

Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century

Erik Kwakkel

This essay is concerned with manuscripts produced during ‘the long twelfth century’, an era that is sometimes addressed as the ‘Twelfth-Century Renaissance’ (1075–1225). While the latter term may not do full justice to the events that occurred during this century and a half, the notion it covers (a single cultural movement that united scholars in different fields and geographical locations) is useful in that it brings under one umbrella a number of related historical developments in Europe. These can be summarized as the birth of scholasticism, the establishment of universities, a revival of jurisprudence and the introduction of Greek and Arabic philosophy.¹ The label ‘renaissance of letters’ is sometimes used to highlight the fact that the cultural movement was driven by scholars and the texts they produced, first those in Northern France, Belgium and Northern Italy, followed by kindred spirits in Southern Italy, Germany and Spain.² These intellectuals – who lacked cohesion other than a shared back-

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1. Starting points for exploring the period are Benson and Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*; Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*; Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*; and Luscombe, ‘Thought and Learning’. A fuller bibliography is provided in Jaeger, ‘Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century ‘Renaissance’’, 1151 n. 1. See also the latter for some reconsiderations about optimism and Thomson’s review, ‘Richard Southern on the Twelfth-Century Intellectual World’.

2. See for example Haskins, *Renaissance*, 153 and Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 1.

3. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 70.

4. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, Chapter 2 (Caroline minuscule) and Chapters 3-5 (various stages and presentations of the Gothic bookhand). Note that the traditional starting date of developed Gothic, which is placed by Derolez (at 72) to c. 1200, is disputed below.

5. Some physical aspects of the evolving twelfth-century manuscript are discussed in Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*. For the emergence of new reading aids see Rouse and Rouse, 'Statim Invenire'.

ground in higher education and a deep yearning for knowledge – exchanged ideas through intellectual compositions, translations and letters, which were disseminated through such intellectual centres as monasteries, cathedral schools and, near the end of the period, universities. Here the new voices, presenting new ideas in a new language of eloquence, were read and heard, and contradicted and expanded upon.

If we regard texts as an important thrust behind the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, then their carrier, the book, must be valued as equally significant, as has indeed already been emphasized in the pioneering study of the period by Charles Homer Haskins.³ Such attention is warranted because the years between the late eleventh and early thirteenth century saw significant shifts in the physical presentation of manuscripts. During this century and a half we witness on the one hand the waning and ultimate disappearance of many of the characteristics of Carolingian book production that had dominated much of Europe for almost 300 years; and on the other hand the emergence of features that were to become standard elements of the Gothic codex, another widely-disseminated book format, that had reached its final (i.e. recognizably Gothic) form by the first quarter of the thirteenth century and would dominate book culture until well into the sixteenth century.⁴ This transition from one type of manuscript to the other not only entailed the introduction of a new script, the subject of the present study, but it also produced modifications in the manner in which texts were presented on the page (*mise en page*), and it increased the available reading tools, most notably aids to find information more quickly.⁵

It is the modification, even disappearance, of established conventions and the appearance of new ones that is the focus of the present study, which examines one material dynamic of

this transformational process, namely the script used for the production of books. The issue of how the Gothic bookhand differs from its Carolingian counterpart is no stranger to the scholar of the medieval book. The palaeographical features of the two are the subject of a broad range of studies and from these it becomes quickly apparent just how different they are in appearance.⁶ The present study attempts to break new ground, however, firstly in that it deduces how Caroline minuscule evolved into Gothic script over the period 1075–1225.⁷ It does so by querying, among other things, when and where the Gothic features are first encountered, in what order the new palaeographical traits were introduced and when the process of transformation was completed. The other way in which the present study seeks to add to existing scholarship is the means through which these issues are approached, namely through a quantitative study of dated manuscripts. Before we turn to the manuscript evidence, however, and discuss such features as biting, kissing and the treatment of feet, it is important briefly to present some general considerations regarding the notion of change in the domain of the medieval manuscript.

Transformations in the Material Book

While manuscript culture in the long twelfth century may have witnessed a more than usual amount of change, material developments as such are quite common in the history of the codex. The physical book was modified continuously throughout the medieval period, usually at a modest pace but at times surprisingly fast. These modifications occurred in different material dynamics, most notably in the object's script and physical construction, and they were implemented for a variety of reasons, from the availability of new materials (such as paper in thirteenth-century Europe) to occupation by a foreign

6. Many of these studies are mentioned in Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*. Publications devoted specifically to the transition from Caroline minuscule to Littera pregothica are listed in Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 68 n. 69.
7. This essay covers the period in between what is regarded to be the end of Caroline minuscule (late 11th century) and the moment at which Gothic script is established (c. 1200), as discussed below.

8. For ninth-century examples of monastic house styles, involving ligatures, the shapes of graphs, preparation of parchment, see Ganz, 'Book Production in the Carolingian Empire and the Spread of Carolingian Minuscule', 790-1 and McKitterick, 'Carolingian Book Production: Some Problems', reprinted in her *Books, Scribes and Learning*, Chapter XII. For unusually-styled catchwords in manuscripts from the Franciscan house of Assisi, see Mercati, 'Codici del convento di S. Francesco in Assisi nella Biblioteca Vaticana', 85-6.

9. Municipal chanceries in thirteenth-century Holland, for example, had their own palaeographical peculiarities, as noted in Burgers, *De paleografie van documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland in de dertiende eeuw*, Vol. 1, 308-10 (Dordrecht). A well-known example is that in the chancery of King Roger of Sicily paper was

culture (note for example the impact of the Norman Conquest on the development of the English manuscript).

Changes in the palaeography and codicology of the book could be implemented on various scribal levels. An individual scribe, for example, may do something different from the people around him, either in the execution of a graph, the positioning of the catchword, or pricking of the page. On a higher level, groups of scribes associated with an institution may also exhibit peculiarities that were anything but mainstream. Religious houses, especially those in the early Middle Ages, frequently adopted their own palaeographical or codicological house style, expressed in such features as the shape of letters, the creation of particular ligatures, the preparation of parchment or the appearance of quire marks.⁸ The same goes for other writing centres, such as municipal and royal chanceries, many of which developed their own style of writing or even adopted unusual codicological traits.⁹

Still larger bodies of scribes could do things differently, as is shown by the existence of regional and national script styles. The *littera praegothica* and *littera textualis* in manuscripts from Southern France, for example, look distinctly different from the same scripts found in manuscripts made in other parts of France; and books from England, Italy and Spain (to take some very pronounced cases) can frequently be distinguished by their palaeographical or codicological peculiarities, including the manner of ruling and the shape of graphs and ligatures.¹⁰ Also note, in this respect, that Derolez's handbook of Gothic scripts divides the analysis of *Littera textualis* into two sections, called 'Northern Textualis' (Germanic countries, Scandinavia) and 'Southern Textualis' (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Southern France),¹¹ which shows how a single script may be subdivided into distinctly different subtypes based on the geographical

location of scribes – or, more to the point, the location where the individuals learned to write.

Most of these deviations from established conventions had little impact on the broader scheme of medieval book production. A peculiarity applied by an individual hand or a small group of scribes in a single institution had generally little chance to become broadly adopted on a regional or national scale. However, it must be emphasized that change, perhaps any change, ultimately originated in the practice of a small group of scribes, occasionally maybe even in the behaviour of a single individual. After all, the alternative, that a new feature was independently introduced at several locations around the same time, seems far less attractive. Consequently, small groups of individuals working within the same milieu may potentially have had a major influence on the broader course of development of the material book. Perhaps the peculiarities of such ‘conglomerations’ of scribes became mainstream because they inhabited an important house within a monastic order. After all, from the Cistercian mother-house of Cîteaux certain manuscript features were disseminated throughout the order.¹² Alternatively, new features may have become established because the individuals who first applied them inhabited a key intellectual centre, an influential school perhaps. Or they may become mainstream simply because the newly acquired practice made more sense than the one it ultimately replaced.

However they came to be, for the scholar interested in the development of the material book these ‘moments’ which new conventions appear on the radar screen are of obvious importance. Here we may not only observe a mere deviation from an existing practice, but potentially also the start of a new codicological or palaeographical convention (and thus, likewise, the phasing out of an existing habit). Tracing such ‘switches’ in

used very early in the twelfth century, at which point parchment was generally still the standard material for documents.

10. A useful source for tracing national and regional styles of script is Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Southern France at 116–7). Some codicological peculiarities of English manuscripts are discussed in Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*.

11. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, Chapters 4 and 5.

12. This concerns punctuation, see Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 38–9. See for Cistercian punctuation Palmer, ‘*Simul cantemus, simul pausemus*’.

13. In the handbooks the start of this transition is placed in the eleventh century, often in the last quarter. See for example Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 56 (in the 'eleventh century' changes in the book 'seem to amount to a new era'); Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, 73 (late 11th century); and Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde für Germanisten: Eine Einführung*, 28 (late 11th century/early 12th century).

register is not easy because material transformations are commonly slow to develop. Indeed, they may take decades to materialize to the extent that we recognize them as a new mannerism, as will become clear shortly. Moreover, material change usually entails a limited number of modifications at the same time, which means that such moments of change can be missed quite easily. In sum, developments in the material book of the Middle Ages are not likely to constitute a paradigm shift.

By contrast, at other times the material features of manuscripts evolve more rapidly and cover a considerable number of traits that seem to evolve almost simultaneously. In some cases the speed and severity of these developments are such that it may even become difficult to see what is convention and what may be designated as individual, institutional or regional variation. The age covered by this essay is such a period in which change was swift, intense and invasive.

The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century

Studying the transition from Caroline minuscule to Gothic script presents unique problems to the book historian, the most significant of which resonates prominently on these pages and needs to be addressed even before a single manuscript is invited to enter the stage: that of terminology and definition. While the formal differences between Caroline minuscule and Gothic are recognized and well established, a significant complication emerges when one tries to simply ascertain to what periods the two are connected. If, as is normally assumed, Caroline minuscule starts to give way to something new in the eleventh century, most probably towards the end of the century,¹³ and if the fully developed Gothic script is a creature that is in existence from the early thirteenth century onwards, then how are we to understand the handwriting produced in the hundred-and-

fifty or so years in between? How does it fit into the scheme of the waning Caroline minuscule and emerging Gothic? Are we to regard this object in transition as part of the one or the other? And, most elementary, what do we call it?

Judging from the terms used by palaeographers, the script written between c. 1075 and c. 1225 is either regarded as waning Caroline minuscule (considering the application of such terms as ‘Late Caroline’ and ‘Post-Caroline’), as a precursor of Gothic (reflected in the use of such terms as ‘Primitive Gothic’, ‘Proto-Gothic’ and ‘Pregothic’), or as a hybrid that has one leg in each side of the divide (‘Carolino-Gothica’, ‘caroline gothicisante’, ‘minuscola di transizione’ and ‘Übergangsschrift’).¹⁴ Considering that the script in question exhibits (throughout the entire period and in various mixtures) features that are from Caroline minuscule and those that will become part of Gothic script, as will be discussed shortly, the last perspective seems to me the most appropriate. As will become clear shortly, it is worthwhile studying the transitional script written between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries as a category of handwriting in its own right, different in physical appearance from both Caroline minuscule and Gothic, yet closely related to both. In the following I shall therefore use the neutral term ‘transitional script’. While it may perhaps lack precision, the term does justice to the fact that twelfth-century handwriting includes elements of two great scripts, as opposed to such alternative terms as ‘pregothic’ and ‘postcaroline’, which hide its hybrid nature and reduce the script to a mere phase, either as aftermath of Caroline minuscule or the precursor of Gothic. Moreover, understanding the script written between c. 1075 and c. 1225 as an entity in transition also highlights that it is in a state of flux, that its physical form is in permanent migration from Caroline minuscule to Gothic, developing rapidly – and consequently hard to pin down.

14. For these designations by various paleographers, see Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 57. Derolez rejects some other terms, including Romanesque. The term ‘Übergangsschrift’ is found in Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde*, 30–1.

15. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 56-9.

16. Letter forms are presented in bold throughout this chapter.

The existence of such a transitional script prompts important questions. How did Caroline minuscule evolve into Gothic? What features were in play? When were signature features of Caroline minuscule first replaced with traits we now call Gothic? And where in Europe did this process start? The already-mentioned palaeographical handbook by Albert Derolez is a suitable starting point for tackling these queries. The assessments it contains enable us to trace what changed in the physical appearance of letters, which will be the main focus here – I am focusing exclusively on individual letter forms in this chapter, which does not take into account such palaeographical features as ligatures, abbreviations and punctuation. First of all, in his chapter on ‘Praegothica’, Derolez distinguishes six general trends in handwriting during the transition from Caroline minuscule to Gothic, all of which are influencing the shape of individual letter forms:

1. Letters became narrower;
2. Fusions were introduced, namely the joining or slight overlapping of two adjacent letters (also called ‘biting’);
3. Shortening of ascenders and descenders;
4. Some parts of traditionally round strokes were given an angular appearance (a phenomenon called ‘angularity’);
5. Broadening of the strokes;
6. Feet on minims curved to the right (also sometimes observed at the top of ascenders).¹⁵

In addition, Derolez identifies the following developments in individual letter forms (I continue my count):

7. Shaft of **a** becomes upright (sloping in Caroline minuscule);¹⁶

8. Introduction of uncial **d** that complemented the existing straight type (Caroline minuscule exclusively used the latter);
9. 'Tongue' stroke at **e** sloped upwards (horizontal in Caroline minuscule);
10. Placement on baseline of **f** and (long-stemmed) **s** (through baseline in Caroline minuscule);
11. Lower lobe of **g** becomes closed (open in Caroline minuscule);
12. Limb of **h** is extended below the line (placed on the line in Caroline minuscule);
13. Strokes appeared on **i**, and the second **i** in **ii** was sometimes extended, producing a **j** (not present in Caroline minuscule);
14. The use of uncial **m** at the end of lines (not present in Caroline minuscule);
15. Adaptation of round **r** (in the shape of '2') from the old, long-established ligature ('-orum') to the letter **r**, which came to complement the straight **r**;
16. Continuation of straight **r** extending below the line;
17. Introduction of uncial (or round) **s**, complementing the straight **s** in Caroline minuscule;
18. Stem of **t** is turned into a minim that 'pricks' through the horizontal bar (flat top in Caroline minuscule);
19. Introduction of **w** written as two **v**'s;
20. Reduction of **x**, its two legs placed on baseline (in some cases the second stroke was broken);
21. Dotting of **y**, although undotted in some cases (as in Caroline minuscule).¹⁷

17. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 60-5. In some cases the development of a letter form took its own turn in a given region. I have not specified these regional tendencies in this enumeration. Derolez discusses the dotting of **i** and lengthening of the second **i** as general tendencies. I have opted to present them as developments in the shape of individual letters. Derolez (at 93) places the second modification in **t** (projection of shaft above headstroke) in the middle of the thirteenth century, but this modification is, in fact, encountered in numerous dated manuscripts of the twelfth century as well.

These twenty-one traits indicate that there are different 'modes' of development in the transitional script investigated here. First of all, some letters kept their Carolingian appear-

ance, namely those that are not included in Derolez's list of individual letter shapes that underwent change: **b, c, k, l, o, p, q, u** and **z**. Some of these were altered slightly under the influence of the six general trends of the changing script, as identified by Derolez. The **o**, for example, became oval-shaped under the influence of the general compression introduced to the transitional script. Similarly, the appearance of the **c** was influenced by the emerging tendency towards angularity, which flattened the upper part of the letter, as will be discussed. Apart from such superficial modifications, however, the overall shape of these nine letters did not change much.

Second, other letter forms from Caroline minuscule were modified, in part, again, under the influence of the general trends. These are, for example, the **f**, **r** and **s**. In all three cases the minim would ultimately be placed on the baseline rather than being extended below it. Similarly, the slight change in angle of the tongue stroke in **e** and the shaft of **a** (both of which became more elevated) may be seen as a modification of Carolingian practice.

Lastly, some letters received an entirely new shape and were written with a different ductus. The new presentation of a letter would commonly be used in addition to the Caroline form, at least in the period under investigation. Some of the older forms would disappear beyond the temporal scope of this paper. The long-stemmed **s** in final position, for example, which was complemented by a round form in the age of transition, disappeared over the course of the fourteenth century. In Northern Textualis, straight **d** disappeared c. 1300. The letters used complementary to Caroline are the uncial **d**, **m** (used at end of line) and **s**, as well as the round **r** in the '2' shape. The introduction of uncial **d** may potentially be connected to a general tendency as well because it encouraged fusion (biting), for example in **de** and **do** (discussed below).

Thus Derolez's handbook not only shows us what palaeographical traits are changing but also that these modifications were implemented in different ways: through continuation of existing practices (many letter forms of Caroline minuscule enjoyed a safe passage through to fully developed Gothic); modification of letter forms (usually changing the features of Caroline minuscule only modestly); and the introduction of new features (in large part by borrowing from uncial). What Derolez's study does not provide, however, and what is generally not addressed in palaeographical handbooks, is a sense of when the new features were introduced and how long it took for new traits to take shape and to become established.¹⁸ In sum, we know what changed but are more or less in the dark about chronological progression.

There is a tool available, however, that may provide clarification in this matter: the *Catalogues des manuscrits datés* (CMD).¹⁹ After all, if we regard dated manuscripts as a good statistical sample, an assumption to which this paper subscribes, such codices allow us to track with some level of precision how (future) Gothic features were treated by scribes over the course of the long twelfth century. Less clear-cut may seem the application of the CMD for getting a sense of the geographical spread of script developments, resulting from the fact that the catalogues are built up with current (rather than medieval) national boundaries as geographical dividers. However, following the modern boundaries has little impact on the present study.²⁰ To get a sense of when and where the first new traits were introduced I have analysed 342 manuscripts from the CMD, the oldest one dating from 1075 and the youngest from 1224 (cf. Appendix, Table 3). Due to limitations of space the main focus here will be on the general trends identified by Derolez, principally because these form the major thrust

18. This is reflected in the varying dates connected to the end of Caroline minuscule and beginning of Gothic script found in secondary literature, as discussed in n. 13, above.

19. A brief introduction to the CMD is provided in Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 11–2. See about the series also Grand, ed., *Les manuscrits datés: Premier bilan et perspectives*.

20. When the discussion demands that the medieval division of states is followed, I have done so. See the assessment of biting and the shape of minims in Austria, Germany and Switzerland, discussed below.

21. The data used here is derived from a database that tracks the development of palaeographical and codicological features over the course of 1075–1225. This database is currently produced in the research project “Turning Over a New

Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', of which I am principal investigator (Leiden University Institute of Cultural Disciplines, 2010-15), <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/icd/turning-over-a-new-leaf/>, accessed 4 November 2011.

22. For this phenomenon, which is related to the 'breaking' of shafts, see Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, 173-4.

23. These manuscripts are Appendix, Table 3, Nos 32 (It.), 84 (Eng.), 104 (unknown origins), 156 (Fr.), 169 (Eng.), 207 (Eng.), 209 (English scribe in Paris), 214 (idem.), 235 (It.), 246 (Eng.), 249 (Eng.), 255 (Germ.), 268 (Eng.), 298 (Eng.), 303 (Eng.), 325 (Belg.), 326 (Aust.), 327 (Eng.), 331 (Eng.), 351 (Eng.) and 365 (Eng.).

24. The data for this Graph are found in Appendix, Table 1 at 105-7, below. I

behind the new script, as is evident, for example, from their influence on the appearance of so many individual letter forms.²¹ More precisely, I have traced how three of these general tendencies developed, namely those that can be clearly measured and quantified with the photographs provided by the CMD: the treatment of the feet on minims, the emergence of angularity and the introduction of biting.

To start with the minims, a good litmus test for how scribes treated their feet are the letters **m** and **n** because their shapes consist of multiple minims.²² The essential difference between Caroline minuscule and Gothic is that in the latter the feet are all turning to the right, although their formation is not as pronounced in every manuscript because in some cases the right-turn of the feet can be barely observed. In Caroline minuscule, by contrast, we encounter a variety of 'systems'. Quite frequently the first two feet of the **m** turn left, while the third turns right. Treatment of the feet in the Gothic manner (with all three turning right) is generally not observed in Caroline minuscule. In addition to these two treatments, we encounter manuscripts throughout the period 1075-1225 with feet that turn neither left or right but that go straight down and culminate in either a small horizontal line placed on the baseline (a 'flat foot', so to speak) or a small 'diamond' (what may be called a 'club foot'). These manuscripts, twenty-two in all, are predominantly produced by English scribes and the script in which flat and club feet occur is usually somewhat larger and of higher quality.²³ Feet fashioned in this way seem to form a separate category, independent of the development described here and these will therefore be no part of this discussion – they are marked as 'No Turns' (cf. Graph 1 at p. 206, below).²⁴

The data in Appendix, Table 1 show that three groups of manuscripts may be distinguished, roughly representing the

three different stages of development in the treatment of feet. The first group comprises manuscripts that are in effect written in pure Caroline minuscule. As expected, this group decreases in size as the period progresses. However, the treatment of feet in Caroline minuscule never fully disappears from sight, primarily because this style remains popular among scribes tied to locations in modern Austria, Germany and Switzerland – in other words, copyists from the German empire north of the Alps (Fig. 21/Plate 21). It is telling, in this respect, that twelve of the fifteen manuscripts from these countries that are made after 1150 (when the trait had been well established as a new norm in much of Europe) follow Caroline minuscule in the treatment of their minims. These countries evidently form a ‘Kulturraum’ that hangs on longer to this particular established palaeographical mannerism.²⁵ Just how much they stand out becomes clear when we compare this cultural space with the two countries from which we have the highest volumes of manuscripts, France and England. As shown in Graph 2 at p. 206, below, while the line representing the latter countries is above the 50% marker for much of the years 1075–1225, the one representing Austria and Germany, by contrast, stays below this marker for much of this period.²⁶

A second group of manuscripts is united in that they all show a remarkable mix. The scribes who made these books may at times treat the feet of **m** in the Caroline manner, while at other times within the same codex, sometimes even within the same line or word, they opt for the Gothic presentation – but they never opt for one or the other all the time. These mixed manuscripts are present throughout the period, although after 1120–34 they almost never represent more than 20% of the manuscripts. Apparently, the transition from one practice to another led scribes to use both the older and younger forms simulta-

wish to thank Ms. Julie Somers (Leiden) for her help in producing Tables 1–2 and the graphs derived from them.

25. These fifteen manuscripts are Appendix, Table 3, Nos 162 (Aust.), 182 (Aust.), 183 (Aust.), 188 (Switz.), 190 (Switz.), 221 (Fr.), 223 (Aust.), 227 (Germ.), 228 (Germ.), 240 (unknown origins), 251 (Germ.), 287 (Aust.), 315 (Fr.) and 338 (Aust.?).

26. The data for this Graph are found in Appendix, Table 2. Note that the line representing Austria, Germany and Switzerland is produced by only forty-nine manuscripts. The lower end in particular may potentially present a slightly distorted picture.

Fig. 21. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Vulcanius 46 (dated 1176-77), fol. 130v (detail, enlarged). This manuscript from Fulda presents minims as in Caroline minuscule, as is still common in manuscripts from Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The r descends below baseline, a feature that by this time has disappeared in much of the rest of Europe.

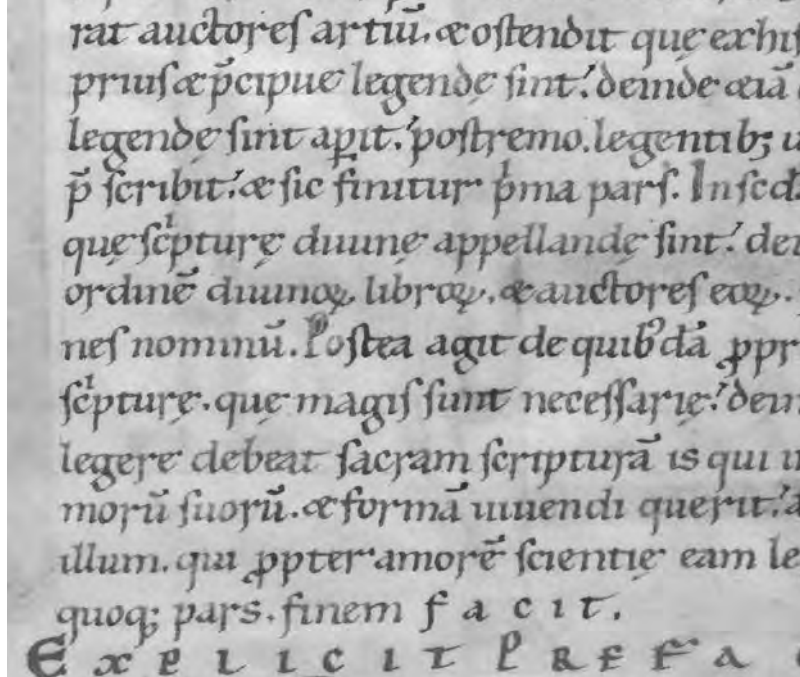
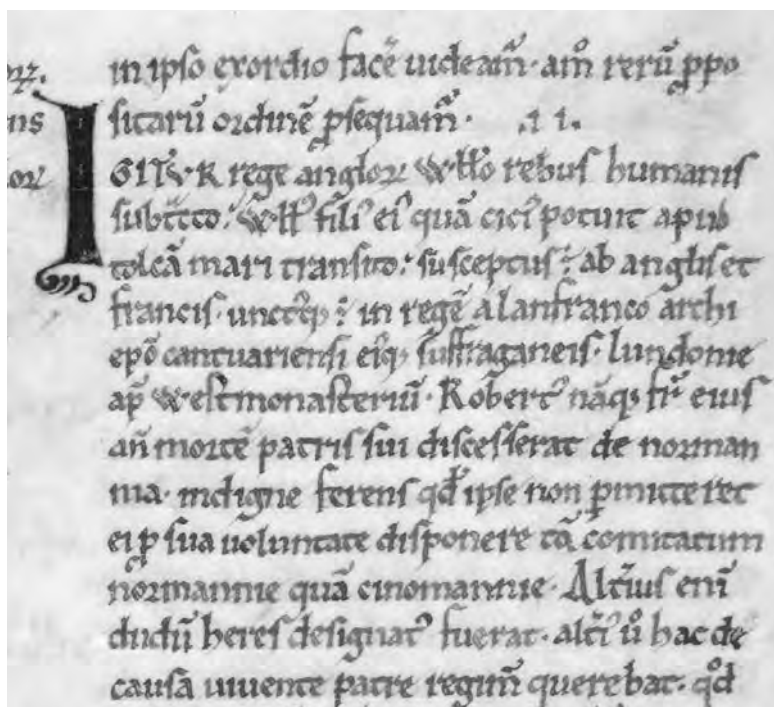


Fig. 22. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 20 (dated 1138-39), fol. 22v, col. B (detail, enlarged). This manuscript consistently shows angularity in round letter forms, as visible, for example, in the first words on the page: in ipso exordio (the e and o show one or more 'flat' sides, the round part at the top of n is slanted and angular, as is the case in r).



neously for some time. We will encounter this phenomenon again below and it may well be a broader practice in developing medieval scripts. A similar situation is encountered in the transformation from *Cursiva Antiquior* to *Cursiva Recentior* over the course of the fourteenth century.²⁷

A third group, finally, is formed by manuscripts in which the minims are consistently executed in the Gothic style. As expected, this group increases in size throughout the period. Graph 1 suggests that the introduction of the new presentation may slightly predate the period covered by this essay. After all, in the first segment of Graph 1 (covering the years 1075-89) little over a quarter of the corpus already shows minims in the Gothic fashion (27%). It seems quite likely, then, that the novelty was introduced earlier in the second half of the eleventh century, perhaps in the third quarter. The biggest jump in the application of minims in the Gothic style is seen shortly after 1100: whereas in 1090-1104 only 14% of manuscripts consistently show minims in the Gothic style, a small dip compared to the previous period, in 1105-19 this number has increased dramatically to 74%. Throughout much of the remaining years the number hovers around 70%, peaking lightly at 82% in 1210-24. On the basis of these numbers we may conclude that the Gothic treatment of feet established itself in the first two decades of the twelfth century. That their number never hits 100% is due to the presence of manuscripts from the Germanic regions, as discussed. Excluding these manuscripts would bring the numbers for the periods 1150-64, 1180-94 and 1210-24 to 100%, suggesting that apart from a regional exception the first of the three general trends in Gothic script is fully established by 1225, the end of the long twelfth century.

While it is not possible to say with certainty where the first manuscripts with Gothic-styled minims were made, one

27. I plan to publish a quantitative palaeographical study of this transformation.

tems in that a scribe in a single manuscript may at one point opt for giving a certain letter form an angular appearance, while at other times in the same manuscript he will not do so, even if it concerns the same graph (Fig. 23/Plate 23); and finally those manuscripts in which all letter forms subject to angularity are indeed always given an angular appearance.

Also in parallel with what we have observed in the treatment of minims is that at the outset of the period, the years 1075-89, some scribes are already consistently adding angularity in the manuscripts they produce. It is possible that this feature was also introduced slightly earlier in the second half of the eleventh century. Again, the biggest jump in the application of this novelty is encountered just after the turn of the century: while in 1090-1104 only 14% of the manuscripts contained in the corpus show consistent angularity (i.e. in all relevant letter forms, at all times), in 1105-19 this number has increased to 70%. This is another dramatic change, which is comparable to the sharp shift observed in the treatment of minims during the same period, as observed – in fact, the numbers are exactly the same. Throughout the remaining years to 1225 this number will keep on increasing until it hits 100% in 1210-24. The same conclusions as for the treatment of feet can be drawn: angularity established itself as the norm in the first two decades of the twelfth century, and by 1225 the transition process was probably fully completed. A very striking observation with respect to the two sharp shifts observed in 1105-19 (i.e. that both the Gothic-style minims and angularity increase from 14% to 70% in these years) is that with only two exceptions these changes occur in the same manuscripts.³¹ In other words, the introduction of these Gothic features is related in that scribes generally introduce them simultaneously.

Another parallel with the treatment of minims is encoun-

31. These are Appendix, Table 3, Nos 34 (Gothic minims but no angularity) and 51 (angularity but minims as in Caroline minuscule). Manuscripts with a mix in either of these features are not taken into account here.

the **o** most commonly bites with **c**, **d** and **q** (**op**, **od** and **oq**). In addition to these five, it is worthwhile assessing how scribes treated the combination **pp** and **bb**. While these pairs do not represent biting according to Parkes' definition (the connecting curves are, after all, not contrary), the pairs do show overlap and they are recognized as important novelties of the period – indeed, Derolez labels them as biting.³⁴ When studying how the phenomenon of biting progressed chronologically it quickly becomes apparent how important it is to study the five letters identified by Parkes separately. As it turns out, not every type of biting was introduced around the same time, nor did they all progress in the same fashion (cf. Graph 4 at p. 207, below).³⁵

Graph 4 shows that the first cases of biting are encountered in 1135-49. They all concern **bb/pp** and there are only three manuscripts in this period (or 12%) in which these pairs consistently show fusion: the oldest is of unknown origins and was made in 1139 (Appendix, Table 3, No. 109), the second was copied in 1148 in the Premonstratensian abbey of Parc near Leuven (No. 134) and the third was made in the Cistercian abbey of Belval in 1149 (No. 138). Evidently, the third general trend had a much later start than the previous two. However, from 1150 fusion in **bb/pp** quickly picks up speed. In 1150-64 biting has increased to 40% and in 1165-79 even further, to 70% – which places it among the quickest developments presented in this essay. Fusion in these pairs, we may carefully conclude, is rare before the middle of the twelfth century and seems to have become quickly established in the third quarter.

In the period 1150-64 a second type of biting starts to occur, namely in pairs with (round or uncial) **d** (**de/do**). The increase in biting involving the round **d** is slow to gain momentum: it is only in 1195-1209 that we pass the 20% line (21% of manuscripts in this period have consistent fusion). In

34. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 57. Bischoff regards 'bb' and 'pp' as precursors ('Vorläufer') of the slightly later *Bogenverbindung* (see his *Paläographie*, 174).

35. The data for this Graph are found in Appendix, Table 1. Graph 4 includes only those manuscripts that present consistent biting throughout for a given combination. I have excluded those that present biting in a mixed form, namely where pairs within an individual manuscript sometimes bite but at other times do not. This concerns a very small group of books that does not alter the general patterns observed here.

Fig. 23. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 196 (dated 1145-49), fol. 129v (detail, enlarged). Angularity is often observed here, for example in the **b**, **p**, **r** and **o** (*probanda*, line 1). The round parts of **m** and **n** are often also given an angular appearance (*teneamus*, line 3; *sunt* in line 4), but at times these do not show this trait (*probanda*, line 1; *instruamur*, line 6; *permaneamus*, line 7). The **b** may also lack clear angularity, as seen in the word *bonis* (line 6).

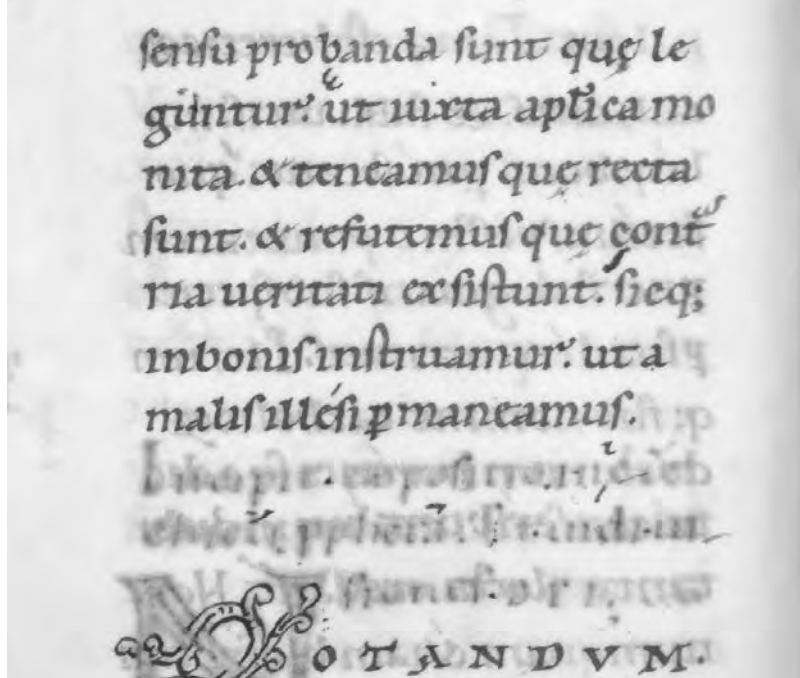
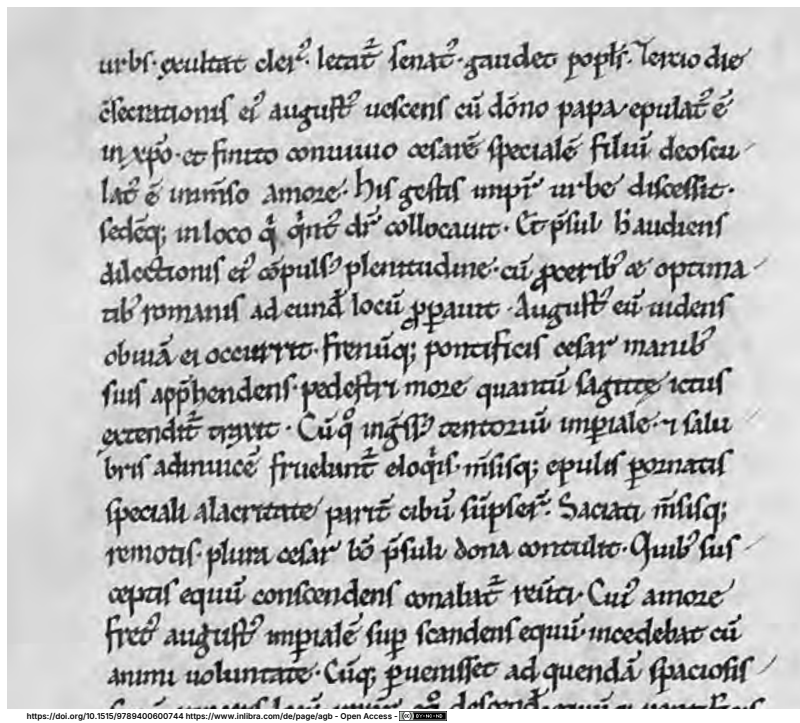


Fig. 24. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLF 8 (dated 1130), fol. 17v col. A (detail, enlarged). In this manuscript we observe 'kissing', as visible in for example lines 3 (**pe** in *specialem*), 4 (**be** in *urbe*), 5 (**oc** in *loco*) and 13 (**do** in *dona*).



the years 1165–79 the remaining letters (**b**, **h**, **o** and **p**) start to fuse, following a similar slow ascent to that of the letter **d**. In sum, apart from one form of biting (**bb/pp**) the third general trend is not in play during the first seventy-five years under investigation here: it is not at the forefront of the developing script but follows in the wake of other trends. (Where this feature stands among the three general features not studied here remains to be seen). Moreover, apart from **bb/pp**, biting is hardly established as a Gothic feature by 1225. While consistent fusing of **bb/pp** occurs in 81% of the manuscripts by the close of our period, most other combinations are by that time still stuck between 19% (**he/ho**) and 33% (**pe/po**). Only fusion involving round **d** has reached a comfortable 52% in the period 1210–24, which means that about half of the scribes apply the feature.

As in the previously studied general trends, we encounter a mixed category in biting as well. However, one cannot simply distinguish between Caroline minuscule (no fusion), Gothic (fusion) and a mix (sometimes fusion, sometimes not), as has been done so far. Fusion is made possible, perhaps even encouraged, because letters were placed together more closely as the twelfth century progressed. Derolez calls this phenomenon ‘lateral compression’, stating that it ‘was enhanced by the introduction of fusions’.³⁶ In other words, fusions enabled, in his opinion, lateral compression. However, as fusions appear quite late in the period, as shown, I am inclined to turn the order around and suggest that lateral compression encouraged the appearance of fusion. Parkes suggests that fusion was ‘originally adopted as a space-saving device during the twelfth century’, which shows just how much biting is related to lateral compression, which also allowed for more text on the page.³⁷

As the letters were placed more closely together we start to observe different relationships between adjacent letters, not just

36. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 57.

37. Parkes, *Their Hands before Our Eyes*, 149.

38. For this purpose I scanned the CMD plates at 400 dpi and studied the graphs heavily enlarged on a 27-inch monitor. There is no official term for this phenomenon, as far as I am aware, although Malcolm Parkes apparently used 'kissing' in his palaeography courses (personal communication David Rundle, Oxford, with whom I discussed this feature).

39. The data for this Graph are found in Appendix, Table 1.

fusion. Apart from pure biting, where a letter pair shares a central stroke (forming, as it were, a Siamese twin), another common phase can be distinguished, an earlier one as it appears, which I will call 'kissing'. Here we see the connecting strokes of two adjacent forms touch one another, without fusing (Fig. 24/Plate 24). That is to say, when the letters are dramatically increased in size on a computer screen, one observes that there is no stroke reduction or overlap but merely that two strokes are placed right next to one another so that it appears as though they are one.³⁸ 'Kissing' pairs can often be recognized by the increased thickness of the central stroke, which is applied twice.

Taking the round **d** as an example, we observe that kissing (first cases encountered in 1120-34) predates actual biting (first cases in 1165-79) by some four decades (cf. Graph 5 at p. 208, below).³⁹ In the remaining letters this honeymoon period – where first kissing becomes first biting – is even longer, up to some sixty years. For all of these the first cases of fusion are encountered in 1180-94, while the first kissing pairs are observed as early as 1105-19 (pairs involving either **b** or **o**) and 1120-34 (pairs involving either **h** or **p**). Evidently, true biting takes a long time to catch on, much longer than some other Gothic traits, as we have seen. Perhaps the lateral compression was not advanced enough in the first half of the century for biting to be possible or encouraged, but needed the letters to move closer still for this process to start.

Graph 5 shows that the mix we encountered in the treatment of minims and angularity – where scribes within a single manuscript would sometimes opt for the Caroline presentation and at other times for Gothic – is encountered in both kissing and biting. When kissing is becoming more common, we encounter manuscripts in which scribes present the pairs **do** and **de** as kissing, while in the same book (on the same page, or even in the same sentence) these forms may actually still be pre-

sented separately, as in Caroline minuscule. The same goes for the other letters that will ultimately show biting (cf. Appendix, Table 1). Similarly, biting may also be presented as a mix, always with kissing as the other component of the mix. These cases show that scribes tend to mix two connecting stages in the process of fusion (separated/kissing, kissing/biting), but they do generally not blend forms from non-adjacent stages. The manuscript corpus suggests that codices with a mix of separated/biting are unusual. This phenomenon is also seen in the other letters that will ultimately show biting (cf. Appendix, Table 1).

By the end of our period, in 1210–24, quite a lot of manuscripts do not show any kissing or biting but present the letter pairs in question still as separate forms. For round **d** this number is 33%, the remaining letters range between 43–74%. By that time both mixed forms have disappeared, although manuscripts with consistent kissing are present in 1210–24. In other words, the Gothic feature of biting is now beyond its infant stages but has by no means established itself as a new standard. This observation is even more evident in other adjacent letters with contrary strokes, in which the number of manuscripts that show consistent biting is considerably lower (cf. Appendix, Table 1). For example, by 1210–24 the number of codices in which the pairs **be/bo** consistently overlap is only 2% (cf. Graph 6 at p. 208, below).⁴⁰ Here we see, by contrast, that by the end of the period of this investigation separation is still the standard (43%) and that when the pairs are no longer presented as separate letters, it is kissing (and not biting) that is most common (24%). The remaining pairs follow the pattern of **be/bo** which shows just how unestablished biting – a signature feature of Gothic – actually is by 1225.

As far as the location where biting was introduced, there is far less clarity in this matter than in the previous two features

40. The data for this Graph are found in Appendix, Table 1.

41. Appendix, Table 3, No. 302 (Admont?, c. 1197). Consistent kissing is equally rare and is limited to four cases (Nos 153, 226, 231 and 308). Additionally, a total of five manuscripts from these countries have consistent biting in **bb/pp** (Nos 223, 231, 267, 308 and 323), which is also very low.

that have been examined. In fact, the introduction of biting is literally all over the map: the earliest cases of **bb/pp** almost simultaneously appear in the Low Countries (Appendix, Table 3, No. 134, made in 1148), France (Nos 138 and 144, from 1149 and c. 1151, respectively) and England (No. 148, made in 1150-3); while early cases of biting with round **d** occur around the same time in both France (Nos 211 and 224, from 1164-70 and 1171, respectively) and England (No. 225, likely made in 1171). The only pattern we can establish here is not one of origins but of absence. In a second example of how scribes in Austria, Germany and Switzerland hang on to established (that is, Caroline) mannerisms, there is from the entire period 1075-1225 only one manuscript from these countries that shows biting in two adjacent letters with contrary strokes.⁴¹

In Conclusion

The introduction of new scripts is a common topic of discussion in palaeography. After all, recognizing that a given script is different from what was used before, and in what way these two are different, lies at the core of constructing the evolution of medieval scripts, an important task of the discipline. What is less commonly encountered, however, are studies of how the actual transition process from one script to another took place over time – that is, how particular features of the disappearing script evolve into palaeographical peculiarities of an emerging script, and when these transitions took place. The study presented here, which has focused on only a modest segment of the birth of one such new script, shows why this may be: it is time-consuming to chart how individual letter forms evolved and in the process all sort of problems are encountered. (The existence of an earlier phase of biting, dubbed ‘kissing’, may serve as an example of the latter). Moreover, not all conclusions are neces-

sarily satisfying. Even if their existence can be proven quantifiably, it may not be possible to explain why certain phenomena occurred, as shown by the observation that scribes in Austria, Germany and Switzerland are less *en vogue* in the application of new features than their colleagues in, for example, France.

In spite of such difficulties, the quantitative study presented here does add to our understanding of the birth of Gothic. What is apparent above all is that by 1225 it is hardly the case that scribes all over Europe wrote their manuscripts consistently in the new script. In fact, of the three individual general features observed here, only the trait of angularity scores 100% on the Gothic scale. The treatment of minims is still occasionally done in the Carolingian fashion (4%) or shows a mix of both (11%), suggesting that a segment of scribes is still in transitional mode as far as this feature is concerned. For biting these numbers are much higher. While scribes in Europe are getting accustomed to this feature, it is by no means broadly accepted by 1225. The most accepted form of biting in 1210–24 is **bb/pp** (only 29% of manuscripts do not show biting for these pairs), while the least accepted form is **he/ho** (81% of manuscripts do not show consistent fusion here). However, the conclusion that the transition to Gothic has by no means been fully completed around 1225 is most dramatically illuminated by the observation that only three of the twenty-eight manuscripts from 1210–24 apply the Gothic presentation for all eight features tracked in this paper, namely angularity, minims and six manners of biting (including **bb/pp**).⁴² Consequently, we need to adjust the accepted starting date of Gothic script. After all, in Derolez's handbook this moment is placed as early as c. 1200: '[W]e may conveniently accept the year 1200 as the conventional beginning of the period of fully developed Gothic script'.⁴³ The data in this paper, however, suggests a likely beginning in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

42. These are Appendix, Table 3, Nos 356 (a manuscript of unknown origins made in 1216–27, provenance Cîteaux), 349 (Fr., 1218) and 362 (It., Novara, 1223–24). No. 356 contains sermons by Pope Honorius III and may have been sent to Cîteaux by the pope himself (cf. Powell, 'Pastor Bonus', 525). This would place the manuscript's likely origins in Rome. These three are the only codices in the corpus of 342 used for this study to show all Gothic features studied here.

43. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 72. Derolez acknowledges that the transitional script continues after 1200, for he continues, 'Nevertheless quite a number of hands of the thirteenth century should still be considered representatives of Gothic script'. My argument to push the date of fully-developed Gothic is prompted by the importance of biting

for the identity of Gothic (which was, as shown, by no means accepted as standard around 1225) as well as a small number of manuscripts in which all Gothic features are displayed at all times in 1210–24.

44. Compare in this respect also Derolez, 'Observations on the Aesthetics of the Gothic Manuscript', 3, where the author urges us to regard the Gothic manuscript as a European phenomenon.

What this study has also shown is that the transition from one script to another is not only a long process, which is well known, but that the evolution occurred in stages. The first wave of change has actually remained out of sight here and may well be placed in the third quarter of the eleventh century, when scribes probably started to give new direction to their minims and introduced angularity – features we now call 'Gothic'. The biggest wave made visible in the present study relates to the same two features and occurs in the period 1100–25, when the new treatment of feet and the angularity of some round letter forms became established as common practice within a very short period of time. Moreover, it appears that scribes introduced these two simultaneously in their manuscripts, making this the most significant push forward towards Gothic script. A third wave can be seen in the period 1150–75, when 'true' biting was introduced, namely in all five letter forms with contrary curves (**bb/pp** had already started a few decades earlier).

Thus, much of the script that we now call Gothic was born in three major pushes, spanning around a century in total, with significant periods of inactivity in between. Normandy may be the cradle of the initial wave, but where the other thrusts may be located remains, for now, unclear. There are, at any rate, no particular regions that may be flagged with the help of dated manuscripts. What is evident, however, is that we cannot simply state that Gothic script originated in Normandy (or indeed any single location), as is sometimes done. The script was crafted over a long period of time and thus it probably received input from individuals and communities in very different geographical locations. If a location is to be credited with the composition of Gothic it seems we may best define this script, in parallel with other cultural movements in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, as a joint European product.⁴⁴

Appendix

Table 1: Script Development 1075-1225

An asterisk marks the number of manuscripts ignored for a calculation because the feature in question does not appear on the sample photographs used for this study.

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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Minims

Total	11	14	23	41	41	59	52	35	38	28
Caroline min.	6 (55%)	7 (50%)	4 (17%)	3 (7%)	4 (10%)	6 (10%)	6 (12%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (4%)
Gothic	3 (27%)	2 (14%)	17 (74%)	28 (68%)	29 (71%)	42 (71%)	36 (69%)	24 (69%)	26 (68%)	23 (82%)
Mix	2 (18%)	4 (29%)	2 (9%)	9 (22%)	7 (17%)	9 (15%)	3 (6%)	9 (26%)	4 (11%)	3 (11%)
No turns	0	1 (7%)	0	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	7 (13%)	1 (3%)	7 (18%)	1 (4%)

Angularity

Total	11	14	23	41	41	59	52	35	38	28
Caroline min.	8 (73%)	11 (79%)	2 (9%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	0	0	0	0
Gothic	3 (27%)	2 (14%)	16 (70%)	31 (76%)	35 (85%)	54 (92%)	51 (98%)	34 (97%)	36 (95%)	28 (100%)
Mix	0	1 (7%)	5 (22%)	9 (22%)	5 (12%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	0

be/bo

Total	10 (1*)	14	18 (5*)	34 (7*)	28 (13*)	47 (12*)	40 (12*)	34 (1*)	28 (10*)	21 (7*)
Separated	10 (100%)	14 (100%)	16 (89%)	32 (94%)	26 (93%)	36 (77%)	30 (75%)	22 (65%)	17 (61%)	9 (43%)
Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (6%)	4 (14%)	6 (29%)
Kissing	0	0	2 (11%)	2 (6%)	2 (7%)	5 (12%)	1 (3%)	5 (15%)	1 (4%)	5 (24%)
Sep./Kissing	0	0	0	0	0	6 (13%)	7 (18%)	4 (12%)	4 (14%)	1 (5%)
Kissing/Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (5%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	0

Feature

Presentation 1075-89 1090-1104 1105-19 1120-34 1135-49 1150-64 1165-79 1180-94 1195-1209 1210-24

de/do

Total	11	14	23	41	40 (1*)	58 (1*)	49 (3*)	35	38	27 (1*)
Separated	11 (100%)	14 (100%)	23 (100%)	38 (93%)	35 (88%)	46 (79%)	35 (71%)	18 (51%)	21 (55%)	9 (33%)
Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (6%)	5 (14%)	8 (21%)	14 (52%)
Kissing	0	0	0	3 (7%)	3 (8%)	8 (14%)	2 (4%)	3 (9%)	2 (5%)	4 (15%)
Sep./Kissing	0	0	0	0	1 (3%)	4 (7%)	6 (12%)	7 (20%)	5 (13%)	0
Kissing/Biting	0	0	0	0	1 (3%)	0	3 (6%)	2 (6%)	2 (5%)	0

he/ho

Total	10 (1*)	10 (4*)	22 (1*)	34 (7*)	30 (11*)	53 (6*)	46 (6*)	25 (10*)	32 (6*)	26 (2*)
Separated	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	22 (100%)	31 (91%)	29 (97%)	40 (75%)	39 (85%)	18 (72%)	21 (66%)	19 (73%)
Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (8%)	3 (9%)	5 (19%)
Kissing	0	0	0	2 (6%)	0	7 (13%)	3 (7%)	2 (8%)	7 (22%)	2 (8%)
Sep./Kissing	0	0	0	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	5 (9%)	4 (9%)	3 (12%)	1 (3%)	0
Kissing/Biting	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)	0	0	0	0

oc (and od, oe, oq)

Total	8 (3*)	12 (2*)	20 (3*)	35 (6*)	31 (10*)	48 (11*)	41 (11*)	27 (8*)	34 (4*)	20 (8*)
Separated	8 (100%)	12 (100%)	19 (95%)	28 (80%)	28 (90%)	36 (75%)	29 (71%)	19 (70%)	23 (68%)	10 (50%)
Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (11%)	4 (12%)	4 (20%)
Kissing	0	0	1 (5%)	7 (20%)	3 (10%)	9 (19%)	5 (12%)	3 (11%)	6 (18%)	6 (30%)
Sep./Kissing	0	0	0	0	0	2 (4%)	7 (17%)	1 (4%)	1 (3%)	0
Kissing/Biting	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)	0	1 (4%)	0	0

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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pe/po

Total	11	13 (1*)	22 (1*)	36 (5*)	38 (3*)	50 (9*)	47 (5*)	28 (7*)	31 (7*)	21 (7*)
Separated	11 (100%)	13 (100%)	22 (100%)	35 (97%)	35 (92%)	35 (70%)	37 (79%)	15 (54%)	17 (55%)	9 (43%)
Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (11%)	5 (16%)	7 (33%)
Kissing	0	0	0	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	9 (18%)	6 (13%)	6 (21%)	5 (16%)	4 (19%)
Sep./Kissing	0	0	0	0	1 (3%)	6 (12%)	3 (6%)	3 (11%)	4 (13%)	0
Kissing/Biting	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)	1 (4%)	0	1 (5%)

bb/pp

Total	8 (3*)	10 (4*)	14 (9*)	29 (12*)	25 (16*)	35 (24*)	33 (19*)	17 (18*)	22 (16*)	16 (12*)
Separated	8 (100%)	10 (100%)	14 (100%)	29 (100%)	20 (80%)	17 (49%)	7 (21%)	2 (12%)	2 (9%)	2 (13%)
Biting	0	0	0	0	3 (12%)	14 (40%)	23 (70%)	10 (59%)	17 (77%)	13 (81%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	2 (8%)	4 (11%)	3 (9%)	5 (29%)	3 (14%)	1 (6%)

Table 2: Script Development by Region 1075-1225

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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Minims France

Total	7	5	11	16	16	23	24	15	16	11
Caroline min.	4 (57%)	3 (60%)	2 (18%)	1 (6%)	0	0	1 (4%)	0	1 (6%)	0
Gothic	3 (43%)	0	8 (73%)	8 (50%)	13 (81%)	17 (74%)	21 (88%)	15 (100%)	14 (88%)	10 (91%)
Mix	0	2 (40%)	1 (9%)	5 (31%)	3 (19%)	5 (22%)	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (9%)
No turns	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4%)	2 (8%)	0	0	0

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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Minims England

Total	1	4	7	18	10	16	15	11	11	10
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	1 (25%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gothic	0	1 (25%)	7 (100%)	16 (89%)	10 (100%)	15 (94%)	12 (80%)	8 (73%)	6 (55%)	9 (90%)
Mix	0	2 (50%)	0	1 (6%)	0	0	0	2 (18%)	0	0
No turns	0	0	0	1 (6%)	0	1 (6%)	3 (20%)	1 (9%)	5 (45%)	1 (10%)

Minims Austria, Germany and Switzerland

Total	1	0	2	3	8	12	9	6	5	3
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (33%)	3 (38%)	6 (50%)	4 (44%)	1 (17%)	0	1 (33%)
Gothic	0	0	0	1 (33%)	3 (38%)	4 (33%)	1 (11%)	0	2 (40%)	2 (66%)
Mix	0	0	1 (50%)	1 (33%)	2 (25%)	2 (17%)	3 (33%)	5 (83%)	2 (40%)	0
No turns	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (11%)	0	1 (20%)	0

Angularity France

Total	7	5	11	16	16	23	24	15	16	11
Caroline min.	4 (57%)	3 (60%)	1 (9%)	1 (6%)	0	1 (4%)	0	0	0	0
Gothic	3 (43%)	2 (40%)	9 (82%)	12 (75%)	13 (81%)	20 (87%)	24 (100%)	15 (100%)	16 (100%)	11 (100%)
Mix	0	0	1 (9%)	3 (19%)	3 (19%)	2 (9%)	0	0	0	0

Angularity England

Total	1	4	7	18	10	16	15	11	11	10
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	4 (100%)	1 (14%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gothic	0	0	5 (71%)	15 (83%)	9 (90%)	16 (100%)	15 (100%)	11 (100%)	11 (100%)	10 (100%)
Mix	0	0	1 (14%)	3 (17%)	1 (10%)	0	0	0	0	0

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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Angularity Austria, Germany and Switzerland

Total	1	0	2	3	8	12	9	6	5	3
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (13%)	0	0	0	0	0
Gothic	0	0	0	3 (100%)	6 (75%)	11 (92%)	8 (89%)	5 (83%)	5 (100%)	3 (100%)
Mix	0	0	2 (100%)	0	1 (13%)	1 (8%)	1 (11%)	1 (17%)	0	0

Biting de/do France

Total	7	5	11	16	16	23	24	15	16	11
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (8%)	2 (13%)	4 (25%)	5 (45%)
No	7 (100%)	5 (100%)	11 (100%)	16 (100%)	16 (100%)	23 (100%)	22 (92%)	13 (87%)	12 (75%)	6 (55%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Biting de/do England

Total	1	4	7	18	10	16	15	11	11	10
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (7%)	2 (18)	4 (36%)	6 (60%)
No	1 (100%)	4 (100%)	7 (100%)	18 (100%)	10 (100%)	16 (100%)	14 (93%)	9 (82)	7 (64%)	4 (40%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Biting de/do Austria, Germany and Switzerland

Total	1	0	2	3	8	12	9	6	5	3
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
No	1 (100%)	0	2 (100%)	3 (100%)	8 (100%)	12 (100%)	9 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	3 (100%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2: Script Development by Region 1075-1225

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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Minims France

Total	7	5	11	16	16	23	24	15	16	11
Caroline min.	4 (57%)	3 (60%)	2 (18%)	1 (6%)	0	0	1 (4%)	0	1 (6%)	0
Gothic	3 (43%)	0	8 (73%)	8 (50%)	13 (81%)	17 (74%)	21 (88%)	15 (100%)	14 (88%)	10 (91%)
Mix	0	2 (40%)	1 (9%)	5 (31%)	3 (19%)	5 (22%)	0	0	1 (6%)	1 (9%)
No turns	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4%)	2 (8%)	0	0	0

Minims England

Total	1	4	7	18	10	16	15	11	11	10
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	1 (25%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gothic	0	1 (25%)	7 (100%)	16 (89%)	10 (100%)	15 (94%)	12 (80%)	8 (73%)	6 (55%)	9 (90%)
Mix	0	2 (50%)	0	1 (6%)	0	0	0	2 (18%)	0	0
No turns	0	0	0	1 (6%)	0	1 (6%)	3 (20%)	1 (9%)	5 (45%)	1 (10%)

Minims Austria, Germany and Switzerland

Total	1	0	2	3	8	12	9	6	5	3
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	0	1 (50%)	1 (33%)	3 (38%)	6 (50%)	4 (44%)	1 (17%)	0	1 (33%)
Gothic	0	0	0	1 (33%)	3 (38%)	4 (33%)	1 (11%)	0	2 (40%)	2 (66%)
Mix	0	0	1 (50%)	1 (33%)	2 (25%)	2 (17%)	3 (33%)	5 (83%)	2 (40%)	0
No turns	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (11%)	0	1 (20%)	0

Angularity France

Total	7	5	11	16	16	23	24	15	16	11
Caroline min.	4 (57%)	3 (60%)	1 (9%)	1 (6%)	0	1 (4%)	0	0	0	0
Gothic	3 (43%)	2 (40%)	9 (82%)	12 (75%)	13 (81%)	20 (87%)	24 (100%)	15 (100%)	16 (100%)	11 (100%)
Mix	0	0	1 (9%)	3 (19%)	3 (19%)	2 (9%)	0	0	0	0

Feature

Presentation	1075-89	1090-1104	1105-19	1120-34	1135-49	1150-64	1165-79	1180-94	1195-1209	1210-24
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Angularity England

Total	1	4	7	18	10	16	15	11	11	10
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	4 (100%)	1 (14%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gothic	0	0	5 (71%)	15 (83%)	9 (90%)	16 (100%)	15 (100%)	11 (100%)	11 (100%)	10 (100%)
Mix	0	0	1 (14%)	3 (17%)	1 (10%)	0	0	0	0	0

Angularity Austria, Germany and Switzerland

Total	1	0	2	3	8	12	9	6	5	3
Caroline min.	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (13%)	0	0	0	0	0
Gothic	0	0	0	3 (100%)	6 (75%)	11 (92%)	8 (89%)	5 (83%)	5 (100%)	3 (100%)
Mix	0	0	2 (100%)	0	1 (13%)	1 (8%)	1 (11%)	1 (17%)	0	0

Biting de/do France

Total	7	5	11	16	16	23	24	15	16	11
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (8%)	2 (13%)	4 (25%)	5 (45%)
No	7 (100%)	5 (100%)	11 (100%)	16 (100%)	16 (100%)	23 (100%)	22 (92%)	13 (87%)	12 (75%)	6 (55%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Biting de/do England

Total	1	4	7	18	10	16	15	11	11	10
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (7%)	2 (18)	4 (36%)	6 (60%)
No	1 (100%)	4 (100%)	7 (100%)	18 (100%)	10 (100%)	16 (100%)	14 (93%)	9 (82)	7 (64%)	4 (40%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Biting de/do Austria, Germany and Switzerland

Total	1	0	2	3	8	12	9	6	5	3
Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No	1 (100%)	0	2 (100%)	3 (100%)	8 (100%)	12 (100%)	9 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	3 (100%)
Mix	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

45. The accepted date of No. 40 is 1110-11 and not 1083-92 (CMD), the former of which I have followed. For an analysis of the potential dating, see the essay 'Location and Dating' under 'Background Essays', <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/index.htm>, accessed 29 August 2011.

Table 3: Corpus of Dated Manuscripts

The corpus used for this study consists of all manuscripts dated between 1075 up to (but not including) 1225 as present in all volumes of the CMD except the Cambrai volume. For these, see <http://www.palaeographia.org/cipl/cmd.htm>, accessed 15 August 2011; the abbreviations used in col. 12 below are also found here. To construct this corpus I excluded manuscripts dated 'Before...' or 'After...'; those of which the date is in dispute in secondary sources;⁴⁵ some of those whose date is not certain ('?'); and those whose date exceeds a quarter century (e.g. '1125-68'). This resulted in a corpus of the 367 manuscripts, which form the primary corpus of the research project this study stems from (see n. 18, above).

For this particular study of how script evolved between 1075-1225 I omitted eighteen codices, mostly because they are written in a so-called national script (Beneventan, Insular and Visigothic) and in some cases because the image in the CMD is not suitable for a palaeographical study of this kind (image not clear enough, selected page contains numbers only). These rejected manuscripts are marked with an asterisk in column 1 and the data boxes are simply left blank.

Of manuscripts whose date covers multiple years the average year is taken as criterion for placing the codex in question in a time segment. No. 9, for example, is dated 1081-94, the median of which is 1088, and so it is placed in 1075-89 and not 1090-1104. The median year is placed between parentheses behind the date in column 3.

This study is based on the images provided in the CMD, which are supplemented by those from other sources. When the CMD provides images of multiple hands, the hand used for the survey is identified by listing the folium on which it appears between square brackets after the shelfmark in column 2. If the CMD presents multiple plates displaying the hand in question, only one is listed here for reasons of brevity.

For the abbreviations used in the shelfmarks, consult the list at p. 13, above.

Columns:

- 1= Number in this table;
- 2= Manuscript (city, shelfmark, for clarity sometimes institution);
- 3= Date (median date of manuscripts whose date cover multiple years is placed between parentheses);
- 4= Origins (A= Austria; B= Belgium; E= England; F= France; G= Germany; Ir= Ireland; Is= Israel; It= Italy; S= Switzerland; Sw= Sweden; Y= Yugoslavia; W= Wales; ? = unknown);
- 5= Angularity;
- 6= Minims (Ca= manner of Caroline minuscule; Go= Gothic manner; nt= No turns observed in feet, as discussed above, p. 90);
- 7= Biting following **b**;
- 8= Biting following **d**;
- 9= Biting following **o**;
- 10= Biting following **p**;
- 11= Biting in **bb/pp**;
- 12= Plate in CMD.

Abbreviations in columns 7-12:

- b= Biting;
- s= Separated (no biting);
- m= Mix (biting and not);
- k=Kissing;
- sk= Separated and kissing (mix);
- kb= Kissing and biting (mix);
- ?= Feature in question not found in available photographs

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Bodl. Bodley 309	1075	F	No	Ca	?	s	?	s	?	GB Ox II 31
2	Rouen BM 477	1075, c.	F	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXIV
3	ÖNB Cod. 1247 [f. 17r]	1079	G	No	Ca	s	s	?	s	s	A 1 II 21-23
4	Tournai Seminar I	1084	B	No	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	B 1 2
5*	Bodl. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61	1081-86 (1083)	Y								GB Ox II 32
6	Orléans BM 229 [p. 29]	1080-87 (1083)	F	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXV
7	Rouen BM 1406 (Y. 41)	1079-92 (1085)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXVII
8	Rouen BM 1409 (Y. 189)	1078-95 (1086)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXVII
9	Le Mans BM 23 [f. 117v]	1081-94 (1087)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXVIII
10	Uppsala University Libr. C 88	1085-89 (1087)	I	No	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	S 1 2
11	TNA, PRO E31/1 [f. 33r]	1086-88? (1087)	E	No	Ca	s	s	?	s	?	GB Lond II 4-7
12*	Cambridge Corpus Christi 199	1085-91 (1088)	W								GB Ca II 33
13	Angers BM 187	1083-93 (1088)	F	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXVI
14	CUL li 3.33	1079-1101 (1090)	E	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	
15	Tours BM 90	1084-96 (1090)	F	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	F 7 II XXVIII
16	Rouen BM 32 [A. 21] [f. 1v]	1084-97 (1090)	E	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXIX
17	Bodl. Lat. th. d. 20 [f. 76r]	1091	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	?	?	GB Ox II 34
18*	Bodl. Rawl. B. 503	1093	Ir								GB Ox II 36
19*	Évreux BM 60 L	1093 c.	F								F 7 II XXX
20	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 348	1093-94	F	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	F 4 II XVII
21	BL Add. 28106 & 28107	1094-97 (1095)	B	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 52
22	Cambridge Corpus Christi 270	1091-1100 (1095)	E	No	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 34
23	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 2246 [f. 79v]	1090-1100, c. (1095)	F	No	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	F 4 II XVI
24	BL Cotton Tiberius A.XIII [f. 103r]	1096, c.	E	No	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 53
25	BAV Barb. lat. 587	1097	It	No	Ca	s	s	?	s	s	ITBAV I II 1
26*	BL Arundel 60	1099	E								GB BL II 55
27*	BL Add. 40000	1100, c.	E								GB BL II 56
28	BL Harley 3904 [f. 13r]	1100, c.	?	No	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 57
29	Cambridge Corpus Christi 415 [p. 265]	1095-1109 (1100)	F	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 35
30	Rome BNC Farf. 2 [f. 348r]	1103	It	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	It Roma II 22-23
31	Paris Mazarine 364	1099-1105 (1103)	It								F 1 II VI

32	Cesena Bibl. Malatestiana 3.210	1104	It	No	nt	s	s	?	s	?	It 13 1
33	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 2195	1105	B	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 4 II XVII
34	BL Cotton Nero C.V [f. 76v]	1105, c.	E	No	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 59
35	BL Cotton Vitellius C.XII	1100-1110 (1105)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 58
36	The Hague KB 128 E 14	1106-11 (1108)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	NL 2 II 956
37	Chantilly Mus. Condé 16 [f. 45v]	1105-13 (1108)	G	Mix	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	F 1 II X
38	Dijon BM 12, 13, 14 and 15	1109	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 6 II IX
39	Rouen BM 1174 (Y. 14)	1109-10	F	Mix	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXXIV
40	Oxford St John 17	1110-11	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 33
41	Dijon BM 168, 169 and 170	1111	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	F 6 II X
42	BL Royal 6 C.VI	1108-14 (1111)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 61
43	Admont SB Cod. 735	1106-18 (1112)	A	Mix	Ca	s	s	?	s	?	A 7 II 1-2
44	BnF lat. 10062	1113, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	s	F 3 II XXVI
45	BnF lat. 17767	1102-23 (1113)	F	No	Ca	?	s	s	s	s	F 3 II XXV
46	BNC Farf. 1 [f. 363r]	1105-19 (1113)	It	Mix	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	It Rome II 24-25
47	BnF lat. 1918	1107-21 (1114)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 2 II XIII
48	Auxerre BM 212	1109-24 (1116)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	s	F 6 II IX
49	Avranches BM 211 [f. 68r]	1117, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	?	?	s	F 7 II XXXVI
50	Bodl. e Mus. 112	1108 & 26 (1117)	E	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 37
51	Amsterdam UB 89	1109-25 (1117)	B?	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	NL 1 II 55-56
52	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1496	1109-25 (1117)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 4 II XVIII
53	Leiden UB BPL 114 B	1118, c.	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	NL 1 II 57
54	BnF lat. 2500 [f. 49r]	1113-24 (1118)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XII
55	Cambridge St John's D. 19 (94)	1112-26 (1119)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ca II 39
56	Vendôme BM 44	1120, c.	F	No	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	F 7 II XXXIX
57	BL Cotton Nero D.II	1120, c.	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	s	GB BL II 64
58*	Leiden UB BPL 2505, a-f	1113-27 (1120)	F								NL 1 II 104-109
59	Cambridge Corpus Christi 373	1114-25 (1120)	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 41
60*	Leiden UB BPL 2505	1113-27 (1120)	F								NL 2 II 957-960
61	BL Royal 5 D.II	1115-24 (1120)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 62
62*	Bodl. Laud misc. 636	1121	E								GB Ox II 39
63	Cambridge Corpus Christi 371	1113? & 1130 (1121)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 40

64	Oxford Jesus 26	1119-24 (1121)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 38
65	BnF lat. 2502	1120-24 (1122)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XIV
66	BnF lat. 2900	1120-24 (1122)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 2 II XIV
67	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1064	1114-33 (1123)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	?	F 4 II XVIII
68	Oxford Lincoln lat. 100	1125	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 45
69	Heerenberg Huis Bergh Inv. 25 [‘fr. b’]	1125	B	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	NL 1 II 58-59
70	Bergamo Bibl. Capitolare 1047	1125	It	Mix	Mix	s	s	?	s	s	It 6 1
71	Dijon BM 130	1125, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 6 II XI
72	Oxford Magdalen lat. 172	1125, c.	E	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 46
73	Alençon BM 26	1113-37 (1125)	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXXIII
74	Rouen BM 1343 (U. 43)	1113-37 (1125)	F	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XXXIV
75	Cambridge Corpus Christi 393	1116-35 (1125)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 42
76	Paris Mazarine 2013 [f. 136r]	1120-31 (1125)	F?	Mix	Go	?	s	s	s	s	F 1 II VIII
77	Cambridge Corpus Christi 452	1122-30, c. (1126)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 47
78	BnF lat. 1793	1127, c.	B	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XV
79	BL Cotton Tiberius C.I & Harley 3667	1122-35? (1128)	E	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 67
80	Bodl. Bodley 561	1124-33 (1128)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 43
81	BL Add. 16979	1129	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 68
82	Bodl. Arch. Selden b. 16	1129	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 48
83	BnF lat. 13779	1129, c.	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	?	s	F 4 II XIX
84	Cambridge Corpus Christi 2	1121-38 (1129)	E	Mix	nt	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 45-46
85	Leiden UB VLF 8 [f. 17v]	1130, c.	F?	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	NL 1 II 60-62
86	BL Add. 16918	1130, c.	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 69
87	Cambridge Trinity R. 7. 28 (770)	1120-40 (1130)	E	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ca II 44
88	Vendôme BM 193	1129-32 (1130)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	s	F 7 II XL
89	London Lambeth Palace 224	1120-43 (1131)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Lond II 8
90	BL Cotton Vespasian A.IX	1131?	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	?	?	GB BL II 70
91	Rome BNC Farf. 3	1132, c.	It	Mix	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	It Roma II XXVI
92	Cambridge St John’s A.22 (22)	1132, c.	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	?	?	GB Ca II 58
93	BnF lat. 5506	1123-41 (1132)	F	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 2 II XV
94	Bodl. Bodley 297 [f. 145r]	1131-34 (1132)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	s	GB Ox II 50
95	BnF lat. 12055	1133	G?	Yes	Go	?	s	?	?	?	F 3 II XXVII

96	Brussels KB II 2524 [f. 137v]	1132-35 (1133)	B	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	s	B I 3
97	ÖNB Cod. 1063	1134	A	Yes	Ca	s	s	?	s	s	A 1 II 27
98	BL Harley 3099 [f. 152v]	1134	B	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 72
99	Cambridge Trinity O.5.20 (1301)	1125-43 (1134)	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 52
100	BL Harley 2660 [f. 33r]	1136-38 (1137)	G	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 73
101	CUL Kk. 4. 6	1130-45 (1137)	E	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ca II 57
102	Oxford Lincoln lat. 63 [f. 139r]	1136-38 (1137)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 66
103	BL Egerton 1139	1131-43 (1137)	Is	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	?	GB BL II 71
104	BnF lat. 3790	1138	?	Yes	nt	?	s	?	s	?	F 2 II XVI
105*	BL Harley 1802	1138	Ir								GB BL II 74
106	Fitzwilliam Museum McClean 49	1128-49 (1138)	Is	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	?	GB Ca II 54
107	Leiden UB BPL 20 [f. 22v]	1138-39	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	NL 1 II 63-68
108	Brussels KB 104-05 [f. 131v]	1139	?	Yes	Go	s	s	?	?	s	B I 4
109	Brussels KB II 1065	1139	?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	B I 5
110	BnF lat. 11851 [f. 214r]	1139, c.	G?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	s	F 3 II XXIX
111	Oxford Corpus Christi 157 [f. 1r]	1135-43 (1139)	E	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 52
112	Cambridge St John's B.20 (42)	1140, c.	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB Ca II 61
113	BL Cotton Nero C.VII	1140?	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	s	GB BL II 76
114	BL Add. 14250	1140?	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	s	GB BL II 75
115	Blois BM 44 [f. 9r]	1140-41, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XLI
116	BnF lat. 10913	1141, c.	F	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 3 II XXIX
117	ÖNB Cod. 375	1142	A	Yes	Ca	?	s	s	s	s	A 1 II 28
118	BL Add. 15722	1142	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 77
119	BnF lat. 1654	1134-50 (1142)	F	Yes	Go	s	sk	?	s	?	F 2 II XVI
120	BnF lat. 11577	1134-50 (1142)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 3 II XXVII
121	BnF lat. 12072	1134-50 (1142)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	F 3 II XXVIII
122	BnF lat. 17545	1137-47 (1142)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 3 II XXVIII
123	ÖNB Cod. 275	1143 c.	G	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	?	A 1 II 30
124	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 706	1143-44, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	sk	s	F 4 II XX
125	Bern Burgerbibliothek 226	1143-44	G	No	Go	s	s	s	s	s	Sch 2 II 16-17
126	Rouen BM 470 (A. 291) [f. 41r]	1144, c.	F	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	?	F 7 II XLII
127	Bodl. Canon. Pat. Lat. 148	1145	It	Yes	Ca	s	s	?	s	m	GB Ox II 54

128* Angers BM 827	1137-54 (1145)	F							F 7 II XLI
129 BL Add. 46487	1146, c.	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 78
130 Charleville BM 114 [f. 24v]	1145-48 (1146)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	F 5 II X
131 Bodl. Digby 40	1147	F	Yes	Go	s	kb	s	s	GB Ox II 55
132 Leiden UB BPL 196	1145-49 (1147)	G	Mix	Mix	s	s	s	s	NL 1 II 73-74
133 Charleville BM 26 (1)	1148	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	F 5 II XII
134 BL Add. 14788	1148	B	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	GB BL II 81
135 BL Harley 2803 & 2804	1148	G	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 82
136 BnF lat. 1663	1148, c.	F	Mix	Mix	?	s	s	s	F 2 II XVIII
137 London Soc. of Antiquaries 154	1148, c.	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	GB Lond II 13
138 Charleville BM 12	1149	F	Mix	Go	s	s	?	s	F 5 II XII
139* Charleville BM 26 (2)	1149	F							F 5 II XII
140 Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 6	1139-58 (1149)	E	Yes	Go	?	?	s	s	GB Ox II 53
141 BnF lat. 5064	1143-56 (1149)	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	?	s	F 2 II XVII
142 BnF lat. 5129 [f. 6r]	1145-53 (1149)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	F 2 II XVIII
143 London Univ. College Germ. 16	1145-53 (1149)	G	Yes	Ca	?	s	?	s	GB Lond II 12
144 BnF nouv. acq. lat. 214	1151, c.	F	Mix	Mix	s	s	s	s	F 4 II XXI
145 Udine Bibl. Arcivescove 82 [f. 66r]	1152	It	Yes	Mix	s	s	kb	s	It Friulane II 5
146 BnF lat. 14314 [f. 208v]	1152, c.	F?	Yes	Go	s	sk	s	s	F 3 II XXX
147 Auxerre BM 142	1152, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	F 6 II XII
148 BL Cotton Vitellius A.XVII	1150-53 (1152)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 83
149 BnF lat. 14802 [f. 45v]	1153	?	Yes	Mix	s	sk	?	?	F 3 II XXX
150 BnF nouv. acq. lat. 429	1151-56 (1153)	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	?	F 4 II XXII
151 Leiden UB BPL 30 [f. 91v]	1153-54	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	NL 1 II 75-80
152 Leiden UB VLF 67 [f. 33r]	1153-54	G	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	NL 1 II 81-83
153 Chantilly Mus. Condé 121 [f. 107v]	1154	G	Yes	Go	s	s	s	sk	F 1 II IX
154 Strasbourg Grand Séminaire 37	1154	G	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	F 5 II XV
155 BnF lat. 3853 [f. 120r]	1154, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	F 2 II XIX
156 BnF lat. 7561 [p. 71]	1153-55 (1154)	F	No	nt	s	s	s	s	F 4 II XXIII
157 Mons Bib. de la Ville 333/352 [f. 116v]	1155	B	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	B 16
158 BL Add. 17737 and 17738	1155, c.	B	Yes	Go	sk	s	s	s	GB BL II 86
159 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 10 (346)	1155, c.	E	Yes	Go	sk	s	sk	s	GB Ca II 67

160	Lambeth Palace 109	1155, c. (& 1176?)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	m	GB Lond II 14
161	Admont SB Cod. 36 [f. 36r]	1147-64 (1155)	A	Yes	Mix	?	s	?	s	?	A 7 II 3
162	Admont SB Cod. 52	1147-64 (1155)	A	Yes	Ca	?	s	s	s	?	A 7 II 4
163	Brussels KB II 1635 [f. 29r]	1156	?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	B 17
164	Avranches BM 210 [f. 18v]	1154-58 (1156)	F	Mix	Mix	s	s	s	s	s	F 7 II XLIV
165	Charleville BM 246 B	1156-57	F	Yes	Go	sk	s	sk	s	m	F 5 II XVI
166	Avranches BM 159	1156-57	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	sk	s	F 7 II XLIV
167	Charleville BM 2	1157	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 5 II XVI
168	Metz BM 1154	1157	It	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 5 II XVII
169	Cambridge Trinity R.17.1 (987)	1145-70 (1157)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	?	s	?	GB Ca II 63-64
170	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1772	1155-60 (1157)	It	Mix	Go	s	s	s	s	b	F 4 II XXIV
171	BnF lat. 13779	1160, c.	F	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	?	?	F 4 II XXV
172	Reims BM 452	1145-74? (1160)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 5 II XI
173	BL Royal 2 A.X	1161	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 88
174	Oxford Corpus Christi 134	1161?	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	?	s	GB Ox II 67
175	BL Royal 3 A.XII	1147-76 (1161)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 79
176	BL Royal 7 F.VI	1147-76 (1161)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 80
177	Oxford Jesus 53	1147-76 (1161)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	s	GB Ox II 56
178	Oxford Jesus 68	1147-76 (1161)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 57
179	Bodl. Auct. D. 4. 6	1158-64 (1161)	E	Yes	Go	s	sk	?	?	?	GB Ox II 64
180	Charleville BM 197 A, t. 2	1148-74? (1161)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	b	F 5 II XIII
181	BnF lat. 2444	1162	F?	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XX
182	Admont SB Cod. 221 [f. 1r]	1162	A	Mix	Ca	s	s	?	?	?	A 7 II 9-10
183	Vorau SB Cod. 255 [f. 1r]	1162, c.	A	Yes	Ca	?	s	s	s	?	A 7 II 5-8
184	Oxford Jesus 52	1149-76 (1162)	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 58
185	Oxford Jesus 63	1149-76 (1162)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	?	?	GB Ox II 59
186	Oxford Jesus 67	1149-76 (1162)	E	Yes	Go	s	?	s	s	?	GB Ox II 60
187	Cambridge St John's C.18 (68)	1152-73 (1162)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	GB Ca II 65
188	Engelberg SB 3-5 [f. 2v]	1147-78 (1162)	S	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	m	Sch 2 II 18-23
189	Engelberg SB 12 [f. 24r]	1147-78 (1162)	S	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	b	Sch 2 II 26-27
190	Engelberg SB 13 [f. 83r]	1147-78 (1162)	S	Yes	Ca	?	s	s	s	b	Sch 2 II 28
191	BL Add. 15307 [f. 143r]	1163	B	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 89

192	Troyes Médiathèque 1484 [f. 57r]	1152-74 (1163)	F?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	sk	s	F 5 II XIII
193	Troyes Médiathèque 799 [f. 19r]	1152-74 (1163)	F?	Yes	Go	sk	s	s	s	s	F 5 II XIV
194	Troyes Médiathèque 1176 [f. 24r]	1152-74 (1163)	F?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	sk	s	F 5 II XIV
195	Troyes Médiathèque 426 [f. 51v]	1152-74 (1163)	F?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	F 5 II XV
196	Dijon BM 658 [f. 103r, col. A]	1152-74 (1163)	F?	Yes	Go	?	sk	s	sk	?	F 6 II XIII
197	Oxford St John's 49	1158-69 (1163)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 65
198	Saint-Brieuc BM 7 [f. 68r]	1153-72 (1163)	F?	Yes	Go	sk	s	?	s	?	F 7 II XLIII
199	BnF lat. 11575 [and 11576]	1164	F	Yes	Go	sk	s	s	s	?	F 3 II XXXI
200	Bodl. Canon. Liturg. 297 [f. 145r]	1154-73 (1164)	G	Yes	Go	?	s	?	sk	s	GB Ox II 61
201	Cambridge Corpus Christi 46 [f. 184r]	1159-70 (1164)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ca II 68
202	Leiden UB Periz. quarto 17	1160-68 (1164)	G	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	?	NL 1 II 87
203	Bodl. Digby 56	1164-68 (1166)	EW	Yes	Go	s	?	?	s	b	GB Ox II 73
204	BnF lat. 9688	1167	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	F 3 II XXXII
205	BnF lat. 2702	1167	F?	Yes	Go	?	sk	s	s	b	F 4 II XXV
206	Charleville BM 246 D	1167	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	?	m	F 5 II XVIII
207	Oxford Christ Church lat. 88	1167	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	?	s	GB Ox II 75
208*	Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 4	1161-73 (1167)	E								GB Ox II 70
209	Cambridge Trinity B. 3. 11 (90)	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	nt	sk	kb	s	s	b	GB Ca II 69
210	Cambridge Trinity B. 3. 30 (109)	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	sk	s	GB Ca II 70
211	Cambridge Trinity B. 5. 5 (151)	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	Go	kb	b	s	kb	?	GB Ca II 71
212	Cambridge Trinity R. 4. 4 (637)	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	Go	sk	kb	sk	sk	b	GB Ca II 72
213	Cambridge Trinity B. 16. 17 (391)	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ca II 73
214	Bodl. Auct. E. inf. 7	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	nt	kb	kb	s	s	b	GB Ox II 71
215	Bodl. Bodley 345	1164-70 (1167)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ox II 72
216	Admont SB Cod. 434 [f. 200r]	1166?-69 (1167)	A	Yes	Mix	?	s	s	s	m	A 7 II 11-26
217	Bodl. Auct. E. inf. 1	1167-71 (1169)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	GB Ox II 76
218	Leiden UB VLF 70 III [f. 107r]	1159-79 (1169)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	NL 1 II 84-86
219	BL Egerton 3668	1169?	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 92
220	Charleville BM 264	1170	F	Yes	Go	sk	s	s	s	m	F 5 II XIX
221	Nîmes BM 14	1170	F	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	b	F 6 II XV
222	Cambridge Corpus Christi 139 [f. 85r]	1164-75 (1170)	E	Yes	Go	?	sk	s	s	s	GB Ca II 74
223	Admont SB Cod. 686a	1169-71 (1170)	A	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	b	A 7 II 27-28

224	BnF lat. 8314	1171	F	Yes	Go	sk	b	s	s	b	F 3 II XXXIV
225	BL Cotton Claudius C.IX	1171?	E	Yes	Go	?	b	s	s	b	GB BL II 93
226	BL Harley 2798 and 2799	1172	G	Yes	Go	sk	sk	s	s	b	GB BL II 94
227	Frankfurt UBi Barth. 41	1172	G	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	G 1 2
228	Stuttgart WLB I 236	1172	G	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	G 3 15
229	BL Harley 2800	1172, c.	G	Yes	Mix	sk	s	sk	sk	b	GB BL II 95
230	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 583	1172, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	?	F 4 II XXVI
231	BL Harley 3045	1172, c.	G	Yes	Mix	s	s	sk	s	b	GB BL II 96
232	Rouen BM 209 and 210	1173, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 7 II XLVII
233	Cambridge Trinity B. 5. 6 (153)	1170-77? (1173)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	sk	s	?	GB Ca II 83
234	BnF lat. 12583	1172-74, c. (1173)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	F 3 II XXXII
235	Padova Bibl. Antoniana 498	1174	It	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	b	It 4 1
236	Évreux BM 17 L	1174, c.	E	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	?	F 7 II XLVIII
237	Évreux BM 92 L	1165-83 (1174)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	?	F 7 II XLV
238	Bodl. Rawl. Q. f. 8	1171-77 (1174)	E	Yes	Go	s	sk	sk	?	?	GB Ox II 77
239	Bodl. Auct. E. inf. 6	1173-76 (1174)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	b	GB Ox II 78
240	ÖNB Cod. 568	1175	?	Yes	Ca	s	?	?	s	?	A 1 II 37
241	Fitzwilliam Mus. McClean 165	1175, c.	B	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ca II 89
242	Cambridge Trinity B. 5. 4 (150)	1173-77 (1175)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	b	GB Ca II 84
243	BnF lat. 946	1167-83 (1175)	F	Yes	Go	s	?	?	s	b	F 2 II XX
244	BL Royal 13 D.IV [f. 7v]	1167-83 (1175)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 90
245	Cambridge St John's G. 15 (183)	1167-83 (1175)	E	Yes	Go	sk	sk	sk	s	?	GB Ca II 80
246	Cambridge Trinity Hall 2	1167-83 (1175)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ca II 81
247	BnF lat. 1564	1174-78 (1176)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 3 II XXXIV
248	Cambridge Trinity O.7.13 (1341)	1167-83? (1175)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ca II 82
249	BL Harley 3038	1176	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 104
250	Bodl. Digby 40	1176	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	b	GB Ox II 83
251	Leiden UB Vulc. 46 [f. 130v]	1176-77	G	Mix	Ca	s	sk	sk	?	s	NL 1 II 88-92
252	Bodl. e Mus. 249 [f. 9v]	1177, c.	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	s	GB Ox II 82
253	Bodl. Bodley 509	1176-78 (1177)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 80
254	BnF lat. 11700	1179	F	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	?	F 3 II XXXV
255	BL Lansdowne 381	1168-89 (1179)	G	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 91

256	Admont SB Cod. 18 [f. 257r]	1180	A	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	A 7 II 35-38
257	Udine Bibl. Comunale 142	1180	It	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	It Friulane II [6]
258	BnF lat. 17768	1173-87 (1180)	F	Yes	Go	s	kb	?	s	m	F 3 II XXXIII
259	The Hague KB 76 E 15 [f. 54v]	1178-83 (1180)	B	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	NL 1 II 93-100
260	ÖNB Cod. 340	1181	A	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	m	A 1 II 39
261	Cambridge Trinity O. 2. 1 (1105)	1173-89 (1181)	E	Yes	Go	s	sk	s	?	?	GB Ca II 85
262	ÖNB Cod. 363	1180-83 (1181)	A	Yes	Mix	s	sk	?	s	b	A 1 II 38
263	BL Cotton Tiberius E.IV	1181-82	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 106
264	BnF lat. 16729	1182	F	Yes	Go	sk	sk	?	s	?	F 3 II XXXVI
265	BnF lat. 10477	1182	F	Yes	Go	s	kb	s	s	?	F 3 II XXXVI
266	BnF lat. 5411	1182, c.	F	Yes	Go	kb	sk	sk	?	s	F 2 II XXI
267	Bodl. Laud misc. 633	1182, c.	G	Yes	Mix	sk	sk	s	sk	b	GB Ox II 85
268	BL Add. 46203	1173-92 (1182)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	?	GB BL II 99
269	BnF lat. 16943	1183	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	sk	?	F 3 II XXXVII
270	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1543	1184, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	F 4 II XXVI
271	BL Egerton 2951	1181-87 (1184)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	GB BL II 107
272	Tours BM 344	1185	F	Yes	Go	s	b	s	s	b	F 7 II LI
273	BnF lat. 8898	1180-90 (1185)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	?	F 3 II XXXV
274	Dijon BM 114	1183-88 (1185)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	kb	s	?	F 6 II XVII
275	Tours BM 308	1186	F	Yes	Go	s	sk	s	s	?	F 7 II LI
276	Bodl. Canon. Liturg. 325	1173-1200 (1186)	G	Yes	Mix	s	s	?	s	?	GB Ox II 79
277	Auxerre BM 227	1187, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	?	?	F 6 II XVIII
278	BnF lat. 16528	1188	F	Yes	Go	b	b	b	?	?	F 3 II XXXVIII
279	Auxerre BM 145	1182-97 (1189)	F	Yes	Go	sk	s	s	s	?	F 6 II XVI
280	Cambridge Trinity R. 14. 9 (884)	1188-91 (1189)	E	Yes	Mix	s	sk	s	?	m	GB Ca II 93
281	Leiden UB VLQ 12	1190, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	NL 1 II 101
282	BL Royal 7 F.III	1191 or 1192	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	b	b	GB BL II 109
283*	Oxford Balliol 256	1191, c.	E?								GB Ox II 88
284*	BL Add. 35109	1192	?								GB BL II 110
285	BL Egerton 3031 [f. 13r, not in CMD]	1190-95 (1192)	E	Yes	Go	s	b	b	kb	m	GB BL II 108
286	Bodl. Tanner 169*	1192-93	E	Yes	Go	s	s	?	sk	b	GB Ox II 89
287	Vorau SB Cod. 276 [f. 136v]	1185-1202 (1193)	A	Mix	Ca	s	s	?	s	?	A 7 II 39-40

288	Rome BNC Sess. 2 [f. 352r]	1193?	It	Yes	Mix	b	b	b	b	s	It Roma II 27-28
289	Cambridge Gonville & Caius 427/427	1193-94	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	m	GB Ca II 96
290	Dijon BM 601	1194, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	?	F 6 II XVIII
291	London Lambeth Palace 8	1188-1201 (1194)	E	Yes	Mix	s	b	s	b	b	GB Lond II 17
292	Bodl. Bodley 672	1194?	E	Yes	Go	sk	s	s	s	b	GB Ox II 90
293	BnF lat. 994	1195	F?	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XXI
294	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 264	1195, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	sk	s	?	?	F 4 II XXVIII
295	BL Add. 40007	1195, c.	E	Yes	Go	b	b	s	b	m	GB BL II 112
296	BnF lat. 17801	1184-1207 (1195)	F?	Yes	Go	sk	sk	sk	s	b	F 3 II XXXVII
297	Cambridge Corpus Christi 339	1192-98 (1195)	E	Yes	Go	sk	sk	s	sk	m	GB Ca II 95
298	Bodl. Barlow 6	1187-1205 (1196)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 87
299*	Oxford Christ Church fr. 341	1196 or 97	E								GB Ox II 92
300	BnF lat. 11949	1196, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	F 3 II XXXIX
301	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1145	1191-1201 (1196)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	b	F 4 II XXVII
302	Vorau SB Cod. 33	1197, c.	A	Yes	Mix	b	s	s	sk	?	A 7 II 41
303	BL Harley 1229	1192-1202 (1197)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	b	GB BL II 111
304	ÖNB Cod. 373	1197-98	A	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	m	A 1 II 40
305	Stockholm Statens Historiska Mus. 21288 [f. 31r]	1198, c.	Sw	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	?	S 2 2-3
306	BL Cotton Claudius E.III [f. 10r]	1198?	E	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	s	GB BL II 113
307	Bodl. Rawl. C. 819	1199	F	Yes	Go	b	b	b	?	?	GB Ox II 93
308	Udine Bibl. Arcivescovile 75	1199	A	Yes	Go	kb	kb	b	s	b	It Friulane II [7]
309	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 349	1191-1210 (1199)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 4 II XXVII
310	Reims BM 248	1200, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	s	s	?	F 5 II XVIII
311	Le Mans BM 224	1201, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	kb	s	s	?	F 7 II LIII
312	BnF lat. 2770	1198-1205 (1201)	F	Yes	Go	kb	b	b	s	b	F 2 II XXII
313	BnF lat. 2406	1202	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	b	F 2 II XXIII
314	BL Royal 5 B.XII	1202	E	Yes	Go	?	b	b	b	b	GB BL II 115
315	BnF lat. 2428	1202, c.	F	Yes	Ca	s	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XXIII
316	BnF lat. 1835	1202, c.	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	?	F 2 II XXIV
317	BnF lat. 14853	1202, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	b	s	b	s	F 3 II XXXIX
318	BnF lat. 6191	1200-1203, c. (1202)	F	Yes	Go	?	b	s	s	b	F 2 II XXIV

319	BnF lat. 3549	1198-1207 (1202)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	b	F 2 II XXII
320	London Lambeth Palace 415	1201-05 (1203)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Lond II 20
321	Fitzwilliam Mus. 24	1204	It	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ca II 100
322	Bodl. Canon. Misc. 230	1204	It	Mix	Mix	sk	sk	s	s	?	GB Ox II 96
323	Admont SB Cod. 501 [f. 27v]	1205	A	Yes	Go	?	sk	s	?	b	A 7 II 43-44
324	BL Royal 4 D.VII	1195-1214 (1205)	E	Yes	Go	?	b	s	b	?	GB BL II 121
325	BL Add. 16952	1200-11 (1205)	B	Mix	nt	sk	s	?	sk	b	GB BL II 114
326	Admont SB Cod. 184	1202-08 (1205)	A	Yes	nt	s	s	?	s	?	A 7 II 42
327	BL Cotton Faustina A.VIII	1202-07 (1205)	E	Yes	nt	b	b	s	b	?	GB BL II 116
328*	Bodl. Canon. Liturg. 340	1200-16? (1207)	It								GB Ox II 94
329	Bodl. e Mus. 185	1208?	E	Yes	nt	s	s	?	s	?	GB Ox II 97
330	Friulane Mus. arch. naz. CXXXVII	1200-17 (1208)	It	Yes	Go	s	s	s	sk	b	It Friulane II [8]
331	London Victoria Albert 404-1916	1197?-1220 (1209)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	s	s	b	GB Lond II 18
332	BL Add. 17396	1207-12 (1209)	B	Yes	Go	?	s	s	?	b	GB BL II 117
333	Bodl. Add. A. 197	1203-18 (1210)	It	Yes	Mix	s	s	s	s	?	GB Ox II 95
334	London Lambeth Palace 51	1200-21 (1211)	E	Yes	Go	?	b	s	s	s	GB Lond II 19
335	Rouen BM 74 (A. 183)	1203-20 (1211)	F	Yes	Go	?	s	b	b	?	F 7 II LIII
336	BL Cotton Faustina B.VII	1208-15 (1211)	E	Yes	Go	b	b	s	kb	b	GB BL II 118
337	Avranches BM 214	1210-12 (1211)	F	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	b	F 7 II LIV
338	ÖNB Cod. 1028	1212	A?	Yes	Ca	s	s	?	?	?	A 1 II 41
339	Cambridge Corpus Christi 313	1209-16 (1212)	E	Yes	Go	s	b	?	s	?	GB Ca II 101
340	Stuttgart WLB II 24	1211-13 (1212)	G	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	?	G 3 16
341	BL Harley 447	1212?	E	Yes	Go	?	b	s	b	b	GB BL II 119
342	BnF lat. 3237	1213	F	Yes	Go	s	s	?	s	b	F 2 II XXV
343	BL Cotton Vespasian A.XXII	1214 or 1215	E	Yes	Go	s	?	s	?	m	GB BL II 120
344	Cambridge Corpus Christi 425 vol. I	1209-23 (1215)	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	GB Ca II 102
345	Graz UBi 713 [f. 301v]	1216	A	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	s	A 6 II 1-2
346	BL Egerton 3661	1216?	A	Yes	Go	s	s	?	?	b	GB BL II 122
347	BL Cotton Faustina B.VII	1217, c.	E	Yes	Go	s	s	s	b	?	GB BL II 124
348	Paris Arsenal 887	1218	F?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	s	b	F 1 II XI
349	BL Add. 17742	1218	F	Yes	Go	b	b	b	b	b	GB BL II 125
350	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1741	1218, c.	F	Yes	Go	?	s	?	s	b	F 4 II XXIX

351	London Soc. of Antiquaries 59	1214-22 (1218)	E	Yes	nt	s	s	?	s	?	GB Lond II 21
352	BnF lat. 12833	1216-20 (1218)	F	Yes	Go	?	b	?	?	b	F 3 II XL
353	Cambridge Trinity R. 3. 29 (609)	1219	F	Yes	Mix	s	b	s	s	b	GB Ca II 105
354	Bodl. Lat. liturg. f. 1	1219	F	Yes	Go	sk	b	s	s	?	GB Ox II 98
355	Rome BNC Sess. 51 [f. 1r]	1216-26 (1221)	It	Yes	Mix	?	b	s	s	?	It Roma II 35-36
356	Troyes Médiathèque 597	1216-27 (1221)	?	Yes	Go	b	b	b	b	b	F 5 II XX
357	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 605	1218-24 (1221)	F?	Yes	Go	s	s	s	?	b	F 4 II XXIX
358	Troyes Médiathèque 1158	1218-24 (1221)	F	Yes	Go	b	b	s	b	?	F 5 II XX
359	BL Cotton Tiberius B.II	1221-22	E	Yes	Go	?	b	?	?	?	GB BL II 128
360*	Admont SB Cod. 714	1223	It?								A 7 II 45
361	London Lambeth Palace 236	1215-33 (1223)	E	Yes	Go	b	b	s	?	?	GB Lond II 22
362	Tours BM 1	1223-24	It	Yes	Go	b	b	b	b	b	F 7 II LVI
363	Angers BM 7	1225	F?	Yes	Go	b	b	s	b	b	F 7 II LVI
364*	Graz UBi 1703/137	1225	It								A 6 II 3
365	Bodl. Douce 270	1225-26?	E	Yes	nt	s	kb	?	s	b	GB Ox II 99
366	London Gray's Inn 14	1221-31 (1226)	E	Yes	Go	b	b	s	b	?	GB Lond II 23
367	Orléans BM 129 [f. 1r]	1218-38 (1228)	F	Yes	Go	s	b	s	b	?	F 7 II LV

Hi libri hic habent. Liber regum. Agiographa .i. u. Ysidor ten
Canones .i. u. xx. omelie. Lib. pphetarū. Glossa psalmi. Testimo
nia de uetū testamto. Passiones apłorum. Passionariū. Apłs. Ac
apłorū. Pastoral cura. Regula solitariorū. Romanū ordo. Ignat
Penitentialis. Dialogi .ii. uet / nouus. Missat Inellonis. Omet
.ii. biemat. .ii. estuat. Sinonima ysidori. Missat. .i. Lectionar
Gradat. .iiii. quartū cū sequent. Sequentiarū .iii. Officiat. .i.
Antiphonar. .ii. Ymnar. .iii. Scōrū uite cū omt. .i. u. Matu
.ii. u. Psalmi. .ii. tertū cū ymnar. Regula monach. Vita s. m
Prudentius ymnor. Glosse. .iii. Sup uet / nouū testamē. Med
cinat. .ii. Iul noricorū. Cronica. Priscian maior / minor.
Donati. .iii. Donat maior / minor cū cōmto remigii. .i. v. Com
mto remigii. Isagogi porphirii cū cōmtario boetii maiore
/ minore. Cathegorie aristotelis. P. sū. .ii. Oratiū. Statius.
Terentii. .ii. Iuuenalis. Alciū. Maximian. Homer. .ii.
Virgili. .ii. in. .iii. diuisi. Macrobius. Iuuenius. Cōmtum
sup statū. Aratores. .ii. Alperi. .iii. Seduli. .ii. Salusti. .ii.
Catilinariū. .i. v. Psichimachie libri. .ii. Auliani. .ii. Cato
Boetii. .ii. Seruius sup uirg. Ionariū. Declin. v. Tullius
Martianus. Albinus. Same