**London, British Library, MS Add. 5411**

**Abbreviation:** London Add. 5411

**Contents:** *Liber legis langobardorum*, *Walcausina*, diagrams, Table of Consanguinity

**Date:** s. xi, (from 1050 to 1100)

*Walcausina*, diagrams, Table of Consanguinity, s. xii (1100 to 1200)

**Summary:** An easily portable manuscript with an open *mise-en-page* comprising a well-spaced script with large letter forms. Laws are introduced with line-drawn initials and, a half-page line-drawn illustration at the start of the laws of Charlemagne. The manuscript as originally produced emphasises the break between the Lombard laws and the Carolingian and Saxon capitularies, with a subtle change in the *mise-en-page* for the latter part. The division is further emphasised with the capitularies having been begun on a new quire (quire 14), while the preceding quire had eleven folios (as opposed to eight, as used more regularly throughout the rest of the manuscript), so that the conclusion of the Lombard laws could be contained within it, see Appendix A. The *Liber legis langobardorum* is copied by scribal hand 1 up to the end of the capitularies of Henry I of Saxony, with the capitularies of Conrad I and Henry II added by a contemporary scribal hand who also added Charlemagne’s *Anno feliciter* capitulary on fol. 116r.

A quire of 12 folios, and a loose half-sheet (that may originally have been part of the additional quire) was added at the end of the manuscript, quire 23, in the twelfth century. This additional quire includes much of the later eleventh-century commentaries on the *Liber legis langobardorum* made in the nascent legal school associated with the judge Walcausius, active in Pavia in the third quarter of the eleventh century. The additional quire also includes a copy of the chapter titles for laws, organised into groups by the value of fines (fol. 180v), similar to the lists made in the Paris and Vienna manuscripts, as well as a Table of Consanguinity (fol. 192v). The scribe who added the quire with these commentaries and diagrams also added a large number of associated additions and diagrams throughout the earlier parts of the manuscript, causing the original open *mise-en-page* to become more notably cluttered.

**Extent:** iii + i paper flyleaves + 189 + 13 + i + iii

**Origin:** Northern Italy
Provenance: Inscribed on fol. 192^v with the name of Cardinal Silvio Antoniano (b. 1540, d. 1603).

In the library of Maffeo Pinelli (b. 1736, d. 1785), Venice; sold on 2 June 1789 (lot 12803) to the British Museum (Morelli, 1787; Robson & Clarke, 1789).

Surrogates: Digital images freely available online via the British Library:

MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS

Item: fol. 1^r, l. 1 – fol. 181^v, l. 28

Title: Liber legis langobardorum (to Henry I)

Rothair: fol. 1^r, l. 1 – fol. 51^r, l. 17
Grimouald: fol. 51^r, l. 17 – fol. 53^v, l. 19
Liutprand: fol. 53^v, l. 20 – fol. 106^v, l. 7
Rachis: fol. 106^v, l. 8 – fol. 111^v, l. 3
Astulph: fol. 111^v, l. 4 – fol. 115^v, l. 27
Charlemagne: fol. 116^v, l. 1 – fol. 136^r, l. 12
Pippin: fol. 136^r, l. 21 – fol. 143^v, l. 2
Louis the Pious: fol. 144^v, l. 1 – fol. 154^r, l. 25
Lothar: fol. 154^r, l. 27 – fol. 171^r, l. 28
Wido: fol. 171^r, l. 17 – fol. 174^r, l. 13
Otto I: fol. 174^r, l. 24 – fol. 176^r, l. 7
Henry I: fol. 176^r, l. 20 – fol. 177^v, l. 20
Conrad: fol. 177^v, l. 22 – fol. 178v, l. 11
Henry II: fol. 178v, l. 13 – fol. 179^v, l. 28

Incipit: [n nomine] domini [incipit] ædictum [...] 

Excipit: [...] manum qua | homicidium fecit amittat . DEO GRATIAS.

Mise-en-page: Writing begins above top line in a black ink. The text-block is lain out in a single column usually of 27 long lines per page (but 28 long lines per page in the final quire).

Initials: Laws usually begin with large line-drawn initials indented into the text-block, often elaborated with foliate and/or geometric patterns. The elaborated initials mark the start of the legal content,
while prologues are treated in the same manner as the sub-clauses, beginning on a new line and with a one-line initial set into the margin to the left of the ruled text-block. Initials for new laws and sub-clauses are either in red ink or a similar black to that used for the main text-block. Some initials are in a silver-grey ink, although often with small patches of red around the edges.

The opening of the Carolingian capitularies beginning with Charlemagne are given extra attention, and are preceded by a half-page line-drawing of a seated Charlemagne flanked by two armed men (fol. 116r). The start of most new laws are also emphasised with the use of majuscules written on alternate lines in the line space adjacent to the large initials. Most of the following Carolingian and Saxon capitularies are preceded with empty line space, suggesting that the addition of rubrics, illustrations or similar was anticipated but not supplied.

**Chapter Numbers:** These are given in red ink of similar hue to that used for the initials. The chapter numbers are either inserted in the empty line space at the end of the previous sub-clause, or in the margin to the left or right of the ruled text-block, depending on available space.

**Running Headings:** Written usually in the upper margin of the recto of each folio in brown ink, by scribal hand 3 (s. xii).

**Glosses:** Glosses including comments on the contents and cross-references to other laws, as well as the Lombardic diagrams are usually positioned in the outer margins of each folio. These additions in the margins are by an indeterminate number of scribal hands, as many additions are short, written in cramped space and it is consequently difficult to identify their source securely. Some additions, however, can be attributed to the main scribe of the manuscript (hand 1), others by the twelfth-century scribe who added the final quire to the manuscript (hand 3).

**Hand:** 1

**Date:** s. xi²

**Text Language:** Latin
Item: fol. 116\(^f\), l. 22 – fol. 181\(^v\), l. 28

Title: *Liber legis langobardorum* (to Henry I)

**Charlemagne:** fol. 116\(^f\), ll. 1, 16-27

Incipit: ANNO vndecimo feliciter

Excipit: causis | oportunis . consenserit decretum

**Mise-en-page:** Writing begins above top line in a black ink. The text-block is lain out in a single column usually of 27 long lines. Following the first line of the text-block a line-drawn illustration of three figures in tunics, the central one presumably Charlemagne, seated and flanked by two standing retainers with sword (left) and spear (right) and carrying shields. Four heads are sketched lightly in a column in the outer margin of the page. The drawings are in brown ink, but with some foliate decorations on the seat in black. The text-block continues below the drawing.

**Initials:** The < A > of ‘ANNO vndecimo felciter’ is a pen-drawn majuscule of two-lines height, with forking line-decorations at the end of strokes. The < R > introducing the text-block following the line drawing is eleven-lines in height, line-drawn in a russet-brown ink with knot-work, foliate, bestial and anthropomorphic features. While this is the largest and most elaborated initial in the entire manuscript, the style is very similar to other initials used throughout the manuscript for both new laws and capitularies.

**Hand:** 2

**Date:** s. xi\(^2\)

**Text Language:** Latin

Item: fol. 177\(^v\), l. 22 – fol. 181\(^v\), l. 28

Title: *Liber legis langobardorum* (to Henry I)

**Conrad:** fol. 177\(^v\), l. 22 – fol. 178\(^v\), l. 11

**Henry II:** fol. 178\(^v\), l. 13 – fol. 179\(^v\), l. 28

Rubric: Hec lex chonradi [...] (in black ink)

Incipit: IN nomine sancte 7 indiuide tr'nitati\(^8\)
Excipit:  Vt quicunque seu in legitima etate siue infra | legitimam etatem uxorem duXerit vel desponsuIt.

Mise-en-page: Writing begins above top line in a black ink. The text-block is lain out in a single column usually of 28 long lines per page (as per the entirety of the final quire).

Initials: Laws usually begin with plain, pen-drawn initials, sometimes partially indented into the text-block in the same black ink as the text-block.

Running Headings: Written usually in the upper margin of the recto of each folio in brown ink, by scribal hand 3 (s. xii).

Hand: 2

Date: s. xi²

Text Language: Latin

Item: fol. 182⁴, l. 1 – fol. 192⁷

Title: Legal commentary (legal formulae, Walcausina, Lombardic diagrams, table of consanguinity).

Incipit: Ibi in eorum venit presentia [...] 

Excipit: [...] si victus fuerit.

Mise-en-page: Writing begins above top line with the text-block having been lain out in a single column of 50 or 51 long lines per page.

Initials: The text is introduced with a two-line initial set in the left margin. Otherwise are either majuscules or small pen-drawn initials within the text-block or set immediately to the left of the ruled text-block.

Diagrams: A diagram organising the laws under their chapter headings by the value of their composition takes up all of fol. 180⁵, while the table of consanguinity, along with a line-drawing of a dog’s head, takes up most of fol. 192⁷.
Hand: 3

Date: s. xii (1100 – 1200)

Text Language: Latin

**PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION**

Form: Codex

Support: Parchment

Binding: Modern library binding (1965, in-house from the British Library)

Foliation/Pagination: Foliated continuously in the upper right margin of recto on each folio.

Collation: iii + i paper flyleaves + 1\(^8\)(wants 8), 2\(^8\)±1(1 halfsheet), 3-5\(^8\), 6-7\(^8\)(3 & 6 halfsheets), 8\(^8\)(2 & 7 halfsheets), 9\(^8\)(3-6 halfsheets), 10-12\(^8\), 13\(^8\)(3 & 6 halfsheets), 14\(^{10+1}(1, 3 & 10 halfsheets), 15-16\(^8\), 17\(^8\)(1 & 8 halfsheets), 18\(^8\), 19\(^9\)(wants 2; 3, 6 & 7 halfsheets), 20\(^8\)(3 & 6 halfsheets), 21\(^8\)(4 & 5 halfsheets), 22\(^8\)±1(1 halfsheet), 23\(^{12}\), +1 + i + iii paper flyleaves

Full Quire Diagram given in Appendix A, below.

Folio Height: 269 (267-70) mm, quires 1-22
258 (257-60) mm, quire 23

Folio Width: 160 (158-64) mm, throughout

Layout: Ruling: Hardpoint

Ruled From: Hair-side of parchment

Ruled Lines: 27 long lines, quires 1-21 (fols 1-170) and first three folios of quire 22 (fols. 171-73). 28 longlines for the remainder of quire 22 (fols. 174-179). The final, later quire, alternates between 51 longlines per folio (fols 180-82, 185-86 and 190-91) and 50 longlines per folio on the others (fols 183-84, 187-89).

Ruled Height: 189 (187–91) mm, quires 1-22
210 (207-212) mm, quire 23
Ruled Width: 86 (82-90) mm, quires 1-22
146 (145-52) mm, quire 23

Bounding Lines: Double inner and outer, quires 1-22,
Single inner and outer, quire 23

Extenders: In quires 1-22 the predominant pattern is for three pairs: the first and last two lines as well as two lines in the middle of the page, usually but not always lines 14-15. Quire 23 has only the first and last lines as extenders, and then only on the first folio (fol. 180).

Throughlines: As per extenders in quires 1-22, the predominant pattern is again for three pairs: the first and last two lines as well as two lines in the middle of the page, usually but not always lines 14-15. Quire 23 has the first and last two on the first folio (fol. 180), and the first two and last three on the last folio (fol. 191).

Pricking: Trimming of the manuscript means that many prickmarks are now removed, especially at the upper and lower edges of the folios and in the earlier quires. More of the outer prickmarks have survived overall. There are no prickmarks in the inner margins.

Pricking Shape: Horizontal angular slits, knife tip or similar

Pricked From: Recto

DESCRIPTION OF HANDS

Number of Hands: 3

Summary: The original parts of the manuscript (quires 1 to 22) were copied throughout by two contemporary scribal hands (hands 1 and 2). Hand 1 providing the majority of the work and a small number of additions and corrections in the margins and interlinear space. Hand 2 added the Charlemagne’s Anno feliciter capitulary (fol. 116') and the final two sets of capitularies in the Liber legis langobardorum in Quire 22 (Emperors Conrad and Henry II of Saxony). Quire 23 was added a
third, later scribal hand (hand 3), who also added a large number of related glosses and commentaries to the earlier parts of the manuscript. Other readers may also have added items in the margins of quires 1-22.

**Scribal Hand:** 1

**Scope:** Major. fols 1r – 179v, text-block and some additions in the margins throughout.

**Script:** Late Caroline Minuscule

**Date:** s. xi

**Description:** Unadorned and legible, with open and rounded graph forms. Legibility is further helped in the aspect of the script through the generous vertical spacing between lines and open horizontal spacing between words. On the ruled base-line, the bottom of minims have clear serifs, and are sometimes ended with a pen-flick upwards along the nib-angle.

**Ascenders:** Approximately double the minim height, the tops are wedged or tagged.

**Descenders:** Extend to approximately half the minim height below the ruled base-line. The bottom ends in a point, often turned slightly to the left.

**Abbreviations:** Normal range of Latin Abbreviations, including suspension marks and cross-strokes on graphs for various endings or contractions of words.

**Punctuation:** Punctus positioned slightly above the ruled base-line.

**Ligatures:** st ligature formed with the upper loop of the caroline s coming down to join the main shaft of the t, while the cross-stroke extends across both shafts.

**Corrections:** Additions made in the interlinear space, or occasionally adjacent margins. Erasure by scraping is occasionally employed.
Scribal Hand: 2

Scope: Minor, fols 116r, 177v, l. 22 – 179v, l. 28 text-block. Possibly some additions in the margins. This scribal hand is also possibly the miniator who supplied (many of) the line-work initials introducing new laws and capitularies throughout the Liber legis langobardorum, or is working in close association with them.

Script: Late Caroline Minuscule

Date: s. xi2

Description: Unadorned, with narrow graph forms, and angular strokes with a slight tremor to the hand. The spacing of graphs and between words is not as pronounced as in the text-block produced by hand 1. Graphs sometimes end on the base-line with a pen-flick upwards along the nib-angle.

Ascenders: Approximately double the minim height, the tops are unadorned or tagged.

Descenders: Extend to approximately the same depth below the ruled base-line as the minim height extends above. The bottom ends in a point on the nib-angle.

Abbreviations: Normal range of Latin Abbreviations, including suspension marks and cross-strokes on graphs for various endings or contractions of words.

Punctuation: Punctus positioned slightly above the ruled base-line.

Ligatures: st ligature formed with the upper loop of the caroline s coming down to join the main shaft of the t, while the cross-stroke extends across both shafts.

Corrections: Additions made in the interlinear space, or occasionally adjacent margins in a brown ink, probably by hand 3.

Scribal Hand: 3

Scope: Major, fols 180r – 192v, text-block and additions in the margins throughout fols 1r-179v.

Script: Late Caroline Minuscule
Date: s. xii

Description: Unadorned and compressed, with narrow graph forms and a much smaller minim height than employed by the previous hand. Despite the scribe working to fit a large quantity of information in a small area, the legibility is retained in the aspect of the script with vertical spacing between lines open and proportionate to the graph size. Likewise, horizontal spacing between the words is adequate for legibility. On the ruled base-line, the bottom of minims have short serifs.

Ascenders: A little over double the minim height, the tops are bulbous.

Descenders: Extend to a depth below the ruled base-line approximately equal to the minim height. The shaft is straight and the bottom ends in a blunt point at the nib angle.

Abbreviations: Normal range of Latin Abbreviations, including suspension marks and cross-strokes on graphs for various endings or contractions of words.

Punctuation: Punctus positioned slightly above the ruled base-line.

Ligatures: **st** ligature formed with the upper loop of the caroline s coming down to join the main shaft of the t, while the cross-stroke extends across both shafts.

Corrections: None apparent.

ADMINISTRATION INFORMATION

Described by Thomas Gobbitt, December 2015 as part of the Lise-Meitner fellowship project *Lombard Laws in the Long-Eleventh Century*, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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APPENDIX A: QUIRE DIAGRAM

Quire 1

Quire 2

Quire 3

Quire 4

Quire 5

Quire 6
# Appendix B: Ruling Grids

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grid</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Throughlines</th>
<th>Extenders</th>
<th>Fols</th>
<th>Quires</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Top Mid Base</td>
<td>Top Mid Base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1c</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1-2 14-15 26-27</td>
<td>1-2 - 26-27</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>- - 26-27</td>
<td>1-2 - 26-27</td>
<td>33-34, 36</td>
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<tr>
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<td>- - 26-27</td>
<td>- - 26-27</td>
<td>37, 39-40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>1-2 13-14 26-27</td>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1-2 - 25-26</td>
<td>1-2 - 25-26</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6, 7</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>1-2, 7 15-16 27-28</td>
<td>1-2, 7 15-16 27-28</td>
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<tr>
<td>C1a</td>
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<td>1-2 15 27-28</td>
<td>175-76</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1 - 51</td>
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<td>- - -</td>
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<td>- - -</td>
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Diagrams representing the various ruling grids are given below, in alphanumerical order following the designators given in the previous table. Each ruling grid is represented from the recto of the folio, with throughlines to the left and extenders to the right.