

SZABOLCS ANZELM SZUROMI O.PRAEM.
SOME 12TH CENTURY TEXTUAL WITNESSES
OF THE FAMILY OF THE IVONIAN PANORMIA
(A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ST. PETERSBURG,
ROSSIYSKAYA NATIONALNAYA BIBLIOTEKA
ERMIT. LAT. 25 WITH BAV BARB. LAT. 502
AND OTHER IVONIAN MANUSCRIPTS)^{*}

SUMMARY: 1. Description of St. Petersburg, Ermit. lat. 25. 2. Description of BAV Barb. lat. 502. 3. Some impressions on the textual tradition and development of the *Panormia*. Conclusion: The endeavour to issue the complete current canon law.

1. DESCRIPTION OF ST. PETERSBURG, ERMIT. LAT. 25

THE St. Petersburg, Rossiyskaya Nationalnaya Biblioteka Ermit. lat. 25 manuscript is a textual witness of the *Panormia*.¹ The volume is covered

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¹ ERDÖ, P., *Die Quellen des Kirchenrechts. Eine geschichtliche Einführung* (Adnotationes in Ius Canonicum 23), Frankfurt am Main 2002. 98-100; cf. FOURNIER, P., *Les collections canoniques attribuées à Yves de Chartres*, in *Bibliothèque de la École des chartes* 57 (1896) 645-698; 58 (1897) 26-77, 293-326, 410-444, 624-676 [repr. in FOURNIER, P., *Mélanges de droit canonique*, I. (ed. KÖLZER, P.), Aalen 1983. 451-678]; LANDAU, P., *Die Rubriken und Inskriptionen von Ivo Panormia*, in *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 12 (1982) 31-49. BRETT, M., *Creeping up on the Panormia*, in HELMHOLZ, R.H. (ed.), *Grundlagen des Rechts*, Paderborn 2000. 205-270. BRETT, M., *The Sources and Influence of Paris*, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* 713, in LANDAU, P. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Vatican City 1997. 149-167. KÉRY, L., *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (History of Medieval Canon Law), Washington, D.C. 1999. 244-260. AUSTIN, G., *Editorial concerns in the Ivonian Panormia: the case of repetitious canons in book 8*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 89 (2003) 82-106. FOWLER-MARGERL, L., *Clavis Canonum. Selected Canon Law Collections Before 1140. Access with data processing* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfsmittel 21), Hannover 2005. 198-202. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *Some observations on BAV Pal. lat. 587 as compared with other textual witnesses of Ivo's works*, in SZUROMI, Sz.A. (ed.), *Parare viam Domino. Commemorative Studies on the occasion of Rt. Rev.*

with nice white leather, which had been adorned with clasps. Two of these clasps still remain on the front cover. The cover of the codex, which comes probably from the 17th century, is made from wood on both sides. The manuscript was written on refined, white, but not too thin parchments. The majority of the pages have been frequently used, but they are clear, and there are only few greasy parts. The whole codex, which contains 56 folios, was trimmed up to the punctuation. The codex was made from eight-folio quires,² except the first, which is ten folios, but its last page is missing and only a 10 mm wide stripe remains.³ There is a similar phenomenon at the beginning of the last quire of the codex.⁴ The size of the folios is 273 x 192 mm, and the ruling is not too deep. The iniciales are ornamented with red, gold, turquoise, rose and brown colours. The script style, which employs very small letters, does not indicate the 11th century,⁵ but the first part of the 12th century. There is an inscription of the possessor on fol. 2r: *Biblioth. Weissenau*. Furthermore, based on the quality of the parchments and the script style, the place of origin is probably France. Hence, the place of preservation was the Norbertine Abbey of Weissenau, founded in 1145 by Gebizo of Ravensburg, and was secularised in 1802.⁶ The monastery library of Weissenau is known to have had a rich collection of books that had been collected since the middle of the 12th century.⁷ Consequently, this particular codex probably belonged to the earliest part of the library. Paul Lehmann listed several manuscripts of Weissenau which took place in the Latin collection of the Hermitage.⁸

Polikárp F. Zakar Occist.'s 75th Birthday (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III/7), Budapest 2005. 179-203. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A 12th century pastoral pocket book (Some impressions on National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv. Ms. 18. 8. 6, as compared with Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal MS 1817)*, in SZUROMI, Sz.A. (ed.), *Medieval Canon Law Collections and European ius commune* (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III/8), Budapest 2006. 65-96. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *The BAV Pal. lat. 587 as a textual witness of the canonical work of Ivo of Chartres*, in *Rivista internazionale di diritto comune* 17 (2006) 343-358. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *Canon Law Handbook by Ivo of Chartres*, in *Folia Canonica* 9 (2006) 93-116. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *Ivonian intention to collect the «ancient canons» together with new decretal materials*, in *The Jurist* 67 (2007) 285-310.

² Cf. Ermit. lat. 25, foll. 10r-17v (II); 18r-25v (III); 26r-33v (IV); 34r-41v (V); 42r-49v (VI).

³ Ermit. lat. 25, foll. 1r-9v (+).

⁴ Ermit. lat. 25, foll. (+) 50r-56v.

⁵ KÉRY, L., *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140)*, 257.

⁶ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Hrsg. von J. HÖFER – K. RAHNER, Freiburg im Breisgau 1957-1965. X. 1010-1011. Cf. BUSL, K.A., *Zur Geschichte des Prämonstratenser Klosters und der Kirche in Weissenau*, Ravensburg 1883. SCHMIDT, R., *Kloster Weissenau*, Ausburg 1930.

⁷ LEHMANN, P., *Handschriften aus Kloster Weissenau in Prag und Berlin*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 57 (1962) 229; cf. *Erforschung des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, III. Stuttgart 1960. 110-1120; IV. Stuttgart 1961. 40-42.

⁸ Erm. lat. 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20. Cf. LEHMANN, P., *Verschollene und wiedergefundene Reste der Klosterbibliothek von Weissenau*, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 49 (1932) 1-11.

The fol. 1r is empty and the text begins with a description of the contents of the books on fol. 1v (cf. "*Prima pars continet [...]*") in two columns. On fol. 2r is situated an "arbor consanguinitatis", then on fol. 2va can be read the Prologue as an introductory text of the Panormia: "*Exceptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum partis exemplis romanorum pontificum (...)*".⁹ This ends on fol. 4rb. From fol. 4v – where Book 1 begins¹⁰ – the text is organized in one column. We cannot find any numeration of the canons; instead, there are only rubrics, attributions of canons in underlined form, and sometimes a short title of the original sources cited (e.g. Aug. De libero arbitrio III;¹¹ Isidorus, De officiis, lib. II. cap. XXIII¹²). The themes are projected into the margin at almost every single canon.¹³ In the headline of fol. 5v we can read the number of the book in black ink: "*Pars Prima*". The bottom of fol. 17v, where the canons deal with clerical obligations, is greasier, and the same can be said of fol. 19v and the following, under the theme of priestly ordination. Among the canons of fol. 17v is a fragment of Rufinus' work (cf. *Vita Monachorum*, lib. II c. 7),¹⁴ which can be found also in the textual tradition of the Ivonian *Decretum* (ID 4. 32),¹⁵ and the *Tripartita* (Tr 2. 50. 7-8). The *Decretum Gratiani* cites this canon too (D. 3 c. 16 de cons.),¹⁶ but there, the text is supplemented with two more sentences. The next canon in Ermit. lat. 25 is IP 2. 180,¹⁷ a quotation from the Council of Mainz (a. 813)¹⁸ through the *Decretum Burchardi Wormatiensis*.¹⁹ The *Decretum Gratiani* contains a shorter form

⁹ Cf. *Exceptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum (...)* quod in una quaque parte sibi necessarium querere debeat. PL 161. 1041-1044. VIOLI, S., *Il Prologo di Ivo di Chartres* (Biblioteca Teologica, Sezione Canonistica 3), Lugano 2006. 367-401.

¹⁰ Credimus unum deum esse patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum (...); cf. PL 161. 1045.

¹¹ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 5r.

¹² Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 5r.

¹³ E.g. Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 4v: De incarnatione; De eodem contra trymotianos et alios hereticos; etc.

¹⁴ IP 2. 179: Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 17v: Ieiunia sane legitima (...) crucifigere. Cf. PL 161. 1123.

¹⁵ PL 161. 270.

¹⁶ D. 3 c. 16 de cons.: Ieiunia sane legitima, id est quarta et sexta feria, non sunt soluenda, nisi grandis aliqua necessitas fuerit, quia quarta feria Iudas traditionem Domini cogitavit, et sexta feria crucifixus est Saluator. Videbitur ergo, qui in his diebus sine necessitate soluerit statuta ieiunia, uel cum tradente tradere Saluatorem, uel cum crucifigentibus crucifigere. *Die autem dominica nichil aliud agendum est, nisi Deo uacandum. Nulla operatio in illa die sancta agatur, nisi tantum ymnis, et psalmis, et cancticis spiritualibus dies illa transigatur.* FRIEDBERG I. 1356-1357.

¹⁷ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 17v: Constituimus ut quatuor (...) missarum sollempnia.

¹⁸ Conc. Moguntinum (a. 813) can. 34; cf. ID 4. 35 (PL 161. 272).

¹⁹ BW 13. 2: Constituimus, ut quatuor tempora anni, ab omnibus cum ieiunio obseruentur, id est, in Martio, hebdomada prima. In Iunio, secunda. In Septembri, tertia. In Decembri, quarta: quae fuerit plena ante vigiliam Natalis domini, id est, feria quarta, et sexta, et Sabato. Veniant omnes ad Ecclesiam hora nona cum letaniis ad Missarum solemnia. FRANSEN, G.-KÖLZER, TH. (Hrsg.), *Burchard von Worms, Decretorum Libri xx*, Aalen 1992. 158rb-158va.

of this canon.²⁰ The IP 2. 182²¹ also belongs to the common material of the *Panormia* and the *Decretum* (ID 4. 34),²² which testifies again to the influence of Burchard's *Decretum*.²³

Between fol. 17v and fol. 20v, the themes are not marked at the margin, but from fol. 20v they are projected again. These pages were used often (e.g. foll. 21r-21v), as is also the case for those folios where one can read about the discipline of the witnesses (e.g. foll. 30v-31r, 33v). Fol. 44r is a greasy page, bearing many handprints, and the codex was opened many times to this particular place. Based on the script style, we can distinguish three hands in the entire codex. The main text up to fol. 48v testifies to one hand (n^o 1), which then continues the text on fol. 49r. The basic copier of the manuscript (n^o 1) thought that the table of the "arbor consanguinitatis" was sketched on fol. 48v, because on the top of fol. 49r, he indicates: "*Explicit liber VII Incipitur octavus*". Apparently, not only the "arbor consanguinitatis" is missing from its regular place, but even the basic explanation of the degrees of consanguinity, which is usually connected with the "consanguinity tree" (cf. IP 7. 90)²⁴ is not finished on fol. 48v.²⁵ On fol. 48v is some supplementary mate-

²⁰ D. 76 c. 2: Constituimus, ut quatuor tempora anni ab omnibus hominibus cum ieiunio obseruentur, id est in Martio, hebdomada prima; ieiunio, secunda; in septembri, tertia; in decembri, quarta. FRIEDBERG I. 267-268.

²¹ Fol. 17v: Quadragesima summa observatione (...) flecti genua. Cf. PL 161. 1124-1125.

²² PL 161. 271-272.

²³ BW 13. 1: Quadragesima summa obseruatione est obseruanda, ut ieiunium in ea praeter dies dominicos qui de abstinentia substracti sunt, nisi quem infirmitas impederit, nullatenus soluatur: quia ipsi dies decimae sunt anni. A prima igitur dominica Quadragesimae usque in Pascha domini sex hebdomadae computantur, quarum videlicet dierum XL. et II. fiunt. Ex quibus dum sex dies dominici abstinentiae subtrahuntur, non plus in abstinentia quam triginta et sex dies remanent. Verbi gratia: Si per CCC. XLV. dies annus ducitur, nos autem per XXX. et VI. dies affligimur, quasi anni decimas Deo damus. Et ut sacer numerus quadraginta dierum adimpleatur, quem Saluator noster suo sacro ieiunio consecrauerat, quatuor dies prioris hebdomadae ad supplementum quadraginta dierum tollantur, id est, quarta feria quae caput ieiunii subnotatur, et quinta feria sequens, sexta et sabbatum. Nisi istos quatuor dies superioribus triginta et sex adiunxerimus, quadraginta dies in abstinentia non habemus. Iubemur etiam ab omnipotenti Deo, omnium bonorum nostrorum decimas dare. Quapropter ut omnis decima a nobis Deo rite persoluatur, tollamus decimam anni, et in ea peccata nostra confitendo, corrigendo nos, ieiunando, vigilando, orando, elemosynas largiendo abstergamus, et carnem nostram decimemus, ut ad sanctum Pascha securi peruenire possimus. FRANSEN, G.-KÖLZER, TH. (Hrsg.), *Burchard von Worms, Decretorum Libri xx*, Aalen 1992. 158ra-158rb. Cf. D. 5 c. 16 de cons. contains shorter text: Quadragesima summa obseruatione (...) Iubemur etiam ab omnipotenti Deo omnium bonorum nostrorum decimas dare. FRIEDBERG I. 1416.

²⁴ Cf. Bruxelles, Bibl. Royal MS 1817. foll. 126r-127v; Strassbourg, Bibl. Nat. et Univ. 108, 146r-146v; BAV Vat. lat. 1358. fol. 0v; BAV Vat. lat. 1359. fol. 120v; BAV Vat. lat. 1360. fol. 77v; Angers, Bibl. Municipal 369. fol. 97r; BAV Ottob. lat. 164. foll. 129r-130r.

²⁵ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 48v: Primo gradu superiori linea continentur (...) quam maternae frater et soror. Cf. *The missing part of the text*: Quinto gradu veniunt supra, atavus atavia, infra

rial²⁶ written by that particular hand which had already inserted some previous marginal inscriptions (n^o 3).²⁷ This hand made a closing supplement of the manuscript (cf. fol. 56v).²⁸ On fol. 4v, marginal inscriptions which were written by another hand (n^o 2) can be recognized. These inscriptions were placed into the bound manuscript, as can be clearly seen as well concerning the marginal reference of fol. 27r and the enlargement of fol. 48v by the third hand (n^o 3). All three hands have 12th century peculiarities.

The textual peculiarities of the Ermit. lat. 25 clearly testify to the daily pastoral activity of the particular Norbertine community.²⁹ This supposition is supported by those frequently used pages where clerical obligations are listed. The condition of the part about witnesses indicates the judicial activity of the community. These peculiarities are parallel to the peculiarities of Edinburgh, Ms. 18. 8. 6. Further observation could be made concerning the supplementary material of the Ermit. lat. 25.

2. DESCRIPTION OF BAV BARB. LAT. 502

The manuscript Barb. lat. 502 of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana is also a witness to the family of the *Panormia*. The exterior appearance of the codex is similar to the above-presented Ermit. lat. 25, as the volume of Barb. lat.

adnepos adneptis. Ex obliquo fratris et sororis, pronepos proneptis fratres patruales, sorores patruelis, amitini, amitinae consobrini consobrinae, filius vel filia. Propius consobrina, id est patruis magni amitae magnae. Avunculi magni, materterae magnae filius vel filia. Quivis accrescit propatruus et proamita. Hi sunt proavi materni frater et soror, proavunculus, promatertera; hi sunt proviae paternae maternaeque frater et soror proaviaque magni materni. Haec species nec aliis gradibus quam scripta est, nec aliis vocabulis declarari potest. Sexto gradu veniunt supra tritavus tritavia. Infra trinepos trineptris. Ex obliquo fratris et sororis adnepos adneptis. Fratres patruelis et sorores matruelis, amitini amitinae, consobrini, consobrinae. Patruis magni, amitae magnae, avunculi magni materterae magnae. Nepos neptis propioris consobrini filius et filia qui consobrini appellantur. Quibus ex laterae accrescunt propatruus, proavunculus, promatertera, filius vel filia adpatruus, adamita. Hi sunt abavi paterni frater et soror. Abavunculus, abmatertera, hi sunt abaviae paternae maternaeque frater et soror abaviaque materni. Haec quoque explanari amplius non possunt quam ipse auctor disseruit. Septimo gradu qui sunt cognati recta linea, supra infraque prioribus propriis nominibus non appellantur, sed ex transversa linea continentur fratris, sororis, adneptos adneptis, consobrini filii filiaeque successionis. Idcirco gradus vii constituti sunt, quia ulterius per rerum naturam, nec nomina inveniri, nec successio ultra propagari potest. In his vii gradibus omnia propinquitatum nomina continentur, ultra quas affinitas inveniri, nec successio potest amplius propagari. PL 161. 1303-1304. Cf. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A 12th century pastoral pocket book*, 65-96.

²⁶ Suppl. canons [1]-[3].

²⁷ E.g. Ermit. lat. 25, foll. 13r, 27r, 29r-33r, 37r-37v, 38r, 40v.

²⁸ Suppl. canons [1]₃-[6]₃.

²⁹ Cf. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *The Character of Juridical Personality of monastery as a community of persons up to the 13th century*, in *Folia Theologica* 11 (2000) 101-110.

502 is covered with leather that originally was decorated with eight copper buttons at each side of its spine. Today, seven of the sixteen copper buttons are missing. The cover of the codex is made from wood on both sides. There is a legible text in a 12th century script style (end of the 12th century: n^o o) on the parchment which was used for the binding.³⁰ This fragmented quire was originally made from four folios. On the first quire – without numeration – we can recognize another script style (n^o 1), which uses small letters. The characteristics of this style suggest the second half of the 13th century.³¹ The second canon can be identified as a letter of Pope Nicholas I (a. 865),³² and it belongs to the material of the *Decretum* of Ivo.³³ This text was very probably written into the bound volume, because there is no space between the lines and the writing is crooked. This script style may be the one which caused the writer of the “*Inventarium*” to misdate the manuscript as 13th century.³⁴

³⁰ Cf. (...) hominem natum simul (...) consequi.

³¹ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. [1r]: Quam multos peccatis nostris exigentibus pro (...) aliquid uoluit non prohibemus.

³² *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. JAFFÉ, P. - WATTENBACH, G. CURAVERUNT LOEWENFELD, S. [JL]-KALTENBRUNNER, F. [JK]-EWALD, P. [JE], I. Lipsiae 1885.² JE 2796 (2111).

³³ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. [1r]: Quia suspecti et inimici iudices esse non debeant (...) intrare collegium. ID 5. 55; cf. C. 3 q. 5 c. 15: Quia suspecti et inimici iudices esse non debeant, et ipsa ratio dictat, et plurimus probatur exemplis. §. 1. Nam quid gratius et amabilius dare quis inimico potest, quam si ei ad inpetendum commiserit, quem ledere forte uoluerit? Quod prouide Constantinopolitana sinodus canonum suorum sexto dinoscitur prohibere capitulo. §. 2. Veniamus et ad S. Calcedonensem sinodum, et quid nobis de Athanasio Perenorum referat episcopo audiamus. Is enim antistes tertio euocatus, quia non occurrit, a patriarcha suo canonicè condempnatus extiterat, sed solum quia, cum uocaretur ad sinodum, quod inimicus esset ipse, qui iudicabat, clamauit, a S. Calcedonensi sinodo ad causas illatas sibi examinandas reseruatur, et nisi denuo conuinceretur, recipere ecclesiam propriam iudicatur. Si Athanasius a patriarcha suo depositus, quia de inimicitia eius conquestus est, iterato ad iudicium renouandum dirigitur, etsi manifesta sibi crimina officiant, suae ecclesiae reddi precipitur: quanto magis Ignatius, qui non a patriarcha, sed ipse potius existens patriarcha, minime debuit ecclesiae propria priuari et inimicis et suspectis iudicibus decernentibus expoliari? §. 3. Veniat et facundissimus Papa noster Gelasius, hereticorum expugnator fortissimus, et quod de Constantinopolitanis episcopis more solito tunc egrotantibus dixit, etiam nunc nobis edisserat. „Quero,” inquit, „iudicium, quod pretendunt, ubinam possit agitari? an apud ipsos, ut idem sint inimici testes et iudices? Sed tali iudicio nec humana debent committi negotia.” Quod si iudicio, ubi idem sunt inimici qui iudices, nec humana debent committi iudicia, quanto minus diuina, id est ecclesiastica? Qui sapiens est intelligat. §. 4. Et reuera hinc Iustinianus inperator pius legibus suis promulgasse dinoscitur, dicens: „Licet ei, qui suspectum sibi iudicem putat, antequam lis inchoetur, eum recusare, ut ad alium recurratur.” Nam quodammodo naturale est suspectorum iudicium insidias declinare et inimicorum iudicium uelle refugere. §. 5. Hinc S. Iohannes, os aureum, concilii contra se congregati renuit intrare collegium. FRIEDBERG I. 518-519.

³⁴ *Inventarium Codicum mss. Bibliotheca Barbarinae Redactum et Digestum A.D. Sancte Pieralisi Bibliothecario et in Tomos vigintitres distributum* (Riproduzione in scala reale dell'Inventarium dei codici barberiniani redatto nel secolo XIX de Sante e Alessandro Pieralisi), IV. 189-190.

At the top of fol. [1r] is an inscription by a new, 15th century hand (n^o 2): "(...) *cum excommunicatis non in crimine.*" Fol. [1v] is empty except for a list of the contents of the codex in the center of the page written by a 16th century hand: "*Continentur in hoc volumus Brevis cronica de Patriarchis novae Aquileiae – Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi ecclesiasticarum Institutionum siue Regularum Compendium fol. 5 – Indicem materiae huius compendiis habet fol. 110.*" The opposite wing of this particular folio is missing at the end of this quire. Nevertheless, the whole manuscript is made up of eight-folio quires. The first numbered folio (fol. 1r) is in fact the second folio of the first quire. Here, there are nice, clear, settled, light brown, 12th century letters by a new hand, introduced by a rubric (cf. n^o 3). This new hand represents the basic script style in the codex. Hence, the manuscript is a 12th century (and not 13th century) witness of the Ivonian *Panormia*. We should mention here that this codex has also been trimmed up to the punctuation. The parchments look the Italian type: very clear, refined, and thin. In the headline of fol. 1r can be read a title: "*Cronica de Singulis Patriarchis noue Aquileie que Gradensis ecclesia vocatus atempore domini heliae eiusdem ecclesiae Patriarchae.*"³⁵ When this opening theme is ended on top of fol. 5v, the regular incipit of the Ivonian *Panormia* follows on the same line in red: "*Incipit prologus iuonis carnotensis episcopi de multimoda distinctionem scripiterarum sub una castorum eloquorum facie contemptarum.*" The canonical collection is not complete, because the text is interrupted on fol. 163v at the first half of IP 7. But the quires are also incomplete. Six folios form the last full quire (foll. 159r-161v), then there are only two final folios (foll. 162r-163v) and the manuscript ends. The last canon is IP 6. 101.³⁶

The first iniziale is admirably ornamented and rubricated, which testifies to the first half of the 12th century. After the Prologue (foll. 5v-17v),³⁷ the text is organized in two columns from fol. 18r, and first lists the *Tabula Librorum*.³⁸ From fol. 20r, the canons of IP 1 are organized again in one column without numeration. The basic themes of the canons are projected into the margin by a different, but contemporary, hand (n^o 4). Furthermore, there is one example of an entire marginal explanation of the canon.³⁹ Some sections of the canonical material were consulted more frequently. These can therefore help to identify the particular place of usage of the codex. The part about

³⁵ BAV Barb. lat. 502, foll. 1r-5v: Helias patriarcha aquileiensis in gradensi castro ecclesiam (...) Huic successit urso qui omni uirtute plenus rex ecclesiam annos xxxvii. D. xlv.

³⁶ BAV Barb. lat. 502, foll. 161v-163v: Sic enim neque recedere (...). Cf. C. 28 q. 1 c. 9: Sic enim neque recedere ab uxoribus (...) quam esse putaueras. FRIEDBERG I. 1083-1086.

³⁷ BAV Barb. lat. 502, foll. 5v-17v: Incipit prologus in decretis sanctorum patrum. Exceptio-nes ecclesiasticarum regularum (...) necessarium querere debeat.

³⁸ BAV Barb. lat. 502, foll. 18ra-19vb: Prima pars istius libri continet de fide (...) Explicunt capitula.

³⁹ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 27v.

baptism is not used any more often than the other parts of the manuscript,⁴⁰ but the folios are greasier in those areas that treat of the themes of churches in which there is licit liturgy, of the celebration of Holy Mass, of tithing, of episcopal election and obligations,⁴¹ and also the theme of legal matrimonial bond.⁴² It is very conspicuous at IP 2. 31⁴³⁻³²⁴⁴; IP 2. 37⁴⁵; and IP 2. 58.⁴⁶ Particularly, at fol. 53r, which contains canons about tithing, the codex was opened several times and the folios got wet.⁴⁷ Moreover, there is a primitive “glossa” in very small letters on fol. 106r around a part of St. Augustine’s letter (Epist. 48), denoting it as IP 3. 179.⁴⁸ These peculiarities of the Barb. lat. 502 give firm basis for the supposition of its use at some episcopal court.

⁴⁰ Cf. BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 24r.

⁴¹ Cf. BAV Barb. lat. 502, foll. 58v, 59r-v, 80v-81r, 97r.

⁴² BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 151r.

⁴³ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 50r: *Concedimus etiam ut (...) IP 2. 31=ID 3. 59; cf. D. 1 c. 30 de cons.: Concedimus etiam ut sicubi (quod peccatis nostris exigentibus per plurimum factum est) a Normanis, et a Sclauis, ab Ungaris, et malis Christianis, seu alio qualicumque modo ecclesiae fuerint incense et combustae, in capellis cum tabula consecrata missas interim celebrari permittimus, donec ecclesiae ipsae restaurari queant. In itinere uero positis, si ecclesia defuerit, sub diuo, seu in tentoriis, item si tabula altaris consecrata ceteraque sacra mysteria ad id officium pertinentia ibi affuerint, missarum solemnia celebrari concedimus. FRIEDBERG I. 1301-1302.*

⁴⁴ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 50r: *Altaria si non sint lapidea (...) IP 2. 32=ID 3. 30; cf. D. 1 c. 31 de cons.: Altaria, si non sint lapidea, crismatis unctione non consecratur. Ad celebranda autem diuina officia ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, conprovinciales eorum obseruare debebunt. FRIEDBERG I. 1302.*

⁴⁵ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 50v: *Temporum qualitas admonet episcoporum antiquitas (...) IP 2. 37=ID 3. 79=Tr 4. 20; cf. C. 7 q. 1 c. 44: Temporis qualitas nos ammonet episcoporum sedes, constitutas antiquitas certis ciuitatibus, ad alia, que securiora putamus, eiusdem diocesis loca transponere, quo et habitatores securi ualeant degere, et barbaricum possit periculum facilius declinari. Propterea te Iohannem fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum Belitrensis ciuitatis, sedemque tuam in loco quondam Arenata ad S. Andream apostolum precipimus transmigrare, quatinus ab hostilitatis incursu liberior existere ualeas, et illic consuetudinem solemnium festiue disponas. FRIEDBERG I. 584.*

⁴⁶ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 52v: *Omnes decimae terrae (...) IP 2. 58=ID 3. 196; cf. C. 16 q. 7 c. 5: Omnes decimae terrae, siue de frugibus siue de pomis arborum, Domini sunt, et illi sanctificantur. FRIEDBERG I. 801.*

⁴⁷ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 53r: *Decimas Deo et sacerdotibus (...) IP 2. 60=ID 3. 199; cf. C. 16 q. 7 c. 6: Decimas Deo et sacerdotibus Dei dandas, Abraham factis, Iacob promissis insinuat, et omnes sancti sacerdotes commemorant. FRIEDBERG I. 802.*

⁴⁸ BAV Barb. lat. 502, fol. 106r: *Vos autem fratres exhortamur in domino (...) IP 3. 179=ID 7. 8=Tr 3. 11 (12) 6; cf. C. 16 q. 1 c. 30: Vos autem fratres exhortamur in Domino, ut propositum uestram custodiatis, et usque ad finem perseueretis, ac si qua opera uestra mater ecclesia desiderauerit, nec elatione auida suscipiatis, nec blandiente desidia respuatis, sed miti corde obtimperetis Deo, cum mansuetudine portantes eum, qui uos regit, qui dirigit mites in iudicio, qui docet mansuetos uias suas. Nec uestrum ocium ecclesiae necessitatibus prepontanis, cui parturienti si nulli boni ministrare uellent, quomodo nasceremini non inueniretis. FRIEDBERG I. 769.*

3. SOME IMPRESSIONS ON THE TEXTUAL TRADITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PANORMIA

The two textual witnesses of the family of the *Panormia* presented here have demonstrated considerable similarities, but also some differences. As we have already seen from other previous codicological analyses,⁴⁹ most of the differences arise in the composition of the supplementary canons,⁵⁰ even within the same textual family.⁵¹ From this perspective, the Ermit. lat. 25 is undoubtedly more rich than the fragmented BAV Barb. lat. 502. Within the canonical material of Ermit. lat. 25, we can identify three substantial supplementary canon-groups.

The afore-mentioned first supplementary material in Ermit. lat. 25 by the third hand (n^o 3) on fol. 48v contains three canons (suppl. canons [1],⁵² [2],⁵³ [3]⁵⁴). The suppl. canon [1] can be recognized as a “dictum” by Gratian (C. 23 q. 8 d.p.c. 33), which takes place – together with the attribution of C. 23 q. 8 c. 34 – right before the text of the suppl. canon [2] in the *Decretum Gratiani*.⁵⁵ The suppl. canon [2]⁵⁶ cites canon 11 of the Council of Mainz (a. 852)⁵⁷, which does not belong to the material of the textual family of the *Panormia*, but it can be found in the textual tradition of the Ivonian *Decretum* (ID 10. 170)⁵⁸ and *Tripartita* (Tr 3. 20 [21] 55). This canon testifies to the influence of the *Decretum Gratiani* too, because it continues the previous fragment with the text of C. 23 q. 8 c. 34.⁵⁹

⁴⁹ SZUROMI, SZ.A., *A snapshot from the process of the textual development of Ivo's work*, 223-227. SZUROMI, SZ.A., *Some observations on the textual-development of the Tripartita (A Comparative Analysis of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3858 with other Ivonian manuscripts)*, in *Ius Ecclesiae* 19 (2007) 369-384, especially 378-381.

⁵⁰ SZUROMI, SZ.A., *The BAV Pal. lat. 587 as a textual witness*, 352-355.

⁵¹ SZUROMI, SZ.A., *A 12th century pastoral pocket book*, 71-78.

⁵² Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 48v: De his qui simul hominem (...) Uermerias.

⁵³ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 48v: Si quatuor homines (...) extra noxam sint.

⁵⁴ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 48v: De his qui inpatibul suspenduntur (...) bis in idipsum.

⁵⁵ Cf. VII. Pars. Gratian. *De his autem, qui simul hominem uulnerant, queritur, si ille mortuus fuerit, quis eorum homicidii reatum incurrat?* (FRIEDBERG I. 965); (attributio ad C. 23 q. 8 c. 34): De his ita statutum est in Concilio apud Vermerias.

⁵⁶ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 48v: Si quatuor homines (...) extra noxam sint.

⁵⁷ Cf. BW 6. 42; cf. FRANSEN, G.-KÖLZER, TH. (Hrsg.), *Burchard von Worms*, 105ra.

⁵⁸ PL 161. 740.

⁵⁹ C. 23 q. 8 c. 34: Si quatuor aut quinque homines, seu etiam plures, contra unum hominem rixati fuerint, et ab his uulneratus mortuus fuerit, quicumque eorum plagam inposuit, secundum statuta canonum ut homicida iudicetur; reliqui autem, qui eum inpugnabant, uolentes eum interficere, similiter peniteant. Qui nec eum impugnabant, nec uulnerabant, nec consilio nec auxilio cooperatores fuerunt, sed tantum affuerunt, extra noxam sint. FRIEDBERG I. 965.

At the end of Jacques-Paul Migne's edition of the *Panormia*, we can find 18 canons under the title: "*Qui libri, et quo tempore sint legendi, in ecclesia*", which do not belong structurally and thematically to the collection⁶⁰ (i.e. IP 8. 137-154). The origin of these canons is the Second Lateran Council (1139).⁶¹ This appendix can be found in Ermit. lat. 25 on foll. 55r-55v, as the first sixteen of the twenty-four supplementary canons (suppl. canons [1]₂-[24]₂)⁶² which were written by the basic hand of the manuscript (n^o 1). The rest of these canons continue the text of the Second Lateran Council up to its final canon (i.e. can. 30).⁶³ Therefore, this section cites the whole text of the Second Lateran Council organized it in a considerable structure. Three times, a canon that is in the critical edition one in its Lateran version is divided into two independent parts,⁶⁴ and five times two Lateran canons have been combined into

⁶⁰ SZUROMI, Sz.A., *The BAV Pal. lat. 587 as a Textual Witness*, 352-353.

⁶¹ PL 161. 1339-1344.

⁶² Ermit. lat. 25, foll. 55r-55v: Suppl. can. [1]₂: Statuimus ut si quis simoniace ordinatus (...) perfruatur. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 1-2 (cf. C. 1 q. 3 c. 15); Suppl. can. [2]₂: A suis episcopis (...) teneatur obnoxius. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 3 (cf. IP 8. 139 in PL 161. 1340); Suppl. can. [3]₂: Praecipimus etiam quod tam episcopi (...) careat beneficiis. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 4 (cf. C. 21 q. 4 c. 5); Suppl. can. [4]₂: Illud autem quod in sacro Chalcedonensi (...) subiaceat. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 5 (cf. C. 12 q. 2 c. 47); Suppl. can. [5]₂: Deceimus ut hi qui in ordine (...) immunditiis deseruire = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 6 (cf. D. 28 c. 2); Suppl. can. [6]₂: Ad hoc predecessorum nostrorum (...) observari decernimus. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 7-8 (cf. C. 27 q. 1 c. 40); Suppl. can. [7]₂: Praua autem consuetudo et detestabilis (...) ecclesiae coerceant. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 9; Suppl. can. [8]₂: Decimas quoque ecclesiarum qualis in usu (...) subiaceant. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 10a; Suppl. can. [9]₂: Innouamus autem et precipimus (...) habeat sacerdotem. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 10b (cf. D. 60 c. 3); Suppl. can. [10]₂: Precipimus et ut presbiteri (...) dignitatis incurrat. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 11-12 (cf. D. 90 c. 11 [=IP 8. 147b]); Suppl. can. [11]₂: Detestabiles autem illas (...) tamen careat sepultura. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 14; Suppl. can. [12]₂: In quis ei (...) et eius mandatum suscipiat. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 15a (cf. C. 17 q. 4 c. 29); Suppl. can. [13]₂: Precipimus etiam ut (...) excommunicet. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 15b; Suppl. can. [14]₂: Indubitatum est (...) carebit. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 16; Suppl. can. [15]₂: Sane coniunctiones (...) et ab haereditate repellunt. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 17; Suppl. can. [16]₂: Pessimam si quidem (...) non negamus. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 18-20 (cf. C. 23 q. 8 c. 32).

⁶³ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56r: Suppl. can. [17]₂: Presbiterorum filios (...) iustitiam gerat. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 21-22; Suppl. can. [18]₂: Eos qui religionis (...) innodamus. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 23; Suppl. can. [19]₂: Illud quoque adicientes (...) careat beneficio. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 24-25a; Suppl. can. [20]₂: Iuxta decreta namque (...) potestatem. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 25b; Suppl. can. [21]₂: Ad haec perniciosam (...) ad psallendum. = Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 26-27; Suppl. can. [22]₂: Obuentibus sane episcopis (...) ut uacuum. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 28 (cf. D. 63 c. 35); Suppl. can. [23]₂: Artem autem illam (...) interdicimus. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 29 (cf. X 5. 15. 1); Suppl. can. [24]₂: Ordinationes factas (...) esse censemus. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 30.

⁶⁴ *Conc. Lateranense II, c. 10a*: Decimas ecclesiarum, quas in usu pietatis concessas esse canonica demonstrat auctoritas, a laicis possideri apostolica auctoritate prohibemus. Sive enim ab episcopis vel regibus vel quibuslibet personis eas acceperint, nisi ecclesiae reddiderint, sciant se sacrilegii crimen committere et periculum aeternae damnationis incurrere. Praecipimus

one in the version of the Ermit. lat. 25.⁶⁵ We only mention that the Suppl. canon [10]₂ of Ermit. lat. 25, which is IP 8. 147 in Migne's edition,⁶⁶ is found in the *Decretum Gratiani* in fragmented form.⁶⁷ Furthermore, canon 29 of the Second Lateran Council, which is Suppl. canon [23]₂ in the textual tradition of the Ermit. lat. 25, is cited by the Liber Extra (X 5. 15. 1), under the name of Pope Innocent III.⁶⁸ Comparing this appendix with the contents of other

etiam ut laici, qui ecclesias tenent, aut eas episcopis restituant aut excommunicationi subiaceant. [c. 10b]: Innovamus autem et praecipimus, ut nullus in archidiaconum vel decanum nisi diaconus vel presbyter ordinetur; archidiaconi vero, decani vel praepositi, qui infra ordines praenominatos existunt, si inobedientes ordinari contempserint, honore suscepto priventur. Prohibemus autem ne adolescentibus vel infra sacros ordines constitutis, sed qui prudentia et merito vitae clarescunt, praedicti concedantur honores. Praecipimus etiam ne conductitiis presbyteris ecclesiae committantur et unaquaeque ecclesia, cui facultas suppetit, proprium habeat sacerdotem. (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* [edizione bilingue], Bologna 1996. 199); cf. Suppl. cann. [8]₂; [9]₂. *Conc. Lateranense II, c. 15a*: Item placuit ut si quis, suadente diabolo, huius sacrilegii reatum incurrerit, quod in clericum vel monachum violentas manus iniecerit, anathematis vinculo subiaceat et nullus episcoporum illum praesumat absolvere, nisi mortis urgente periculo, donec apostolico conspectui praesentetur et eius mandatum suscipiat. [15b]: Praecipimus etiam ut in eos, qui ad ecclesiam vel coemeterium confugerint, nullus omnino manum mittere audeat. Quod si fecerit, excommunicetur. (*Conciliorum*, 200); cf. Suppl. cann. [12]₂; [13]₂. *Conc. Lateranense II, c. 25a*: Si quis praeposuras, praebendas vel alia ecclesiastica beneficia de manu laici acceperit, indigne suscepto careat beneficio. [c. 25b]: Iuxta namque decreta sanctorum patrum, laici, quamvis religiosi sint, nullam tamen habent disponendi de ecclesiasticis facultatibus potestatem. (*Conciliorum*, 202); cf. Suppl. cann. [19b]₂; [20]₂.

⁶⁵ Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 1-2= Suppl. can. [1]₂; Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 11-12= Suppl. can. [10]₂; Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 21-22= Suppl. can. [17]₂; Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 24-25b= Suppl. can. [19]₂; Conc. Lateranense II, cc. 26-27= Suppl. can. [21]₂.

⁶⁶ IP 8. 147: Praecipimus etiam ut presbyteri, clerici, monachi, peregrini, mercatores et rustici euntes et redeuntes in agricultura existentes, et animalia cum quibus aratur et semina portant ad agrum, et oves omni tempore securae sint. Treugam autem ab occasu solis in quarta feria, usque ad ortum solis in secunda feria, et ab Adventu Domini usque ad Epiphaniae octavam, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavam Pentacostes ab omnibus inviolabiliter servari praecipimus. Si quis autem treugam frangere tentaverit, anathemati subiaceat, et nullus episcoporum illum absolvere praesumat, nisi mortis imminente periculo, donec apostolico conspectui praesentetur, et eius mandatum suscipiat. Quod si quis eorum mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei poscenti et poenitenti viaticum non negetur, ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura. Si quis autem treugam frangere tentaverit, post tertiam communicationem, si non satisfecerit, episcopus suus sententiam excommunicationis in eum dictet, et scriptam vicinis episcopis nuntiet. Episcoporum autem nullus excommunicatum in communicationem suscipiat, imo scriptam sententiam quisque confirmet. Si quis autem hoc violare praesumpserit, ordinis sui periculo subiacebit, et quoniam funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur ||, praecipimus ut episcopi, ad solum Deum et salutem populi habentes respectum, omni trepidatione deposita ad pacem firmiter tenendam mutuam sibi consilium et auxilium praebeant, neque alicuius amicitia vel odio praetermittant, vel si quis in hoc Dei opere trepidus inventus fuerit, damnium propriae dignitatis incurrat. PL 161. 1343.

⁶⁷ D. 90 c. 11 (FRIEDBERG I. 315) = IP 8. 147b: the section after "||".

⁶⁸ FRIEDBERG II. 805; cf. *Conciliorum*, 203, note 4.

textual witnesses of the *Panormia*, we can see several possibilities. This particular enlargement is not attached to the material of Bruxelles, BR Ms 1817, which ends with IP 8. 136.⁶⁹ If we take a glance into Paris, BN lat. 2472, we can see that it ends with supplementary material from fol. 106ra;⁷⁰ however, it quotes the canons of the Council of Rheims (1148)⁷¹ and other texts from the Council of Lateran III (1179).⁷² Another example is the Angers Ms 369,⁷³ in which there is only one closing supplementary canon from an unknown source right after IP 8. 136.⁷⁴ Dogmatic explanations about the Blessed Eucharist or the Holy Trinity can also be added to IP 8, as occurs in the BAV Ottob. lat. 164.⁷⁵ However, there is not only theological supplement at the end of the BAV Ottob. lat. 164, but also a canon of the Second Lateran Council as well.⁷⁶ Apparently, the Edinburgh, Ms. 18. 8. 6⁷⁷ and BAV Vat. lat. 1359⁷⁸ are the closest textual-witnesses to Ermit. lat. 25 regarding the appendix of IP 8. There we can find an enlargement similar to that of Migne's edition.⁷⁹ At the end of Edinburgh, Ms. 18. 8. 6, on foll. 101r-102r, there are canons which are identical to the first eight supplementary canons (IP 8. 137-144) in the *Patrologia latina*.

The third supplementary material at the end of the manuscript (on fol. 56v) lists six canons ([1]₃-[6]₃) written by one hand (n^o 3). We are surprised by

⁶⁹ IP 8. 136: In sinodo congregata Romae (...) uel ultimis suppliciis feriri. [Bruxelles, BR Ms 1817, fol. 142v]; Cf. D. 63 c. 23. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A 12th century pastoral pocket book*, 82.

⁷⁰ SZUROMI, Sz.A., *The BAV Pal. lat. 587 as a textual witness*, 354-355.

⁷¹ Paris, BN lat. 2472, foll. 106ra-107ra: cc. 1-17; cf. MANSI XXI. 713-718.

⁷² Paris, BN lat. 2472, foll. 107ra-107vb; cf. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, III/3. Parisiis 1744. 286/A-B.

⁷³ *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Angers*, Paris 1928. 320-321.

⁷⁴ Angers Ms 369, foll. 106r-106v: In septuagesima cantatur (...) predicauit.

⁷⁵ BAV Ottob. lat. 164, fol. 148v: De negligentia sacerdotis circa corpus et sanguine domini (...) cantare.

⁷⁶ BAV Ottob. lat. 164, fol. 149r: Obeuntibus sane episcopus (...) habeatur et uacuum. = Conc. Lateranense II, c. 28; cf. D. 63 c. 35: Obuentibus sane episcopis, quoniam ultra tres menses uacare ecclesiam sanctorum Patrum prohibent sanctiones, sub anathemate interdicimus, ne canonici de sede episcopali ab electione episcoporum excludant religiosos uiros, sed eorum consilio honestam et idoneam personam in episcopum eligant. Quod si exclusis religiosis electio facta fuerit, quod absque eorum consensu et conniuentia factum fuerit, irritum habeatur et uacuum. FRIEDBERG I. 247.

⁷⁷ BORLAND, C.R., *A Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, compiled during the tenure of Carnegie Research Scholarship in the University of Edinburgh in the years 1906-1908*, I. Theology; Edinburgh 1909. 241. CUNNINGHAM, I.C., *Sir James Balfour's Manuscript Collection: The 1698 Catalogue and other sources*, in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* VI/6 (Session 1997-8, 1998-9), Edinburgh 2004. 224 [197].

⁷⁸ 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. 127-128.

⁷⁹ Edinburgh, Ms. 18. 8. 6, foll. 101r-101v. Cf. SZUROMI, Sz.A., *A 12th century pastoral pocket book*, 72-74. Cf. BAV Vat. lat. 1359, foll. 139v-141r.

suppl. canon [1]₃. The incipit “*Quod nullus iudiciario*” is not the beginning of a canonical text, but the title of C. 2 q. 1 in Gratian’s Collection,⁸⁰ which is continued by the text of C. 2 q. 1 c. 1.⁸¹ Suppl. canon [2]₃ does not continue the quotation of the “auctoritates” of the *Decretum Gratiani*, but it cites the “dictum” of Gratian to C. 2 q. 1 c. 14.⁸² Suppl. canon [3]₃ is a sentence, attributed to St. Ambrose⁸³ (cf. Ep. Ad Corinthios),⁸⁴ which takes place in the *Decretum Gratiani* (C. 2 q. 1 c. 15),⁸⁵ but not in any Ivonian work. It cannot be an accident that suppl. canon [4]₃ of Erm. lat. 25⁸⁶ is the same also as in the *Decretum Gratiani* (C. 2 q. 1 c. 16).⁸⁷ This is a part of the letter by Pope Nicholas I (858-867), addressed to King Louis, around 867.⁸⁸ Moreover, that particular text which appears in Ermit. lat. 25 as suppl. canon [5]₃ is again not a disciplinary source,⁸⁹ but a “dictum” by Gratian to C. 2 q. 1 c. 16!⁹⁰ Concerning suppl. canon [6]₃, we can also ascertain⁹¹ that it is again a “dictum” by Gratian, namely, to the next canon of his collection (C. 2 q. 1 c. 17).⁹² We only mention that this particular canon of the *Decretum Gratiani*, which is not indicated in the supplementary material of Erm. lat. 25, belongs to the common material of

⁸⁰ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *Quod nullus iudiciario ordine (...) auctoritatibus probatur. Cf. C. 2 q. 1: Quod autem nullus sine iudiciario ordine dampnari ualeat, multis auctoritatibus probatur. FRIEDBERG I. 438.*

⁸¹ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *De eo namque ait Augustinus (...) confessum. Cf. C. 2 c. 1 c. 1: [attributio: De eo namque ait Augustinus] Nos in quemquam sententiam ferre non possumus, nisi aut conuictum, aut sponte confessum. FRIEDBERG I. 438.*

⁸² Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *His vel aliis auctoritatibus datur intelligi (...) non requirunt. Cf. C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 14: His omnibus auctoritatibus datur intelligi, quod nullus est condemnandus, nisi iudicio ordinabiliter habito aut conuincatur, aut reum se ipse confiteatur. Verum hec de illis intelligenda sunt, quorum crimina sunt occulta; ceterum que manifesta sunt iudicarium ordinem non requirunt. FRIEDBERG I. 445.*

⁸³ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *Manifesta accusatione non indigent.*

⁸⁴ Cf. FRIEDBERG I. 445, note 241.

⁸⁵ C. 2 q. 1 c. 15: *Manifesta accusatione non indigent. FRIEDBERG I. 445.*

⁸⁶ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *Que Lotharius uester nepos rex fecit accusatione non indigent. Manifesta enim sunt opera eius.*

⁸⁷ FRIEDBERG I. 445.

⁸⁸ JE 2884 (2183).

⁸⁹ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *In manifestis enim (...) iusti examinis.*

⁹⁰ C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 16: *In manifestis enim calliditate accusantium reus non opprimitur, nec tergiuersatione propria crimen celatur, cum culpa sua sponte se oculis omnium ingerat, atque ideo in talibus iudiciarius ordo non requiritur, qui ideo tantum institutus est, ut nec innocentia insidiis pateret aduersantium, nec culpa delinquentis sententiam effugeret iusti examinis. FRIEDBERG I. 445.*

⁹¹ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 56v: *Sed sciendum est quod eorum que manifesta sunt (...).*

⁹² C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 17: *Sed sciendum est, quod eorum, que manifesta sunt, alia sunt nota iudici, et incognita aliis; alias sunt occulta iudici et manifesta aliis; quedam uero sunt nota iudici, et aliis. Que iudici tantum nota sunt, sine examinatione ferri non possunt, quia, dum accusatoris persona assumitur, iudiciaria potestas amittitur. In una enim eademque causa nullus simul potest esse accusator et iudex. FRIEDBERG I. 446.*

the Ivonian families (ID 6. 431; IP 4. 117; Tr 3. 10 [11] 53).⁹³ Based on these facts, the source of the supplementary material of fol. 56v is surely the *Decretum Gratiani*. Why did the copier use C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 17 right after C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 16? We do not want to get into an analysis of the textual development of the *Decretum Gratiani*, but the copied enlargement of the Ermit. lat. 25 is really remarkable. As is well-known, the Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 673 [Sg]⁹⁴ and the Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi A.I.402 [FdA]⁹⁵ are recognized as early textual witnesses of the *Decretum Gratiani*.⁹⁶ If we observe these two manuscripts, it can be seen, that their material differs from the version of Friedberg's edition (edF) at C. 2 q. 1. The Sg does not contain C. 2 q. 1 c. 14,⁹⁷ only the 'dictum', called C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 14.⁹⁸ This text is followed by C. 2 q. 1 cc. 15-16, then there is the 'dictum' to c. 16 (i.e. C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 16).⁹⁹ Right after this 'dictum,' C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 17 takes place immediately. The textual order of FdA is the same as we have seen in Sg concerning C. 2 q. 1.¹⁰⁰ Having seen this, we can observe that the textual tradition of a certain part of the *Decretum Gratiani* is the same as that which is copied as an appendix to the end of Ermit. lat. 25. It may be supposed that the library of the

⁹³ JL 3434 (2655); C. 2 q. 1 c. 17: In manifesta et nota plurimus causa non sunt querendi testes, ut S. Ambrosius in epistola ad Corinthios dicit, de fornicatione exponens sententiam Apostoli: „Iudicis, inquam non est sine accusatore dampnare, quia Dominus Iudam, cum fuisset fur, quia non est accusatus, minime abiecti. Cognito autem opere isto pellendum illum Apostolus de cetu fraternitatis censuit. Omnes enim crimen eius sciebant, et non arguebant. Publice enim novercam suam loco uxoris habebat, in qua re neque testibus opus erat, neque tergiversatione aliqua poterat tegi crimen. *Et paulo post*: Absens facie, presens autem auctoritate Spiritus, qui nusquam abest, iam iudicavi ut presens eum, qui hoc admisit, tradi satanae in interitum carnis.” FRIEDBERG I. 445-446. Cf. ID 6. 431 (PL 161. 539-540); IP 4. 117 (PL 161. 1208).

⁹⁴ LARRAINZAR, C., *El borrador de la «Concordia» de Graciano: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 673 (= Sg), Ius Ecclesiae 11 (1999) 593-666.*

⁹⁵ LARRAINZAR, C., *El Decreto de Graciano del código Fd (= Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi A.I.402). In memoriam Rudolf Weigand, in Ius Ecclesiae 10 (1998) 421-89.*

⁹⁶ LARRAINZAR, C., *Datos sobre la antigüedad del manuscrito Sg: su redacción de C. 27 q. 2*, in CONDORELLI, O. (ed.), *Panta rei. Studi dedicati a Manlio Bellomo*, III. Roma 2004. 205-237. LARRAINZAR, C., *La firma boloñesa del Decreto de Graciano*, in *Initium 9 (2004) 495-515*. VIEJO-XIMÉNEZ, J.M., *La composizione del Decreto di Graziano*, in SZUROMI, Sz.A. (ed.), *Medieval Canon Law Collections and European ius commune* (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III/8), Budapest 2006. 97-169. Counter argument explained by Anders Winroth; cf. WINROTH, A., *Le manuscrit florentin du Decret de Gratien. Une critique des travaux de Carlos Larrainzar sur Gratien I*, in *Revue de droit canonique 51 (2001) 211-31*.

⁹⁷ Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 673, fol. 46a.

⁹⁸ Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 673, fol. 46a: Istis omnibus auctoritatibus intelligi, quod nullus est condemnandus, nisi iudicio ordinabiliter habito aut conuincatur, aut reum se ipse confiteatur. Verum hec de illis intelligenda sunt, quorum crimina sunt occulta; ceterum que manifesta sunt iudicarium ordinem non requirunt.

⁹⁹ We note that FdA contains a different variant of C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Thanks to Prof. José Miguel Viejo-Ximénez and to Prof. Carlos Larrainzar for these data.

Norbertine Abbey of Weissenau preserved an *exemplar* of the *Decretum Gratiani*, which contained the same textual variants as *Sg* and *FdA* concerning C. 2 q. 1, and which could be the source of the suppl. canons [1]₃-[6]₃, which were copied into the Ermit. lat. 25 in the 12th century.

The Ermit. lat. 25 and the BAV Barb. lat. 502 permit us to see again that concerning the text of Ivo's work, it is better to use the term, "textual families". Moreover, we can clearly distinguish certain versions within the particular "textual families". This can be illustrated well by the supplementary canons: 1) Some manuscripts are known which do not contain any significant supplement as compared with the other textual witnesses of the *Panormia* (e.g. Strassbourg, Bibl. Nat. et Univ. 108; Bruxelles, Bibl. Royal MS 1817). 2) At the end of some manuscripts, one may find canons IP 8. 137-154 in the basic disciplinary material, as they appear in Migne's edition (e.g. Edinburgh, Ms. 18. 8. 6; BAV Vat. lat. 1359; Ermit. lat. 25). However, this supplement can also be found in different forms, if less supplementary canons were included, or if the body of this enlargement is further augmented by other canons of local councils of the region where the manuscript was used (e.g. Paris, BN lat. 2472). 3) Sometimes the final enlargement testifies to the textual tradition of the textual family of the *Decretum* (e.g. BAV Vat. lat. 1362)¹⁰¹. 4) Besides these possibilities, there can be supplements which are included among the basic canons of the *Panormia*, but these supplementary canons belong to the textual family of the *Decretum* (i.e. Angers Ms 369)¹⁰² or even to the material of the *Decretum Gratiani* (i.e. Ermit. lat. 25).¹⁰³ 5) Finally, there can be further significant supplements attached to the front or the end of the collection – even into the already bound volume – usually scripted by a later hand, though sometimes by a contemporary hand.

CONCLUSION: THE ENDEAVOUR TO THE COMPLETE CURRENT CANON LAW

What was the particular fate of any copied canonical manuscript? When the codex was completed, it was taken into the context of day-to-day practice, at some parish, cathedral, episcopal court, or ecclesiastical tribunal. In such places of usage, new supplements were inserted into the codex. These enlargements intended to record the local, inveterate customs, or the latest canonical norms, and they helped the user of the canonical collection to get to know the discipline of the Church. The supplements could take place in the margin (as a short marginal note) among the original canons of the col-

¹⁰¹ BAV Vat. lat. 1362, foll. 129r-138r; cf. 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. 133-134.

¹⁰² Angers Ms 369, fol. 101r. ¹⁰³ Ermit. lat. 25, fol. 48v.

lection, but also on those parts of pages which remained empty (cf., in that particular place which was reserved for the “*arbor consanguinitatis*”, but in which that table has not been inserted). However, the front and the end of the codex was a possible place too, right before or after the basic canonical material of the codex. We even have examples of supplementary strips of parchment which were supplied with some notes (i.e. Edinburgh, Ms. 18. 8. 6). These supplements clearly inform us of the place of usage, the date, and the goal of the particular manuscript. At the same time, these facts strongly support the idea of the existence of canon law as a “living law”. The liveliness of this “living law” can be described in terms of the relationship of a particular canonical collection with other types of collected discipline of the Church, and also with the day-to-day institutional activity of the Church. The endeavour to issue the complete canon law does not mean only the composition of the universal canonical norms, but also the gathering of the particular norms, inveterate customs, or theological statements which could set the contents of the ecclesiastical discipline (e.g. about the Holy Eucharist) in the proper light. The composition of the canonical discipline by Ivo of Chartres is an excellent example of this endeavour. The textual families of his canonical work (i.e. *Decretum*, *Panormia*, *Tripartita*) and the textual variants of these families demonstrate well the intention bring together, if possible, the complete “canon law”. The Ermit. lat. 25 has an eminent place among these variants. The appendix which quotes the early form of the *Decretum Gratiani* is really significant. There are no marginal references to the *Decretum Gratiani*, as can be encountered several times in Ivo’s and even Anselm’s canonical work. But here, in Ermit. lat. 25, the main text of the canonical collection of Ivo is enlarged by the text of the *Decretum Gratiani*. This addition took place very soon after the date of origin of this particular manuscript in the 12th century. These supplementary texts cite not only canonical disciplinary material, but also the introductory sentence of a particular “questio,” as well as various “dictums” of Gratian. This appendix at the end of the Ermit. lat. 25 follows another long supplementary section which cites all the canons of the Second Lateran Council (a. 1139).

The textual expansion of Ermit. lat. 25 obviously shows the user’s interest in canonical proceedings. But besides this, it also demonstrates the dynamic effect of the canonical collections on one another as “living canon law”.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTION OF ST. PETERSBURG,
ROSSIYSKAYA NATIONALNAYA BIBLIOTEKA ERMIT. LAT. 25

Poss. Abbatia Premonstratense, Weissenau

Prov. Gallia

56 fols. memb. in 273 x 192 mm, saec. XII/1.

fol. 1r vacat

fol. 1v-56r <Ivo Carnotensis (s.) Panormia>

fol. 1v (Tabula Librorum) Prima pars continet ...; (Explicit) De omni genere mendacii.

fol. 2r (Supplementum) Arbor consanguinitatis.

fol. 2va Exceptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum partis exemplis romanorum pontificum ...;

(Explicit) ut hinc prudens lector aduertat quod in una quaeque partam sibi necessarium querere debeat (4rb).

fol. 4v (Textus) Credimus unum deum esse patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ...; (Explicit)

uideant indigna (10v); (Textus) Ecclesia grecus est ... (10v); (Explicit) facimus (18r); (Textus) In nomine domini saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi ... (18r); (Explicit) corrumpit (27v); (Rubrica) De primati romanae ecclesiae et metropolitanorum ... (25v); (Textus) Ex testamento constituti nisi concedimus ipsis ... (27v); (Explicit) iuste finire licet (32v); (Textus) Si quis presbiter uite siue negligens ... (32v); (Explicit) non possumus (38r); (Rubrica) Nuptiae siue matrimonium est ... (38r); (Explicit) inconiugium ducit anathema sit (44r); (Textus) Preceptum domini est ... (44r); (Explicit) quam maternas frater et soror [fragmentum: IP 7. 90, cf. PL 161. 1303-1304] (48v).

fol. 48v (Supplementum) De his qui simul hominem ... (suppl. can. [1]: C. 33 q. 8 d.p.c. 33);

Si quatuor homines ... (suppl. can. [2]: Conc. Moguntinum [a. 852] c. 11; cf. ID 10. 170=Tr 3. 20 [21] 55=C. 23 q. 8 c. 34; [PL 161. 740; Friedberg I. 965]); De his qui inpatibil suspenduntur ... (suppl. can. [3]); (Explicit) bis in idipsum (48v).

fol. 49r (Rubrica) Omnes leges ... (49r); (Explicit) puniatur (55r).

fol. 55r (Supplementum) Statuimus ut si quis simoniace ordinatus ... (suppl. can. [1]₂: Conc.

Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 1-2; IP 8. 138 [PL 161. 1340]; cf. C. 1 q. 3 c. 15); A suis episcopis... (suppl. can. [2]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 3; IP 8. 139 [PL 161. 1340]; Precipimus etiam episcopi ... (suppl. can. [3]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 4; IP 8. 140 [PL 161. 1340-1341]; cf. C. 21 q. 4 c. 5); Illud autem quod in sacro calcedonensi ... (suppl. can. [4]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 5; IP 8. 141 [PL 161. 1341]; cf. C. 12 q. 2 c. 47); Decreuimus ut hi qui in ordine... (suppl. can. [5]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 6; IP 8. 142

[PL 161. 1341]; cf. D. 28 c. 2); Ut autem lex continentiae et ... (suppl. can. [6]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 7-8; IP 8. 143 [PL 161. 1341]; cf. C. 27 q. 1 c. 40); Praua autem consuetudo et detestabilis ... (suppl. can. [7]₂: Conc. Lateranense II. [a. 1139] c. 9; IP 8. 144 [PL 161. 1342]); Decimas ecclesiarum qualis in usum... (suppl. can. [8]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 10a; IP 8. 145 [PL 161. 1342]); Innouamus autem et precipimus ... (suppl. can. [9]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 10b; IP 8. 146 [PL 161. 1342]; cf. D. 60 c. 3); Precipimus et ut presbiteri ... (suppl. can. [10]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 11-12; IP 8. 147 [PL 161. 1343]; cf. D. 90 c. 11 [=IP 8. 147b]); Detestabiles autem illas ... (suppl. can. [11]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 14; IP 8. 148 [PL 161. 1343]); In quis ei ... (suppl. can. [12]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 15a; IP 8. 149 [PL 161. 1343-1344]; cf. C. 17 q. 4 c. 29); Precipimus etiam ut ... (suppl. can. [13]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 15b); Indubitatum est ... (suppl. can. [14]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 16); Sane coniunctiones ... (suppl. can. [15]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 17; IP 8. 153 [PL 161. 1344]); Pessimam si quidem ... (suppl. can. [16]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 18-20; IP 8. 154 [PL 161. 1344]; cf. C. 23 q. 8 c. 32); Presbiterorum filios ... (suppl. can. [17]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 21-22); Eos qui religionis ... (suppl. can. [18]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 23); Illud quoque adicientes ... (suppl. can. [19]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 24-25a); Iuxta decreta namque ... (suppl. can. [20]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 25b); Ad haec pernitiosam ... (suppl. can. [21]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] cc. 26-27); Obuentibus sane episcopis ... (suppl. can. [22]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 28; cf. D. 63 c. 35); Artem autem illam ... (suppl. can. [23]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 29; cf. X 5. 15. 1 [sub nomine Innocentii papae III: Friedberg II. 805]); Ordinationes factas ... (suppl. can. [24]₂: Conc. Lateranense II [a. 1139] c. 30); (Explicit) esse censemus (56r).

fol. 56v (Supplementum) Quod nullus iudiciario ordine ... (suppl. can. [1]₃: C. 2 q. 1 [1. Pars.] + C. 2 q. 1 c. 1 [attrib. + textus; Friedberg I. 438]); His uel aliis auctoritatibus datur intelligi ... (suppl. can. [2]₃: C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 14 [Friedberg I. 445]); Manifesta accusatione ... (suppl. can. [3]₃: C. 2 q. 1 c. 15 [Friedberg I. 445]); Que Lotharius rex nepos ... (suppl. can. [4]₃: Pp. Nicolaus I [858-867] a. 867; cf. JE 2884 (2183); C. 2 q. 1 c. 16 [Friedberg I. 445]); In manifestis enim ... (suppl. can. [5]₃: C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 16 [Friedberg I. 445]); Sed sciendum est quod eorum que manifesta sunt ... (suppl. can. [6]₃: C. 2 q. 1 d.p.c. 17 [Friedberg I. 446]); (Finis) esse accusator et iudex.

Ed. *Liber decretorum siue panormia Ivonis*, ed. S. Brant, 1499; *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, I-CCXXI. ed. I.P. Migne, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1844-1864. CLXI. coll. 1041-1344. **Bibl.** P. Fournier, «Les collections canoniques attribuées à Yves de Chartres» in *Bibliothèque de la École des chartes* 57 (1896) 645-698; 58 (1897) 26-77, 293-326, 410-444, 624-676 [repr. in *Mélanges de droit canonique*, ed. T. Kölzer, I. Aalen 1983. 451-678]; P. Landau, «Die Rubriken und Inschriften von Ivo von Chartres» in *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 12 (1982) 31-49; P. Landau, «Das Dekret des Ivo von Chartres: die handschriftliche Überlieferung im Vergleich zum Text in den Editionen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts» in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*.

Kanonistische Abteilung 70 (1984) 1-44; G. Fransen, «La tradition manuscrite de la Panormie d'Yves de Chartres» in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (San Diego 1988) [Monumenta iuris canonici C/9], ed. S. Chodorow, Città del Vaticano 1992. 23-25; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (History of Medieval Canon Law 1), Washington 1999. 244-260; M. Brett, «Creeping up on the Panormis» in *Grundlagen des Rechts*, ed. R.H. Helmholz et al., Paderborn 2000. 205-270; Sz.A. Szuromi, «Roman Law texts in the 'A', 'B', 'C' recension of the *Collectio Canonum Anselmi Lucensis*, and in BAV Vat. lat. 1361 (A comparative overview on the influence of the Roman Law on different canon law collections up to the *Decretum Gratiani*)» in *La cultura giuridico-canonica Medioevale premesse per un dialogo ecumenico*, ed. E. De León-Álvarez de las Asturias, N., Milano 2003. 437-467; M. Brett, «Editions, Manuscripts and Readers in Some Pre-Gratian Collections» in *Ritual, Texts and Law. Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds* (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West), ed. K.G. Cushing-R.F. Gyug, Aldershot 2004. 205-224; Sz.A. Szuromi, «'Work in progress' – The transformation of the cathedral teaching to the university instruction of the canon law at the end of the 11th Century» in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung Kanonistische Abteilung* 91 (2005); Sz.A. Szuromi, «Some observations on BAV Pal. lat. 587 as compared with other textual witnesses of Ivo's works» in *Parare viam Domino. Commemorative Studies on the occasion of Rt. Rev. Polikárp F. Zakar Ocist.'s 75th Birthday* (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III/7), ed. Sz.A. Szuromi, Budapest 2005. 179-203. L. Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum. Selected Canon Law Collections Before 1140. Access with data processing* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfsmittel 21), Hannover 2005. 198-202; Sz.A. Szuromi, «A 12th century pastoral pocket book (Some impressions on National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv. Ms. 18. 8. 6, as compared with Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal MS 1817)» in *Medieval Canon Law Collections and European ius commune* (Bibliotheca Instituti Postgradualis Iuris Canonici Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány nominatae III/8), ed. Sz.A. Szuromi, Budapest 2006. 65-96. Sz.A. Szuromi, «A snapshot from the process of the textual – development of Ivo's works (Comparative analysis of Angers, Bibliothèque Municipal, Ms. 369 with BAV Reg. lat. 973 and other textual witnesses)», in *Ius Ecclesiae* 18 (2006) 217-238; Sz.A. Szuromi, «The BAV Pal. lat. 587 as a textual witness of the canonical work of Ivo of Chartres» in *Rivista internazionale di diritto comune* 17 (2006) 343-358; Sz.A. Szuromi, «Canon Law Handbook by Ivo of Chartres» in *Folia Canonica* 9 (2006) 93-116; Sz.A. Szuromi, «Ivonian intention to collect the «ancient canons» together with new decretal materials» in *The Jurist* 67 (2007) 285-310.