks would likely be rewarding, especially in the fields of

science and medicine, where there are many old books. Both there and in the National library the books in question (and their bindings) are mostly non-Nordic. The contents of the fragments in book bindings in the National Library seem almost exclusively to be liturgical-theological. At least seven of them have musical notation.

In our manuscripts collection we know 15 fragments *in situ* around manuscripts. These manuscripts are mostly in large octavo or small quarto, and the covers consist of original folios or bifolios, or parts of such. Also these are mainly of liturgical/theological contents, and at least three have musical notation.

Then there are the loose fragments. Some of them have been removed from books (in most cases we know from which book); some of them have been acquired loose. A few of the loose fragments are catalogued separately, but the bulk is kept together without any catalogue description at all. 61 of the latter are numbered, in addition there are some 35 unnumbered, partly non-Latin, some of them probably post-medieval. The majority is fairly large pieces, but the small bits are also there. Again the liturgical types dominate, and around 20 of them have musical notation.

Research

Even if the fragments are not adequately catalogued, we are not without knowledge of the most important of them. Several have been examined by scholars, especially Lilli Gjerløw, and their findings are summarily jotted down on small slips of paper, which are kept together with the fragment in question. Four of the fragments are included in Gjerløw's *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis ecclesiae* (Gjerløw 1979). One of these, Lat. fragm. 9, she had previously discussed in an article in 1957 (Gjerløw 1957), and the same one is mentioned by David Dumville in an article in 1991, "On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts" (Dumville 1991), and by Espen Karlsen in the presentation of his project in 2003 (Karlsen 2003). Our Lat. fragm. 16, is mentioned by Dumville in his book *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England* (Dumville 1992). Please note that when publications before 1999 refer to UB (or UBO) lat. fragm. the right reference now is NB (Nasjonalbiblioteket, the National Library). In 1998 professor Owain Edwards published in *Studia musicologica Norvegica* a list of all fragments and codices with musical notation in the then yet undivided University Library of Oslo (Edwards 1998); most of the items on his list are now with us, but a couple are *in situ* fragments in the University Library.

Codices

The National library has in its holdings a codex, Ms.8° 102, a Psalter from Kvikne in Hedmark (there are several places with the name Kvikne in Norway). The codex has a medieval wooden binding with a runic inscription, saying "Kvikna kyrkja a mik", "Kvikne church owns me". The library bought it from a person in Kvikne in 1881 for 10 kroner. A previous owner was Lutheran minister there in the 1770's, so we can be fairly sure the book had been in the same parish since the Middle Ages.



Ms.8 ° 102:
The Kvikne
Psalter
(left and below)

It is a simple book, the parchment is fairly stiff with many original holes, and it has only modest decoration. The book has some later additions on stiffer parchment. To our knowledge it has so far mainly attracted the interest of runologists; I now invite palaeographers to study it.



We have around 60 medieval Latin codices, and a couple of important 12th century Norwegian law books. The Latin codices have scattered and incidental provenance, if the provenance is at all known. Mostly they have come to us through collectors in fairly recent time. One such collector was the Norwegian clergyman Olav Sinding; when he died in 1939, we were given 19 late medieval manuscripts, 6 incunabula and other old printed books. The manuscripts, as well as the printed books, are mostly of high quality; the collection bears witness to a man who knew what he bought. He was well read in old ecclesiastical art and he published on early medieval iconography and on artistic aspects of the *Breviarium Nidrosiense*. According to his widow he bought many of his books (and codices) from Hiersemann in Leipzig in the 1920's. Most of Sinding's manuscripts are late 15th century from France and the Netherlands, but I cannot resist the temptation to make you aware of this collection. It comprises among other things five very pretty books of hours, one volume of homilies said to be from the 14th century, a French *speculum mundi* with additional notes dated 1328, and – to return to our Nordic perspective – an Italian Brigittine manuscript from the late 15th century, with which I want to close this presentation.



Ms. fol. 1992: An Italian Brigittine ms. from the late 15th century

Finland

Tuomas Heikkilä, University of Helsinki

The Finnish medieval fragments

Background: from orality to literacy

The area of modern Finland was one of the very latest regions of Europe converted into Christian faith and annexed to the Latin literary culture during the Middle Ages. This took place hand in hand with the annexation of the region to the Swedish realm during the 12th and 13th centuries. From the first half of the 13th century onwards the area of Finland formed an ecclesiastical entity as the diocese of Turku (in Swedish: Åbo). The cultural development of the bishopric from mere orality in the early 13th century to a natural part of the literary Latin Christendom of pre-Reformation era is elucidated by the remaining original sources.

However, the very roots and their development as well as the written culture of medieval Finland as a whole are practically unknown. From the whole medieval period only traces of literature written in Finland are known. Even the writing process, the sources, the different versions and the dissemination of the very oldest surviving literary work written in Finland, the Latin legend of the patron saint of the Turku diocese, St. Henry (BHL 3818), remained unknown until a recent study.¹ In addition to *Legenda s. Henrici* not more than some fragments of other *opera* are known to researchers: the Chronicle of the Bishops of Turku from the 14th century,² Annals of Turku from the early 15th century³ as well as a sermon (*Legenda nova*, BHL 3818b)⁴ on St. Henry from the 15th century. The first book published for the diocese – the *Missale Aboense* – was a modified version of a Dominican missal and printed in Lübeck in 1488. Thus, it does not testify to the Finnish book production as such. In addition to the named works probably written in Turku there were some attempts to translate Latin ecclesiastical texts into Swedish in the monastery of Naantali (in Swedish: Nådendal) near the Episcopal see.

Although it can be assumed that there were medieval *scriptoria* in Turku and Naantali, the writing processes, the quantity and quality of the books written, their sources and dissemination, as well as the palaeographical and codicological characteristics of the texts produced in those centres remain totally unexplored. This most unsatisfactory state of research is underlined by the fact that as soon as one becomes even incidentally acquainted with the source material the existence of

¹ For the contents as well as the palaeographical and codicological description of the 52 known manuscripts, fragments and incunabula of the text, see Tuomas Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1039. Helsinki 2005, pp. 268–376.

² Until now only one fragment is known: Uppsala, UUB, Ms. Palmskiöldiana 312, Åbo och Åland, 369–373.

³ Only one fragmentary *passus* of the text is known (in two exemplars): Uppsala, UUB, Ms. K12a and Stockholm, KB, Ms. A942.

⁴ The only surviving manuscript of the homily is Uppsala, UUB, Ms. C292, fol. 82r–85v.

several other, hitherto unknown *scriptoria* is evident. The poor state of research is not due to the scarcity of surviving medieval sources in Finland – quite on the contrary.

Parchment fragments

The Finnish tradition of manuscript studies and the knowledge of Medieval Latin as well as of medieval manuscripts in Finland have been for years practically non-existent. This is something of a paradox, since there is a multitude of unexplored medieval sources waiting for researchers in Finland.

Astonishingly enough, there are about twice as many surviving parchment fragments in Finland than in Denmark or Norway, for instance. Given the relatively late Christianization of Finland and the relative youth of its literary culture in comparison to the mentioned regions, the outcome is extraordinary. Since written culture reached a totally different level in Scandinavia than in Finland during the Middle Ages, it is plausible that the high number of surviving fragments in Finland reflects an unusually high survival rate. Amazingly, neither Finnish nor foreign historians have taken advantage of this important collection of sources.

The Finnish medieval sources consist almost totally of fragmentary material. The domination of the fragments is due to the fact that most of the local medieval manuscripts were split into quires or single *bifolia* in order to provide cover wrappings for the accounts of the royal bailiffs under the Swedish king Gustavus I Vasa (1523–1560). This practice was continued until the 1640s and it affected the major part of the medieval manuscripts of the Swedish realm of that time.

The Finnish fragments have been collected at the Helsinki University Library (i.e. the Finnish National Library). Its collections have 10 345 fragment leaves that are derived from about 1700 different medieval manuscripts. The core of the collection is formed by the fragments that had found their way to Sweden during the 16th and 17th centuries but were returned to Finland according to the terms of peace after Sweden lost Finland to Russia in 1809. In principle all of the medieval documents and fragments concerning Finland were returned during the 19th century. In practice there is still a significant amount of “Finnish” material in Sweden – mostly in Riksarkivet. In addition, many of the fragments brought to Finland derive from *codices* of Swedish origin.

The fragments returned from Sweden were donated to the Academy of Turku, the former capital of Finland, where they stayed only for some years. In 1819 the fragments were moved to Helsinki which was to become the new, modern capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland. After the formation of the *fragmenta membranea* - collection in the Helsinki University Library practically every medieval parchment fragment found elsewhere in Finland – in the National Archives, for instance – has been added to the Helsinki University Library collection.

Catalogues

In spite of the very modest use of the collection by the researchers the Finnish fragment material is rather comprehensively catalogued. The pioneer work was

carried out by Dr. Toivo Haapanen who published three catalogue volumes covering about 40 % of the whole collection in the 1920s and 1930s:

- Haapanen, Toivo, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors. I. Missalia*. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisu IV. Helsingfors 1922. (Haapanen catalogued 2685 leaves of fragments that derived from 369 different missals.)
- Haapanen, Toivo, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors. II. Gradualia, lectionaria missae*. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisu VII. Helsingfors 1925. (672 leaves of 129 *gradualia* and *lectionaria*.)
- Haapanen, Toivo, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors. III. Breviaria*. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisu XVI. Helsingfors 1932. (1000 leaves of 190 *breviaria*.)

After the cataloguing work of Haapanen there was little interest in the Finnish fragments for several decades. It was only in the 1990s that the musicologist Dr. Ilkka Taitto began the cataloguing of the antiphonaries:

- Taitto, Ilkka, *Catalogue of medieval manuscript fragments in the Helsinki university library. Fragmenta membranea IV:1-2. Antiphonaria, Text & Plates*. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisu 67. Helsinki 2001. (The catalogue covers 898 leaves from 203 *antiphonaria*.)

In addition to the published catalogues mentioned above the immense work carried out by lic. phil. Anja Inkeri Lehtinen should be emphasized. She has catalogued the theological and juridical fragments of the Finnish fragments in two volumes that remain unpublished:

- Lehtinen, Anja Inkeri, *Fragmenta Codicum Medii Aevi in Bibliotheca Universitatis Helsingiensis. Series II. Pars I. Biblia sacra, Theologiae auctores, Vitae sanctorum, Varia, Suecica et Germanica*. (The volume covers 1910 leaves from 250 different codices.)
- Lehtinen, Anja Inkeri, *Fragmenta Codicum Medii Aevi in Bibliotheca Universitatis Helsingiensis. Series II. Pars II. Ius Romanum, Ius Canonicum, Varia*. (2100 fragments of 300 codices.)

The unpublished catalogues of Lehtinen cover about 40 % of the whole collection and represent a major scholarly achievement in the field of manuscript studies. Thus, the quick publishing of these catalogues would be vitally important for Finnish medieval studies and for the practical use of the Helsinki fragments.

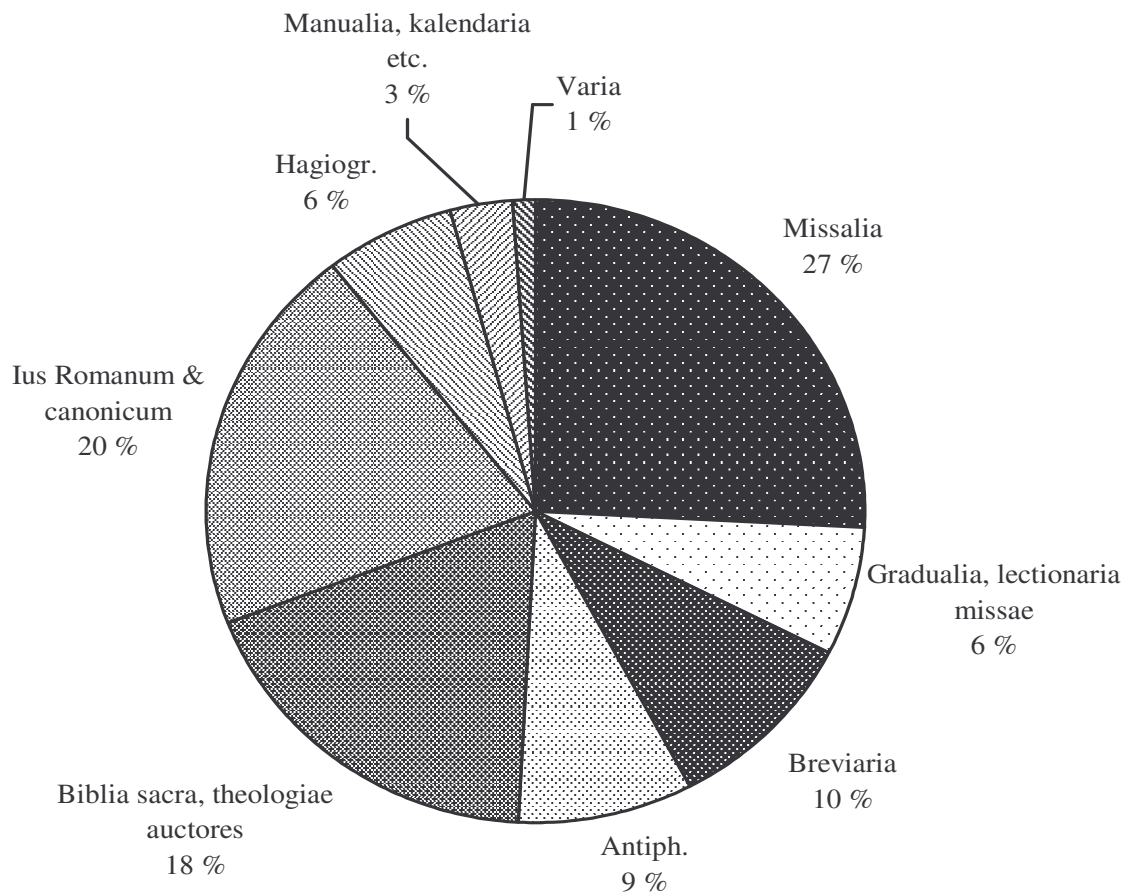
All in all, the printed and unpublished catalogues of the Helsinki University Library cover 9265 leaves i.e. 89, 6 % of the material thus providing us with at least a rough estimation of the fragment's date and contents. This can be seen as an unusually favourable situation in international comparison which makes it possible to get an ample picture of the literary culture of a whole bishopric.

What remains to be done is the cataloguing of the hagiographical fragments as well as some fragments of the *varia*-section of the Helsinki University Library collection.

Another challenge is to digitize the collection in its entirety as soon as possible. Only the *antiphonaria*-catalogue contains photos of the fragments.

Contents of the collection

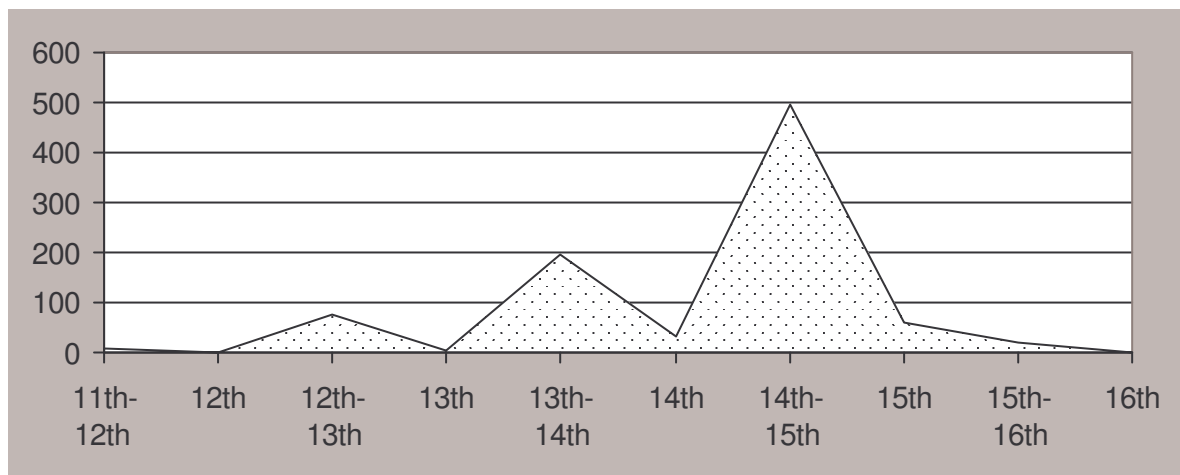
As one would expect, the fragment collection is dominated by ecclesiastical material: missals, calendars, antiphonaries, Bibles, lectionaries, breviaries and theological texts. However, one is surprised by the high amount of juridical texts as well as the astonishingly low number of fragments of hagiographical nature. The fragments can be divided roughly into different categories as follows:



The fragments are written mainly in Latin; there are only some single fragments in Swedish and German. Unlike in other Nordic countries, there are no fragments written in local vernacular language (Finnish) among the material.

Taking into consideration the relatively late conversion of Finland to a written religion, it is not surprising to find the Finnish material somewhat younger than the fragments and *codices* in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, for example. The clear majority of the Finnish fragments dates from the 15th century. Let us elucidate this

with a figure based on the fragments catalogued by Haapanen and Taitto that can be reconstructed into 898 different manuscripts:



What next?

Whereas the very few surviving *codices* of several Finnish collections are mostly of foreign provenance, the major part of the fragments was from all appearances written in Finland. Thus, the fragment material provides researchers with important insight into the written culture, practices of writing and the *scriptoria* of medieval Finland. This is an almost totally unexplored field of Finnish medieval studies and remains maybe the most important challenge for Finnish medievalists.

The integration of the Finnish material into the Nordic databases of medieval parchment fragments remains another challenge. In this respect, the MPO-database of the Riksarkivet in Stockholm is of special importance, since the Swedish and Finnish collections contain leaves from the very same manuscripts. Thus, a joint Nordic database would be an important tool in reconstructing the manuscripts, tracing medieval transmission of knowledge and understanding the arrival and development of written culture in Finland.

Iceland

Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugson, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi

The Icelandic fragments

The following information is taken from catalogues and from works of other scholars, especially Lilli Gjerløw and Gisela Attinger, and refers to fragments in collections in Reykjavík only.

The legacy of Árni Magnússon

The great Icelandic manuscript collector, Árni Magnússon (d. 1730), collected manuscripts in Iceland and brought them to Copenhagen. Not only did he collect manuscript books but also pieces of parchment, especially in Old Norse or Icelandic. The Latin manuscripts and fragments were interesting to him as far as they contained something on the history of Iceland (or Scandinavia). Therefore he was for instance more interested in calendars than Psalters. He got many manuscripts and fragments from Skálholt see, and many of the fragments he got from Skálholt had been used as covers for schoolbooks.

Most of Árni's Latin fragments and books have their own shelf mark and are kept in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen (*Den Arnamagnæanske samling* in *Nordisk forskningsinstitut* at the University of Copenhagen). Many of Árni's manuscripts were bound in Copenhagen, and in the bindings the bookbinders often used parchment from manuscripts provided by Árni himself. In the 20th century the institute in Copenhagen rebound a lot of manuscripts, and in many cases parchment fragments were removed from the bindings. These predominantly Latin fragments were often kept in Copenhagen and not transferred to Reykjavík. Only 16 Latin fragments removed from bindings in the 20th century followed the manuscripts when they were returned from Copenhagen to Reykjavík in the latter half of the 20th century. A few fragments are still in the bindings of the manuscripts at the Árni Magnússon institute in Reykjavík (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi at the University of Iceland), and some pieces could still be in the bindings unnoticed.

Fragments from accounts

Only in a few cases, especially in the National Archive (Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands), it is mentioned that the fragments are from accounts. But there are also fragments in the National Library (Landsbókasafn Íslands - Háskólabókasafn) and the National Museum (Þjóðminjasafn Íslands) which have been transferred from the National Archive, so they can easily have been used in bindings of accounts. We should also ask whether or not there are fragments in the bindings of Icelandic accounts in the Danish State Archive (Rigsarkivet).

Research history

Nobody has looked at *all* the fragments in Reykjavík. Lilli Gjerløw looked at many of them in connection with her edition of the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (Gjerløw 1968)

and *Liturgica Islandica* (Gjerløw 1980). Merete Geert Andersen has also studied a large number of fragments (Andersen 1979), but perhaps Gisela Attinger is the person most familiar with the fragments now. Some philologists, like Stefán Karlsson and Jonna Louis-Jensen, have looked at some of the fragments and have been able to find the same hand in vernacular manuscripts.

Catalogues

The catalogues available are

- Kristian Kålund's catalogue of the Arnamagnean collection and Old Norse manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Det kongelige bibliotek) from the late 19th century (Kommissionen for Det arnamagnæanske Legat and Kålund 1889). Kålund's catalogues mentioned all fragments with their own shelfmark at that time (29 Latin fragments), but not all the fragments in bindings.
- Jakob Benediktsson's catalogue of fragments in the National Library (Benediktsson 1959), counting 81 Latin fragments.
- A typewritten catalogue made by Magnús Már Lárusson of fragments in the National Museum from 1963 with some additions until 1977, counting 54 Latin fragments.

No proper catalogue exists of the fragments in the National Archive, but according to Merete Geert Andersen there are 13 Latin fragments. Six or seven of them are mentioned in a typewritten catalogue from 1977 with some additions until 1984 (p. 107). There seem to be fragments from at least nine manuscripts. There have not been any additions to the collections of fragments in the Museum and the Archive, but a few fragments have been discovered and/or removed from bindings of books in the Library (exactly how many is uncertain, and they are still uncatalogued) and the Árni Magnússon institute, or been given to these collections.

We do not have a database, but many of the fragments in the Library, the Museum and the Archive have been digitalized and can be seen on the website *Ísmús* (<http://ismus.musik.is/>). This only involves fragments with musical notation.

Fragments in Icelandic collections

What is a fragment? Ólafur Halldórsson, an old fellow and philologist at the Arnamagnean institute, came up with the following answer: An incomplete book is a book where you have more than 50% of the original book, and a fragment is when you have less than 50% of the original book (using the Icelandic word *brot* instead of *fragment*). Only one book in Ólafur's meaning, written in Latin, is kept in collections in Reykjavík, as far as I know. I have not counted charters in Latin but they are not many, because most Icelandic charters are in Old Norse (or Icelandic).

There are at least 218 fragments in Latin in Icelandic collections, but the number could very well be higher because of fragments which may still be in the bindings of manuscripts or printed books. Included in this number are eight pieces of parchment

with some Latin words found in connection with charters and one leaf which is a palimpsest and has been reused as a charter; a few Latin words can be read on the other side. In these cases we do not know if the original texts of these fragments were charters or other texts. 4 leaves with a Latin text on one side have been used as charters with the text of the charter written on the other side; in these cases it is likely that the leaves were cut from a book when they were reused as charters, and that one side of them originally was blank because they were the first or the last leaves of the manuscripts. Excluded from this number are three printed parchment leaves (liturgical), a wax-tablet with a Latin text (a verse), a manuscript (possibly defective but not a fragment) written in Latin (*Ordo Nidrosiensis*) and all charters written in Latin.

Nine fragments are still in the bindings, while most of the others are taken from bindings. Four fragments are calendars which Árni Magnússon took from the Psalters they belonged to. Fragments of two of these Psalters have been found. Many of the fragments were used as covers, but they are much fewer than those cut into small peaces to strengthen the bindings.

As mentioned Árni Magnússon brought so many manuscripts to Copenhagen that there were not many parchment manuscripts left in the country, but still we have over 170 fragments in the other Icelandic collections, mainly from private persons or book bindings. One fragment is in the binding of a book in private ownership (and of course there could be more).

Estimated holdings of Latin fragments:

<i>Institution:</i>	<i>Number of fragments</i>
The Arnamagnean Institute:	49
The National Library:	96
The National Museum:	54
The National Archives:	19
<i>Total</i>	218

Lilli Gjerløw, the art historian Selma Jónsdóttir, and perhaps the cataloguers themselves have found eight fragments which are certainly foreign: English, German and Dutch. I think we can be sure that there are more - at least six fragments in the Arnamagnean institute look foreign.

Lilli Gjerløw, Selma Jónsdóttir and the cataloguers have also pointed out that some of the fragments belonged originally to the same manuscripts. They found 27 fragments which are from nine books; for instance, the three English fragments are from the same book. And, of course, they have also found that some of the fragments are from the same books as some fragments in the Arnamagnean collection in Copenhagen.

Chronological distribution:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of fragments</i>
11 th and 12 th century	21
13 th century	50

14 th century	77
15 th and 16 th century	50
Undated	20
<i>Total</i>	218

Genre distribution of fragments:

<i>Booktype</i>	<i>Number of fragments</i>
Antiphonaries	36
Breviaries	9
Graduals	26
Missals	14
Hymnaries	3
Sequentiaries	3
Psalters	24
Calendars	17
Lectionaries	9
Hagiographical texts	9
Homilies	4
Bible	2
“messubók” (= unidentified liturgical text)	20
unidentified liturgical texts	3
Theology	6
Varia (grammar etc.)	3
Unknown contents	30
<i>Total</i>	218

Most of the fragments, around 140, contain liturgical texts. 12 of these are labelled *messubók* (or *mass book*) by the cataloguers (which probably is used as a general term for liturgical book, and not to be understood as *missal*). Regarding the problems of identifying texts or contents, many of the fragments are very difficult to read or may be quite illegible.

Looking at fragments

The workshop had a segment called “Looking at fragments”, which included both live fragments and reproductions. Several fragments were studied during the three days of the workshop. On Saturday morning there was a visit to the University Library of Bergen to look at the fragment collection there. Since 2004 the University Library and the Centre for Medieval Studies have collaborated on a project to update the catalogues and make the fragments and the catalogue data available online. The presence of so much expertise was an opportunity which could not be wasted, and the workshop participants were “released” on the fragments, including those from Bergen State Archives. Their evaluations resulted in a considerable improvement to existing (and non-existing) catalogue data.

Bergen University Library:

Manuscripts:

MS 28: The binding was studied in particular: The sewing is contemporary with the script (s. xii med.), but the boards and covering may be dated to the 15th century.

MS 504: Date changed from “ca 1350” to ca 1470-80. Rouen confirmed as place of origin.

Fragments:

- MS 791a: Presumed to be Italian.
- MS 791b-e: Dated to 14th century Italy (Bologna). The glosses identified as Accurtius.
- MS 1549, 1a-d: The Botolph Breviary fragments, [England 13th century]: No objections to date or place of origin.
- MS 1549, 1e: The St Mary Gradual fragment, [unknown origin, 14th century]: A 14th century French origin suggested.
- MS 1549, 2: The Good Friday Missal fragments, [England, 12th century]: The English origin contested on the basis of style; German features and the pale orange-red colour makes an English origin doubtful. Possibly local, not earlier than the middle of the 12th century.
- MS 1549, 3: The St Mauritius Antiphoner fragment, [Germany, 15th century]: No objections to date or place of origin.
- MS 1549, 4: Auctor incertus: Commentarius in LXXV psalmos, [unknown origin, 12th century]: Northern France/Low countries, middle of the 12th century (possibly 1150-1175)
- MS 1549, 5: The Bryggen Missal fragment, [England, 12th century]: The second scribe may be Norman, influenced by the first scribe, who is certainly English. Date: xi/xii (very early 12th rather than late 11th). The smaller chant texts, spaced for musical notation but without neumes, may be due to the date. Neumes *in campo aperto* as used in the scribe’s model were outdated at this time, and there was no room for staves.
- MS 1549, 6: Three small fragments, [unknown origin, 14th century?]: Not discussed.
- MS 1549, 7a: The Kaupanger Missal fragment, [unknown origin, 12th century]: Not discussed.

- MS 1549, 7b: The Kaupanger Prayer book fragment, [unknown origin, 14th century]: Not discussed.
- MS 1550, 1: The Kyrie-Gloria Gradual fragment, [Germany, 15th century]: Script, notation, cadellas very similar to several Wolfenbüttel mss. from early/middle of 15th century.
- MS 1550, 2: The Canon missae fragment, [unknown origin, second half of the 15th century]: Not discussed.
- MS 1550, 3: The reversed missal fragment, [unknown origin (Austria, Germany or the Netherlands?), 15th century]: Not objections to date or place of origin.
- MS 1550, 4: The Calendar fragment, [England (London area, late 12th century)]: The date is ca 1200. Now in poor condition, but from a very high quality MS.
- MS 1550, 5: The Nordfjord Missal fragment, [Norway or England?, second half of the 12th century]: More French/Norman than English. First half of the 12th century? The neumes look French (not Norman) - the musical notation is not later than ca. 1150, and could be even earlier.
- MS 1550, 6: Manuale, liber ritualis: For this fragment without a previous catalogue entry, an English 14th century origin was estimated.
- MS 1550, 7: This book contains music both for Mass and Office: Suggests that the genre has been either an Antiphoner-Gradual or a smaller book of Marian liturgy.

Bergen State Archives:

- MS B 43, 1-3: Fragments from an Antiphony of good quality from the 12th century, probably not Anglo-Norman, but French, possibly Northern French.
- MS B 43, 4: One cropped bifolium from a German 12th century missal. The notation is German or contact notation (possibly Lotharingia?).

To find out more about the fragment collection and the workshop results see www.gandalv.aksis.uib.no/mpf/

Other discussed manuscripts or fragments were:

- **Oslo, the National Library, Ms.8° 102, (The Kvikne psalter).**

Tone Modalsli presented a Latin codex from the Norwegian Middle Ages, a Psalter purchased in Kvikne in Hedmark in the late 19th century. It has not been studied except for the runes on the cover, and Modalsli invited scholars to take a closer look at it (see p. 21).

Workshop discussion: It is an octavo book, probably made for one person, a bishop, priest or layman. It is a work of high status, since there are blue, red and green colours, even though the execution is moderate. There are red line-fillers, of the earliest type (line-fillers are rare before ca 1150). The diagonal lines on top of the ascenders are old-fashioned (uncommon after 1150). If English it would be dated to the third quarter of the 12th century, but since it is not, the date may be set to ca 1200. The round corners on the leaves are deliberate, not accidental. It is not top quality parchment, but has holes in it, which have not been mended with patches. Stefán Karlsson remarked that he has never seen patched holes in Icelandic manuscript, and it seems that the common thing was to write around them. Michael Gullick

suggested that in spite of its weaknesses this was a “best attempt of a best book”. The parchment is dirty around the edges, which suggests heavy use. It was also mentioned that small Psalters like this are known to be used as primers all over Europe, but very few have survived. The binding looks close to contemporary, and has according to Michael Gullick a Romanesque appearance.

- **Copenhagen, AM 98 8vo, (see “Workshop material” p. 20-23).**

Jonna Louis-Jensen gave a short introduction: The manuscript was dated ca 1200, and was presumed by Lilli Gjerløw to be Icelandic. Recently a suggestion had come from a young musicologist that the manuscript might be English.

Workshop discussion: The general aspect of the script is English, and pen drawn capitals, for instance, is a typically English trait. However, details, like the execution of the ‘g’, and possibly the ‘A’ in alleluia, reveal that it is in fact not English. It was also remarked that the rubrics seem to have been touched up, and that the use of the e-clef in the musical notation is unusual. If English it would look like the third quarter of the 12th century, but since it is not, the date is ca 1200 for the main hand, while the hand in the margin is from about a century later, ca 1300. It was assumed that the manuscript was written from an English model.

- **Copenhagen, AM 241a I fol. (MS AM 241a II is in Reykjavik).**

Jonna Louis-Jensen also presented another manuscript, with a scribe writing both in Latin and Old Norse. The interesting issue came up: How much would a scribe change his hand when going from the Latin to the vernacular?

- **Reykjavík, (fragments from binding of) AM 204 fol., (see “Workshop material” p. 24-25).**

Stéfan Karlsson presented these fragments from the old binding of the AM 204 fol. It had earlier been suggested by Jonna Louis-Jensen that they were part of some form of a Hebrew-Latin dictionary. The date and origin was unknown.

Workshop discussion: The scribe is a competent one, who writes small and well. (The fact that the ‘a’ in some instances looks like a one-compartment a, is due to the size.) With such small writing one could have an octave with two columns. Mid 13th century was suggested as a possible date. Place of origin would be France-England rather than Germany. The text could possibly be Jerome’s *Interpretationes*, or explanations in the last pages of the Bible (which can be checked through *Patrologia Latina*).

- **Halle (Saale), Univ. et Landesbibl. Sachsen Anhalt, Yc 4o 8, (see “Workshop material”, p. 26-29).**

This item was sent in by Stephan Borgehammar, and is a text by a Radulfus (possibly the bishop of Ribe) from a Cistercian manuscript. The hand had been dated by Monica Hedlund to “last decades of the 12th century or ca 1200”.

Workshop discussion: The manuscript is quite small (19 x 13 cm), and should be reproduced either in 1:1 or with a cm-scale in the picture. The scribe is quite competent (and should not be referred to as not being a professional). The features of

the script looked “Gérmanish” rather than English. The scribal error *propsus* for *prorsus* was not believed to be connected with an Anglo-Saxon letter *thorn*, but rather that it was “in the hand” of the scribe, “pp” being such a common abbreviation. There is a rather peculiar *punctus elevatus*, looking like an upside down “y”, and the Cistercian *punctus flexus* (with the upper part shaped as a small number 7). A new scribe seems to enter in the third line on f. 67v, and the rubricator is not the same scribe as the main scribe. It would be useful to know the date of the *Løgum Ex libris*. Erik Petersen mentioned that it is possible to study the palaeography of Løgum, since 5-6 manuscripts from this place have survived.

• **Stavanger State Archives, Fragm. no. 20-21, and Oslo, the National Archives, Lat fragm. 681.**

Fragments from the same antiphonary are present both in Stavanger and Oslo, a fact relevant for the secondary provenance.

Workshop discussion: With this fragment the workshop passed the year 1300 and entered into the early 14th century. A probable origin for this originally high class manuscript was North-West France, conf. the similarity to the Metz pontifical (Fitzwilliam museum). The fleuronée initials could provide a possible clue to a closer identification.

Indicators of local (Nordic) origin for Latin manuscripts

To determine the origin of a manuscript, and of a fragment in particular, can be a challenge. One of the discussions at the workshop was about a set of criteria to determine whether or not a manuscript was locally produced. The major parts of these criteria were used in practice by Lilli Gjerløw, and have later been presented by Espen Karlsen in two recent articles (Karlsen 2003 and 2005). Since these criteria have been and will continue to be used in practice, it was time to take a closer look at them. Six points were presented for the workshop. It soon became clear that the use of the word “criteria” was unfortunate, because it could imply, even though it was not the intention, that all the features *had to be present* in order to assign a fragment or manuscript to a Nordic origin. To avoid misunderstandings, it was agreed that “pointers” would be a better word. Perhaps a word like “indicator” would have an even clearer meaning.

First a cautionary remark from Erik Petersen – a guess or suggestion regarding origin will easily stick to the fragment or manuscript as truth, and the research may move in the wrong direction. The case must be strong in order to prevent wrong conclusions from spreading, and the arguments must be clearly laid out. With that in mind, we continue:

The original entry in the workshop material for no. 1 was:

1. *The “ugliness” criterion: When the script is clumsy, the lines are crooked, the initials seem “homemade” or are missing, does that indicate a local origin?*

Two basic questions immediately came up regarding the “ugliness”, if we can call it that:

1. Do all ugly manuscripts have to be local?
2. Do all local manuscripts have to be ugly?

Answers to both questions were “no”: Regarding the first question it was declared that also foreign manuscripts, written fast or for private use, or by a scribe in lack of training, can be ugly (and examples were mentioned). Regarding the second question it was made clear that manuscripts of high quality were also produced, but they are not so easy to identify as Nordic as the ones containing awkward features. “Ugly” should also be replaced by a more suitable adjective, like “awkward”, relating to an inconsistency in execution, or a lack of training.

A good quality manuscript is a combination of many different factors. Erik Petersen suggested that the Dalby book shows that the executors possessed some, but not all of the skills. The element of quality does not just enter for script, but it also goes for parchment and ink. To this Michael Gullick pointed out that black ink is normally of good standard, while the coloured ink can be of more variable quality. It is also worth remembering that the same scribe can show differences in quality, if for instance he is writing in a hurry.

It was asked whether this indicator was valid for the whole of the Middle Ages. The answer was that the point of ugliness or awkwardness is relevant for early

manuscripts, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, since it is reasonable to assume that the level of sophistication rose also in the Scandinavian countries.

2. *The liturgical criterion A: Texts or songs in celebration of particular saints or feasts limited to one diocese or region.*
3. *The liturgical criterion B: A post ordinal-manuscripts in accordance with the relevant Ordinal on characteristic points (Breviaries/antiphonaries are easier to determine. For missals and graduals: The Alleluia-verses between Pentecost and Advent?).*

The indicators in contents or liturgy seemed to be generally accepted. (Even though there is always an element of insecurity: A manuscript can be produced in one place on commission from somewhere else.)

4. *The "lectia" criterion: Gjerløw points out that Norwegian liturgical manuscripts seem to have a tendency to give the Norwegian a-ending to a few Latin female words with o-ending. A rubric with the words postcommonia (for postcommunio), (Gjerløw 1974) priefatia (for priefatio) or lectia (for lectio) is likely to be of Norwegian origin (Gjerløw 1970), (Gjerløw 1979:276).*

This is one point it was very useful to bring up, since it apparently has been taken as both an exclusive indicator to Norway as well as Iceland. It was suggested that one should be careful not to interpret a possible scribal error as an indication of local origin. At the same time, the repeating of the same kind of 'a'-ending in fragments from the same manuscript in more than one case, suggests that the *lectia*, *postcommonia*, *priefatia* is a symptom of something more than a mere scribal error and coincidence. If this is the case, it indicates a scribe actually thinking in Old Norse, and is a relatively strong pointer or indication of a Norwegian or Icelandic origin (not either or). Odd Einar Haugen explained that the unstressed vowels used in Old Norse endings were 'i' – 'a' – 'u'. An ending in 'o', like *lectio* or *postcommunio* would sound strange to the Old Norse ear. Stefán Karlsson pointed out that the fact that the ending had already been altered, also in the rubrics, could suggest that the words already were becoming loanwords. It was asked how often this phenomenon occurs, but this is not studied. It is worth mentioning that in Norway and Iceland, like the rest of Europe, the standard and most common form was probably *lectio*.

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 (examples: Copenhagen MS Add. 47 fol. and the Stavanger State Archive Fragg no. 9).*
6. *The small caps criterion: There appear to be a wider use of small capitals, especially 'R' (Gjerløw 1979:67), but also 'H', in manuscripts of such a late date that the reason seems to be influence from the vernacular (examples are Oslo UB Lat. fragm. 5, Gjerløw 1979, plate 23, as well as the Br-Mi 3/Oslo RA Lat. fragm. 668). The capital 'R' also appears in English manuscripts, and according to 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). The Oslo UB Lf. 5 from the early 13th century freely places the small capital 'R' in words like poneRE, placare and ageRet.*

Rather than an influence from Old Norse *language*, these two points reveal an influence from the Old Norse *script*. The small caps 'R' is not unheard of in English manuscripts, particularly in the end of words and in *nomina sacra*. In the beginning or middle of words, on the other hand, they would be unusual in English manuscripts. The capital 'H' would also be an unusual feature in England, apart from the *nomina sacra*.

A discussion arose around which language the scribes would learn to write first. David Ganz informed us that scribes in England would learn to write Latin before English. Lars Boje Mortensen expressed his conviction that Latin would be taught before Old Norse also in Norway, at least in the period before ca 1200. Later one could imagine scribes not knowing Latin. Stefán Karlsson mentioned some Icelandic texts with quotations in Latin, clearly revealing that the scribe did not understand the Latin. It seems that the answer to the question would depend on which century one was talking about.

Some other indicators were mentioned in the workshop, and should be added to the list:

- when the same scribe appears on several fragments in the same local collection which do not come from the same book. This would make it at least *likely* that scribe was someone who worked locally.
- when there is evidence of the same scribe writing both Old Norse and Latin.
- Old fashioned features? Espen Karlsen (and Lilli Gjerløw) mention *e-caudata* after 1200 (see Gjerløw 1979:228, Karlsen 2005:156).
- 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. (Can one make a more general assumption: A mixture of Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Norman and German influence in combination with mediocre quality?)

It soon became clear that in dealing with scribes and scripts there are many considerations to take, and human factor plays its part. Some works would have priority and be executed with great care, and some would be finished in a hurry, just like some books would have high status, others were everyday books. High quality is also not a universal term, but could be present in one sense, and not another: One scribe may write an ugly or awkward script, but copy the text accurately; another may write a beautiful script, but make many mistakes. There is also the matter of a scribe's life span. One scribe may write the same hand his whole life (making it problematic to date a hand with more accuracy than a thirty year period), while another scribe could change his hand radically several times to meet requirements of "fashion" or a commissioner.

Michael Gullick pointed out the special situation in the Nordic countries in comparison to elsewhere in Western Europe: There was no actual scribal tradition ahead of Christianization, making Scandinavia the one place in Europe where it is

possible to see the process starting from scratch. How and where the scribes were trained would be an interesting question to take a closer look at.

As a conclusion, one can say that the indicators of local origin may be divided into four different main groups:

1. Style or execution
2. Contents
3. Interference from the vernacular language or script
4. Contextual issues

These indicators leave larger or smaller room for personal judgement. They seem to be valid for all the Nordic countries, each in their own way. The exception may be point 3, since only links to the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian were discussed, which is relevant for both Norway and Iceland, but not to Sweden or Denmark. It remains to be seen whether the same interference can be seen in regard to Old Swedish and Old Danish.

The new list of indicators for determining a local origin in a Latin manuscript or parchment fragments would be something like this:

1. Execution

- awkwardness (inconsistency in execution, lack of training)
- old fashioned traits (like the *e-caudata* after 1200)
- mixture of Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Norman and German influence in combination with mediocre quality (at least for the 11th and early 12th century).

2. Contents

- the presence of local saints or feasts
- liturgy according to the local ordinal (for missals and graduals: The sequences and Alleluia-verses)

3. Links to the Vernacular language or script

- language: endings in 'a': *lectia, postcommonia, prefatia* (from Old Norse language)
- script: 'au'-ligature (from Old Norse script)
- script: small caps 'R' in larger numbers, and in the beginning and middle of words (not just in endings and *nomina sacra*) and small caps 'H' (not in *nomina sacra*) (from Old Norse script)

4. Contextual issues

- same scribe writing in the vernacular and in Latin
- same scribe appearing in fragments from more than one manuscript

A common palaeographical terminology or "Is there a pregothic period proper?"

In Norway and Iceland, more than in Sweden and Denmark, the discipline of palaeography is linked to Old Norse (i.e. Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic) philology and liturgical studies rather than medieval history or Latin. While Old Norse palaeography has a long tradition in these countries, the study of Latin manuscripts has not, probably due to circumstances regarding national history and manuscript transmission. There have been examples of fruitful collaboration in the recent past, like the interdisciplinary seminar "book and script in the Middle Ages" at the University of Bergen the spring of 1998, led by Lars Boje Mortensen (Latin) and Odd Einar Haugen (Old Norse). Such interdisciplinary efforts have to address the challenge that Latin palaeography naturally connects to a long European tradition, while Old Norse palaeography has its own tradition with a different terminology. The same late 12th century script would in the Old Norse tradition be described as "Older Carolingian insular" and in the Latin tradition "pregothic" or "protogothic". The product of a scribe writing a century later, in the late 13th century, would be "Younger Carolingian insular" and "Gothic" respectively.

The same question was briefly discussed in March/April 2005, in the Oslo workshop, but also this forum was considered a good one for further discussion.

To this discussion Odd Einar Haugen gave a short introduction, asking if it was possible to talk about a pregothic period proper. The inconsistencies between the Old Norse and the Latin traditions became more apparent with Albert Derolez's book in 2003, a fact first pointed out by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugson. A handout reminded the participants of Derolez's information about the script called "pregothic" (or "protogothic", or other names):

"Pregothic script (*littera Praegothica*) ... is hardly a script type in itself. It is in fact Carolingian script that displays to a greater or lesser extent one or more of the new features."

(Albert Derolez, *The paleography of Gothic manuscript books*, Cambridge 2003, p. 57.)

Features (according to Derolez):

1. Narrowing of the letter bodies.
2. Introduction of fusions (bitings), especially **bb** and **pp**
3. Reduction of the length of ascenders and descenders (the ratio between minims and letters with ascenders increasing from about 0.4 – 0.5 in Carolingian script to 0.6 – 0.7 in Pregothic script.
4. More compressed lines and increasing usage of two columns.
5. Heavier shading (more pronounced distinction between bold strokes and hairlines).

6. The feet of the letters tend to curve to the right, either in rounded or in sharp angles.
7. The ascenders are often forked (or having a triangular shape).

However:

The general aspect of Pregothic script is round, not angular as in Gothic Textualis.

An interesting difference between Latin and medieval Nordic vernacular palaeography is that while Latin manuscripts or fragments are usually dated from indications in the script, the vernacular manuscripts are generally dated with a combination of palaeographical and linguistical criteria (for example: Rindal 1994:17-20).

As in Oslo the discussion went beyond finding a mere common ground for Old Norse and Latin palaeographers, and touched upon more general matters. For clarity's sake we have here divided the discussions into three points:

- periodisation
- terminology
- scribes and script

- **periodisation**

There was a general warning against the notion of periodisation, placing the turningpoint at a given year, since this could be misunderstood. However, it seems that both in the late 12th century versus 1200 and 1300 there are some actual changes - ca 1300 because of the shift in the book production from a monastic setting to the towns and universities, leading to the rise of a large class of "professional" and "semi-professional" scribes outside of ecclesiastical communities.

Changes in script are a complex thing. On one hand a script may change slowly, as a result of influence. On the other hand, as pointed out by Michael Gullick: When something happens, it matures quickly and declines slowly. A script can be seen not just as individual signs, but as a set of ways of doing things - ideals or strategies.

It would have to be clear that when talking about a "period" in palaeography the "date" of beginning or end are indicating the times when certain features (or strategies, if you will), begin to appear or disappear on a general basis. The scribal features, not the dates, are the clue.

- **terminology**

The term "pregothic" is a problematic one for several reasons:

- "all scripts from hieroglyphs are pregothic."
- it is strange that something stylistically independent should be called "pregothic". (It is notable that art historians have no problem with "Romanesque" as a term, yet palaeographers have avoided using it.)

A possible solution could be to call the period or script with the “pregothic” characteristics simply transitory or transitional. A word like “protogothic” could also perhaps be a more suitable one, suggesting that the link to the Gothic is more than just a matter of chronology.

Christian Heitzmann pointed out that it would be possible to use the term “pregothic” if we only remember that it was not the aim of the scribe to become gothic.

David Ganz also pointed out that a scribe writing a half-uncial did not know that it would later be called a half-uncial. An ideal would be to find an original, medieval term (which we don’t seem to have in this case).

- **scribes and script**

Some scripts are good enough for some genres, but not for all kinds of books. The type of script in Old Norse may seem to be more cursive.

Malcolm Parkes wanted a shift from the emphasis on “script” to the idea of “scribes”. David Ganz reminded us of the notion “Schreiber-generation” – coined by Bischoff, and that English Caroline minuscule is another example of one of two scripts in a bilingual situation. Michael Gullick pointed out that it is our duty to see in the individual hands the individual features, the shades.

To make a generalized sketch of a “period” or a “script” will always be problematic, but the point is to create and use our constructed terms as multi-purpose tools. Whether one wants to find a common ground for two palaeographical traditions, make complex subject-matter comprehensible for students, make a catalogue or database depending on searchable terminology, or make a thorough palaeographical analysis, the clue must be to use the concepts as tools, not as masters. Hopefully it is possible to generalize on one side, without losing sight of the individual scribe on the other (i.e. balance a nomothetic and idiographic approach). Even though this discussion did not come up with a simple “yes or no” answer to the formulated question, it was clear that the Old Norse scholars are positive to Derolez’s system of classification. It also clarified some challenges in talking about palaeography – fortunate and less fortunate terms and formulations. Basically everyone needs to determine one’s own needs, use the language to serve one’s purpose, and to make a clear statement in every specific work as to how and why specific terms are used.

Closing lecture:

Birger Munk Olsen, University of Copenhagen

Fragments of Classical Latin Texts

Studying the reception of classical literature from the 9th to the 12th century and having tried to describe all relevant material from this period¹, I have constantly been confronted with fragments and puzzled by all the practical and theoretical problems they pose. I shall try to discuss some of them, taking my examples essentially from classical manuscripts and fragments prior to the 13th century. I am sorry that this period does not quite coincide with the period fixed for the Seminar, but I hope that the problems and the facts I treat are of interest also for other sorts of texts and for other periods, *mutatis mutandis*.

First of all, I wondered where all these fragments come from and tried to take a comprehensive view of their many sources.

Some have certainly been made on set purpose. The best known category is probably the palimpsest fragments, frequent especially in the late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, when there was a shortage of parchment needed for the copying of Christian texts. But also later in the Middle Ages we find palimpsests, where classical texts occupy the upper or the lower layer. When a manuscript was considered obsolete and useless, it was broken up and the effaced leaves or bifolios were collected in a heap, from which the scribes could take what they needed. The leaves were thus used randomly and often palimpsest leaves from different manuscripts were stocked together. It is thus by great chance that the palimpsest leaves of a copy of Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms* in the Vatican Library all come from an old manuscript of Cicero's *De Republica*; but we only have parts of the text, since the other leaves must have been used for books now lost, and it has been a hard work to reconstruct the order of the quires and of the leaves. In another manuscript from the Vatican Library, the *Palatinus latinus* 24, where the upper script contains parts of the Vulgate from the late 6th or the early 7th century with later complements, about a third of the leaves are palimpsests and come from ten different manuscripts, some of which conceal fragments of otherwise unknown texts such as Seneca's *De amicitia* and *De vita patris*, the 9th decade of Livy's *Roman History* and a speech of Fronto.

More common was the dismembering of manuscripts of which the text had been found uninteresting or which had been worn or mutilated by diligent use, needing to be replaced. There also seems to have been an unfortunate tendency to dismember a

¹ B. MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, t. I. *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques copiés du IXe au XIIe siècle. Apicius - Juvénal*. Paris, 1982; t. II. *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IXe au XIIe siècle. Livius - Vitruvius. Florilèges. Essais de plume*. Paris, 1985; t. III, 1. *Les classiques dans les bibliothèques médiévales*. Paris, 1987; t. III, 2. *Addenda et corrigenda - Tables*. Paris, 1989 (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes); cf. *Chronique des manuscrits classiques I-V*, in *Revue d'histoire des textes*, t. 21, 1991, pp. 37-76; t. 24, 1994, pp. 199-249; t. 27, 1997, pp. 29-85; t. 30, 2000, pp. 123-188; t. 32, 2002, pp. 73-106.

manuscript considered redundant when used for an *editio princeps*. Jacobus Mycillus, for example, published in Basle in 1535 his *editio princeps* of Hyginus's *Fabulae* from a 10th century manuscript in Beneventan script, the only known of the text, but now we only have five bifolios and two scraps divided between two libraries in Munich, and three of these leaves were used for covers for the binding of records already in 1558, 23 years after Mycillus's edition. As the editor was not very familiar with the Beneventan script it would have been very useful to have today the whole manuscript, which turned out not to be redundant.

As was the case with Hyginus's *Fabulae*, parchment from dismembered manuscripts was usually used for bindings: covers, pastedowns, fly-leaves or strips to strengthen the spine of the books, and it is thanks to this that most of our fragments have been conserved until the present time.

A more original use of a dismembered manuscript is found in the *Vaticanus Latinus* 10696, which contains fragments of Livy's fourth decade, transcribed probably in Italy in the late 4th or the early 5th century. They were used from the 8th century at the church of St John Lateran for wrapping relics from the Holy Land in a cypress shrine made for Pope Leo III, who died in 815.

A last possibility, which must also be considered as deliberate, is theft. Instead of stealing the whole manuscript, it could be suitable to cut off the folios one needed. It might have been rather common although it is difficult to prove. But in some anathemas, particularly in Biblical manuscripts, the case has been envisaged, for example in the Bible of Lobbes: "Qui folium scedulamque per industriam computauerit". We even have a copy of Cicero's *De inventione* where the two last leaves are missing and an almost contemporary hand has added in the margin: "Hic precisa sunt duo folia. Iusto an furto factum sit, et pars litterae de pleno corpore sublata est. Puto Petrus nutrit fures". Lupus, abbot of Ferrières in the middle of the 9th century, also thanks cordially, in a letter from 840, Adelgand of Fleury for having sent him a leaf from a manuscript of Macrobius, although he would have preferred to receive the whole manuscript.

The mutilation of manuscripts also happened accidentally. In fact even a parchment manuscript is very vulnerable if it is not protected by a solid binding. But often the bindings were in a very defective condition or the manuscripts remained without binding, as can be seen from cases of soiled rectos in the first folios and soiled versos among the last. Many scriptoria even took into account this state of things, beginning the text only on the verso of the first folio, as is the case at Corbie, for instance.

The absence of bindings was not due only to economic reasons. Often a text or a group of texts was copied in a codicological element, a sort of booklet². These elements could be bound together when all of them were finished constituting a composite manuscript. Thus 39 % of our manuscripts of Cicero's *De inventione* and of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, always ascribed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, occupy distinct elements. For the three poems of Virgil, 29 % of the complete manuscripts are divided into two elements, usually with the *Bucolica* and the *Georgica* together and

² See B. MUNK OLSEN, *L'élément codicologique*, in *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du 'codex' au Moyen Âge en Orient et en Occident*, ed. by Ph. HOFFMANN. Paris, 1998, pp. 105-129.

the *Aeneid* apart. In 2,5 % of the manuscripts there are even three elements, one for each poem. As there was usually only one copy of a text in a medieval library, leaving the manuscript "in quaternionibus" permitted more readers to use the texts at the same time, whereas only one could have access to a bound volume.

It was common too to remove bindings, for instance when several scribes had to copy a long text rapidly or when a text was sent on loan to another scriptorium so that it received only what it had asked for.

For unbound or badly bound manuscripts, most vulnerable are the first and the last quires as well as the median folios of quires and isolated folios sewn onto guards.

These accidents already happened of course in Antiquity and in late Antiquity, so that many antique texts have come to us in a fragmentary state, because their archetypes were irretrievably mutilated. Thus are lacking, most probably forever, the beginning of Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum* and of Curtius's *Historia Alexandri Magni*, the end of Tacitus's *Histories* and *Annals*, of Cicero's *Brutus* and *Academica priora*, and of Hyginus's *Astronomicon* as well as both the beginning and the end of Cicero's *Pro Roscio* and of the *Controversia* of the Elder Seneca, to mention a few examples. Often these texts also have internal lacunas.

Mutilation was not less frequent in the Middle Ages and after the Middle Ages. Of our nearly 60 manuscripts of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (included the fragments) only 14, i.e. 24 % are complete, whereas 10 % lack the beginning and 10 % the end. Of our nearly 200 manuscripts of Virgil's *Aeneid* 62, i.e. 32 % are complete, 27 % are mutilated at the end but only 3 % at the beginning, because it was protected by the *Bucolica* and the *Georgica*, which always precede. Seneca's Letters to Lucilius have a much better survival rate with 74 % of complete manuscripts, 5 % lacking the beginning and 16 % the end. But in the extant manuscripts there are seventeen different explicits of the text and most of them are due to mutilation at some stage of the transmission.

It is often possible to prove that such losses have taken place already in the Middle Ages. It is not seldom in fact that lacunas have been filled in by medieval scribes who inserted leaves, trying sometimes to imitate the script of the original. Of our Virgil manuscripts, for example, more than fifteen have received insertions before the 13th century and as many as thirty five in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, which shows that even in the later Middle Ages and in the Renaissance it was considered worthwhile repairing old copies of Virgil.

Manuscripts could also be heavily damaged by fire. In the Middle Ages such charred remains were discarded as of no use, but nowadays we are more careful and great efforts have been made to restore, for example, the manuscripts and the fragments more or less burnt in the fire of the Biblioteca Statale of Turin in 1904. Bombs and fire have almost destroyed, during the Second World War, one of the hugest manuscripts of classical interest, the *Heptateuchon* of Thierry of Chartres from the 12th century, with 574 leaves in two volumes in large folio and with a very important collection of manuals related to the study of the liberal arts, so only some tiny half-charred fragments are left giving a rather poor impression of this gigantic work.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory definition of what a fragment exactly is. It is in some way the reverse of the famous question about how many trees you need to have a wood.

Usually a fragment is considered as a rather small unit: one or a few leaves or part of leaves. But there is quite a range of possibilities: a manuscript can be complete at the beginning and the end having, however, internal lacunas, and then it is already fragmentary. It can be mutilated at the beginning and/or at the end, possibly with internal lacunas. We can have a quire or some quires, a leaf or some leaves and finally a part of a leaf when it has been cut into pieces for bindings or if initials or other illustrations have been cut off.

For practical reasons I define a fragment as a manuscript lacking both the beginning and the end, but I must admit that such a fragment can be rather important. Our only manuscript of Livy's fifth decade, from the 5th century (Vienna, ÖNB, 15), for instance, has 193 leaves although there are also internal lacunas, some of which must be very old to judge from the quire numbers added in the 8th century.

A special form of fragment is the indirect fragment, when pastedowns have disappeared leaving an impression on the covers. A well-known example is a manuscript in Orléans where it is possible to read with a mirror some passages of the *Satires* of Juvenal, transcribed in the 9th century (Orléans, Bibl. mun., 2959).

In addition to all this the word "fragment" has unfortunately two quite different senses. According to the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* the first sense is "a (comparatively) small (detached) portion" with the words "comparatively" and "detached" in brackets. The second sense is "an extant portion of a written work, which as a whole is lost". I should have preferred to reserve the first sense, more consistent with the etymology, for the physical fragment and to use the word "excerpt" for the second. When one learns that a new fragment of a text has been found, it is generally impossible to decide what it really is. But the use of fragment for excerpt has a so long and deep-rooted tradition that it would be impossible to abolish it.

When a manuscript was dismembered for bindings, its leaves were used for many books. Most of them have probably been lost, but some of the fragments may still be hidden in the spine of old bindings, so in order to clear the matter up, it would be essential to cut up all old bindings made until the 18th century, a project which is probably not very realistic.

Fragments from the same manuscript constitute *membra disiecta*. They may remain in the same library, but often they are dispersed in different libraries, sometimes even of different countries. *Membra* of a manuscript of Virgil from the 9th century are for instance found in Oxford at the Bodleian and at All Souls, in London at the British Library, in Cambridge at Corpus Christi College, and finally at Dean Park Library in Northamptonshire. Of another Virgil from the same century eight *membra* are extant in Berlin, in Bonn and in two libraries of Munich.

In order to identify such *membra disiecta* it is necessary of course to examine thoroughly the contents, the script, the layout, the parchment, and, if possible, the provenance.

The easiest approach for fragments of the same date and with the same work, without overlapping text, is probably to start with the justification, although different manuscripts may have approximately the same layout due to traditions and rules

and although, on the contrary, the justification and even the format may differ in different parts of a manuscript. One of the three medieval manuscripts of Lucretius, for example, all from the 9th century, is divided between the Royal Library of Copenhagen and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, but the fragment in Vienna consists of two parts, whose justifications are rather different to such an extent that they have received their own sigla, *V* and *U*; but they are of the same date and origin and it would be strange that two copies were made at the same time of such a rare and difficult text.

There are many ways to describe the justification. In my descriptions I use a rather simple system taking first the distance between the top and the bottom line of a page and the distance between the two last lines, and then measuring the distances between all the vertical ruling lines with an indication of the number of lines and of the ruling instrument used: hard point, pencil or ink. There are more sophisticated and complicated methods, which also take into account the prickings, the flesh and hair side and the often trimmed margins. The most general method is to measure only the writing area as a whole, but is hardly precise enough to permit an easy identification of *membra disiecta*.

Sometimes an isolated fragment belongs to a manuscript from which it has been cut off. A leaf from the famous *Vergilius Mediceus* from the late 5th century has come to the Vatican Library, where it has been inserted in the *Vergilius Vaticanus*. A leaf from the *Parisinus Latinus* 7900 A, an important collection of classical texts and glosses, is now in the Staatsbibliothek of Hamburg, and a leaf of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* in the University of Cambridge has ended up in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek of Frankfurt am Main. They were probably cut off fraudulently by amateurs who wished to keep a souvenir.

In official library catalogues the authors are obliged to describe the *membrum* or each *membrum* as an independent unit under its shelf mark, drawing attention, if necessary, to other *membra* in the same library described at their place or to *membra* in other libraries. In specialized catalogues, for example of classical manuscripts or of the manuscript of an author, it is possible or even essential to reconstitute as far as possible the original. In my descriptions I have assigned Greek letters to each *membrum* which precede all the indications of folios.

Sometimes the manuscript itself has also been reconstructed: in the *Parisinus latinus* 7900 A a photocopy fills in the place of the leaf in Hamburg. The University Library of Cambridge has been much luckier since the Frankfurt library has generously offered the lacking folio, so that the manuscript is no longer fragmentary.

When a fragment has been found, it must be conserved in an appropriate way. The wisest solution is probably to leave it where it was, though it might be difficult or even impossible to read the strips of the spine or the leaves pasted on the boards. Therefore the fragments are usually detached from the manuscripts, a procedure which has at least two drawbacks: the fragments when detached disappear easily and the librarians forget not infrequently to indicate the provenance, which can be very useful, for instance for identification of *membra disiecta*. The detached fragments constitute generally the collection of fragments, the "Fragmentensammlung" of the library.

Sometimes they remain in disorder, kept in drawers or boxes, particularly in Archives, which are less interested in literary, theological or liturgical texts and

which are less suited for the study of them. At best the fragments are put in folders in order to protect them.

The next more advanced step is to proceed to a classification according to the author and the work or according to the category for liturgical and other anonymous texts. The greatest refinement is to put the fragments in chronological order.

Many fragments still remain without shelf marks, *sine numero*, so that it is very difficult to make reference to them in an unambiguous way. In the last decades, however, several libraries, particularly in Germany and Italy, have introduced often rather complicated fragment numbers. At the Royal Library of Copenhagen the numbers of the "Kapsler" have been superseded by a consecutive numbering of all the fragments, but there is no classification. Even if there are shelf marks, these are not always definitive. All the fragments of the very important collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, for example, the series Clm 29000, have changed shelf mark at least once and sometimes several times in course of time, as Hermann Hauke, the indefatigable cataloguer of them, has identified new *membra disiecta*, changed the dates or inserted new fragments. But now everything should be settled with the recent publication of the catalogue of the "Fragmentensammlung" in two volumes, which take up more than one thousand pages in all.³

Especially in the 19th century it was very common too that librarians had bound together fragments of all sorts, without any attempt of classification, usually but not always because they had approximately the same format. Such "recueils factices", as they are called in French, have a continuous foliation or pagination and in order to refer to the different parts in a handy way, I have numbered them consecutively in my descriptions, a device which has had some success and is sometimes used in studies, where I am not cited, because the authors, working second hand, think that these numbers form part of the official shelf marks of the library. Unfortunately it is seldom the case.

The last possibility, I think, is to insert each fragment in the series of ordinary manuscripts, so that it is impossible to see from the shelf mark if it is a fragment or not. This solution has the advantage of increasing the number of manuscripts in a library and consequently its prestige.

Fragments are of importance in several respects. Of course the hope of everybody concerned with the study of fragments, is to discover unknown texts or texts which are known but without a direct transmission.

There have been some discoveries of new texts on papyrus, the most important being that of an almost contemporary fragment, found at Quasr Ibrîm in Egypt in 1978, with two poems of Gallus, from Augustus's time, considered in Antiquity as an outstanding poet but until now known only indirectly, in particular through Virgil's *Bucolica* and the praise of him in Ovid's *Amores*.

As to the parchment fragments, François Dolbeau⁴ published some years ago a very complete study on recent discoveries of unknown Latin texts composed from the late 3rd century to the early 8th. Most of these discoveries come from excerpts,

³ H, HAUKE, *Katalog der lateinischen Fragmente der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, t. I-II. Wiesbaden 1994-2001 (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis. Tomus IV, pars 12, 1-2).

⁴ *Découvertes récentes d'œuvres latines inconnues (fin III^e – début VIII^e s.)*, in *Sacris erudiri*, 38 (1998-1999), pp. 101-142.

newly identified texts or uncatalogued manuscripts. Taking it all in all, only five parchment fragments, transcribed from the late 7th to the 10th century, have been discovered during the last fifty years. These are the following, in the chronological order of the authors.

First, some fragments in Turin of the *Ars grammatica* of Marius Plotius Sacerdos from the 3rd century, which turned out to come from a lacunary manuscript in Naples, the only one we have of the text.

Second, some fragments of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Tyconius from the 4th century, discovered in the Library of the Catholic Seminary in Budapest, but two of the fragments have already disappeared and are known only from photocopies.

Third, a fragment with the ends of 39 unknown verses of Rutilius Namatianus's *De reditu suo* from the 5th century, found in a manuscript in Turin.

Fourth, three bifolios in the Stadtbibliothek of Trier with 720 verses of a poem on the Gospels, ascribed to a "Seuerus episcopus", who might have lived in the 6th century. The poem corresponds most probably to a hitherto enigmatic item in a Carolingian catalogue from Lorsch: "Metrum Seueri episcopi in Euangelia, libri XII".

And finally a poem from the lost *Liber epigrammaton* of the Venerable Bede from the 8th century on a bifolium acquired in 1959 by the University of Illinois from a private collector.

This is not very much and only two of the texts are pagan, those of Marius Plotius Sacerdos and of Rutilius Namatianus.

We do not need to despair, however. Although most of the classical literature has been definitively lost at an early stage, many other texts are mentioned in medieval library catalogues without having been identified or found, but they must have existed in the Middle Ages. Why should they not have been used for bindings?

If the fragments do not offer a new text, they are often older than the more complete manuscripts that we have. Leaving out the papyrus fragments, the palimpsests and the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, prior to the 9th century, I shall give two examples from texts of Cicero. First his *Letters to Atticus*. Petrarch discovered an old copy of them in the Chapter Library of Verona and transcribed it for his own use, but both the Verona manuscript and Petrarch's copy disappeared, and our editions are based essentially on late Italian copies from the 14th and 15th centuries. There is however a part of a folio from the 9th century in the Stiftsbibliothek of Engelberg, which has not yet been studied to my knowledge, and we have five bifolios from the late 10th or the early 11th century divided between the University Library in Würzburg, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and the Diözesanarchiv in Würzburg. The last one has been discovered only in 1995. Hartmut Hoffmann, subjected the first two fragments to a thorough palaeographical investigation, and found that both were transcribed in Würzburg, but that the Munich fragment is somewhat older than the Würzburg fragment. However, just as was the case with the Vienna fragment of Lucretius, it would be strange that such a rare text had been transcribed twice in Würzburg within a rather short space of time.

The other example is the *Brutus*, known from the famous *Laudensis* discovered in 1421 in the Chapter Library of Lodi and lost already in 1448. The copy that was made of it before 1428 has also disappeared and we are obliged to reconstruct the *Laudensis* from its 15th century descendents. However, a bifolium from the first half of the 9th century was discovered in the 1950's in the Archivio Storico Comunale in Cremona

(Fragm Com. Busta 3, n. 81), but it can hardly be a remnant of the *Laudensis* since it is written in a neat Carolingian minuscule, whereas the *Laudensis*, when it still existed, had the reputation of being almost illegible.

Finally, fragments can contribute greatly to our knowledge of the reception of texts. As a matter of fact it is not easy to get a precise idea of the diffusion and consequently of the popularity of a text in a given period of the Middle Ages.

One can count reminiscences or quotations from the text in contemporary writings, but often they are second hand or originating from florilegia. One can also explore the library catalogues from the period, but they are rather few in comparison with the number of libraries, and usually it is impossible to know if a text mentioned was still in use or if it only collected dust on the shelves or in the cupboards, waiting perhaps to be dismembered and used for bindings.

Thus our most reliable source is certainly the extant manuscripts, because the transcription of a text shows that there was an urgent need to possess it.

In spite of important losses, it is thus possible to make statistics of the number of extant manuscripts for different texts transcribed during a certain period, for instance a century, in order to determine their relative popularity. This is the synchronic or horizontal approach. It is also possible to work in an adiachronic way or vertically comparing the number of extant manuscripts of a text from different periods in order to determine the evolution. It is necessary, however, to keep in mind that old manuscripts are more in danger to be lost than newer ones, that the most heavily used texts were particularly likely to be worn and dismembered, and that there is less need to transcribe a text which had had a large diffusion in the previous period or in the previous periods, for manuscripts usually lasted for a long time. Especially in the first case, fragments are indispensable in permitting to re-establish to a certain extent the original numbers.

But also here there are two caveats. First, long texts are more likely to be represented by fragments than short ones. This accounts for the fact that Sallust's *Jugurtha*, which is three times longer than the *Catiline*, apparently has a much better survival rate, and it is significant that the fragments, according to my definition, constitute only 7,2% of the total for the latter, whereas they constitute 19,3% for the *Jugurtha*. Second, it is necessary of course to identify all the *membra disiecta* so that they are only counted once in the statistics. If this precaution is neglected the number of units for the *Aeneid* of Virgil would have been increased by 18, i.e. more than 8%, giving quite a wrong picture of the diffusion of the text.

The fragments of Classical Latin texts are also important because the percentage of them generally differs from text to text. Thus we have for example 37,2% of fragments for the *Aeneid* of Virgil and even 41,4 % for the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, which were much used in the schools, whereas there are only 5,2% of fragments for Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius* and 7,6% for the *Facta and dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus, which lead a more quiet and protected life in the conventual library.

Unfortunately, of many antique and medieval texts we know only one or a few manuscripts or fragments, so that it is impossible to make meaningful statistics. We can only conclude that they were probably not very much diffused in the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Three targets were set up by the workshop:

— to continue the analysis of Norwegian fragments begun at Riksarkivet in Oslo by a group of Scandinavian, English, and German scholars (from palaeography, musicology, philology and literary studies). The main focus this time was on Norwegian fragments outside Riksarkivet and suggested material from other Nordic countries.

— to explore possibilities for a closer cooperation between Latin and Nordic vernacular palaeographers and philologists for future scholarly exchanges on the rise of scribal culture in the North from the 11th to the 13th centuries.

— to re-establish a forum for Nordic collections in possession of medieval parchment fragments, built on the initiative by Riksarkivet in Stockholm in 1993.

As to the first item the results emerge both from the present report as well as in forthcoming individual work on specific fragments, for instance the web catalogue of the fragments at the Bergen University Library. In general, the potential of the fragments (and codices, such as the Kvikne psalter) to enhance our knowledge on early local scribal culture was confirmed. Given the necessary palaeographical, codicological, musicological, literary, and historical expertise, the fragments present us with a wealth of unused possibilities. We will be able to approach more qualified analyses of the rise of local 'scriptoria' (or groups of scribes), the import of books, persons, and competence during the pioneering period, the number and types of books available locally, and the statistics of the losses.

It also emerged that a closer cooperation between Latin and vernacular scholars will be needed in order to come to grips with developments in the crucial period ca 1050 to 1250. Scribal competence does not seem to have been divided between a vernacular and a Latin sphere in this period, nor between book-scribes and chancery scribes. The development of vernacular written culture in dialogue with the Latin one promises to become a fruitful field. Also the Nordic countries in the said period can be put to use as a case study and a comparative point of reference for the introduction of scribal culture: the relatively late and visible emergence of books and charters provides good opportunities for studying the process as such.

A call for Nordic co-operation had already been put forward in Stockholm in 1993, where a Nordic meeting on fragments was held. What they did not anticipate in 1993 was the breakthrough in 1994 of the World Wide Web, and its subsequent easy handling of high-quality images. So when we undertake a similar agenda now, it is with a completely different horizon of expectations, namely of easy comparison, accessibility and scholarly communication across institutional and geographical boundaries. Cataloguing and presenting collections today can have immediate and important repercussions for many scholarly pursuits. It is still up to the collections themselves to follow their own pace and priorities in this matter, but there is no doubt that the more and the sooner things are presented on the web, the better for

scholarship. Therefore it is important to keep up a running dialogue between the authorities of the collections and the scholarly communities. One point that was singled out was dialogue on the continuous work on text-encoding and image reproduction standards. It is also to be emphasized that web-presentations will attract scholars to work with fragments *in situ*.

The CMS in Bergen and the attached Nordic CMS (with Göteborg, Helsinki and Odense) are committed to create a light virtual infrastructure for exploiting the favourable situation fragment studies find themselves in now. The first step is to circulate this report, including a checklist of relevant collections with notes on how far their catalogues and web-presentations have come. Later we hope to set up a bibliographical web-site forum and arrange meetings and workshops on some of the many aspects medieval parchment fragments offer us in the fields of palaeography, codicology, textual history, philologies, musicology, literacy, and cultural history.

Lars Boje Mortensen



Most of the participants at the Bergen fragment-workshop lined up in the conference room of hotel Admiral. Behind, from the left: Maja Lillian Marcussen, Lars Boje Mortensen, Else Mundal, Tone Modalsli, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugson, Susan Rankin, Odd Einar Haugen, Gunilla Björkvall, Alex S. Kjeldsen, Birger Munk Olsen, Tuomas Heikkilä, Jonna Louis-Jensen, Erik Petersen, Christian Heitzmann, Espen Karlsen, Michael Gullick, Stefán Karlsson, Jonas Wellendorf. Front row, from the left: Marit Johanne Høy, Gisela Attinger, David Ganz, Åslaug Ommundsen, Aidan Conti.

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Appendix: A preliminary survey of collections

It would be an advantage for further research to have a detailed survey of medieval manuscript material in the Nordic public collections, including information on catalogues, web-sites and research. This preliminary survey is an attempt to outline how the information could be organized. We encourage readers of this report to update and (hopefully) expand the list, by contacting CMS, Bergen.

Collection	Holdings	Catalogue(s)	Web-presentation	Selected studies
Arendal, Aust-Agder-arkivet	An unknown number of fragments, Latin and Old Norse.	local	—	Gjerløw 1959
Bergen, Bergen Museum	4 fragments, 1 in Latin, 3 in Old Norse.	local	—	
Bergen, Statsarkivet	5 fragments from 3 liturgical books.	local	A presentation under development at the Fragment website of Bergen University Library	Ommundsen 2004
Bergen, Universitetsbiblioteket	2 medieval mss. and 26 Latin fragments from 16 mss., mainly liturgical. 3 Old Norse fragments from 2 mss.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wiesener 1913 (MS 1-524), an in situ card catalogue (MS 525-1905), a computer catalogue (from MS 1906). Also an in situ handwritten catalogue 	http://gandalf.aksis.uib.no/mpf/ [online catalogue and digital images of all fragments]	Gjerløw 1970
Elverum, Glomsdalsmuseet	1 ms, and some liturgical fragments from a bookbinding.	in situ card catalogue	—	
Göteborg, Universitetsbiblioteket	c. 40 manuscripts and a number of fragments	in situ card catalogue	—	
Helsinki, Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto	10345 fragments from c. 1700 Latin mss., mainly liturgical with local origin or use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Haapanen, 1922, 1925, 1932. Taitto 2001. Lehtinen, 2. Vols. Unpublished 	—	
Kristiansand, Statsarkivet	1 leaf from a 13th century missal.	local	—	

København, Den Arna- magnæanske Håndskrifts- samling	c. 200 medieval manuscripts and fragments, Old Norse and Latin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kålund 1900 [Old Norse mss, on-line]. • M.G. Andersen, unpublished [Latin fragments] 	www.hum.ku.dk/ami/ [brief presentation with a few sample pages of mss.]	
København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek	c. 1000 Latin medieval mss, a few Old Norse, Danish and Swedish, plus a large number of fragments. Most of the books are postmedieval acquisitions, but a good number are of Nordic medieval origin.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jørgensen 1926 [Latin manuscripts, on-line]. • Tortzen 1983 (Theological Fragments)] 	http://www.kb.dk/kb/dept/nbo/ha/manuskripter/ [c. 50 manuscripts are fully presented and digitized]	Petersen (ed.) 1999
København, Rigsarkivet	Large number of Latin fragments	in situ card catalogue (?)	—	
Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket				
Lund, Universitets- biblioteket	65 medieval mss, a number of fragments, all Latin		http://laurentius.lub.lu.se/ [complete catalogue of mss., all digitized. Catalogue and digitization of fragments in progress]	
Oslo, Deichmanske bibliotek	1 medieval ms and an unknown number of fragments.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deichmanske bibliotek 1976 	—	
Oslo, Nasjonal- biblioteket	60 medieval mss, ca 100 fragments, mainly liturgical.	in situ handwritten catalogue	—	
Oslo, Rigsarkivet	c. 6000 medieval Latin and 500 Old Norse fragments. Mainly liturgical of which most have been produced or used locally	in situ database of appr. A quarter of the fragments	—	Gjerløw 1957, 1958, 1961, 1968, 1970, 1970, 1975, 1978, 1979, Karlsen 2005
Oslo, Statsarkivet	2 leaves with musical notation.	local		
Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands – Háskólabókasafn	? Mss, 88 Latin fragments			
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi	c. 200 medieval manuscripts, ca. 50 Latin fragments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kålund 1900 	www.am.hi.is/ [brief presentation with a few sample pages of mss.]	

Reykjavík, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands	54 Latin fragments		
Reykjavík, Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands	21 Latin fragments		
Stavanger, Statsarkivet	27 fragments	in situ list	
Stavanger, Stavanger Museum	4 fragments from 3 different mss.	in situ handwritten catalogue	
Stockholm, Det Kungliga Biblioteket	c. 400 Latin manuscripts and fragments		
Stockholm, Riksarkivet	c. 22700 Latin medieval fragments from c. 6000 books, mostly local liturgical books from c. 1050 to the end of the middle ages	in situ database catalogue	www.ra.se/ra/mpo.html [the database with digitization of a part of the fragments is in progress]
Trondheim, Gunnerus Biblioteket	ca. 100 fragments, mainly from liturgical mss.	in situ catalogue	
Trondheim, Statsarkivet	1 leaf from a missal.	local	
Uppsala, Universitets- biblioteket	c. 780 codices in 'C- samlingen' (more than half of which from Vadstena library, for a large part late medieval, local books). Other collections hold a smaller number of medieval mss.	• Andersson, Hallberg & Hedlund 1988-1995 [online].	http://www.ub.uu.se/ary/special/hand.cfm#1 [brief presentation]