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SOME OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING WHETHER
OR NOT BAV VAT. LAT. 1361 IS A TEXT
FROM THE COLLECTION OF ANSELM OF LUCCA (*)

1. The codex. — 2. Contents of the version of *Collectio Anselmi Lucensis* that is found in BAV Vat. lat. 1361. — 2.1. Book 1. — 2.2. The other books. — 3. A possible interpretation of the text history of version V₅. — 4. Conclusion.

In his fundamental work on the history of canonical sources, Alphons Stickler classified the collection found in manuscript BAV Vat. lat. 1361 (hereafter V₅)⁽¹⁾ as depending on the collections of Ivo of Chartres⁽²⁾. BAV Vat. lat. 1361 follows the structure of the Collection of Anselm⁽³⁾, and cites texts of *Panormia* and some other documents. Stickler believed that the canons and other texts which the Vatican manuscript contained had been compiled between 1133 and 1137 in Italy⁽⁴⁾. Kuttner⁽⁵⁾ and Kölzer⁽⁶⁾ asserted that

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(1) A short description of BAV Vat. lat. 1361 can be found in GILCHRIST, J., «The reception of Pope Gregory VII into the canon law (1073-1141)» in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 66 (1980) 192-229, especially 222, 226-227.

(2) STICKLER, A., *Historia iuris canonici latini. Historia fontium*, Taurini 1950. 184-187.

(3) Edition: THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum una cum collectione minore*, I-II. Oeniponte 1906-1915.

(4) STICKLER, A., *Historia*, 187.

(5) KUTTNER, S., «Some Roman manuscripts of canonical collections» in *Bulletin of medieval canon law* 1 (1971) 7-29, especially 9-13.

the manuscript of Vat. lat. 1361 had been copied in a monastery near Bergamo.

1. *The codex.*

This codex contains ⁽⁷⁾ the *Catalogus pontificum* until Innocent II (1130-1143) ⁽⁸⁾; the *Chronica of Isidorus Hispalensis* ⁽⁹⁾; the *Chronicorum Isidori continuatio* ⁽¹⁰⁾; *Catalogus regum Langobardorum et Italicorum Lombardus* ⁽¹¹⁾; *De terminatione provinciarum Italiae* ⁽¹²⁾; *Collectio canonum in 13 libris* ⁽¹³⁾; and the *Etymologiae of Isidorus Hispalensis* ⁽¹⁴⁾.

We can distinguish the various quires: the first is from fol. 1r-8v, the word *aureliam* is to be found at the bottom of the last page. There is a strip of parchment about 1 cm wide after this quire. The situation is similar at fol. 24v, after which there are two strips of parchment. It is very possible that this codex was made of eight folio quires. This is supported by the above mentioned signs found at the end of the quires and by the script style which often changes a little after every eighth folio. The pages of the entire codex were trimmed on at least 3 sides, but in places some short summaries that had originally been in the margins of the folios, opposite the canons they referred to, survived the trimming ⁽¹⁵⁾. These summaries would have been used to quick reference the canons according to theme. Therefore, this book was used somewhere on a regular, even daily basis, where it was important to find the rules quickly.

The Collection of Anselm of Lucca begins on fol. 10ra, where the titles of 13 books (*Capitulatio librorum*) are found. The titles of the canons (*Tabula titulorum*) are found starting on fol. 10rb. This

⁽⁶⁾ KÖLZER, T., «Mönchtum und Kirchenrecht» in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 69 (1983) 121-142, especially 137.

⁽⁷⁾ See KUTTNER, S. - ELZE, R. (ed.), *A Catalogue of Canon and Roman Law Manuscripts in the Vatican Library* (Studi e testi 322), I. Città del Vaticano 1986. 130-132.

⁽⁸⁾ Foll. 1ra-3va.

⁽⁹⁾ Foll. 3vb-6vb.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Foll. 6vb-7ra.

⁽¹¹⁾ Foll. 7rb-8ra.

⁽¹²⁾ Foll. 8rb-9vb.

⁽¹³⁾ Foll. 10ra-258vb.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Foll. 259ra-260ra.

⁽¹⁵⁾ See foll. 45v; 46r; 46v; 47r; 50v; 51r; 51v; 52r; 52v; 53r; 53v; 54r; 55r; 56r; 57v; 58v.

part ends on fol. 24r and there is a new title, «Regula heccllesiastica. Incipit prologus panormi ivonis carnotensis episcopi de mulmoda distinctione scripturum», on the top of fol. 24v. This *Panormia* is the third collection of Ivo, which is usually considered to be later than the *Collectio Tripartita* and the *Decretum*. They all date from between 1093 and 1095⁽¹⁶⁾, and the *Panormia* is based on Ivòs other two collections (*Tripartita*, *Decretum*), furthermore it was the *Collectio in 74 titulos digesta*⁽¹⁷⁾, that exerted the greatest influence on the Collection of Anselm of Lucca⁽¹⁸⁾. When Ivo's text appears on fol. 24v we notice some other changes. First of all, the style of handwriting (n° 2) differs from the previous one (foll. 1ra-9vb), and this style remains up until fol. 32ra. The ruling on the folios is also different, because the writer pressed down on the rule very strongly (the scratch marks are deep) in this part. It seems that the person who coppied Ivo's text ruled the second part of fol. 24v and started writing his addition there. This is supported by the double strips of parchment that separate this new part from Anselm's text.

The next section begins after the first third of fol. 32ra, where a new hand (n° 3) appears and is supplemented with: «*Ex decretis Ormisde pp.*»⁽¹⁹⁾. It changes on fol. 32rb, where a later hand (n° 4) copies four canons under the title: «*Ex registro gregorii de monasiorum fundatoribus.*» This addition ends on the top of fol. 32va and then Book 1 of the Collection of Anselm of Lucca begins on fol. 33ra in the original hand (n° 1). Another significant change can be observed: the ruling on the folios is much weaker and there are prick marks which are similar to marks that appear in some places where this hand first appeared previously. The writing style alters a little throughout Anselm's Collection, but this variation is not too significant and the basic regional style remains throughout. This variation can be explained by differences inherent to the copying process⁽²⁰⁾. The collection finishes on fol. 258vb, and a geneal-

(16) STICKLER, A., *Historia*, 183. ERDŐ, P., *Az egyházjog forrásai. Történeti bevezetés* (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae I/1), Budapest 1998, 156-158.

(17) See FRANSEN, G., «La tradition manuscrit de la "Panormia" d'Ives de Chartes» in *Bulletin of medieval canon law* 17 (1987) 91-95.

(18) For example, SZUROMI, Sz.A., «The rules concerning bishops in the Anselmi collectio canonum. Sources and Discipline» in *Folia Canonica* 3 (2000) 173-183.

(19) The previous canon was by Pope Leo («Unde legitur ... querare debeat.»).

(20) For example, on fol. 51r; foll. 251r; 256r.

ogy of the Old Testament beginning with Adam starts on fol. 259ra. It continues from *Darius* until *Iulius Caesar* on fol. 259vb and fol. 260ra.

2. *Contents of the version of Collectio Anselmi Lucensis that is found in BAV Vat. lat. 1361.*

The contents suggest that this is a real version of the *Collectio Anselmi Lucensis*. If we compare this text with recension 'A' of Anselm's collection⁽²¹⁾ we notice that the first seven books (except Book 1 and Book 5) contain less canons in V₅⁽²²⁾. The number of canons in Books 8 through Book 13 is greater than in recension 'A' and it is significant in the case of Books 9 and 13⁽²³⁾. Ivo's text does not fit into the structure of a canon law collection; instead, it seems to be the latest part of this codex written by a different writer.

2.1. *Book 1.*

The canons of Book 1 differ greatly from recension 'A' and a considerable part is missing in version V₅, which has other canons in place of the missing canons. The missing canons are as follows: c. 1; cc. 3-18; c. 20; cc. 22-34; cc. 36-63; c. 65; c. 68. New canons: cc. 1-13; cc. 17-20; cc. 22-42; cc. 44-64; c. 91. But this is not unique because we know of similar instances concerning the different recensions of Anselm like, for example, the manuscript of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek

⁽²¹⁾ See Milano, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana C 287; BAV Vat. lat. 1363; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12519; Firenze, Bibliotheca Medicea-Laurentiana, Ashburnham MS 53; Firenze, Bibliotheca San Marco MS 499; Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina MS Palt. 976; Napoli, Bibliotheca Nazionale MS XII. A. 37-38-39; Pisa, Bibliotheca Seminaria MS 59; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek MS 351. II; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 269. LANDAU, P., «Die Rezension 'C' der Sammlung des Anselm von Lucca» in *Bulletin of medieval canon law* 16 (1986) 17-54, especially 17. MOTTA, G., «La redazione "A" aucta" della "Collectio Anselmi episcopi Lucensis"» in CASTILLO, L. (ed.), *Studia in honorem Eminentissimi Cardinalis Alphonsi M. Stickler* (Studia et textus historiae iuris canonici 7), Roma 1992. 374-449, especially 388.

⁽²²⁾ The number of the canons of the first seven books in BAV Vat. lat. 1363 (recension 'A') are: 1 cc. 91; 2 cc. 82; 3 cc. 114; 4 cc. 55; 5 cc. 64; 6 cc. 190; 7 cc. 174; in V₅: 1 cc. 91; 2 cc. 57; 3 cc. 83 (The number is 97 in the text because 35 was written after 30, and 89 was written after 78); 4 cc. 52; 5 cc. 119; 6 cc. 149; 7 cc. 108.

⁽²³⁾ The number of the canons from Book 8 to Book 13 in BAV Vat. lat. 1363 (recension 'A') are: 8 cc. 34; 9 cc. 49; 10 cc. 45; 11 cc. 152; 12 cc. 73; 13 cc. 29; in V₅: 8 cc. 36; 9 cc. 145; 10 cc. 63; 11 cc. 151; 12 cc. 71; 13 cc. 111.

Preußischer Kulturbesitz Cod. 597⁽²⁴⁾ which is a witness of recension 'B'⁽²⁵⁾. There Book 7 begins with a canon of Pope Clement I, not with the usual canon from the Council of Toledo IV (c. 23). Book 7 contains newer canons in recension 'B' compared to those of recension 'A'. Naturally, we could give similar examples for recension 'C', and especially for version «Bb». In our opinion the reason for the difference between the various versions listed above is different than the reason for the difference found in the version we are examining here. The first book of V₅ begins by stating the fundamentals of the Catholic faith. Therefore, this entire book is really a Creed. The book is intended to be an introduction into a certain Catholic way of thinking. Several canons found before the uniform text comprising cc. 65 and on, which canons nevertheless quote texts that are in the common text tradition, evidently can not have arisen from the abridgement of a manuscript based for example on recension 'A'. The part comprising cc. 65-90 gives us cause for deliberation⁽²⁶⁾. The compiler of version V₅ follows the 'A' textform in all other cases (except perhaps in Book 9, but we will give an explanation for this later). Why doesn't he do so in the case of Book 1 as well? The answer is very simple, because, as is evident from the content of the book, the intention of the compiler of V₅ was different than that of the compiler of 'A'. The former wanted to give an introduction on the fundamental constitution of the Church, and he includes there the question of papal primacy. Something somewhat similar can be seen in Book 1 c. 1 of recension 'A', but

⁽²⁴⁾ See GILCHRIST, J., «The "Collectio canonum" of Bishof Anselm II of Lucca (d. 1086). Recension "B" of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Cod. 597» in ALZATI, C. (ed.), *Cristianità ed Europa* (Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi), Roma 1994. 377-403.

⁽²⁵⁾ The number of the canons in recension 'B' (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Cod. 597; and Biblioteca Università di Bologna MS 375 until Book 4) are: 1 cc. 90; 2 cc. 82; 3 cc. 117; 4 cc. 55 (57 in Bologna MS 375); 5 cc. 83; 6 cc. 199; 7 cc. 203; 8 cc. 38; 9 cc. 66; 10 cc. 55; 11 (12 in recension 'A') cc. 75; 12 (13 in recension 'A') cc. 30. About the codex of Bologna: PAOLINI, L., «La "Collectio canonum" di Anselmo da Lucca» in *Il Carobbio* 5 (1979) 367-372.

⁽²⁶⁾ *Book 1*: V₅ c. 65 = 'A' c. 64; V₅ c. 66 = 'A' c. 66; V₅ c. 67 = 'A' c. 69; V₅ c. 68 = 'A' c. 70; V₅ c. 69 = 'A' c. 71; V₅ c. 70 = 'A' c. 72; V₅ c. 71 = 'A' c. 73; V₅ c. 72 = 'A' c. 74; V₅ c. 73 = 'A' c. 75; V₅ c. 74 = 'A' c. 76; V₅ c. 75 = 'A' c. 77; V₅ c. 76 = 'A' c. 78; V₅ c. 77 = 'A' c. 79/1; V₅ c. 78 = 'A' c. 79/2; V₅ c. 79 = 'A' c. 80/1; V₅ c. 80 = 'A' c. 80/2; V₅ c. 81 = 'A' c. 81; V₅ c. 82 = 'A' c. 82; V₅ c. 83 = 'A' c. 83; V₅ c. 84 = 'A' c. 84; V₅ c. 85 = 'A' c. 85; V₅ c. 86 = 'A' c. 86; V₅ c. 87 = 'A' c. 87/1; V₅ c. 88 = 'A' c. 87/2; V₅ c. 89 = 'A' c. 88; V₅ c. 90 = 'A' c. 89.

here only St. Peter's authority is considered⁽²⁷⁾. Book 1 of versio V₅ speaks to a different audience, than does recension 'A'. The fundamentals of ecclesiastical knowledge are important for that audience.

We have to consider the similarities and differences between versio V₅ and recension 'A'. Because the question we must ask is, which is the older textform? We know the usual answer, i.e., that recension 'A' is. But the problem is not so simple. If, for example, we examine Book 3 of version «Bb»⁽²⁸⁾, we will find that some of the canons are missing⁽²⁹⁾, others are altered⁽³⁰⁾ and still other new canons (compared with those of recension 'A') have been added⁽³¹⁾. It seems quite certain that the text form followed was a text similar in tradition to recension 'A', because in many places it is evident that new canons were placed between or after the original canons⁽³²⁾. The new canons relate to the original canons either according to theme or author, moreover, for the most part, these new canons illustrate the problem from a different point of view. Therefore, the text grew as the questions were explicated. We do not want to get into an analysis of the text of «Bb», except to mention that its text tradition looks younger than all other known versions, not only according to the structure of the text, but also in light of the new authors (Pope Urban II [1088-1099], Pope Paschal II [1099-1118]), who appear there. In our opinion it may date from between 1115 and 1118⁽³³⁾.

We recommend reversing the question concerning the relationship between version V₅ and recension 'A'. Omitting the first part of

(27) «In novo testamento post Christum dominum nostrum a Petro sacerdotalis coepit ordo, quia ipsi primo pontificatus in ecclesia Christi datus est dicente Domino ad eum: "Tu es, inquit, Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum". Hic ergo ligandi solvendique licentiam primus accepit a Domino primusque ad fidem populum gratia Dei virtute suae predicationis adduxit». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 7.

(28) BAV Barberinus lat. 535.

(29) Cc. 4; 7; 9; 22; 31; 40; 42; 50; 52; 56; 65; 74; 75; 79-89; 94-98.

(30) «Bb» Book 3 c. 91 = 'A' Book 3 c. 43.

(31) «Bb» Book 3 cc. 4; 8; 21; 30; 34; 36; 40; 42-43; 45; 49; 54; 58-60; 77-80; 84-90; 92; 97-101; 114-123.

(32) See, for example, «Bb» fol. 27r; fol. 39v; fol. 45r.

(33) We place the date of recension 'B' and 'C' earlier, perhaps between 1105-1107. See SZUROMI, Sz. A., *A püspökökre vonatkozó egyházfegyelmi szabályok az Anselmi Collectio Canonumban* (Bibliotheca Institutii Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae IV/1), Budapest 2000. 191-195.

a certain book for some unknown reason and then finishing it using the same canons (namely cc. 65-90) — which even have the same numbers — doesn't seem logical. Let's not forget that V_5 never inserts new canons in among canons which belong to the text form of recension 'A'. It usually leaves some of them which interpret the same question. And there's still one more question to answer: Why would a compiler change his original intention after having written only one book? On the other hand, if we suppose that recension 'A' is later than version V_5 , the new material of Book 1 would be understandable. Version V_5 appears to us to have been a work used for teaching, given the contents of Book 1 (introduction to the faith, etc.), the character of which is well suited to the teaching methods utilized in cathedral schools. It could well have been the basis of a more developed version, which was better for consultation on a regular or even daily basis. It could also have been used for teaching. This supposition is supported by the existence of those small groups of supplementary canons inserted into recension 'A'. But can this theory still be supported after turning our attention from Book 1 and considering the rest of the books that follow?

2.2. *The other books.*

We can recognize the structure of the text of recension 'A' perfectly in version V_5 starting with Book 2⁽³⁴⁾. When compared with recension 'A' some canons or groups of canons are missing from version V_5 , i.e.: Book 2 cc. 5-6; c. 9; cc. 13-14; c. 16; cc. 30-31; cc. 38-43; cc. 47-49; cc. 55-63; c. 65; cc. 69-71; c. 76; c. 81; Book 3 c. 16; cc. 23-24; c. 27; c. 29; c. 33; c. 35; cc. 37-41; cc. 48-49; cc. 54-55; cc. 57-61; cc. 65-66; cc. 74-75; c. 86; cc. 100-101; cc. 107-109; cc. 111-112; Book 4 (only a summary of c. 3 exists); c. 15; cc. 17-18; c. 24; c. 26; c. 29; c. 32; cc. 40-43; cc. 46-51; c. 54; Book 5 c. 2; c. 5; cc. 8-9; cc. 26-27; cc. 34-35; c. 39; c. 58; cc. 62-63; Book 6 cc. 4-5; c. 12; c. 14; cc. 25-28; cc. 30-32; c. 38; c. 42; cc. 49-50; cc. 52-53; c. 57; c. 67; cc. 70-71; c. 73; cc. 75-76; c. 78; cc. 81-82; c. 84; cc. 88-89; cc. 95-96; c. 98; cc. 101-102; cc. 104-105; cc. 108-110; cc. 116-118; c. 121; cc. 123-126; c. 132; cc. 137-138; cc. 140-142; c. 144; c. 149; c. 151; c. 158; c. 163; c. 165; cc. 172-174; cc. 178-181; c. 183; cc. 187-190; Book 7 cc. 1-2; cc. 7-15; c. 25; cc. 27-28; cc. 33-36; c. 41; c. 45; c.

(34) See appendix: Canons of Version V_5 which Correspond to Recension 'A'.

53; c. 55; c. 59; c. 61; cc. 63-64; cc. 70-71; cc. 73-74; cc. 76-77; cc. 79-80; c. 85; c. 87; c. 89; c. 93; c. 99; cc. 95-96; c. 98; cc. 101-102; c. 105; cc. 107-109; c. 112; cc. 116-117; c. 120; cc. 122-123; cc. 125-128; cc. 130-134; c. 137; c. 140; c. 144; cc. 147-149; c. 151; c. 153; cc. 156-157; c. 161; Book 8 cc. 2-7; c. 9; c. 11; c. 16; c. 19; Book 9 cc. 7-9; c. 14; cc. 16-48 (except for 25); Book 11 c. 87; c. 110⁽³⁵⁾; Book 12 c. 17; c. 19; c. 27; c. 35; cc. 38-39; c. 58; c. 62; c. 65; c. 67; Book 13 c. 17; c. 25; cc. 28-29.

Some canons in this version have been combined, i.e.: V₅, Book 4 c. 27 = 'A' Book 4 cc. 35-36; Book 4 c. 28 = 'A' Book 4 cc. 37-38; Book 4 c. 33 = 'A' Book 4 cc. 53, 55; Book 5 c. 20 = 'A' Book 5 cc. 24-25; Book 6 c. 49 = 'A' Book 6 cc. 68-69; Book 6 c. 68 = 'A' Book 6 cc. 106-107; Book 6 c. 81 = 'A' Book 6 cc. 131, 133; Book 6 c. 97 = 'A' Book 6 cc. 157, 159; Book 7 c. 23 = 'A' Book 7 cc. 43-44; Book 8 c. 22 = 'A' Book 8 cc. 32-33⁽³⁶⁾; Book 11 c. 9 = 'A' Book 11 cc. 8-9; Book 11 c. 55 = 'A' Book 11 cc. 55-56; Book 11 c. 132 = 'A' Book 11 cc. 135-136; Book 12 c. 20 = 'A' Book 12 cc. 23-24.

Some canons, however, have been divided in two, i.e.: Book 1 cc. 77-78 = 'A' Book 1 c. 79⁽³⁷⁾; Book 1 cc. 79-80 = 'A' Book 1 c. 80⁽³⁸⁾; Book 1 cc. 87-88 = 'A' Book 1 c. 87⁽³⁹⁾; Book 3 cc. 64-65 = 'A' Book 3 c. 88⁽⁴⁰⁾; Book 11 cc. 1-2 = 'A' Book 11 c. 1⁽⁴¹⁾.

⁽³⁵⁾ Version V₅ does not contain the text of Pope Silvester that is situated at the end of Book 11 after the last canon (c. 152) without a number in BAV Vat. lat. 1363 fol. 207r.

⁽³⁶⁾ V₅, Book 8 c. 22 contains 'A' Book 8 c. 32 until the middle of the 20th line («Si lapsis ad suum ordinem [...] ne ad sacri ordinis»), where it inserts «privazione» and then continues from the 3rd word of the 2nd line of 'A' Book 8 c. 33 until the end of c. 33 ([...] «volumus permanere nec umquam [...] aliqua studeat immutatione prebere.»). We use the numeration employed by Thaner.

⁽³⁷⁾ V₅, Book 1 c. 77 contains 'A' Book 1 c. 79 until the 23rd line («Et quia primum apostolicae memoriae (...) Omnes respondent: Consentimus.»), and then this canon continues in V₅, Book 1 c. 78 («Johannes episcopus Karolo, glorioso regi [...] populi Christiani eligendam esse speravimus.»).

⁽³⁸⁾ V₅, Book 1 c. 79 contains 'A' Book 1 c. 80 until the 22nd line («Quod autem postulasti te [...] de ordinatione Clementis in qua sic ait»), and then this canon continues in V₅, Book 1 c. 80 («Si quis amicus fuerit his quibus ipse [...] nichil sublimius episcopus reperiri.»).

⁽³⁹⁾ V₅, Book 1 c. 87 contains 'A' Book 1 c. 87 until the 72nd line («Inter claras sapientiae [...] sancte ac religiosissime pater.»), and then this canon continues in V₅, Book 1 c. 88 («Liquet igitur, gloriosissime imperator [...] gloriosissime et clementissime imperator Auguste.»).

⁽⁴⁰⁾ V₅, Book 3 c. 64 contains 'A' Book 3 c. 88 until the 8th line («Dei ordina-

There are two instances of a book beginning with a canon without a number in front of it in such a way that the canon seems like the title of the book. These books are the following: Book 7 c. (0) = 'A' Book 7 c. 3; Book 10 c. (0) = 'A' Book 10 c. 1.

Finally, we were able to find new materials, i.e.: Book 2 cc. 51-57; Book 3 cc. 96-97 (those are really cc. 82-83); Book 4 cc. 34-52; Book 5 cc. 52-119; Book 6 cc. 114-149; Book 7 cc. 100-108; Book 8 cc. 24-36; Book 9 cc. 11-145⁽⁴²⁾; Book 10 cc. 46-63; Book 11 cc. 149-151 Book 12 cc. 61-72; Book 13 cc. 26-111. However, no new material could be found within the common tradition of Anselm's recensions. Version V₅ could not be simply an « excerpta ». This evidence seems to us to indicate a relationship between version V₅ and recension 'A' which is very similar to the relationship existing between recension 'A' and version « Bb »⁽⁴³⁾. The textual differences do not indicate a change in the intention or essence of the collection. This is the reason why we can assert that codex V₅ is another type of the Collection of Anselm just like recensions 'A', 'B', 'C' and the « Bb » form.

Based on the data that has been written above it is perceptible, that for any given topic one or two canons are generally missing from version V₅ compared with recension 'A'. If we try to analyse the missing canons according to content and author, then we will find the following pattern: If the question was explained in detail in a certain canon, the next one that deals with the same topic is missing (see, for example, Book 4 c. 29)⁽⁴⁴⁾. If the missing canon deals with

tionem accusat [...] sententiam suscipiat excommunicationis. »), and then this canon continues in V₅, Book 3 c. 65 (« Placuit etiam ut semper primo [...] ita ut ecclesiasticum ultra non solvat canonem. »).

(41) V₅, Book 11 c. 1 contains 'A' Book 11 c. 1 until the 2nd word of the 15th line (« Agunt homines ante baptismum [...] hoc gravi peccato ageret poenitentiam. »), and then this canon continues in V₅, Book 11 c. 2 (« Est enim poenitentia humilium [...] agere poenitentiam non cessamus. »).

(42) Except: c. 41; c. 114; c. 115.

(43) See BAV Barberinus lat. 535 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12450-12451.

(44) 'A' Book 4 c. 28. (*Symmachus pp.*) « Mansuro cum domini Dei nostri consideratione decreto sancimus, ut nulli apostolicae sedis presuli a presenti die, donec disponente Domino catholicae fidei manserit doctrina salutaris, liceat predium rusticum, quantaecumque fuerit vel magnitudinis vel exiguitatis, sub perpetua alienatione vel commutatione ad cuiuslibet iura transferre. Nec Cuiusquam excusentur necessitatis obtentu, quippe cum non sit personale quod loquimur; nec aliquis clericorum vel laicorum sub occasione accepta tueatur. Sed nec in usufructus rura aliquibus dari liceat nec data re-

a similar topic and was written by the same author, then it is usually missing (see, for example, Book 4 c. 32; Book 7 c. 112)⁽⁴⁵⁾. A papal canon inserted between texts quoting conciliar material is usually

tineri, preter clericos et captivos atque peregrinos, ne malae tractationis ministretur occasio, cum liberalitati illi alia itinera reserventur. Sane tantum domus quibuslibet uribus constitutae, quarum statum necesse est expensa non modica sustentari, acceptis, si offeri contingerit, sub iusta existimatione reeditibus, et divini timore iudicii commodentur.» THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 203-204.

'A' Book 4 c. 29 (*Symmachus pp.*) «Pari etiam ecclesiarum per omnes Romanae civitatis titulos, qui sunt presbyteri, vel quicumque futuri sunt, astringi volumus lege custodes, quia nefas dictum est obligatione, qua se per caritatem Christi connecit summus pontifex, ea hominem secundi in ecclesia Dei ordinis non teneri. Quicumque tamen oblitus Dei et decreti huius immemor, cuius Romanae civitatis sacerdotes volumus religiosis nexibus devinciri, in constitutum presens committens quicumque de iure titularum ecclesiae superius prefatae, quolibet modo preter aurum argentum vel gemmas vestes quoque si sunt vel si accesserunt, aliqua mobilia ad ornamenta divina minime pertinentia perpetuo iure, exceptis dumtaxat sub prefata conditione domibus, alienare temptaverit; donator alienator ac venditor honoris sui amissione multetur.» THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 204-205.

Here are some similar instances: Book 3 c. 33; cc. 48-49; cc. 54-55; cc. 59-61; cc. 65-66; Book 5 cc. 62-63; Book 6 cc. 70-71; etc.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ 'A' Book 4 c. 31 (*Johannes VIII pp.*) «Auctoritate summi iudicis domini nostri Jesu Christi et principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli simul et omnium sanctorum precipimus decernimus et modis omnibus interdicimus, ut amodo et deinceps nullus quilibet homo petat patrimonia sanctae nostrae ecclesiae, Apiae videlicet et Lavanense vel Campaninum, Tiburtinum, Traiectanum, Theatinum utrumque Savinense et Tusciae, porticum sancti Petri, monetam Romanam, ordinaria et actionaria, publica, ripa I. ripam portus et ostia. Sed haec omnia in usum salarii sacri palatii Lateranensis perpetualiter maneat, et si quis haec beneficialiter vel alio quolibet modo subtrahere quovis tempore voluerit, anathema sit. *Et infra.* Quod si quisquam huic decreto nostro contraire presumpserit, scilicet eadem patrimonia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae beneficiali seu quolibet more sibi amodo dari petierit aut volenti dare consenserint: et qui dat et qui recipit anathema sit.» THANER F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 205-206.

'A' Book 4 c. 32 (*Item de eadem re. Idem in eodem*) «Si quis de massis sive de colonis eorundem patrimoniorum sancti Petri apostoli aut precepta sibi fieri postulaverit aut postulanti aut suadenti consenserit, Ananiae et Saphirae, qui de propriis mentientes ante pedes apostolorum expiraverunt, poena multetur. Et non solum is, apud quem de predictis rebus precepti alicuius series inventa fuerit, res illas cum frugibus quibus ex eis abusus est ex toto restituat, sed eadem scriptura cassata nichil per illam proficiat, verum etiam cum omnibus sibi consentientibus perpetuo anathemate percussus cum Juda traditore domini nostri Jesu Christi aeterni ignis incendiis exuratur.» THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 206.

'A' Book 7 c. 112 (*Hieronymus*) «Idem presbyter qui et episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent et diceretur in populis: Ego sum Pauli ego autem Cephae, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur. Postquam

missing (see, for example, Book 7 cc. 53; 89) ⁽⁴⁶⁾. A short canon for the interpretation of a given question is usually missing (see, for example, Book 7 c. 105) ⁽⁴⁷⁾. Sometimes the canon following the miss-

autem unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos esse putabat non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris super poneretur ceteris, ad quem omnis cura ecclesiae pertineret et scismatum semina tollerentur. *Et paulo post*. Sicut ergo prebyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiae consuetudine ei qui sibi prepositus fuerit esse subiectos, ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicae veritate presbyteris esse maiores et in communione debere ecclesiam regere». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 410.

'A' Book 7 c. 113 (*Hieronymus*) « Ecce ego dico presentibus episcopis suis atque astantibus in altario presbyteros posse sacramenta conficere, sed quia scriptum est: Presbyteri duplici honore honorentur, maxime qui laborant in verbo Dei predicare eos decet. Utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare, convenit reddere communionem, necesse est visitare infirmos, orare pro invalidis atque omnia Dei sacramenta complere. Nemo hic episcoporum invidia diabolicae temptationis infletur, irascatur interdum si presbyteri exhortentur plebem, si in ecclesiis predicent, si plebi, ut scriptum est, benedicant. Etenim obvianti mihi ista sic dicam, qui non vult presbyteros facere quod iubetur a Deo, dicat qui maior est Christo, aut quid poterit corpori eius aut sanguini eius anteponi? Si presbyter Christum consecrat, cum in altario Dei sacramenta benedicit, benedicere populum non debet, quia Christum meruit consecrare? Circa laicos ac mulieres iubentibus vobis iniustissimi sacerdotes presbyter Dei benedictionis perdit officia amittit linguae opus non habet confidentiam predicandi: truncatus omni parte virtutum solum presbyteri nomen habet plenitudinem ac perfectionem quae consecrationi eius competit non retentat. Qui, hic rogo, sacerdotes honor vester est, ut dampnum gibbi l. gregibus inferatis, quoniam, cum pastoribus per potentiam aufertur Deo digna diligentia, contagium quoddam et calamitas crescit in gregibus? Adeo non patrimonii dampna conquiritis, dum soli vultis in ecclesiis potentari? Presbyteri ab initio negotiorum iudices esse mandati sunt, presbyteri sacerdotum interesse concilio. Quoniam et ipsi presbyteri, ut legimus, episcopi nominantur, secundum quod dictum est ad episcopum, quae tibi data est per impositionem manuum presbyterii. Et alibi ad maiores natu: qui vos posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam suam. Sed oderunt hoc superbi sacerdotes in presbyteri nomine qui nolunt hoc esse quod Christus, qui discipulorum pedes lavit, qui baptizatus a Johanne est, licet baptizandum se esse Johannes a Domino proclamaret. Quod propterea scribo, ut ea si preteriti temporis error iam non potest revocari vel ad presens in ecclesiis faciant quod Romae sui <1. sive> quod in Oriente sui quod in Africa quod in Hispania quod in Britannia quod in Gallia quod in omnibus locis, ubi humilitas perseverat, quod in coelis quod maius est, ubi sedes eorum legis esse disposita l. dispositas ». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 410-411.

Here are some similar instances: Book 3 c. 35; Book 4 c. 17; c. 24; c. 54; Book 5 c. 5; c. 26; Book 6 c. 12; c. 38; c. 42; c. 57; c. 67; c. 73; c. 78; c. 172; etc.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ 'A' Book 7 c. 52 (*Conc. Carth.*) « Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manus super caput illius ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur ». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 385.

'A' Book 7 c. 53 (*Gelasius pp.*) « Diacones propriam constituimus servare men-

ing canon(s) is closer in theme to the previous canon than the omitted canon or canons were (see, for example, Book 4 cc. 40-43) ⁽⁴⁸⁾. On the basis of the above evidence we can conclude the fol-

suram, nec ultra tenorem paternis canonibus deputatum quippiam tentare permittimus et nichil eorum suo ministerio penitus applicare quae primis ordinibus proprie decrevit antiquitas. Absque episcopo vel presbytero baptizare non audeant, nisi predicti fortassis longius constitutis necessitas extrema compellat. Quod et laicis christianis facere plerumque conceditur». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 385.

'A' Book 7 c. 54 (*Conc. Niceanum*) «In sua diaconi mensura permaneant scientes quod episcoporum quidem ministri sunt, inferiores autem presbyteris habeantur. Per ordinem ergo post presbyteros gratiam sacrae communionis accipiant, aut episcopo eis aut presbytero porringente. Sed nec sedere in medio presbyterorum diacones liceat, quia si hoc fiat preter regulam probatur existere. Si quis autem etiam post has diffinitiones obedire noluerit, a ministerio cessare debet». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 385-386.

'A' Book 7 c. 88 (*Conc. Chalcedonensis*) «Nullum absolute ordinari debere presbyterum aut diaconum nec quemlibet in gradu ecclesiastico nisi specialiter ecclesiae civitatis aut possessionis aut martyrii aut monasterii qui ordinandus est pronuntietur. Qui vero absolute ordinatur, decrevit sancta synodus, irritam haberi huiusmodi manus impositionem et nusquam posse ministrare ad ordinantis iniuriam». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 400.

'A' Book 7 c. 89 (*Anacletus pp.*) «Presbyter ad qualemcumque locum vel ecclesiam in eo constitutam est proficiendus atque in ea diebus vitae suae perdurandus». THANER, F., (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 401.

'A' Book 7 c. 90 (*Conc. Niceanum*) «Quicumque temere ac periculose neque timore Domini pre oculis habentes nec agnoscentes ecclesiasticam regulam discedunt ab ecclesia presbyteri aut diaconi, vel quicumque sub regula prorsus existunt, hi nequaquam debent in alia ecclesia recipi, sed omnem necessitatem convenit illis imponi, ut ad suas parochias revertantur. Quod si non fecerint, oportet eos communionem privari». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 401.

Here are some similar instances: Book 3 cc. 100-101; Book 6 c. 75; cc. 104-105; cc. 109-110; Book 8 c. 16; etc.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ 'A' Book 7 c. 104 «Nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio vel Filium pro Patre nominet, et cum ad altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quicumque sibi preces alias describit non eis utatur, nisi prius eas instructoribus fratribus contulerit». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 405.

'A' Book 7 c. 105 «Ecclesias singulis presbyteris dedimus». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 405. This short canon refers («Require retro») to Book 5 c. 63, which is also missing from version V₅. Here are some similar instances: Book 3 cc. 23-24; c. 27; cc. 57-58; c. 74; Book 4 c. 15; Book 5 c. 2; Book 5 cc. 8-9; cc. 34-35; Book 6 c. 32; c. 142; c. 149; Book 7 c. 45; cc. 73-74; c. 95; etc.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ 'A' Book 4 c. 39 (*Imp. Valentinianus*) «Universas terras, quae a colonis dominicis iuris reipublicae vel iuri l. iuris templorum in qualibet provincia venditae vel ullo alio pacto alienatae sunt, ab his qui perperam atque contra leges eas detinent nulla longi temporis prescriptione officiente iubemus restitui, ita ut ne pretium quidem iniquis

lowing: the missing canons always contain further information about a certain problem, and therefore represent «extra» additions to the original theme. Consequently, it is evident that the structure of the text of version V₅ is earlier than the structure of recension 'A', which contains typical interpretative supplements to the text of V₅. This is very similar to the supplements in version «Bb» as compared with recension 'A', but in this case recension 'A' contains the new material, not version V₅.

Naturally we have not spoken here about the final new material, that is situated at the end of almost every book. That new material,

comparatoribus repscere liceat. Data V. Non. Jul. Valentiniano et Eutropio consulibus». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 218.

'A' Book 4 c. 40, *Summarium*: «Quod prima sedes a nullo iudicanda est.» (*Silvester pp.*). THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 218.

'A' Book 4 c. 41, *Summarium*: «Ut nullus regum censuram canonum violari permittat.» (*Adrianus pp.*). THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 219.

'A' Book 4 c. 42, *Summarium*: «Ut ex propria dioecesi a clero et populo episcopi eligantur.» (*Capit. Karoli et Ludouici*). THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 219.

'A' Book 4 c. 43, *Summarium*: «Ut res ecclesiis concessae nullam divisionem vel iacturam patiantur» (*Capit. Karoli et Ludouici*). THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 219.

'A' Book 4 c. 44 (*Nicolaus pp.*) «Oportet vestrum imperiale decus, quod in omnibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus vigere audivimus, ut antiquum morem quem nostra ecclesia habuit vestris temporibus restaurare dignemini, quatenus vicem quam nostra sedes per episcopos vestris in partibus constitutos habuit, videlicet Thessalonicensem, qui Romanae sedis vicem per Epyrum veterem Epyrumque novum atque Illyricum, Macedoniam, Thessaliam, Achaïam, Datiam repensem, Daciam mediterraneam, Mysiam, Dardaniam et Prebalim beato Petro apostolorum principi contradicere nullus presumat. Quae antecessorum nostrorum temporibus scilicet Damasi Siricii Innocentii Bonifacii Caelestini Sixti Leonis Hilarii Simplicii Felicis atque Hormisdæ sanctorum pontificum dispositionibus agebatur. Quorum denique institutiones ab eis illis in partibus destinatas per nostros missos, ut rei veritatem cognoscere queatis, vestrae Augustali potentiae dirigere curavimus. § Preterea Calabritanum patrimonium Siculumque, quae nostrae ecclesiae concessa fuerunt et ea possidenda obtinuit, et disponendo per suos familiares regere studuit, vestris concessionibus redantur, quoniam irrationabile est, ut ecclesiae possessiones, unde luminaria et concinationes ecclesiae Dei fieri debent, terrena quavis potestate subtrahantur, sed domui Dei restituae meritum redditore multiplicent, et suscipientis votum spiritualis desiderii lucris exerceatur. § Inter ista et superius dicta volumus, ut consecratio Syracusano archiepiscopo nostra a sede impendatur, ut traditio ab apostolis instituta nullatenus vestris temporibus violetur». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 220.

Here are some similar instances: Book 4 cc. 46-51; Book 7 cc. 7-15; etc.

as in version «Bb», is a later addition to the text that was inserted after the original text according to theme, without any structure⁽⁴⁹⁾. If we check the text of Bibliothèque Nationale Paris lat. 12450-12451, which is a 16th century version of «Bb», we can see how the new canons, which were originally at the end of each book, have been inserted according to theme into the original text⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Now let's examine Books 9 and 10, because they can provide us with more proof. Book 9 begins in a similar way in both version V₅ and recension 'A'. Version V₅ omits cc. 7-9 and 14, but it quotes c. 15. There follows new material until c. 145. Only three of these canons can be found in recension 'A' (i.e., cc. 41; 114; 115). Now, many canons are missing from this book and we would like to know the reason⁽⁵¹⁾.

Version V₅ contains the whole of Book 10 in form 'A'; moreover V₅ contains a supplement of c. 4 as well⁽⁵²⁾. The new material is only eighteen canons at the end of the book. This is the only book that does not omit any canon. We think that the topic dealt with there is the reason for this. The title of Book 9 is the sacraments, and that of Book 10 is marriage. We know the sacraments were

⁽⁴⁹⁾ The following canons represent new material in version «Bb» that has been inserted in the text among the original canons of each book listed here. Book 1 c. 9; c. 39; c. 70; c. 74; c. 83; Book 2 c. 13; c. 14; c. 28; c. 33; c. 39; c. 77; Book 3 c. 4; c. 8; c. 21; c. 30; c. 34; c. 36; c. 40; cc. 42-43; c. 45; c. 49; c. 54; cc. 58-60; cc. 77-80; cc. 84-86; cc. 88-90; cc. 97-101; Book 4 c. 28; c. 39; cc. 42-44; c. 47; Book 5 c. 5; c. 12; c. 21; c. 29; c. 36; c. 40; cc. 44-46; c. 53; c. 57; Book 6 c. 4; c. 6; c. 9; c. 24; c. 29; c. 31; cc. 70-71; c. 89; c. 116; c. 126; cc. 149-150; c. 155; c. 172; c. 175; c. 177; c. 179; c. 181; c. 206; Book 7 cc. 2-3; c. 7; c. 19; c. 27; cc. 37-38; c. 47; c. 56; cc. 61-62; c. 82; cc. 89-91; cc. 96-97; c. 101; c. 113; c. 134; c. 163; c. 167; cc. 171-172; cc. 179-182; c. 185; and also at the end of the books listed here Book 1 c. 94; Book 3 cc. 114-123; Book 4 cc. 59-62; Book 5 cc. 75-83; Book 6 cc. 210-214; Book 7 cc. 203-210. And we find new material without numbering after the numbered canons at the end of some books (For example, 4 canons in Book 1).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ The canon numbers of Bibliothèque Nationale Paris lat. 12450-12451 often differ from those of BAV Barberinus lat. 535 because there are a greater number of supplementary canons.

⁽⁵¹⁾ V₅, Book 9 c. 45 = 'A' Book 9 c. 16; V₅, Book 9 c. 114 = 'A' Book 9 c. 25; V₅, Book 9 c. 115 = 'A' Book 9 c. 49.

⁽⁵²⁾ V₅, Book 10 c. 3 = 'A' Book 10 c. 4. «Ne quisquam amplius quam duas uxores accipiat, quia iam tertia superflua est». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 484. V₅, Book 10 c. 4 = 'A' Book 10 c. 4'. «De his quoque qui mortua prima uxore secundas nuptias contrahere volunt iuste et honeste ac rationalibiter perspeximus ab earum consanguineis usque ad quartum gradum genealogiae eos abstinere». THANER, F. (ed.), *Anselmi Collectio canonum*, 484.

the subject of great debate in the Carolingian Age, especially baptism⁽⁵³⁾. But this discussion was over by the late 9th Century. After that time marriage, particularly with regard to teaching (i.e., its validity, the degrees of consanguinity, impediments, etc.) became a central question⁽⁵⁴⁾. Marriage was one of the most important courses in the *curriculum* of the cathedral schools. The other sacraments were also treated at the schools but only tangentially. Therefore, Book 9 has the characteristic flavor of cathedral school teaching and thus supports our assertion that this text was used in teaching, there the text could be developed and supplemented according to new emphases.

3. *A possible interpretation of the text history of version V₅.*

Based on the text of V₅, if we omit the new material in V₅, recension 'A' seems to us to be the enlarged text that filled version V₅. Indeed, the form of V₅ looks older than the all other recensions, because they are developments of form 'A', whereas recension 'A' develops from form V₅. The author compiled his work around 1081. His intention was to teach the basic elements of canon law and introduce his students to the discipline of the Church. The original contents of Anselm's collection in V₅ are as follows: Book 1 cc. 1-90; Book 2 cc. 1-50; Book 3 1-95; Book 4 cc. 1-34; Book 5 cc. 1-51; Book 6 cc. 1-113; Book 7 cc. (0)1-99; Book 8 cc. 1-23; Book 9 cc. 1-10; Book 10 cc. (0)1-45; Book 11 cc. 1-148; Book 12 cc. 1-60; Book 13 cc. 1-25. All this could be the nucleus of recension 'A'. According to this analyse, Book 11 seems to belong to the original part of the collection. Moreover recension 'A' is only two canons larger here than original material of version V₅⁽⁵⁵⁾.

When this nucleus was copied, it was also enlarged at the beginning of the 12th Century (around 1100)⁽⁵⁶⁾, but the new canons did not destroy the original structure of the text because all of them were

⁽⁵³⁾ See IMBERT, J., *Les temps Carolingiens (741-891). L'Église: Les institutions* (Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Église en Occident V/I), Paris 1994. 53-59.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ See GAUDEMET, J., *Le mariage en Occident. Les moeurs et le droit*, Paris 1987, 99-140.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ 'A' Book 11 c. 87; c. 110.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Among the new canons in Book 4 we find one canon (c. 50), that contains a text by Pope Urban II (1088-1099).

placed after the old canons in each book. Sometime between 1132-1137 this collection was supplemented with some folios (foll. 25r-32v). This part contains Ivo's *Panormia*, which appeared to the copier to be very similar to Anselm's text. He also used the empty part of fol. 24v, but his technique was different. This *codex* was used at that time on a regular even daily basis; therefore summaries of the canons were written opposite the text in the margin to facilitate this use of the *codex*.

4. *Conclusion.*

Based on what has been said above, the following observations can be made regarding the BAV Vat. lat. 1361. This *codex* is very probably a copy of the *Collection of Anselm of Lucca*, from the first part of the 12th Century. The structure of its text can be fit into the scheme for the development of the various extant forms of Anselm's text which were mainly supplemented with canons quoted by Ivo of Chartres⁽⁵⁷⁾. Perhaps this is the reason why a copier of *Panormia* placed Ivo's text into the original *codex*. The codicological and paleographical evidence clearly indicate that this new part is simply a supplement. The part containing Ivo's text differs from the part containing Anselm's in handwriting style and ruling technique. Therefore the BAV Vat. lat. 1361 is a *colligatum*, that is based on an original copy of the *Collection of Anselm of Lucca*.

This textform, which is preserved in version V₅, apart from the supplementary canons (at the end of each book), appears to be earlier than the textform of recension 'A', and this assertion is supported by the textualcritical analyse that we have conducted on every book. We can figure out the motives for the textual development by examining the contents of the supplementary canons, which appear in the various versions of the text. The motive behind this development is certainly teaching, — the teaching that originally took place at the cathedral schools, perhaps even at the very cathedral school in Lucca. Let's not forget that there is another collection which is textually very close to the *Collection of Anselm of Lucca*, namely the *Polycarpus*⁽⁵⁸⁾. It's author was Gregory, a presbiter cardinal at the

(57) See SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A püspökökre vonatkozó*, 177-195.

(58) It's first recension dates sometime between 1104-1106. See MOTTA, G.,

Basilica of St. Chrysogon, who before that was archdeacon in Lucca, where he could have begun to collect the material for his work⁽⁵⁹⁾. This seems so because we can recognize some sources in his work which are similar to manuscripts that were kept in the library of the cathedral of Lucca⁽⁶⁰⁾. Therefore, it is very probable that Anselm's work was used at the cathedral school. The text was enlarged by the teacher. As new emphases became prevalent at the schools, more detailed explanations were given of various questions⁽⁶¹⁾. This could even explain the rise of recensions of the text.

APPENDIX

Canons of Version V₅ which Correspond with Recension 'A'

Book 2: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 27; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 35; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 50; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 53; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 54; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 64; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 66; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 67; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 68; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 72; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 73; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 74; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 75; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 77; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 78; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 79; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' c. 80; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 82.

Book 3: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 11 =

«Nouvi identificazioni nella collezione canonica della "Polycarpus"» in *Aevum* 57 (1983) 232-244.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ See SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A püspökökere vonatkozó*, 193-194. 210.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ For the list of the canons in *Polycarpus* which correspond to the canons in *Collectio Anselmi Lucensis* see HORST, U., *Die Kanonensammlung «Polycarpus» des Gregor von S. Grisogono. Quellen und Tendenzen* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Hilfsmittel 5), München 1980. 104-198.

⁽⁶¹⁾ See SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A püspökökere vonatkozó*, 210-211.

'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 42; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 43; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 44; (the numbering continues from c. 35) V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 47; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 50; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 53; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 56; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 62; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 63; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 64; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 67; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 68; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 69; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' c. 70; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 71; V₅ c. 51 = 'A' c. 72; V₅ c. 52 = 'A' c. 73; V₅ c. 53 = 'A' c. 76; V₅ c. 54 = 'A' c. 77; V₅ c. 55 = 'A' c. 78; V₅ c. 56 = 'A' c. 79; V₅ c. 57 = 'A' c. 80; V₅ c. 58 = 'A' c. 81; V₅ c. 59 = 'A' c. 82; V₅ c. 60 = 'A' c. 83; V₅ c. 61 = 'A' c. 84; V₅ c. 62 = 'A' c. 85; V₅ c. 63 = 'A' c. 87; V₅ c. 64 = 'A' c. 88/1; V₅ c. 65 = 'A' c. 88/2; V₅ c. 66 = 'A' c. 89/1; V₅ c. 67 = 'A' c. 89/2; V₅ c. 68 = 'A' c. 90; V₅ c. 69 = 'A' c. 91; V₅ c. 70 = 'A' c. 92; V₅ c. 71 = 'A' c. 93; V₅ c. 72 = 'A' c. 94; V₅ c. 73 = 'A' c. 95; V₅ c. 74 = 'A' c. 96; V₅ c. 75 = 'A' c. 97; V₅ c. 76 = 'A' c. 98; V₅ c. 77 = 'A' c. 99; V₅ c. 78 = 'A' c. 102; (the numbering continues from c. 89) V₅ c. 89 = 'A' c. 103; V₅ c. 90 = 'A' c. 104; V₅ c. 91 = 'A' c. 105; V₅ c. 92 = 'A' c. 106; V₅ c. 93 = 'A' c. 110; V₅ c. 94 = 'A' c. 113; V₅ c. 95 = 'A' c. 114.

Book 4: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 9; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 27; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' cc. 35-36; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' cc. 37-38; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 39; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 53, 55 (summary).

Book 5: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' cc. 24-25; V₅

c. 21 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 38; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 40; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 41; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 42; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 43; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 47; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 48; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 49; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 50; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 53; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 54; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 55; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 56; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 57; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 59; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' c. 60; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 61; V₅ c. 51 = 'A' c. 64.

Book 6: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 9; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 35; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 39; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 40; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 41; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 43; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 47; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 48; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 54; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 55; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 56; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 58; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 59; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 60; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 61; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 62; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 63; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 64; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 65; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 66; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' cc. 68-69; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 72; V₅ c. 51 = 'A' c. 74; V₅ c. 52 = 'A' c. 77; V₅ c. 53 = 'A' c. 79; V₅ c. 54 = 'A' c. 80; V₅ c. 55 = 'A' c. 83; V₅ c. 56 = 'A' c. 85; V₅ c. 57 = 'A' c. 86; V₅ c. 58 = 'A' c. 87; V₅ c. 59 = 'A' c. 90; V₅ c. 60 = 'A' c. 91; V₅ c. 62 = 'A' c. 92; V₅ c. 62 = 'A' c. 93; V₅ c. 63 = 'A' c. 94; V₅ c. 64 = 'A' c. 97; V₅ c. 65 = 'A' c. 99; V₅ c. 66 = 'A' c. 100; V₅ c. 67 = 'A' c. 103; V₅ c. 68 = 'A' cc. 106-107; V₅ c. 69 = 'A' c. 111; V₅ c. 70 = 'A' c. 112; V₅ c. 71 = 'A' c. 113; V₅ c. 72 = 'A' c. 114; V₅ c. 73 = 'A' c. 115; V₅ c. 74 = 'A' c. 119; V₅ c. 75 = 'A' c. 120; V₅ c. 76 = 'A' c. 122; V₅ c. 77 = 'A' c. 127; V₅ c. 78 = 'A' c. 128; V₅ c. 79 = 'A' c. 129; V₅ c. 80 = 'A' c. 130; V₅ c. 81 = 'A' cc. 131, 133; V₅ c. 82 = 'A' c. 134; V₅ c. 83 = 'A' c. 135; V₅ c. 84 = 'A' c. 136; V₅ c. 85 = 'A' c. 139; V₅ c. 86 = 'A' c. 143; V₅ c. 87 = 'A' c. 145; V₅ c. 88 = 'A' c. 146; V₅ c. 89 = 'A' c. 147; V₅ c. 90 = 'A' c. 148; V₅ c. 91 = 'A' c. 150; V₅ c. 92 = 'A' c. 152; V₅ c. 93 = 'A' c. 153; V₅ c. 94 = 'A' c. 154; V₅ c. 95 = 'A' c. 155; V₅ c. 96 = 'A' c. 156; V₅ c. 97 =

'A' cc. 157, 159; V₅ c. 98 = 'A' c. 160; V₅ c. 99 = 'A' c. 161; V₅ c. 100 = 'A' c. 162; V₅ c. 101 = 'A' c. 164; V₅ c. 102 = 'A' c. 166; V₅ c. 103 = 'A' c. 168; V₅ c. 104 = 'A' c. 169; V₅ c. 105 = 'A' c. 170; V₅ c. 106 = 'A' c. 171; V₅ c. 107 = 'A' c. 175; V₅ c. 108 = 'A' c. 176; V₅ c. 109 = 'A' c. 177; V₅ c. 110 = 'A' c. 182; V₅ c. 111 = 'A' c. 184; V₅ c. 112 = 'A' c. 185; V₅ c. 113 = 'A' c. 186.

Book 7: V₅ c. (0) = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 38; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 39; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 40; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 42; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' cc. 43-44; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 47; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 48; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 49; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 50; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 54; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 56; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 57; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 58; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 60; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 62; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 65; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 66; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 67; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 68; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 69; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 72; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 75; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 78; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 81; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 82; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 83; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 84; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' c. 86; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 88; V₅ c. 51 = 'A' c. 90; V₅ c. 52 = 'A' c. 91; V₅ c. 53 = 'A' c. 92; V₅ c. 54 = 'A' c. 94; V₅ c. 55 = 'A' c. 97; V₅ c. 56 = 'A' c. 99; V₅ c. 57 = 'A' c. 100; V₅ c. 58 = 'A' c. 103; V₅ c. 59 = 'A' c. 104; V₅ c. 60 = 'A' c. 106; V₅ c. 61 = 'A' c. 110; V₅ c. 62 = 'A' c. 111; V₅ c. 63 = 'A' c. 113; V₅ c. 64 = 'A' c. 114; V₅ c. 65 = 'A' c. 115; V₅ c. 66 = 'A' c. 118; V₅ c. 67 = 'A' c. 119; V₅ c. 68 = 'A' c. 121; V₅ c. 69 = 'A' c. 124; V₅ c. 70 = 'A' c. 129; V₅ c. 71 = 'A' c. 135; V₅ c. 72 = 'A' c. 136; V₅ c. 73 = 'A' c. 138; V₅ c. 74 = 'A' c. 139; V₅ c. 75 = 'A' c. 141; V₅ c. 76 = 'A' c. 142; V₅ c. 77 = 'A' c. 143; V₅ c. 78 = 'A' c. 145; V₅ c. 79 = 'A' c. 146; V₅ c. 80 = 'A' c. 150; V₅ c. 81 = 'A' c. 152; V₅ c. 82 = 'A' c. 154; V₅ c. 83 = 'A' c. 155; V₅ c. 84 = 'A' c. 158; V₅ c. 85 = 'A' c. 159; V₅ c. 86 = 'A' c. 160; V₅ c. 87 = 'A' c. 162; V₅ c. 88 = 'A' c. 163; V₅ c. 89 = 'A' c. 164; V₅ c. 90 = 'A' c. 165; V₅ c. 91 = 'A' c. 166; V₅ c. 92 = 'A' c. 167; V₅ c. 93 = c. 168; V₅ c. 94 = 'A' 169; V₅ c. 95 = 'A' 170; V₅ c. 96 = 'A' c. 171; V₅ c. 97 = 'A' c. 172; V₅ c. 98 = 'A' c. 173; V₅ c. 99 = 'A' c. 174.

Book 8: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 20;

V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 27; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' cc. 32-33; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 34.

Book 9: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 15 (but it is longer).

Book 10: V₅ c. (0) = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 9; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 27; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 35; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 38; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 39; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 40; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 41; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 42; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 43; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 45.

Book 11: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1/1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 1/2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' cc. 8-9; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 17; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 27; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 35; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 38; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 39; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 40; V₅ c. 41 = 'A' c. 41; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 42; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 43; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 47; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 48; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' c. 49; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 50; V₅ c. 51 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 52 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 53 = 'A' c. 53; V₅ c. 54 = 'A' c. 54; V₅ c. 55 = 'A' cc. 55-56; V₅ c. 56 = 'A' c. 57; V₅ c. 57 = 'A' c. 58; V₅ c. 58 = 'A' c. 59; V₅ c. 59 = 'A' c. 60; V₅ c. 60 = 'A' c. 61; V₅ c. 61

= 'A' c. 62; V₅ c. 62 = 'A' c. 63; V₅ c. 63 = 'A' c. 64; V₅ c. 64 = 'A' c. 65; V₅ c. 65 = 'A' c. 66; V₅ c. 66 = 'A' c. 67; V₅ c. 67 = 'A' c. 68; V₅ c. 68 = 'A' c. 69; V₅ c. 69 = 'A' c. 70; V₅ c. 70 = 'A' c. 71; V₅ c. 71 = 'A' c. 72; V₅ c. 72 = 'A' c. 73; V₅ c. 73 = 'A' c. 74; V₅ c. 74 = 'A' c. 75; V₅ c. 75 = 'A' c. 76; V₅ c. 76 = 'A' c. 77; V₅ c. 77 = 'A' c. 78; V₅ c. 78 = 'A' c. 79; V₅ c. 79 = 'A' c. 80; V₅ c. 80 = 'A' c. 81; V₅ c. 81 = 'A' c. 82; V₅ c. 82 = 'A' c. 83; V₅ c. 83 = 'A' c. 84; V₅ c. 84 = 'A' c. 85; V₅ c. 85 = 'A' c. 86; V₅ c. 86 = 'A' c. 88; V₅ c. 87 = 'A' c. 89; V₅ c. 88 = 'A' c. 90; V₅ c. 89 = 'A' c. 91; V₅ c. 90 = 'A' c. 92; V₅ c. 91 = 'A' c. 93; V₅ c. 92 = 'A' c. 94; V₅ c. 93 = 'A' c. 95; V₅ c. 94 = 'A' c. 96; V₅ c. 95 = 'A' c. 97; V₅ c. 96 = 'A' c. 98; V₅ c. 97 = 'A' c. 99; V₅ c. 98 = 'A' c. 100; V₅ c. 99 = 'A' c. 101; V₅ c. 100 = 'A' c. 102; V₅ c. 101 = 'A' c. 103; V₅ c. 102 = 'A' c. 104; V₅ c. 103 = 'A' c. 105; V₅ c. 104 = 'A' c. 106; V₅ c. 105 = 'A' c. 107; V₅ c. 106 = 'A' c. 108; V₅ c. 107 = 'A' c. 109; V₅ c. 108 = 'A' c. 111; V₅ c. 109 = 'A' c. 112; V₅ c. 110 = 'A' c. 113; V₅ c. 111 = 'A' c. 114; V₅ c. 112 = 'A' c. 115; V₅ c. 113 = 'A' c. 116; V₅ c. 114 = 'A' c. 117; V₅ c. 115 = 'A' c. 118; V₅ c. 116 = 'A' c. 119; V₅ c. 117 = 'A' c. 120; V₅ c. 118 = 'A' c. 121; V₅ c. 119 = 'A' c. 122; V₅ c. 120 = 'A' c. 123; V₅ c. 121 = 'A' c. 124; V₅ c. 122 = 'A' c. 125; V₅ c. 123 = 'A' c. 126; V₅ c. 124 = 'A' c. 127; V₅ c. 125 = 'A' c. 128; V₅ c. 126 = 'A' c. 129; V₅ c. 127 = 'A' c. 130; V₅ c. 128 = 'A' c. 131; V₅ c. 129 = 'A' c. 132; V₅ c. 130 = 'A' c. 133; V₅ c. 131 = 'A' c. 134; V₅ c. 132 = 'A' cc. 135-136; V₅ c. 133 = 'A' c. 137; V₅ c. 134 = 'A' c. 138; V₅ c. 135 = 'A' c. 139; V₅ c. 136 = 'A' c. 140; V₅ c. 137 = 'A' c. 141; V₅ c. 138 = 'A' c. 142; V₅ c. 139 = 'A' c. 143; V₅ c. 140 = 'A' c. 144; V₅ c. 141 = 'A' c. 145; V₅ c. 142 = 'A' c. 146; V₅ c. 143 = 'A' c. 147; V₅ c. 144 = 'A' c. 148; V₅ c. 145 = 'A' c. 149; V₅ c. 146 = 'A' c. 150; V₅ c. 147 = 'A' c. 151; V₅ c. 148 = 'A' c. 152.

Book 12: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 9; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' 21; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' 22; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' cc. 23-24; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 25; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 28; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 29; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 30; V₅ c. 26 = 'A' c. 31; V₅ c. 27 = 'A' c. 32; V₅ c. 28 = 'A' c. 33; V₅ c. 29 = 'A' c. 34; V₅ c. 30 = 'A' c. 36; V₅ c. 31 = 'A' c. 37; V₅ c. 32 = 'A' c. 40; V₅ c. 33 = 'A' c. 41; V₅ c. 34 = 'A' c. 42; V₅ c. 35 = 'A' c. 43; V₅ c. 36 = 'A' c. 44; V₅ c. 37 = 'A' c. 45; V₅ c. 38 = 'A' c. 46; V₅ c. 39 = 'A' c. 47; V₅ c. 40 = 'A' c. 48; V₅ c. 41 =

'A' c. 49; V₅ c. 42 = 'A' c. 50; V₅ c. 43 = 'A' c. 51; V₅ c. 44 = 'A' c. 52; V₅ c. 45 = 'A' c. 53; V₅ c. 46 = 'A' c. 54; V₅ c. 47 = 'A' c. 55; V₅ c. 48 = 'A' c. 56; V₅ c. 49 = 'A' c. 57; V₅ c. 50 = 'A' c. 59; V₅ c. 51 = 'A' c. 60; V₅ c. 52 = 'A' c. 61; V₅ c. 53 = 'A' c. 63; V₅ c. 54 = 'A' c. 64; V₅ c. 55 = 'A' c. 66; V₅ c. 56 = 'A' c. 68; V₅ c. 57 = 'A' c. 69; V₅ c. 58 = 'A' c. 70; V₅ c. 59 = 'A' c. 71; V₅ c. 60 = 'A' c. 72.

Book 13: V₅ c. 1 = 'A' c. 1; V₅ c. 2 = 'A' c. 2; V₅ c. 3 = 'A' c. 3; V₅ c. 4 = 'A' c. 4; V₅ c. 5 = 'A' c. 5; V₅ c. 6 = 'A' c. 6; V₅ c. 7 = 'A' c. 7; V₅ c. 8 = 'A' c. 8; V₅ c. 9 = 'A' c. 9; V₅ c. 10 = 'A' c. 10; V₅ c. 11 = 'A' c. 11; V₅ c. 12 = 'A' c. 12; V₅ c. 13 = 'A' c. 13; V₅ c. 14 = 'A' c. 14; V₅ c. 15 = 'A' c. 15; V₅ c. 16 = 'A' c. 16; V₅ c. 17 = 'A' c. 18; V₅ c. 18 = 'A' c. 19; V₅ c. 19 = 'A' c. 20; V₅ c. 20 = 'A' c. 21; V₅ c. 21 = 'A' c. 22; V₅ c. 22 = 'A' c. 23; V₅ c. 23 = 'A' c. 24; V₅ c. 24 = 'A' c. 26; V₅ c. 25 = 'A' c. 27.

