

Working notes on the *Decretum*

The nature of the text below

What follows is a rough draft, and should only be used with great care. It is essentially an annotated copy of Migne's edition. It carries over from that much of its spelling and punctuation, many of its distinctive readings and most of its errors. It also includes most of the information on the origins of the canons preserved by Migne, itself drawn from Fronteau's ed. of 1647, which in turn took much from the *editio princeps* of Molinaeus of 1561. These references are usually roughly in the form given by Molinaeus rather than Migne. Most of the biblical references have been removed, but many other references to sources are preserved, except references to the Lombard where the cap. is also in Gratian. Some of these references to material sources in Bks I, X, XIV, XVI have been updated, replacing the earlier note by Molinaeus. From time to time the punctuation has been altered, mostly by excision, and the spelling is partly revised - largely by the removal of the ae and oe diphthongs except where mid-s. xii practice normally preserved them (e.g. 'Israel', 'Michael'), the abandoning of 'y' and consonantal 'j', the insertion of a 'p' in forms such as 'condempnare', 'sollemnitas', the use of (e.g.) 'quicumque' for 'quicunque' and the change from 'quidquid' to 'quicquid'. However, much caution and some imagination is still called for in searching for words electronically. The agreement of the manuscripts **CP** usually replaces the reading of the Migne (or Molinaeus) edition where it has been noticed, and is not inferior by other criteria; otherwise the selection of the text readings is largely arbitrary. This is a series of signposts to divergences in the text, and should be used as a starting-point, not as an edition. Where a canon was not taken over into the *Panormia*, only the incipits and explicits have been accorded even cursory scrutiny. All the inscriptions and rubrics have in principle been collated against the Molinaeus ed. (**M** in the apparatus), and mss **C**, **P**, **D** and **S**, with occasional citations of other copies, esp. **B**, **R**, **V** and **A**. Correspondingly, minor variants in the rubrics and inscriptions are recorded quite fully. However, only where the canon was taken over by the *Panormia* are there any significant notes on the main text, and again these are more systematic (but far from wholly so) from **C**, **P**, **D** and **S**, sporadic from **B** and **A**, rare from elsewhere. Those extensive sections of Bks I, X, XIV and XVI which occur in **A** have been collated more fully to give a clearer picture of the complex relation between **A**, **M** and sometimes **R**. Otherwise **R** is normally cited only as an occasional check against **C**, and **V** similarly only where **P** appears otherwise idiosyncratic. Since the *Panormia* does not draw on Bks XV and XVII, the texts of these are almost entirely unchecked.

In the text, canons omitted by **M** are inserted, followed by a capital letter (e.g. **174A**); these are from the manuscripts in the cases of **CRPVBSDA**, but second-hand from Brommer for **K**. Canons from these manuscripts are in the main type-face; canons so far only reported from the abbreviations of the **H** family or in **A** are in a smaller font. At the foot of the canon an effort has been made to report in each case a derivation from the principal formal sources so far identified, Burchard, the *Collectio Britannica* or the *Collectio Tripartita A*, and occasionally a convergence elsewhere (though this is unsystematic), but no effort is made to record the ultimate material sources, except in so far as Molinaeus attempted it in his edition of 1561 and, in a limited way, for the sections of I, X, XIV, XVI covered by **A**. All references to actual or possible formal sources precede the square bracket. After the square bracket the references to use of the *Decretum*

by the *Tripartita B* and *Panormia* are intended to be complete, though they may well not be. The references to Gratian taken from the earlier eds are mostly preserved in their archaic form; where the reference is in modern form or in square brackets it has been added or recast. These references are entirely unsystematic, since it is not supposed that the *Decretum* was directly drawn upon by Gratian. In the apparatus Burchard is occasionally cited in support of one reading against another, but these readings are taken uncritically from the Migne reprint in *PL* 140. Canons marked with an asterisk are also found in sequence in ms Arsenal 713 (A). Where canons are derived from *Tripartita A*, many are given fuller references there. In text notes angle-brackets indicate material added by the original scribe or very early on in the copy cited. Square brackets in the apparatus indicate additions or variant readings offered by the Molinaeus or Fronteau.

It is chiefly the work of Martin Brett (mbr110@gmail.com) who is responsible for all the errors. Important corrections, advice and information have been supplied, particularly by Greta Austin, Bruce Brasington, Michael Crawford, Linda Fowler-Magerl, Michael Gullick, Christof Rolker, Gerhard Schmitz, Karl-Georg Schon, Robert Somerville and Anders Winroth, but they bear no responsibility for any assertions in the files.

Abbreviations

(excluding the ms sigla and the initials of the contributors listed above).

- 3L Collection in Three Books in Pistoia Arch. Capit. C 135 (*Clavis canonum* DR, ed. G. Motta, MIC Subsidia 8)
- 4L Collection in Four Books, as described by J. Gilchrist, 'The manuscripts of the Canonical collection in Four Books' *ZRG Kan. Abt.* lxix (1983), supplemented from *Clavis canonum* under VO, VR, VS.
- 5L Collection in Five Books (*Clavis canonum*, 82-5 as FU, FV; cf *CCL Cont. M.* 6 for I-III only)
- 9L Collection in Nine Books of Wolfenb. ms Gud. 212 (*Clavis canonum*, 207-9 as WO, WP)
- 9L (Basil.) Collection in Nine Books of Vat. Archivio S. Pietro C 118 (*Clavis canonum* DR)
- 9L (Vat. 1349) Collection in Nine Books of Vat. lat. 1349 (*Clavis canonum* FY)
- 74T *Diversorum patrum sententie sive Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta* ed. J. Gilchrist (1973)
- 183 TG. Motta, *Liber canonum diversorum sanctorum patrum sive Collectio in CLXXXIII titulos digesta* (1988) (*Clavis canonum* NO)

- A Readings in the apparatus from canons found in Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 713 B (*Clavis canonum* LP, for which cf too Brett, 'The sources and influence'), interspersed with canons from Ivo's *Decretum*. See now more fully Austin (2012).
- AL Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum*. A reference simply to AL refers to *Anselm II. Bischof von Lucca, Collectio canonum* ed. F. Thaner (Innsbruck 1906-15) up to 11. 15, and to K. Cushing, *Papacy and law in the Gregorian Revolution* (Oxford 1998), pp. 179-200 for Bks 12-13. AL A' represents the enlarged form of the first version (cf G. Motta, 'La redazione A "aucta" della *Collectio Anselmi episcopi Lucensis*' in *Studia in honorem ... A.M. Stickler* ed. Castillo Lara, Rome 1992), AL B the second version, AL C the composite early modern text analysed in P. Landau, 'Die Rezension C. der Sammlung des Anselm von Lucca', *BMCL* 16 (1986) 17-54; see too, for all these versions and the aberrant AL Bb, *Clavis canonum* 139-48, 157-8, 169-71, Cushing, 'Polemic or Handbook' (2008).
- Alger R. Kretzschmar, *Alger von Lüttichs Traktat 'De Misericordia et Iustitia'* (1985)
- Ambr. C 51 Milano, Bibl. Ambr. C 51 sup. (*Clavis canonum*, pp 108)
- Anseg. *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis (Collectio capitularium Ansegisi)* ed. Gerhard Schmitz (MGH Capitularia ns 1996)
- Ars. 713 cf A above; the same collection, as cited among possible sources at foot of a canon.
- Ashburnham Firenze, Bibl. Med.-Laur. Ashburnham 1554 (*Clavis canonum* LM, LY; cf Linda Fowler-Magerl in *Scientia veritatis* ed. O. Münch and T. Zotz, 2004, 241-60)
- BD Burchard of Worms, *Libri decretorum* in PL 140.537-1066 (for variants see *Clavis canonum*, BU, BV, BX, BW)
- BenL Benedictus levita's *Capitularia*, reprinted from the ed. by Baluze in PL 97 (= B); the ongoing web-edition by Schmitz and Hartmann (= E) has been checked for the sections it covered on 10/2/14: <http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/edition/edition.htm>. The *Addimenta* are cited as BenL A.
- BMCL *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* n.s
- Brant The edition of 1499
- Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* ed. M. Tangl, MGH Epp. Sel. i, 1916
- Caes. *Collectio Caesaraugustana* (*Clavis canonum*, 239-42, CA)

Caes. II Enlarged *Collectio Caesaraugustana* (*Clavis canonum*, 242-4, CB, CC)

CB: the *Collectio Britannica*, London, British Lib. Add. ms 8873, for which see Ewald (1880), Somerville (1996) Fowler-Magerl's *Clavis canonum* and Rolker (2008)

CCL Corpus christianorum, Series latina

Clavis canonum Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis canonum. Selected canon law collections before 1140. Access with data processing* (MGH Hilfsmittel 21, 2005), revised from her earlier *Kanones*. Also now on line at <http://www.mgh.de/ext/clavis/>

Coll. Sem. Sémur BM M. 13, for which, and the related mss, see *Clavis canonum*, 104-10 as SM, SN, SP, SS. The citations are from the ms, but the numbering is that of *Clavis canonum*. A further copy is now at Columbia University in New York.

Coll. Bruges Bruges, BM ms 99 (*Clavis canonum*, 183-4 as UH, UI)

Coll. Lanf. *Collectio Lanfranci* (*Clavis canonum*, 181-2 as LA, LB); cf Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci* (2008)

Coll. Tarrac. see Tarrac1/2 below

CSEL Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum

Ctp *Collectio Tripartita* (the numbers as in the draft text on the site; those of *Clavis canonum* IT differ slightly, esp. in A 1)

DA *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*

Deusd. *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit* ed. V. Wolf von Glanvell (1905)

EA *Epistolae Anselmi in Sancti Anselmi opera omnia* ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh 1946-61) iv-v

Ethym. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* ed. W.M. Lindsay (1911, repr. 1985)

H *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilramni* ed. P. Hinschius (1863, repr. 1963), but see now <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/>

Hib. *Die irische Kanonensammlung* ed. H. Wasserschleben (1885)

JK, JE, JL P. Jaffe, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (2 ed.) 1885.

JTS Journal of Theological Studies

Jul. epit. Iuliani Epitome Latina Novellarum Iustiniani ed. Gustav Hänel (1873), for which see: <http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Corpus/Novellae.htm> and <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history2/volterra/texts/epitome.htm>

Lex Rom. Vis. *Lex Romana Visigothorum [Breviary of Alaric]* ed. G. Haenel (1849)

Lib. pont. *Le Liber pontificalis* ed. L. Duchesne (Paris 1884-92, 1957)

Pauli Sent. *Pauli sententiarum libri quinque in Lex Rom. Vis.* and cf. *Die Interpretatio zu den Paulussentenzen* (1956)

PL J-P Migne (ed.) *Patrologia latina*

Pol. U. Horst, *Die Kanonessammlung Polycarpus des Gregor von S. Grisogono* (1980) (*Clavis canonum* PX, PY, and the MGH web text at <http://www.mgh.de/datenbanken/kanonessammlung-polycarp/>)

Prol. *Ways of Mercy. The Prologue of Ivo of Chartres* ed. Bruce Brasington (*Vita Regularis*, Editionen 2, 2004)

Reg. Register (for Gregory I, from CCL 140-140A; for Gregory VII from ed. E. Caspar, *MGH Epistolae selectae* 2, 1920-3)

Reg. P. *Reginonis abbatis Prumensis libri duo de synodalibus causis* [etc] ed. Friedrich. G. A. Wasserschleben (Leipzig 1840 repr. Graz 1964)

Rev. ben. *Revue bénédictine*

SC *Sources chrétiennes*

Tarrac1/2 Two forms of the *Collectio Tarraconensis*, here cited from *Clavis canonum* (TM, TO, TR; TA) 133-6, 166-7

TC Paris BN lat. 13368 (and its related copies), for which see *Clavis canonum* (TC) 136-7, and Rolker in *ZRG Kan. Abt.* 91 (2005)

XIIP, (I) and (II) The two forms of the Collection in Twelve Parts (*Clavis canonum* TX, TP; cf. J. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Collectio Duodecim Partium*, 1989)

XP Collection in Ten Parts (*Clavis Canonum* ZE)

ZRG *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*

Manuscripts and sigla:

A = Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 713B, fos 117-192v, s. xii in long lines. Although this is a partial and disorganised text, with many idiosyncratic scribal errors, it is of considerable importance, for it appears to preserve some of the long sequences of texts from elsewhere which would be added to BD to produce the ID text more or less as we have it. Part of the reason for believing this is that the Arsenal sequences share virtually nothing with those from BD, and often begin or end immediately after or before a Burchard one. Further, there are many cases where **A** retains readings from the original source more faithfully than any other surviving manuscript. In other cases it has passages from the same sources which seem to have dropped out of all the ID copies entirely. The concordance file shows the extent of **A**'s testimony more schematically. To illustrate the character of **A** the extended sections of Bks I, X, XIV and XVI which it includes have been collated more fully against the edition, and many more of the material sources have been noted there than elsewhere. By c. 1200 in the library of St Victor, Paris. See Landau (1984) 8n, Brett (1997) 150-56, Somerville (1996) and Austin (2012) *passim*.

B = Paris BN lat. 3874, formerly a Colbertinus, s. xii², in two columns, from Moissac, and almost entirely in a single hand - Jean Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac*, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 15, 1972 136 no. 82, with a photograph of part of fo. 10 as pl. lxx. Ends now with Bk 16, but Bk 17 is in the *argumenta* at the beginning. The text is usually fairly close to **PV**, though it has distinctive features in text and arrangement. It often omits rubrics or inscriptions otherwise well-attested. An early modern scholar occasionally entered the canon nos of the edition in the margin. The microfilm is not always easy to read, particularly in the gutters. Szuromi (2010) 35 suggests Bk 10 is also missing, but this is an oversight.

C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 19. From Christ Church, Canterbury, in two columns, c. 1125, and written there. It is a stately copy in the characteristic Canterbury script of the period, in two columns. The text more frequently agrees with **M** than **P** does, but the agreement of **CP** against **M** is far commoner. **R** below is close to **C** in what it omits and includes, but cannot have been copied from it. See Somerville (1994) and *Councils and Synods* (1981) I (2) 729, 744-9 for the additions. Compare http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=19

Co = Columbia, University of Missouri, Ellis Library, Special Collections, Fragmenta Manuscripta 23. Section from a single leaf, covering parts of 7.11-12 (recto) and 7.15-the insc. of 7.18 (verso), identified in the catalogue as French, s. xii² (<http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/scriptorium/individual/MoU-Sp-23.xml?showLightbox=yes>). However, Dr Webber and Michael Gullick independently had no hesitation in assigning it to an English scriptorium and to a date little if at all later than 1150. The fragment is fully described by Somerville (2008), noting the close coincidence of its readings with C, and the likelihood that it was taken from a double-column manuscript of generous proportions.

D = Vatican Lib, Palatinus lat. 587. s. xii. fos 1 - 105rb, in two columns. Has only 1 - 6.432, and has lost leaves and, presumably, quires. The first lacuna runs from the end of 1.276 to the middle of 1.298 after fo. 19, the second from 3.30 after the first line to the middle of 3.158 after fo. 38, the third begins in 4.109 and ends in 5.1 after fo. 54, the fourth begins in 5.182 and ends in 5.271 after fo. 70. These losses had been suffered before the early modern foliation was inserted. At the beginning, and sometimes elsewhere, the text is badly rubbed. It is written in several, mostly not very expert, hands. Although the version of the prologue at the beginning lists all seventeen books, the text apparently never extended beyond Bk 6, since the added matter follows without a break, and this in turn ends before the foot of fo. 108vb, with which the ms ends (Landau 1984, 11-12). The added matter consists of:

Aug' in libro contra epistolam Parmeniani Donatiste

Spiritus sanctus in ecclesie preposito vel ministro – [fo. 106ra] – si illos iterum baptizaret.

CSEL 51. 74-83 (2.2.24 – 2.13.31)

Incipiunt capitula que ex Grecis – negotii agebatur. Cap. i

Dei ordinationem accusat in qua constituuntur – [fo. 108va] – vel permiserit violandum.

Capitula Angilramni ed. Schon cc 1-51, 1bis- 20bis, numbered continuously as cc I – LXXI, not entirely as the edition. This is Schon's ms 30 (p. 31) in his Class K.

Decretum domni Paschalis pape

Decretum domni Paschalis pape quod decrevit – [fo. 108vb] – vita scientiaque commendat. Amen

Printed from this ms in U-R. Blumenthal, *The early councils of Pope Paschal II*, 55-6 as C. Guastalla (1106) c. 4.

D's readings, and some aspects of its arrangement, align it more closely with **M** than with any surviving ms, and like **M** it is sometimes closer to Burchard than **CP** are. In general the text is markedly eccentric (as may be seen in the edition of the Prologue, at the beginning of Book I). Its rendering of numbers is particularly idiosyncratic. Its exemplar apparently had a number of interlinear glosses which are here copied into the main text. An extraordinary variant in the rubric to 4.53 suggests that this exemplar was written by an Anglo-Norman scribe (and cf. 4.60). By the fifteenth century the book was in the hands of the Augustinian canons of Holy Cross, Dalby in modern Sweden, as the fly-leaf shows. Michael Gullick and Tessa Webber (personal comm.) suggest it as the work of a minor scriptorium in West Francia, conceivably a Norman one. However, the occasional use of 'b' for 'p', as in 'baptismo' is puzzling in such a context. See further Anzelm Szuromi (2005), who prints extracts from **D** at 182 nn 8-9, 183 nn 10-11, 200-2. As at 1/2014 the book had not been digitised for the Heidelberg Bibliotheca Palatina project.

F = Roma, Accademia dei Lincei ms 41 E 1 (Corsini 1808), a copy of the abbreviated form described more fully under **H**. Here the synodal order and related texts which replace those in the main text of **ID** in **H** are at the end. The manuscript has clearly been in Italy since the end of the twelfth century, given the nature of the earliest additions to a long sequence of texts at the end. However, the most recent published analysis of the

script proposes that the book was originally Anglo-Norman - Giorgia Corso in A. Cadei (ed.), *Il Trionfo sul tempo: Manoscritti illustrati dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Modena 2002, 191-2 no. 80. Michael Gullick (personal comm.) confirms an English origin for the main text hand, and proposes a date after 1150, and more probably late in the century. In the main text there are a number of marginal additions (incorporated in the *capitulatio* at the end) and some points where the text, apparently earlier resembling **H**, has been erased and replaced. The text in the notes below has been roughly checked to the end of Bk III, the marginal additions to the main text are noted to the beginning of Bk V, and the passages in the appendix are listed at the end of Bk XVI.

Fr = The text of **M** below as re-edited by Dom Fronteau for his collected edition of Ivo's works in 1647. This is essentially an imperfect reprinting of **M**, which has been altered sometimes on the authority of **P** below, sometimes by reference to the supposed sources, sometimes by the 'light' of nature, though it does take note of the *errata* listed at **M** on fo. 484a. Since only **M** has independent authority, some divergences between **M** and **Fr** in a reported reading have been checked in the selected canons collated, and the existence of an idiosyncrasy of **Fr** noted. Generally Migne follows **Fr**, but where a variant has been noticed as peculiar to Migne it has been silently suppressed - it does not follow that where no variant is noted **M**, **Fr** or any manuscript has the reading of the text, merely that it has not been checked. A variant from **M** without comment is normally followed by **Fr**.

H = London, British Library ms. Harley 3090 fos 1v-133v; one of a group of four twelfth-century copies of a heavily abbreviated text of the *Decretum*, which omit Bk XVII but have additions and many distinctive readings (Theiner 1836 182 n. 31, Fournier 1897 412-3). Fos 133v-34 are additions, though by a near-contemporary hand, very possibly that of the text. Bought by Humfrey Wanley for Harley on 16 Jan. 1722 (NS) from Charles Davis (C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* 125, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley* ed. C.E. and Ruth C. Wright (Bibliographical Soc. 1966 for 1961-2) 1. 127). Davis had been apprenticed to Noel, who had sold Harley many European mss, but by then was trading independently. The script suggests to Michael Gullick [personal comm.] a French hand of s. xii¹ or xi/xii, though similar to hands also found at Christ Church, Canterbury, and with some rather English decoration. The book is written in a neat small script, with a number of handsome initials at the beginning of the prologue and each book, and a carefully elaborated *arbor*. These employ delicate washes and elaborate pen-work and a variety of techniques. The lesser initials are overwhelmingly in alternating red and green, though the red sometimes fades to a pale violet. The collation at the beginning is slightly puzzling, for quire I is now of four, the first a mere stub. However, the Prologue begins on fo. 1v, leaving 1r blank, but the text shows that a leaf is missing after fo. 3, suggesting that it was once a quire of six, now lacking 1,2 and 6. The rest of the book is in regular quires of eight, with the exception of quires XIV and XVI, both originally of ten, though XVI lacks one, with no loss of text.

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=4110&CollID=8&NStart=3090>

gives a facsimile of one leaf. The other copies are:

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 955.9 (not seen)

Vienna, ÖNB lat. 2196 (**W** below) fos 4 ff

Rome, Bibl. dell' Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, 41 E 1 (ex-Corsini 1808) (**F** above)

Schneider, *Ordines* 493-4 notices that **H** alone of the group integrates its aberrant conciliar *ordo* into Bk IV, rather than placing it at the end. The Leipzig copy and **W** appear closely related, not least through their added texts from Bernold of Constance (*De excommunicatis vitandis*, MGH Fontes iuris antiqui xv (2000), 19, 22-3) and their shared papal catalogue ending with Calixtus II. In detail **H** and **L**, though clearly independent abbreviations, share a number of lesser readings which suggest a common archetype distinct from **C** or **P**, and closest to **R**, with which they share some major variants. Apart from a considerable number of lesser variants which **H** and **R** share, there are more substantial examples of the relationship at: 1.306, where **H** and **R** have the canon otherwise peculiar to **M** (though it was added to the end of **L**); the beginning of 6.415, where both have a sentence found otherwise only in **A** and **L**; 8.10, where both have a short addition from Augustine; 8.57, where both reverse the two elements of the canon; 8.133, where both have an added passage; 9.9, where both share an odd confusion of text and (probable) inscription; 11.31, where both expand the inscription in the same way (but wrongly); 12.14 and 29 (where both, with **L**, have a fuller beginning to the text). There is another trivial but intriguing connection between **R** and **H** in the inscription to 8.224. All other manuscripts have this as a letter addressed by St Boniface to 'Hiltibaldo [or the like] regi Saxonum', but these (rightly) have 'Adelbaldo' and 'Athelbaldo' – the 'd' perhaps representing an earlier thorn. There is a clear suggestion of accurate local knowledge of Aethelbald of Mercia here. If **L** (qv) is extremely close to **R** where they overlap, **H** differs sufficiently often from **R** to suggest that it derives independently from a shared ancestor. The omissions and insertions in **H** (first described by Theiner), are tabulated from the ms in the concordance below. See too the notes to Leiden BPL 184.1 below for a further reduction of this form.

K = Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 759,35, three leaves from a copy of s. xii (**Kb-d**), in long lines, of which a fourth survives as an unnumbered sheet in the Frh. von Stein'sches Archiv at Nassau (**Ka**). **Ka** has 1. 78-80 and 92-4, **Kb** 2. 129- 143, and the first six entries for a *capitulatio* to Bk. III, **Kc** has 3.169-80, **Kd** 3. 188-99 (not seen). See P. Brommer, 'Unbekannte Fragmente einer Dekretenhandschrift Ivos von Chartres', *Francia* v (1977), 753-5, with a facs. of **Kb** recto as pl. VIII. The manuscript omits all rubrics, and is distinctive both for its fragmentary *capitulatio*, otherwise now only attested by **M**, and for an erratic set of rubricated canon nos in the margins, equally absent in the other manuscripts. The readings in general resemble those of **M** and **D**. Given the mixed origins of **M** it is conceivable that **K** represents a close relative of the Cologne copy known to Molinaeus or even, though improbably, the Cologne copy itself.

L = Lincoln, Cathedral Library 193, s. xii med. fos 2-158. English. A heavily abbreviated version of all seventeen books, which is distinct from **H** and its congeners in what it selects and omits, and has been partially re-arranged. Of the examples of canons

with major variants which **H** shares with **R** against **CP**, listed above under **H**, **L** only has three, 1.306, 6.415 and 12.29, but these follow the same pattern. **L** is also linked to **R** by its adding a form of 1.306 at the end of Bk 17; very few variants have been noted between **R** and **L**, and both are Lincoln books, though the hand of **L** appears the earlier. For the omissions see the concordance below. The relation of **L** to **R** was discussed briefly by Paul Fournier from notes supplied by Z.N. Brooke in his 'Note sur les anciennes collections canoniques conservées en Angleterre', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4S 12 (1933) 129-34 at 130-2. The manuscript is listed in the library catalogue of the cathedral of c. 1160 printed by Reginald Woolley, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln cathedral chapter library* (1927), v-x as no. 38.

M = The *editio princeps* of Molinaeus (1561). This was based on two copies, both now unidentified, and so the readings have the status of a manuscript. In the dedicatory letter to Fresneda Mol. described his sources thus:

Of his first copy, supplied by Fresneda from the royal library, 'Quod vero etiam elegantissimis et maiusculis litteris litterarum formis ut Bartholomeo Gravio excuderetur curaveris. ... ex collatione codicis tui manuscripti cum eo quem nunc emittimus, optime scire poteris. Equidem ut regii codicis tui hiatus, ac lacunas omittam, plerumque integri versus vel inducti erant, vel praeteriti, denique argumenta librorum deerant, quas difficultates fateor, citra alterius exemplaris (dein ad nos quod Colonia transmissum est) opem, nunquam licuisset superare.'

It seems clear at least from this that the capitula in **M**, found in no surviving manuscript except the fragments in **Kb**, were derived from the Cologne copy alone. The copy in the royal library evidently had gaps, some of which may reflect physical damage to the exemplar, but the reference to passages omitted or interpolated suggests that it was fundamentally idiosyncratic, or perhaps an abbreviated form comparable to that described under **H** above, or even something comparable to **A**. In view of the merit of many of the readings in **M** by reference to Burchard, and a considerable number of convergences between **M** and **D**, at least one of the copies may well have been early and important. Occasionally editorial marginalia make it clear which ms provides which reading; more often it is uncertain. Variants in the margin to **M** in large type usually appear to be taken from one of these copies. Other notes in the margin are in much smaller type, and appear to be editorial. In the apparatus here the latter are distinguished as **M**², though the generally excellent type-setting of **M** may not always be trustworthy. Some corrections are noted at fo. 484, though it is not always clear whether these are drawn from the manuscripts or from elsewhere; they are occasionally noted as **M**^e. The text of **M** is often idiosyncratic, and the rubrics diverge widely from those of the manuscripts, but it shares some details of text and arrangement with **D**. Where **PVB** and **CR** divide **M** is in many cases closer to **CR**, and **R** is the only reported ms of the full text to contain **M**'s 1. 306. However, **V** is the only manuscript to have the end of 11.102 as in **M**. In other cases, however, where we have the witness of **A**, **M** alone follows **A** in preserving the material source more fully. Here the distinctive features of **M** cannot be attributed to later editorial intervention; correspondingly, where the formal source is not Burchard but we do not have **A**, the unsupported reading of **M** may deserve serious attention. It cannot be assumed that all **M**'s peculiarities, or its agreements with the material source, go back no further than the *editio princeps*. It is possible, though not easily proved, that **M**'s

agreements with **CR** derive from one of its sources, and those with **A** from the other. One striking insertion at 1. 48 unique to **M** in particular is most unlikely to be an insertion by Molinaeus, and probably represents an early revision in one of his base mss. His Roman law texts are often closer to the original in minor aspects than those of the manuscripts, and here it is certainly possible that some of these readings are his editorial corrections, particularly in the inscriptions.

O = Three leaves from a single copy of s. xii¹, in long lines, of which two are **Om** = Oxford, Merton College, Wrapper E. 3. 35 no. 2. fos 2-3, covering ID 8. 56 med. ('nulla lege, quantum') - 8. 69 med. ('quem habere'), 8. 119 med. ('legis, saltem ecclesiastice') - 8. 126 med. ('viatico, si sit qui'), and the third is **Ot** = Oxford, Trinity College, ms A*. 8. 5, the flyleaf of pd bk C 16 11 (Sadeelis, *Opera theologica*). Fragments covering ID 15. 37 (beginning mid-rubric, with '..rat quomodo') - 41 med. ('et in hac ob...'), 63 med. ('clericorum ita ut') - 66 med. ('et frequenter cec...'). For **Om**, **Ot** see N.R. Ker, *Pastedowns in Oxford bindings* (Oxford Bibl. Soc. Public. ns v 1954 for 1951-2, reissued with annotation in 2004 for 2000) 90, 184.

P = Paris BN lat. 14315, certainly later at St Victor, but perhaps written in the Chartres area (P. Stirnemann). s. xii, double columns. The text has been extensively corrected; the earlier state of the text was nearer **B** than the later. It shares with **B** some distinctive readings which seem to require an ultimate common archetype, but it was clearly distinct from **B** even before correction. From the outset it was closest to **V** among the complete copies, both in what it included and omitted and in some detailed readings; the later alterations show that it had been collated with another exemplar even closer to **V**; there are some changes which cannot be explained so, but several (e.g. in 15.58) where a second hand in **P** has added passages now only known otherwise from the main text of **V**, and **V** cannot be a copy of **P**, since it lacks many of its minor peculiarities. In the passages where they overlap **PVB** sometimes agree with **S** against **CM**. The book was known to Fronteau, who occasionally added variants from it in notes, or silently amended the text of **M** on its authority, and it provided the basis of Fournier's classic account of the collection.

R = BL Royal ms 11 D vii; from Lincoln, in double columns, s. xii/xiii. Close to **C** (Landau 1984, 10), though certainly not a copy of it, since **R** lacks **C**'s early additions, does not always follow its errors and, more cogently, has a number of additions and substantial variants. **R** alone shares 1. 306 with **M**, with which it shares some other idiosyncracies in detail. Further, some of **R**'s peculiarities are not reported in any other copy of the complete text, but do occur in the Harley group of abbreviations (**H** above, qv, where some are listed), and occasionally in **L**. More ambiguously, both **C** and **R** have sometimes been similarly corrected. Like **C**, it is in very large format, double column, written on thick parchment, with coloured and decorated initials. The rubricated annotations, particularly in Bk. 7, might suggest that it, or its ancestor, was the product of a monastic scriptorium. These *nota* marks have not been recorded with any consistent care, and are much more numerous than is here suggested. The Lincoln cathedral library

catalogue of c. 1160 (cf **L**) lists a copy of Ivo's *Decreta* as no. 15, but that looks rather too early to be this book.

S = Sigüenza, Bib. cap. 61, s. xiii, in double columns. Contains only 9.3 to 17.135 med., quires 32 -54 of the original book, though the last quire has only one original leaf. It has a number of canons which are not found in that sequence in **CRPVB**M; a few are also in the same sequence in **A** (e.g. 9. 109A-B, 10. 53A, 10. 185A); more are in sequence in the Burchard or Benedict the levite source but in no other ms of Ivo (e.g. 9. 103A; 14. 114A-C, 15.45A, 54A, 55A, 56A, 84A; 16. 301A, 354A). This suggests that these are canons dropped from the earlier and fuller form in other copies, rather than insertions by the late **S** or its exemplar. The readings also show no consistent agreement with **PV** or **CR** where these diverge, again consonant with the view that **S** descends from a copy of a very early state of the text. The copy does have idiosyncracies of its own, including a number of inscriptions which are truncated or even absent; the highly selective recording of **S**'s variants here conceals their frequency.

Sf = Straubing, Stadtarchiv, Salbuch Sankt Nikola (1631), double columns, s. xi/xii according to Deutinger, s.xii^{1/4}, ?NW France Michael Gullick, pers. comment. Two leaves covering 5.73-80, 132-7. See R. Deutinger, 'Neue Handschriftenfragmente zum Dekret Ivos von Chartres', *Deutsches Archiv* li (1995) 539-42 with facsimiles.

So = A fragment, apparently from the end of Bk 8, reported in Bernd Michael, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Soest* (Wiesbaden 1990) as frg. 170, double columns (not seen).

V = Vatican Lib. ms. Vat. lat. 1357, s. xii², double columns. French. Very close to **P** (Landau 1984, 9, Kuttner/Elze 1986, 122-24, listing the few added texts at end) in what it includes and omits. It cannot be a copy of **P**, since it has a long addition to 11.102 otherwise found only in **M**, with which it sometimes agrees against **P** elsewhere, it lacks many of **P**'s idiosyncracies, and contains some substantial variants in the main text which were only added in the margins of **P** later. The text has been extensively corrected – particularly by the insertion of missing words, or even whole canons – though the notes below record only the most substantial of these. Most may be no more than corrections from the exemplar, though occasionally they suggest a return to another form of the source. However, at the end of the text, but in the main hand, are seven canons omitted in the main text (and **P**) – 16.19-21, 39-40; 17.32, 45. These were presumably drawn from a second exemplar which resembled **CRSM** rather than **P** or **B**. The distinction between the main hand and later annotators in the text below is entirely provisional. In Bk 1, and occasionally in Bk 16, a smaller hand has added a number of rubrics which sometimes resemble, but do not agree with, those found in **M**. The rubricator who inserted the initial letters for each canon was extremely accident-prone, sometimes absurdly so.

Vall. = Roma, Bibl. Vall. B 77, s. xii, a small volume 148 x 98 in long lines, ex S. Bartolomeo di Trisulti (ownership mark on last leaf, fo. 147v), thence via Achille Stazio to the Vallicelliana Library. Sometimes cited in the earlier literature as a copy of the

Panormia, its true character was first established by Greta Austin (personal communication). It contains sequences of excerpts from the *Decretum* interspersed among numerous other patristic texts. A short form of the Preface begins in mid-quire on fo. 30v and ends at 35v: 'Quicumque ecclesiasticus doctor ecclesiasticas regulas – scandala in ecclesia pullulent'. From fo. 41 a sequence from Bks1. 171, 173, 175-8, 181-3, 241, 310; 2. 1 to 'verum et corporali' and from 'Qui passus est – sacramentum significat invenitur', 4 from 'Nempe ita sepe loquimur' to 'fidei fides est', and from 'In actione penitentie ubi tale' to 'non despicit Deus', 7 from 'Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari' to 'veritate interius creditur' and from 'Quia morte Domini liberati' to 'oblata sunt significamus' and from 'Singuli accipiunt Christum' to 'prebet in singulis', 9 from 'Lanfrancus. Sic nempe in' to 'emanatio figuratur' and from 'Nec quisquam iuste movebitur' to 'ascensurum in celum' and from 'Item. Dicit aliquis, Quod tu asseris' to 'quam defendimus' and from 'Item invenitur etiam species' to 'ambulamus, non per speciem' and from 'Speciem autem pro veritate' to 'hec universa videatur', 26, 28, 31-2, 37, 45-6 ends at the foot of fo. 44 (the end of a quire). Between fos 46 and 54 are ID 11.66-72 (ending 'ego non sum locutus'); fos 78 (fifth of a quire of 8) – 87v have ID 1. 4-45, 46 to 'baptismatis consecravimus', 47b from 'Finis autem legis', 49-50, 73, 89, 98, 115-6, 118-9, 122, 132-3, 136-7, 148. This is followed by an excerpt from Ivo ep. 74 (*PL* 162.95-6) to Hildebert of Le Mans: 'Consulis itaque humilitatem meam - corda filiorum hominum'; from ep. 155, 'Item Ivo. Sicut enim - sacramentum ordinationis altari apposita sunt, Ivo, Fautores vero eius igne consumpti sunt' / fo. 88v and from ep. 72 (cf ep. 80): 'Cum signa – denuo sunt consecranda'. This is followed by Augustine ep. 137 (*CSEL* lxiv. 96) 'Domino illustri – Volusiano – salutem. Legi litteras tuas in quibus' and other texts. ID 12. 1 to 'deceptor arbitratur aliorum' stands alone on fos 103v-4v. From fo. 113v-147v the excerpts from ID are unbroken (with two apparent short insertions): 11.101, *Ambrosius de officiis*, Interdum honesta loca et suavia sint, tamen ab ecclesiastica abhorrent regula, quandoquidem in scripturis non reperimus ea quemadmodum usurpare possimus, 96, *Idem de Quadragesima*, Non solum autem gentilium, sed et Iudeorum consorcia vitare debemus, quorum etiam confubulacio magna pollutio est', 99, 16-18, 21, 39b from 'Qui immolant', 41, 55, 22; 12. 4b from 'Quamvis dictum', 5-7, 12, 11, 13b from 'Non solum', 14, 15 from 'Herodes' to 'corde peniteat', 26, 28 from 'Si quis provocaverit' to 'qui te provocavit', and from 'Ille homo' to 'provocavit et suam', 29, 34-5, 36a to 'iuratur intelligit', 43-4, 53, 61, 63, 76, 82; 13. 2-4, 6, 16 to 'et usuris', 18, 26-7, 31-5, 37, 40-42, 43a to 'consilio peniteat' and from 'Item. Quamvis pertinet', 44-6, 47 to 'homicidium perpetravit, Ier' *ad Pascaliu Alexandrinu*, Si ille anatem' meruit (i.e. 48b, mod.), 57-60, 63, 64 (beginning 'Si quis proterus'), 67, 68 to 'peccata paucorum', 73-4, 76 from 'Qui cogit hominem' to 'triginta dies peniteat', 81-3, 85-7, 92 – ending in mid. fo. 147v, last of quire. The included and omitted texts show no significant relation to the abbreviations of the Harley group or to Lincoln 193.

W = Vienna, ÖNB lat. 2196 fos 4 ff, in long lines, described, and attributed to N. Italy s. xii², by J.H. Hermann, *Die romanischen Handschriften des Abendlandes mit Ausnahme der deutschen Handschriften*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich VIII/3, Leipzig 1927, 107 (http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/bilder/hs-bilder/k/HSK0773_b0107.jpg). For the Harley group of copies of this abbreviated form see above under **H**

Leiden BPL 184.1 fos 1v-41r is a further reduction and paraphrase of the Harley group of abbreviations, for it contains no canon found in ID sequence that they omit, and preserves a number of their idiosyncracies which are not found in CRPVBSDM. The order of the canons is sometimes rearranged, but there are very few apparent additions against the Harley set. The text is modified too drastically to make collation against the full version worthwhile here. A fuller account is provided separately. Sample images are found on the Leiden University website:

<https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/PP66CSQE64LT7PNXEYIMHTCDS5P44X6I676D5VXDIEBES43V8I-00799>

For other abbreviations either not seen or barely surveyed see:

Paris BN lat. 4809 fos 312-93v, s. xiii, ending incomplete with 16.66, 134, 136-9, Fournier (1897) 413, and defined by Landau (1984) 32-3 as close to **P**. The Paris copy apparently once covered all seventeen books, but is even more incomplete than the Antwerp copy below, to judge by Fournier's account.

Antwerp, Plantin Moretus Museum M 227 (Cat. no.144); ex All Souls College, Oxford, fos 90-146v, also incomplete. The Antwerp copy excerpts all seventeen books, and does not coincide in its omissions and inclusions with either the Harley group (and so Leiden) or with the Lincoln abbreviation, and is much shorter than either. Other elements in the book are described by Michael Kulokowski, 'An English abridgement of the Hispana of Autun at Antwerp', *ZRG* 83 (1997) 198-208, esp. 198-9 treating the whole ms as English, and written s. xii/xiii. Neil Ker, *Records of All Souls Library 1437-1600* (Oxford Bibl. Soc. ns 16 (1971) 19-20, 132 shows it was presented to All Souls in 1471 by its first Master, and suggests rather s. xii¹, and possibly a French origin. Andrew Watson, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford* (1997) 268 also prefers the earlier date.

The Italian copy of the *Panormia* in BAV lat. 1362 has at the end a section from ID 15. 57 med. – 167, with some (unspecified) additions after 84, 95, 138, 159, 160, according to the Kuttner and Elze *Catalogue*, i. 134, q.v. The ms was at Crescenzago before 1200.

A bifolium of s. xii² in Freiburg im Breisgau UB frg 53, noted by H. Mordek in 'Isaak der Gute in Freiburg im Breisgau', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* (Kirche im Oberrhein ...Festgabe Wolfgang Müller) 100 (1980) ** n. 5, contains excerpts from ID which are in a different order to those in any of the abbreviations discussed above. It contains 9.64 (pt, and widely variant), 55-6, 20-1, 19, 27-8, 38, 44, 54, 35-6, 81 (pt).

Establishing a text

From what is said above, it should be clear that no one manuscript has unique authority. All reflect to some extent a process of edition, mostly by subtraction, sometimes by collation. The abbreviations also add some new material. **P** is a particularly complex copy, as it has certainly been collated with a second exemplar, though one in a broadly similar tradition. **C**, though sometimes idiosyncratic, provides a relatively good text, while **B** and **S**, though incomplete, and liable to omit rubrics or inscriptions,

preserve what appear to be archaic elements which do not survive in **C** or **P**; the same is true for the incomplete and rather careless **D**, though most of what it has is also found in the *editio princeps*, which also preserves other elements, a number of them unlikely to be additions. **A** appears to be a copy of some of the early stages in compiling the *Decretum*, preserving some canons found in no surviving copy, though drawn from the same sources as those that are. However, **A**'s text is not a good one, littered with variants which command no particular respect. In Landau's fundamental study the copies are divided into French and English families, which is perfectly legitimate in terms of their present distribution, but an incautious reader could be misled into supposing that the two groups are more coherent than they are, or into assuming that the distinctive qualities of the English copies were acquired after the text moved across the Channel. In some cases this is almost certainly not true. Further, as the concordance will show, the abbreviation in *Tripartita* **B**, which is surely French, even if its exact origin remains elusive, sometimes agrees more closely with the 'French' **PV**, sometimes with the 'English' **CR**, and so provides independent evidence for a version drawn from neither.

There is a further point too. The texts of **CRPVBDM** all share a dislocation at 1. 122-3 which can scarcely be accidental, and suggests that all here descend from a common defective exemplar. The right text is found in **A**, but also in the *Panormia* at 1. 13, and the concordance shows that the *Panormia* was abbreviated from a copy of the *Decretum* which lacked the distinctive omissions of either **CR** or **PVB**. Recently Dr Austin (2012, 7-8) has cited the arguments for supposing that two further texts shared by **A** and the *Panormia* were drawn from a similar ancestral *Decretum* for which no more direct evidence now survives, and proposed two more on her own account. If so, the *Panormia* has to be weighed as an independent witness to the text of its source throughout, and not simply in these isolated cases. Where we have the witness of **A** it is possible to discern imperfectly more of the character of this ancestral version; since **M** has significant variants in common with **A** when we have both, it may also preserve similarly early readings at other points, though it is not easy to weigh their claims. What is presented below, however, is a sketch of the text as preserved in those copies which are preserved complete (as far as each copy extends); generally speaking their consensus is preserved in the text, however convincing and faithful to the ultimate source some readings in the apparatus may be.

The scale of loss of manuscripts

The number of small fragments of the complete text which have been identified already is grim testimony to the misfortunes which copies of the *Decretum* suffered after the Reformation; no doubt their number will continue to grow as more early bindings are examined. Such evidence is, however, in its nature unsystematic. In principle medieval library catalogues should be more enlightening. However, it is far from clear whether medieval librarians invariably meant the *Decretum* when listing e.g. *Decreta Ivonis*, for not all copies of the *Panormia* have a title; even when they do they often have *Decreta* as part of it, so copies of that very widespread work could easily sail under false colours. **B** adds to the potential confusion, for though an incomplete *Decretum*, it is called a copy of the *Panormia* on the title page, and apparently in the Moissac catalogue. Since both *Decretum* and *Panormia* commonly begin with the Ivonian preface, the *secundo folio*,

even if given, provides no secure means of distinguishing them. A remarkable post-medieval illustration of the point is found in:

Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l'ordre de Premontré* ii. *Edition des inventaires* IRHT 2006 pp. 51ff, printing a number of later inventories of S. Marien, Auxerre (OPraem.) which include (probably one book, variously described):

p. 51 (1725) Ivonis Decretum

p. 56 Ivonis Decretum sive Panorme

p. 67 Panorme, id est de omnibus regulis Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi

p. 82 (1733) Panorme, seu de omnibus regulis Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi

p. 88 (1794) Beati Ivonis Carnotensis opera omnia.

The recent publication of critical editions of a number of English library catalogues provides an indication of the scale of loss of such texts, if an imprecise and local one - <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/research/project/british-medieval-library-catalogues.html>. The early-fourteenth-century attempt at a 'union catalogue' of the libraries of England by the Oxford Franciscans, the *Registrum*, for all its enormous lacunae, listed copies of *Decreta Ivonis* at Woburn, Bordesley, Salisbury, Lewes, Chichester, St James Northampton, Cirencester, and Hereford, as well as the surviving copy from Christ Church, Canterbury (though only four copies of the *Panormia*).

The abbey libraries of Glastonbury s. xiii, St Mary at York s. xiv and St Augustine Canterbury s. xv ex. and Rochester cathedral priory s. xiii¹ (all OSB) also listed copies which are neither those of the *Registrum* nor apparently to be identified with surviving books. The s. xiii¹ catalogue of Flaxley (OCist), founded in 1151, lists as no. 21 *Decreta Ivonis, De dedicatione ecclesie in eodem*. The late s. xv catalogue of St Mary Leicester (OSA) appears to list two copies, and the s.xv catalogue of Syon (Bridgettine) has a 'liber decretorum Ivonis', though that may equally well be either a *Panormia* or one of those listed earlier which had moved subsequently.

The Exeter cathedral library inventory of 1327 also listed: 'decreta Brucardi, decreta Ivonis, decreta Graciani. Brumconi fideli'

<http://bookhistory.blogspot.co.uk/2007/01/exeter-cathedral-library-d.html>

Elsewhere scattered, and similarly enigmatic, entries are found:

Among the benefactions of bp Philip de Harcourt of Bayeux to le Bec in 1163, [no. 84]:
Decreta Ivonis (*Cat. gen.* ii 385-98)

At Cluny around mid. s. xii, (Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale. Fonds Cluny* Paris 1884) 337-53:

no. 245. Volumen maius in quo continentur decreta Yvonis Carnotensis

no. 246. Volumen aliud minus eiusdem

Saint-Amand-les-Eaux (OSB), among the books added to the library after 1150x1160 (Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits* ii 449-58 no. 296):

Ivonis Decreta. This is almost certainly the *Panormia* now BnF lat. 3865

Admont (OSB) in the fourteenth century (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs* iii 26):

Decretum Ivonis, incipit Exceptiones. Again, very probably the *Panormia* in either Stiftsb. ms 257 or 541.

Baumgartenburg (OCist) in s. xiii¹ (ibid. v 18):
Decreta Ivonis in uno volumine

Klosterneuburg (OSA) c. 1200 (ibid. i 94-5):
Canones Yvonis

Cremona cathedral in 1180 was left Decreta Yvonis by archdn Oddo (*Repertorio di inventari, di cataloghi e di liste di manoscritti appartenuti a biblioteche medievali* 2.i (2011) 20 no. 66)

Select bibliography

This is a very short chronological summary of secondary literature bearing on the text, rather than the content, largely based on the bibliography in L. Kéry, *Canonical collections of the early middle ages*, Washington 1999.

For the earlier editions, by Molinaeus, Fronteau and Migne (*PL* clxi. 59-1022) see above under **M, Fr.**

- A. Theiner, *Disquisitiones criticae in praecipuas canonum et decretalium collectiones* (Rome 1836)
- P. Ewald, 'Die Papstbriefe der Brittischen Sammlung', *NA* 5 (1879-80) 277-414, 501-96
- P. Fournier, 'Les collections canoniques attribuées à Yves de Chartres', *BEC* 58 (1897) 26-77, 312-26, 412-4 [an account based essentially on **P**]
- M. Conrat [Cohn], *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des roemischen Rechts im frueheren Mittelalter* i (1891)
- Emil Seckel, 'Benedictus Levita decurtatus et excerptus. Eine Studie zu den Handschriften der falschen Kapitularien', *Festschrift für Heinrich Brunner zum fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum* (1914) S. 377-464
- F. Blimetzrieder, 'Zu den Schriften Ivos von Chartres (+1116)', *SB Wien* clxxxii.6 (1917), 3-89
- P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des grands collections* 2. 67-114
- N.R. Ker, *Pastedowns in Oxford bindings*, Oxford Bibl. Soc. Publications ns 5 (1954 for 1951-2)
- Die Interpretatio zu den Paulussentenzen* ed. M. Kaser and F. Schwartz (1956)
- P. Brommer, 'Unbekannte Fragmente einer Dekretenhandschrift Ivos von Chartres', *Francia* 5 (1977), 753-5
- P. Landau, 'Das Dekret des Ivos von Chartres; die handschriftliche Überlieferung im Vergleich zum Text in den Editionen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *ZRG Kan. Abt.* 70 (1984) 1-44 [which is the fundamental study of the affiliations of the complete texts]
- S. Kuttner and W. Hartmann, 'A new version of Pope John VIII's decree on sacrilege (Council of Troyes, 878)', *BMCL* 17 (1987) 1-32.
- M. Brett, 'Urban II and the collections attributed to Ivo', *Proceedings San Diego* (1992) 27-46
- A. Winroth, 'Epistolae Alexandri papae secundi in Collectione Britannica congestae' (1993) – the numbers given to the texts are those of the *Collectio Britannica*, and so are not repeated in the notes. Now available via: <https://sites.google.com/a/yale.edu/decretumgratiani/home>
- R. Somerville, 'A textual link between Canterbury and Lucca in the early twelfth century?', *Cristianità ed Europa. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi* ed. Cesare Alzati (1994), 1(2) 405-15.
- R. Deutinger, 'Neue Handschriftenfragmente zum Dekret Ivos von Chartres', *Deutsches Archiv* 51 (1995) 539-42
- Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters* ed. H. Schneider, MGH *Ordines de celebrando concilio* (1996) [for 4. 246-57]
- R. Somerville, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (1996)
- M. Brett, 'The sources and influence of Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 713', *Proceedings Munich* (1997), 156-60.
- R.E. Reynolds, *The Collectio canonum Casinensis duodecimi seculi (Codex terscriptus)...An implicit edition*, PIMS Toronto Studies and texts 137, 2001, 26-7.
- S.A. Szuromi, 'Some observations on BAV Pal. lat. 587 compared with other textual-witnesses of Ivo's works', *Parare viam Domino. Commemorative studies on the occasion of Rt Rev. Polikárp F. Zakar OCist. 's 75th birthday* ed. A. Szuromi (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici III. Studia, 7, Budapest 2005), 179-203.
- L. Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis canonum*, MGH Hilfsmittel 21 (2005), a revision of her earlier *Kanones*.
- S.A. Szuromi, 'The BAV Pal. lat. 587 as a textual witness of the canonical work of Ivo of Chartres', *Rivista internazionale di diritto commune* 16 (2006), 343-58, esp. 343-8, largely reprinted in Szuromi (2010) below as ch. II
- C. Rolker, 'The earliest work of Ivo of Chartres: the case of Ivo's Eucharist florilegium and the canon law collections attributed to him', *ZRG Kan. Abt.* 93 (2007) 109-27.
- Nicolas Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci: Origine e influenza di una collezione della chiesa anglo-normanna*, Milano 2008)
- R. Somerville, 'Ivo in America', *Bishops, texts and the use of canon law around 1100* ed. B. Brasington and K. Cushing (2008), 111-7.

- C. Rolker, 'History and canon law in the *Collectio Britannica*; a new date for London, BL Add. 8873', *ibid.* 141-52
- M. Brett, 'Margin and afterthought. The *Clavis* in action', *Readers, texts and compilers in the earlier middle ages: Studies in medieval canon law in honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl* ed. M. Brett and K. Cushing (2009), 137-63.
- S.A. Szuromi, *From a reading book to a structuralized canonical collection: the textual development of the Ivonian work* (2010)
- C. Rolker, *Canon law and the letters of Ivo of Chartres* (2010)
- G. Austin, 'Were there two Arsenal collections? Arsenal 713 and the Ivonian *Panormia*', *Canon law, religion and politics*, Liber amicorum Robert Somerville ed. U-R. Blumenthal, A. Winroth and P. Landau (2012), 3-14.

The work is made available under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license , details of which may be found at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

17. i. 2014