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The Tallinn *Ex quo* Vocabulary: Textual Tradition and Historical Context

Tiina Kala

Tallinn City Archives, Tolli 6, 10133 Tallinn, Estonia;
tiina.kala@tallinnlv.ee

Kaspar Kolk

Tallinn University, School of Humanities, Narva mnt 25, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia; kaspar.kolk@tlu.ee; Tallinn University Academic Library, Rävala pst 10, 15042 Tallinn, Estonia; University of Tartu Library, W. Struve 1, 50091 Tartu, Estonia; kaspar.kolk@ut.ee

Abstract. The article examines the textual contents, composition and historical background of a Latin–Low German *Ex quo* vocabulary manuscript preserved in the Tallinn City Archives. It aims to reconstruct the process of its compilation, identify its distinctive textual features, and assess its function within the religious and educational landscape of late medieval Estonia. Previous studies concerning the place of the Tallinn manuscript among the various textual versions of the *Ex quo* vocabularies have not been unanimous. Although it can be confirmed that the Tallinn text belongs to the most widespread redaction of the *Ex quo* manuscripts, its immediate master copy may have combined features characteristic of different sub-redactions. The binding and ownership inscription illuminate the manuscript's connections with the Tallinn Dominican friary, while the identity and institutional affiliation of its scribe remain uncertain.

Keywords: Manuscript studies, Low German vocabularies, Dominican Order, liturgy, medieval Livonia

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INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the written transmission of the German language in the eighth century, numerous Latin–vernacular glossaries and vocabularies circulated in German-speaking regions.[1] In the late Middle Ages one of the most widespread among them was the anonymous Latin–German vocabulary *Ex quo* which takes its name from the opening words of its introduction.[2] The vocabulary survives in almost 300 manuscripts (some of them incomplete) from approximately 1410–1502 and in more than 40 printed editions from 1467–1505,[3] representing different regional varieties of German. The differences between individual copies and groups of copies are considerable, reflecting a complex process of textual development and the emergence of different redactions retaining, however, a number of substantial common features in both compilation principles and layout.

The present article is devoted to an *Ex quo* manuscript preserved in the Tallinn City Archives (Cm 16).[4] It aims to investigate the ways in which general features observed in *Ex quo* vocabularies are reflected in the Tallinn manuscript, to discuss the circumstances of its production, and to situate it within the framework of local literary culture. After the introductory sections on *Ex quo* manuscripts in general and the codicological features of the Tallinn manuscript, the article proceeds to a text-critical examination of the *Ex quo* text, followed by a discussion of the position of *Termini iuristarum* annexed to *Ex quo* in the Tallinn manuscript. The final section will examine the manuscript's origins and the potential background of its scribe.

The Tallinn manuscript was first brought to scholarly attention during the cataloguing of the former Tallinn Magistracy archive in the 1890s.[5] In the early twentieth century it was briefly touched upon by the

1 See K. Grubmüller. Vocabularius Ex quo. Untersuchungen zu lateinisch-deutschen Vokabularen des Spätmittelalters. C. H. Beck, München, 1967, 45–64; S. Stricker. Old High German Glossaries. – Medieval Glossaries from North-Western Europe. Tradition and Innovation. Ed. by A. Seiler, C. Benati, S. M. Pons-Sanz. Brepols, Turnhout, 2023, 375–377, and other related essays in the quoted volume.

2 B. Schnell. *Vocabularius Ex quo*. – Medieval Glossaries from North-Western Europe. Tradition and Innovation. Ed. by A. Seiler, C. Benati, S. M. Pons-Sanz. Brepols, Turnhout, 2023, 504.

3 See 'Vocabularius Ex quo'. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Ausgabe. Bd. I. Einleitung. Hrsg. von B. Schnell, K. Grubmüller et al. Max Niemeyer, Tübingen, 1988, 4. B. Schnell. *Vocabularius Ex quo*, 504–506, 510, and https://www.handschriftencensus.de. The first printed edition appeared in Eltville in 1467.

4 Full shelf mark: Tallinn City Archives (Tallinna Linnaarhiiv), TLA.230.1.Cm16 (hereafter Cm 16). Digital images of the manuscript are available through Saaga, the online platform of the National Archives of Estonia (https://www.ra.ee/dgs/explorer.php, reference code TLA.230.1.Cm16).

5 Katalog des Revaler Stadtarchivs. Hrsg. von G. v. Hansen. Reval, 1896, 4, no. 28:

Baltic German historian and archivist Hermann von Bruiningk but not identified as an *Ex quo* vocabulary.[6] In the 1940s, the Finnish philologist Pekka Katara, whose interest lay primarily in the philological study of the manuscript, edited select parts of the manuscript and presented a short general description.[7] In the 1960s, the Estonian cultural historian Hans Treumann devoted an article to Cm 16 that focused on the codicological characteristics of the manuscript and its historical background. Since its first publication in 1968, this article has remained the principal source of information about the manuscript for Estonian scholars.[8]

In Germany, research on *Ex quo* vocabularies has been more intense since the 1960s. In addition to collecting and classifying the lexicographical material, researchers have examined how the *Ex quo* manuscripts reflect the character and change of language use and vocabulary in late medieval literary texts as well as the language proficiency of an averagely educated person.[9] For decades the Tallinn manuscript Cm 16 had only a marginal role in these studies. As the manuscript was not accessible to Western scholars after the Second World War, it was long considered to be lost, and only small portions of the text on microfilm were at the disposal of German researchers.[10] In 1996, Sabine Jordan brought the survival of the Tallinn manuscript to the attention of German scholarship,[11] and it has now (re)entered the standard lists of the *Ex quo* manuscripts.[12]

"Lateinisch-niederdeutsches Wörterbuch, scriptum in Turgel 1454 (geschrieben von einem ungenannten katholischen Priester an jener Kirche in Jerwen)".

6 H. von Bruiningk. Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter. Nicolai Kymmel, Riga, 1904, 16.

7 P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular des Stadtarchivs zu Reval. – Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen 1946, 2, 35–55; P. Katara. Versifizierte Glossen im Vokabular des Stadtarchivs zu Reval. – Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 1948, 49, 1–17. Katara's attention to the manuscript was drawn by Finnish history professor Arvi Korhonen in 1928. The manuscript was sent to Katara to Helsinki for inspection. (P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 35)

8 H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist. Poole tuhande aastane Türi koodeks "Ex quo". – Keel ja Kirjandus 1968, 1, 21–24, reprinted in H. Treumann. Vanemast raamatukultuuriloost. Eesti Raamat, Tallinn, 1977, 14–17 (hereafter quoted according to the 1977 edition).

9 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 4–5.

10 Ibid., 88, 213. The microfilm contained the text part with the initial letter *A*. In addition, text parts published by Katara (see P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 45–55) could have been used. The facsimile mentioned by Schnell et al. contained in another Katara's article (P. Katara. Versifizierte Glossen) presents *Termini iuristarum* (Cm 16, fols 232v–234r); see note 64.

11 S. Jordan. Der Revaler 'Ex quo' ist nicht verschollen! – Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung 1996, 103, 20–22.

12 See Handschriftencensus: https://handschriftencensus.de/5591; C. Benati. Middle Low German Glossaries. – Medieval Glossaries from North-Western Europe. Tradition and Innovation. Ed. by A. Seiler, C. Benati, S. M. Pons-Sanz. Brepols, Turnhout, 2023, 542–551 (the Tallinn manuscript: p. 543).

PURPOSES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF *EX QUO* MANUSCRIPTS

Initially, one of the main purposes of the *Ex quo* vocabularies was to facilitate understanding of the literal meaning of the Bible and other Latin texts.[13] At the same time, the vocabularies contain a large number of general words, differing in this respect from other types of medieval glossary devoted to some specific field of knowledge.

Strictly speaking, the *Ex quo* cannot be described as a Latin–German vocabulary, but rather as a Latin vocabulary intended for German-speaking users with some knowledge of Latin, or for those familiar with only a limited range of Latin texts. The main sources of the vocabulary are listed in the introduction: the *Magnae Derivationes* of Huguccio of Pisa, the *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus of Genoa,[14] and an anonymous *Brevilogus*.[15] As indicated already in the wording of the introduction, this list is not complete.[16] Other vocabularies or schoolbooks could have been used for the various redactions of the *Ex quo*. Some text parts originated from primary sources, others from secondary works.[17] The purpose of listing famous authors and works in the introduction was probably not primarily to refer to the actual sources of the vocabulary, but rather to lend the work greater authority and credibility.

According to the introduction, the *Ex quo* was intended for "poor students" (*pauperes scholares*) and many of the known scribes or owners of *Ex quo* manuscripts were indeed students or teachers. Judging from its contents, however, the vocabulary could also have served as a practical reference work for preachers. Given its unsystematic character, it was not the best tool to be used in academic learning. The question is whether the characteristic features of individual sub-redactions or manuscripts

13 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 5; this aim has been set already in the introduction of the *Ex quo*.

14 See G. Powitz. Zum "Catholicon" des Johannes de Janua. Das Autorexemplar und die Tradition der Exemplare des Franciscus de Agaciis. – Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1983, 53, 203–218.

15 For the works normally listed in the introduction of the *Ex quo*, see B. Schnell. *Vocabularius Ex quo*, 504.

16 See the introduction of the Tallinn vocabulary in Cm 16, fol. 2r: *Ex quo vocabularij varij auctentici videlicet / hvgvcio katholicon breuilogus alijque codices / sunt in comparacione preciosi in collectione prolixi / intellectione obscuri et in numero multi Ita quod pauperes / scholares eosdem de facili et pro precio competenti ratione / eorum paupertatis habere ac sibi procurare non valebunt / vt eo tamen ~~sal~~ facilius sacram scripturam literaliter intelli / gere potuerint ymmo quodlibet scriptum latinicale pro vtilitate / et necessitate collectus est presens vocabularius / secundum ordinem alphabeti conscriptus Ita quod latinum / precedat et teutunicum subiungitur Post hoc cuius / generis et declinacionis seu cuius partis orationis quelibet / dictio fuerit est annexum.*

17 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 10–12.

can provide insight into developments in education or into the specific needs of users in particular fields, regions or periods.[18]

As for the lexicography, the focus of the *Ex quo* vocabularies is somewhat diffuse: it is not always clear according to what principles the lemmas were included in them, particularly when the words were in broad and common usage. The average number of vocabulary articles per manuscript is relatively limited (ca. 12,000–15,000). Alphabetical order is usually followed up to the fourth letter of the word. In individual manuscripts, however, this order may be disturbed by interpolations or by addition of entire blocks of lemmas. Occasionally, inflectional endings of lemmas have been included, although these and other grammatical details are often presented inconsistently. The same applies to the explanations or equivalents of the lemmas: sometimes they consist of merely a Latin synonym,[19] sometimes of a more extensive explanation in Latin,[20] sometimes of a German equivalent, or a German explanation.[21] These different presentations may also be combined within a single entry.[22] Biblical names are usually translated;[23] in some cases mnemotechnic verses are employed.[24] Most of these features can also be observed in the Tallinn manuscript Cm 16.

Although many *Ex quo* manuscripts are similar in layout and decoration, groups of manuscripts can be distinguished not only on the basis of their contents but also according to their codicological features. Most *Ex quo* manuscripts have been written in bastard or cursive script, suggesting that they were copied for practical use, often by the scribes themselves, although copies in neat *textualis* also exist. Rubricated initials serve not merely as decoration but also as finding aids. Manuscripts and printed editions can be further grouped according to the number of columns (one or two), the version of their introduction (short or long, including various subversions), and the position of abbreviations indicating the grammatical categories of lemmas (before or after the entry).

18 Ibid., 15–16.
19 E.g. Cm 16, fol. 30r: *Cianga dicitur caliga f p*.
20 E.g. Cm 16, fol. 20r: *Bymatus est spacium duorum Annorum m s*; fol. 50r: *Dialogus est sermo duorum uel est liber gregorij In quo habetur vita sancti benedicti m s d*; fol. 157v: *Prora est anterior pars nauis uel capitur pro tota naui*.
21 E.g. Cm 16, fol. 4v: *Adamas eyn sten m t*; fol. 18v: *Beare salichmaken a p.*
22 E.g. Cm 16, fol. 4v: *Adaminia sunt quidam heretici ketter f p*; fol. 32v: *Clades eyne plaghe des dodes scilicet quando homines fame moriuntur ex defectu frugum m t*; fol. 83r: *Grates danck namicheit et habet solum grate in ablatiuo singulari et In plurali habet grates*.
23 E.g. Cm 16, fol. 101r: *Laban Interpretatur de albacio et fuit frater rebecce*.
24 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 6–10.

THE CODICOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE TALLINN MANUSCRIPT

The Tallinn manuscript Cm 16 consists of 240 paper leaves measuring 20.0 × 13.7 cm with approximately 30 to 40 lines per page. It is a single-column manuscript mainly written in relatively neat bastarda. The vocabulary occupies fols 2r–232v and contains approximately 13,000 lemmas. It is directly followed by a versified text known under the title *Termini iuristarum* (fols 232v–234r) and a colophon (fol. 234r), all written in a single hand.[25] Minor variations in handwriting and letter forms (in some cases, the scribe has used different forms for one and the same letter), pen and ink, occurring primarily in the initial part of the manuscript up to fol. 40r, might indicate either frequent changes in the writing conditions or the copying of the text over a longer period of time.[26] The somewhat careless execution of the manuscript – uneven numbers of lines per page, fluctuation between strictly cursive and partly textualis letter forms, and interruptions in writing – suggests that it was written by a presumably clerical person for his own use, not by a professional scribe.

The first page of the Tallinn manuscript, containing the introduction and the first seventeen lemmas with the initial letter *A*, follows the layout typical of the opening page of single-column *Ex quo* manuscripts, also adopted in some early printed editions (see Fig. 1).[27] A similar opening page layout can be found in some other late medieval vocabularies.[28] The manuscript follows the traditional structure of the *Ex quo* vocabularies: each Latin lemma is followed by its equivalent or explanation in Low German, in Latin, or both, and abbreviations

25 For codicological descriptions, see P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 35–36; H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist, 14–15; T. Kala. Mittelalterliche Handschriften in den Sammlungen des Stadtarchivs Tallinn und des Estnischen Historischen Museums. Katalog. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn, 2007, 185–189. K. Kolk. Ladina-alamsaksa sõnaraamat "Vocabularius Ex quo". – Keskaja Liivimaa allikad. Tekstid, kujutised, esemed. Koost ja toim M. Tamm. Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tallinn, 2026, 833–839. Katara uses his own foliation starting from fol. 1r as the first page of the vocabulary (see P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 36). Subsequent descriptions and references use the foliation inserted by an employee of Tallinn City Archives in May 1967, in connection with Hans Treumann's research of the manuscript. This foliation also includes parchment leaves used as pastedowns of the volume. The vocabulary starts on fol. 2r (see H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist, 17 notes 2 and 4).

26 Changes always appear with a new page (fols 12v, 14r, 17v, 18v, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22v, 23r, 24r, 27r, 29v, 30r, 30v, 32v, 40r).

27 For example, in Eltville: [Nicolaus Bechtermünze] 1472; [Speyer]: [Peter Drach der Mittlere] [ca. 1485]. But not for example in [Heidelberg]: [Heinrich Knoblochtzer] [ca. 1489], [Ulm]: Johann Zainer der Ältere, 1480 and others.

28 See e.g. Johannes Melber. Vocabularius Jodoci doctoris et predicatoris sacre scripture. [Straßburg]: [Martin Schott] [nicht nach 1484]. GW M22731: https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M22731.htm.



Fig. 1. The opening page of the Tallinn *Ex quo* manuscript containing the introduction and the first seventeen lemmas of the vocabulary (right); the parchment fragment used as the front pastedown originating from a breviary and containing texts for the office of St Andrew (left). TLA.230.1.Cm16, fols 1v–2r (before conservation).

indicating its grammatical categories. In some cases, however, grammatical categories have been omitted. In Cm 16, the abbreviations are placed after the entry, whereas in most manuscripts and printed editions they are located before the Latin lemmas. The position of grammatical categories is usually specified in the introduction of the *Ex quo*. This is also the case in Cm 16.[29] There are deviations from the alphabetical order of the lemmas, and some lemmas occur twice.[30]

In many *Ex quo* vocabularies, large decorated initials mark either the beginnings of the groups of lemmas with a new initial letter or a change in the second letter of the word, thus serving as a finding aid. This pattern has also been followed in Cm 16. In addition, the first letters of lemmas have been marked in red throughout the manuscript. There are, however, numerous cases in Cm 16 in which the change in the second letter of the word has not been marked with a decorated initial, or, conversely, there are red initials where no such change occurs.[31] Since the large initials have been executed after the main text, in spaces left for them by the scribe, this inconsistency could have characterised already the master copy. On fols 215v and 216r, the large initials are absent, perhaps due to turning two leaves instead of one, while the first letters of lemmas are marked in red according to the same pattern as elsewhere in the manuscript. Thus, the various elements of the rubrication were added at different stages of the production of the manuscript. Text beginnings of the sections with the initial letters *I* (fol. 86r), *P* (fol. 136r), *Q* (fol. 177r), *S* (fol. 188r), *T* (fol. 212v), *V* (fol. 222v), *X* (fol. 231v) and *Z* (fol. 232r) have been marked as a separate chapter (*capitulum*) each, while the text sections with other initial letters are not.

According to the colophon, the manuscript was copied (or at least completed) in 1454 "in Turgel", which has been identified as Türi,

29 See the text of the introduction of Cm 16 in note 16. There are cases in which the location of the categories mentioned in the introduction and their location in the vocabulary proper do not coincide, suggesting that the master texts of the introduction and the vocabulary might have originally been different. For example: Národní knihovna České republiky, XXIII.F.107 (https://www.manuscriptorium.com/hub/catalog/default/detail/single/manuscriptorium%7CAIPDIG-NKCR__XXIII_F_107_3S9PY9C-cs?lang=cs); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1779 (https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1779) and Pal. lat. 1790 (https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1790). These manuscripts contain the shortest version of the introduction, in which the categories are said to be found after the lemmas. In the following text of the vocabulary, however, they are to be found before the lemmas.

30 For example, Cm 16, fol. 145v: *pestiferus sukich m s*; fol. 160r: *pestiferus sukich m s*; fol. 145v: *Phalanx est idem quod turba f t d*; fol. 160v: *Phalanx turba*; fol. 151v: *Practica .i. manualis sciencia / Practicare ouen*; fol. 167v: *Practica est manualis scientia uel piscis quidem f p.*

31 For example, Cm 16, fols 41v, 44v, 54r, 61v, 62v, 63v, 84v etc.

a rural parish centre in central Estonia. The wording of the colophon may reflect the influence of theological treatises or liturgical formulae.[32]

At the end of the volume, on an originally blank page (fol. 236v), there are four short, partly illegible additions: two Low German medical recipes against fever, short excerpts from liturgical and biblical texts in Latin, and an ownership inscription from the Tallinn Dominican friary (*Iste liber pertinet conuentui Reualiensi*). These texts have been written by three different hands, none of which seems to be identical with the hand of the principal text.

The codex has thick wooden boards covered in tanned leather tooled in blind with two fillets and three small stamps: a rose, a six-pointed star, and tiny circles forming triangles. Only the metal catch-plate has survived of the fastening of hook-clasp type on the front cover. Four small holes in the back cover, one of which still retains a nail, indicate that the manuscript was once fitted with a chain and belonged to the chained library of the Dominican friary. The binding, too, was most likely executed in the friary. According to Hans Treumann there was also a strip of parchment (now lost) with the title *Ex quo* detached from the front cover.[33] Similar parchment strips bearing book titles have survived on covers of other volumes which could have once belonged to the friary.

According to dendrochronological analysis, the oak used for the back cover was felled between 1454 and 1466, indicating that the codex was bound a few years later, after an appropriate seasoning period.[34] Art-historical analysis of the cover design suggests that the binding was most probably carried out between the 1470s and the 1490s.[35]

Fragments of two parchment manuscripts have been used as pastedowns. The rear pastedown is a leaf from a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century copy of the Constitutions of the Friars Preachers[36] in neat *textualis* with secondary marginal additions by at least two

32 The colophon has been edited by Katara (P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 55). The wording of the original differs slightly from his edition. Cm 16, fol. 234r: *Et sic finitus est uocabularius iste anno domini milesimo / quadringentesimo quinquagesimo 4°* [Katara: quanto] *feria sexta / ante annunciationem beate marie virginis hora completorij uel / quasi pro quo fine integra diuinitas* [Katara: deitas] *totaque deitas nec / non virginalis integritas sit benedicta in seculorum secula a/men Scriptum in turgel in die festo et alijs quibus / supra*.

33 During Treumann's research, this parchment strip was found between the pages of the manuscript. See H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist, 14, 17 note 4.

34 A. Läänelaid, K. Sohar, A. Daly, A. Van Ham-Meert, P. Paiste, K. Kolk, K. Paloveer, R. Suni. New evidence of re-use of an oak panel in Estonia: Covers of the fifteenth century Codex of Türi. – Journal of Cultural Heritage, 2025, 73, 52–61.

35 K. Kolk. Late Gothic Bookbinding in Tallinn. – Baltic Journal of Art History, 2024, 27, 41–88, esp. 81.

36 For the fragment of the Constitutions, see T. Kala. Mittelalterliche Handschriften, 188–189 and the entry in the virtual collection Fragmenta membranea Estoniae (http://hdl.handle.net/10062/54965).

different hands. The copy of the Constitutions was most likely discarded after becoming outdated by the late fifteenth century. This fragment is one of the principal pieces of evidence linking the bookbinding workshop responsible for the binding to the Dominican friary. The front pastedown originates from a breviary and contains the opening of the sanctorale, namely the vigil of St Andrew and part of matins from his feast day. Remarkably, the breviary has probably been written by the same hand as *Ex quo* and *Termini iuristarum* and rubricated in the same style. We shall return to the breviary fragment in the section on the historical background of Cm 16.

THE TALLINN VOCABULARY AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF *EX QUO* VOCABULARIES

As closest to the Tallinn *Ex quo* vocabulary, both with regard to the choice of lemmas and their equivalents, Pekka Katara identified a manuscript in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Cod. Thott. 111.4), copied in 1448.[37] Using the vocabulary of Lorenz Diefenbach[38] as a basis for comparison, Katara was additionally able to identify two manuscripts from the Mainz City library (Mainz, Stadtbibl., Hs. I 594 and Hs. I 595) whose German equivalents or explanations are close to those in the Tallinn manuscript, whereas the overlap in Latin lemmas is considerably less extensive. Both Mainz manuscripts belong to the first half of the fifteenth century.[39]

Apart from similarities between all four manuscripts there are also significant differences. For example, in cases where German equivalents of Latin lemmas in the Tallinn manuscript coincide with German equivalents in some of the three other manuscripts, the orthography of the Tallinn manuscript is often different. These differences do not, however, appear to reflect distinct linguistic varieties: Katara admits that he was not able to identify any local (Baltic) features in the Tallinn

37 P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 40–42. About this manuscript, see C. Borchling. Mittelniederdeutsche Handschriften in Skandinavien, Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg und Vorpommern. Zweiter Reisebericht. – Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Beiheft. Lüder Horstmann, Göttingen, 1900, 28–29; 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 71 (here Kh2).

38 L. Diefenbach. Glossarium latino-germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis. J. Baer, Frankfurt am Main, 1857.

39 P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 37. About these manuscripts, see 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 74 (here Ma3 and Ma4). On Hs. I 595 see also K. Grubmüller. Vocabularius Ex quo, 322–329.

manuscript. All four manuscripts represent generally used forms of Low German, specifically northern *ostelbisch* and eastern *nordalbingisch*.[40]

In their fundamental study on *Ex quo* vocabularies, Bernhard Schnell et al. distinguished four principal and two additional redactions of the *Ex quo* vocabularies. The original redaction S was, judging from the oldest surviving manuscripts, probably compiled in the Low German-speaking area around 1410,[41] and redactions K, M and P derived from S. These four principal redactions have been in turn divided into a number of sub-redactions.[42] The redactions have been distinguished on the basis of the selection of original Latin lemmas, the addition or deletion of individual lemmas or groups of lemmas, the expansion or abbreviation of Latin explanations as well as the addition, abbreviation, or deletion of German equivalents, the use of alternative German equivalents and regional word forms. German equivalents constitute the most variable component of the *Ex quo* manuscripts.[43] Different redactions reflect not only regional preferences or influences of particular sources, but also the development of the vocabulary over time, whereas individual manuscripts can reveal the personal preferences of their scribes.[44]

Schnell et al. classified the Tallinn manuscript as belonging to redaction P, described as the most complex of the principal redactions. Approximately 2,300 lemmas have been added to the ca. 12,700 original lemmas of redaction S in redaction P. These additions typically consist of a Latin lemma and its German equivalent, but do not include longer explanations. The sources of these additions have not been established. Redaction P is represented in more than 50 manuscripts. Their number begins to decline after the middle of the fifteenth century; the latest dated manuscripts of redaction P belong to the 1470s.[45]

The Copenhagen manuscript (Cod. Thott. 111.4 = Kh2) has been classified by Schnell et al. as belonging to branch Y of redaction P, while the Tallinn manuscript and one of the two Mainz manuscripts inspected by Katara (Hs. I 595 = Ma4) were assigned to branch X of redaction P.[46] The other Mainz manuscript (Hs. I 594 = Ma3) has been classified

40 P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 42–43.
41 On this redaction, see 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 19, 113, 119–123.
42 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 12–15; B. Schnell. *Vocabularius Ex quo*, 506 (B. Schnell et al. also describe a redaction Me in which Latin interpretamenta are significantly expanded and its direct connection to other redactions cannot be established). See the stemma of the redactions in 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 116. The additional redactions I and W derive from M.
43 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 12–15.
44 See for example B. Merrilees. "Copiste et compilateur": Transmission and Individuality in Medieval Glossaries. – "Li premerains vers". Essays in Honor of Keith Busby. Ed. by C. M. Jones. Brill, Boston, 2011, 281–290.
45 B. Schnell. *Vocabularius Ex quo*, 507; 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 206–210.
46 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 208.

as belonging to redaction S.[47] This classification differs from Katara's assessment, but it should be kept in mind that Schnell et al. were not able to examine the entire Tallinn manuscript,[48] whereas Katara had access to both the Tallinn and the Copenhagen manuscripts in person and over a longer period of time.[49] As for the language of the Tallinn manuscript, Schnell et al. designated it as *baltisch*,[50] which differs from Katara's judgement described above.

Schnell et al. placed the Tallinn manuscript Cm 16 (Re1)[51] in a subgroup of five manuscripts together with Mainz, Stadtbibl., Hs. I 595 (Ma4),[52] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst. (Wo2),[53] Berlin, SB Preuß. Kulturbesitz, Ms. Lat. fol. 868 (B15),[54] and Basel, UB, Cod. F IV 46 (Bs6).[55] Of these, B15, Re1 and Bs6 do not fully follow the redaction P (B15 and Bs6 comply with the features of this redaction only in the beginning of the alphabet).[56]

At least two of the manuscripts from this group of five are single-column (TLA, Cm 16; Basel, UB, Cod. F IV 46) and two are two-column manuscripts (Mainz, Hs. I 595; Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst.). The short version of the introduction can be found at least in the Tallinn manuscript Cm 16, the Mainz manuscript Hs. I 595,[57] and the Wolfenbüttel manuscript Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst.; in those three manuscripts the abbreviations indicating grammatical categories are placed after the entries.[58]

As regards the content of the vocabularies, the classification of the above-mentioned five manuscripts as one distinct group by Schnell et al. is disputable. On the basis of the comparison of Cm 16 (Re1) and Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst. (Wo2) and partial comparison of Cm 16 with Hs. I 595 (Ma4), it can be said that the Tallinn manuscript does not fully follow either the selection or the order of lemmas in other manuscripts

47 Ibid., 121–122.
48 See p. 281 and note 10.
49 See P. Katara. Ein Lat.-nd. Vokabular, 35, 40.
50 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 209.
51 Ibid., 88 (here the manuscript's old shelf mark Cod. 28 has been used and the manuscript has been marked as lost).
52 Ibid., 74; Handschriftencensus: https://www.handschriftencensus.de/3376.
53 Ibid., 98; Handschriftencensus: https://www.handschriftencensus.de/6707.
54 Ibid., 57; Handschriftencensus: https://handschriftencensus.de/4619.
55 Ibid., 54; Handschriftencensus: https://www.handschriftencensus.de/7378.
56 Ibid., 208, 213.
57 See the edition of this introduction according to the Mainz manuscript (Hs. I 595) in K. Grubmüller. Vocabularius Ex quo, 333. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Christopher Winterer (2018): https://handschriftenportal.de/workspace, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek Mainz, Hs. I 595.
58 No detailed description of B15 (Berlin, SB Preuß. Kulturbesitz, Ms. Lat. fol. 868) has been available to the authors of this article.

of this group. In many cases German explanations of lemmas are also differently worded.[59] In some sections of Cm 16 additional lemmas have been inserted on the same line as a preceding entry (e.g. fols 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 36v), although no change in handwriting or writing conditions can be observed. For example, eleven additional lemmas occur on fol. 33v, while in corresponding text parts in Hs. I 595, fol. 29r and Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst., fol. 17r all lemmas, including those added in Cm 16 on the same line as the preceding entry, are written on a separate line each. This suggests that the master copy of Cm 16 probably contained secondary additions corresponding to textual versions represented in Hs. I 595 and Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst., while the scribe of Cm 16 simply followed the layout of his master copy. This copy, in turn, probably originally belonged to some earlier redactional stage than, for example, Hs. I 595 or Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst.

Several *Ex quo* manuscripts, including the Tallinn manuscript, contain errors caused by misinterpretation of the master copy. The Tallinn manuscript, however, does not necessarily reproduce the errors observed in manuscripts previously considered closely related to Cm 16; rather, it contains a different set of errors. For example:

Mainz, Hs. I 595, fol. 178v: *Zonifragium est zonarum fraccio n s*[60]
Tallinn, Cm 16, fol. 232v: *Zonifragium est sonifraccio n s*

Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 369 Helmst., fol. 2ra: *Adangere to denken a s q / Addere to voghen uel to don a t q*
fol. 4rb: *Amen id est vere pariter t sit sine ~~fide~~ fine*
fol. 22ra: *Curis est dos uel curia plebis* (!) *f t*

Tallinn, Cm 16, fol. 4v: *Adangere to oken* (!) *a s / Addere to vogen to doen a t*
fol. 8v: *Amen idem vere pariter t sit sine sine* (!)
fol. 44r: *Curis .i. des* (!) *uel est curia plebani f T*

Schnell et al. distinguished four sub-versions – X, X1, X3, and X4 – situated between the group of five manuscripts described above and the initial redaction P,[61] with Cm 16 sharing features of sub-versions X3 and X4.[62] A closer comparison of Cm 16 with the characteristic features of X3 and X4, however, indicates that the Tallinn manuscript

59 For example, Hs. I 595, fol. 29r: *Cofinus .i. cophinus en draghe korf m s*; Cm 16, fol. 40v: *Cophinus eyn kype uel eyn brotkorff m s*.
60 K. Grubmüller. Vocabularius Ex quo, 323.
61 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 208.
62 Ibid., 212–213.

does not conform precisely to either of these sub-redactions.[63] At the same time, Cm 16 displays certain similarities to deviations from the original redaction P observed in X1, although with its own features, including incorrect readings.

Additional entry in X1:

> *f p Cimera est monstrum uel aliquid fictum, quod tamen in rei veritate nihil est* (›Vocabularius Ex quo‹, 211)
> Cm 16, fol. 30v: *Cimera est idem cum ~~cymera~~ chymora f p*

Expanded interpretation of a lemma in X1:

> *n s Burellum ein duch das von line vnd von wollen gemacht ist + est pannus de lino et lana stamine contextus* (›Vocabularius Ex quo‹, 211)
> Cm 16, fol. 22r: *Burellum est pannus de lino uel lano en sleger n t / stucke uel en beyer wantt*

Incorrect readings of interpretations of lemmas in X1:

> *Rachel quis* (!) *interpretatur* instead of *m t Rachel ouis interpretatur* (›Vocabularius Ex quo‹, 211)
> *Regan eyn groddans* (!) *uel parens interpretatur* instead of *m n Regan egrotans uel parens interpretatur* (›Vocabularius Ex quo‹, 211)
>
> Cm 16, fol. 180v: *Rachel q. ouis interpretatur*
> Cm 16, fol. 182v: *Reganen* (!) *grote* (!) *aut uel parens Interpretatur*

Although Cm 16 does not strictly correspond to any of the subdivisions discussed above (X1, X3, X4), it still tends to be closer to X1 rather than to X3 and X4. At the same time, it is not always possible to determine which peculiarities of the Tallinn manuscript reflect one or other redactional stage of the *Ex quo* vocabularies and which should instead be regarded as individual features or scribal errors of Cm 16.

63 In X3 due to skipping one line the entries *f p Ramata est ciuitas / f in Ramasse est ciuitas in finibus Egypti* appear as follows: *f p Ramata est ciuitas quedam in finibus Egypti* ('Vocabularius Ex quo', 212). In Cm 16, fol. 180v the text is correct: *Ramatha est ciuitas quedam f p / Ramassa est ciuitas In finibus egipti f p.* As one of the characteristic features of X4, Schnell et al. mention additional interpretations of the following lemmas: *n s Analogium eyn pulte + super quod ponuntur libri*; *m s Bucellus ein stog, eyn snyde uel eyn bißen + .i. morcellus* ('Vocabularius Ex quo', 213). In Cm 16, fol. 9v the same entries are not following this pattern: *Analogium en prekek* (!) *stol f p*; fol. 21v: *Bucellus en snede en bete en stucke m s* (here *stucke* is an additional German, not Latin interpretation).

TERMINI IURISTARUM IN THE TALLINN MANUSCRIPT

After more than 461 pages of *Ex quo*, Cm 16 concludes with another, considerably shorter lexicographical text, commonly known as *Termini iuristarum*. It extends over just three and a half pages and consists of 110 verses. Although far less widely dispersed and less universal than *Ex quo*, the mnemonic verse vocabulary *Termini iuristarum* nevertheless belongs to the widespread category of short late medieval Latin–German lexica. Originating in the late thirteenth century, its earliest version presumably consisted exclusively of legal glosses, but by the mid-fifteenth century it had been expanded to include various other topics. Following the conventional opening with legal vocabulary, the Tallinn version contains brief sections devoted to the names of tools, animals, plants, and so forth. Pekka Katara published a transcription of the Tallinn text in 1948 and compared its contents with those of other published versions of *Termini*.[64]

The textual transmission of *Termini* does not display a uniform pattern: verses have been added and omitted on a large scale, their order varies considerably, and half-verses or even smaller metrical units are combined in different ways. Like *Ex quo* and many other Latin–German vocabularies, *Termini* also survives in both High and Low German and in their various regional forms. Since the equivalents of the Latin lemmas in these dialects could differ greatly and often varied in length, the exact wording likewise had to be rearranged, at least where an attempt was made to preserve the metrical structure of the hexameter. The *Handschriftencensus* of medieval German-language manuscripts currently lists 51 codices containing the text of *Termini* in one form or another, ranging from fragments comprising only a few verses to interpolated versions exceeding one hundred lines.[65] At 110 verses, the Tallinn text belongs among the longest, together with the versions in Mainz (Stadtbibl., Hs. I 160, 118 verses), Wrocław (Universitätsbibl., Cod. IV F 86, approximately 110 verses written as prose), and a lost manuscript from Strasbourg (Stadtbibl., Cod. C 107, 111 verses).[66] Most surviving versions are considerably shorter. The longest texts

64 P. Katara. Versifizierte Glossen, transcription 5–17; cf. W. Wackernagel. Deutschlateinische Hexameter. – Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, 1845, 5, 413–416; J. Zacher. Die nomina volucrum und die termini juristarum. – Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 1880, 11, 299–324.

65 https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/2901 (accessed 04/07/2026).

66 Ibid.; https://bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/32955 (accessed 04/07/2026); W. Wackernagel. Deutschlateinische Hexameter, 413–416; P. Katara. Versifizierte Glossen, 3.

are essentially the most heavily interpolated or supplemented variants. These expanded versions do not constitute a coherent group but instead combine material from different sources.

Within the manuscript tradition, such a short text occupying only a few pages invariably forms a small proportion of the entire codex. It never appears independently but always in combination with one or more texts of diverse character. The principal contents of the codices vary considerably and include liturgical, hagiographical, devotional, medical, and historical works, either in Latin or German, or in both languages. Nevertheless, *Termini* is quite frequently appended to other vocabularies. In twenty-three of the fifty-one recorded witnesses, the main part of the manuscript consists of another, more extensive Latin–German vocabulary, usually extending over several hundred leaves. According to the data provided by the *Handschriftencensus*, *Termini* most frequently appears – on eleven occasions – as an addition to *Ex quo*.

Does the coexistence of these two texts in the Tallinn codex reveal anything about the manuscript's history and origins? It seems reasonable to assume that *Ex quo* and *Termini* already occurred together in the exemplar from which our manuscript was copied. Since the colophon states that the manuscript was completed in a small rural settlement, it is unlikely that several vocabulary manuscripts would have been available there simultaneously. Furthermore, after completing the text of *Ex quo*, the scribe appears to have continued writing without interruption and without any noticeable change in ductus or scribal practice. Indeed, there are neither concluding words marking the end of *Ex quo* nor introductory phrases to *Termini*, although the latter are present in many other manuscripts. No change of script, enlarged initial, or blank line marks the beginning of a new text; instead, the writing continues as though *Termini* were simply the next section of the preceding work. This contrasts sharply with the numerous earlier points within *Ex quo* where the scribe's handwriting and even the page layout change noticeably, presumably owing to interruptions in the copying process. The initial *E* marking the beginning of *Termini* closely resembles an ordinary initial *E* elsewhere in the codex marking the beginning of the subsection containing words beginning with the letters *E* and *L* (see Fig. 2).[67] The three and a half pages of *Termini* were evidently copied without interruption, with no discernible change in ductus. Maintaining the same appearance throughout, the text concludes with the colophon

67 Cm 16, fol. 57v.

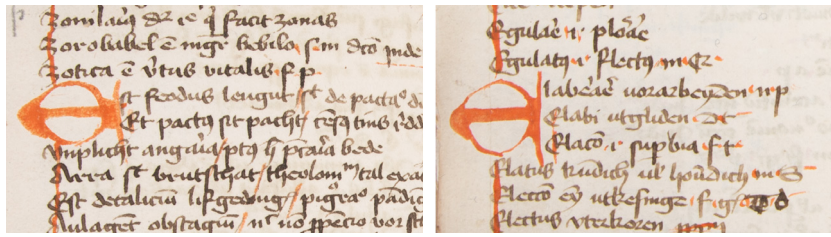


Fig. 2. The beginning of *Termini iuristarum* compared with the section containing words beginning with the letters *E* and *L* (TLA.230.1.Cm16, fols 232v and 57v).

of the entire manuscript, where the work is referred to as *vocabularius*, just as in the incipit of the codex.

Such a layout is by no means typical of other manuscripts containing *Termini*. The beginning of *Termini*, usually following another lexicographical work, is invariably marked clearly. An interruption in copying, the scribe's deliberate decision to indicate the beginning of a new text, or both are immediately apparent. There may be blank space between the texts[68] or even an entirely blank page, the explicit of the preceding text may be rubricated,[69] or the new text may begin with a large decorative initial.[70] Since nothing comparable occurs in the Tallinn manuscript, it seems reasonable to assume that *Ex quo* and *Termini* were already closely connected in the exemplar, with little or no perceptible break between them, leading the scribe to regard them as a single work.

Let us now turn to the corpus of manuscripts containing both *Ex quo* and *Termini* in order to examine whether the close connection between the two texts characteristic of the Tallinn manuscript also occurs elsewhere in the textual tradition. The following table presents the present locations of the manuscripts, the positions of both texts within them, and the approximate or exact extent of the respective versions of *Termini*.

Table 1. The manuscripts containing both *Ex quo* and *Termini*.

	Ex quo	*Termini*
Altenburg (NÖ), Stiftsbibl., Cod. AB 13 B 2	1r–86v (Ab2)	119rv
Altenburg (NÖ), Stiftsbibl., Cod. AB 15 B 4	1r–93v (Ab1)	132v

Continued on the next page

68 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cod. IV F 86, fol. 10v.
69 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 576 Helmst., fol. 113r.
70 Basel, Universitätsbibl., Cod. F V 41, fol. 385r.

Table 1. Continued

	Ex quo	*Termini*
Basel, Universitätsbibl., Cod. F V 41	1r–381r (Bs9)	385r–386v (65 verses)
Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibl., Pap.-Hs. 16	1r–365v (Kf3)	366v–367r (38 verses)
Munich, Staatsbibl., Cgm 668	1r–189v (M16)	191r
Vatican, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1781	6r–143r (R2)	191rv (51 verses)
Solothurn, Zentralbibl., Cod. S I 212	1r–130r (So1)	243rv (68 verses)
Stuttgart, Landesbibl., Cod. HB VIII 8	2r–160r (S6)	1r
Tallinn, Linnaarhiiv, Cm 16	2r–232v (Re1)	232v–234r (110 verses)
Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl., Cod. 2951	1r–304r (W4)	II
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 576 Helmst.	125r–204r (W03)	113r (31 verses)

It is immediately apparent from the table that the overwhelming majority of these manuscripts are now preserved in southern Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Vatican. Their places of origin largely coincide with their present locations: almost all originated in Bavaria, Austria, or the Upper Rhine region and contain High German alongside Latin. Even the only manuscript outside the southern German area apart from the Tallinn codex, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 576 Helmst., the only witness of Lower Saxon origin (Göttingen), displays Middle German linguistic features.[71] It contains only thirty-one verses of *Termini*, is confined to legal vocabulary, and differs from the Tallinn manuscript in both composition and order. The Tallinn version of *Termini* is by far the longest among these eleven manuscripts; the next longest, the Solothurn codex, contains only sixty-eight verses. The positions of *Ex quo* and *Termini* within the manuscripts likewise vary considerably. The only other manuscript in which *Termini* immediately follows *Ex quo* is the Klagenfurt codex, where the two texts are separated merely by a blank page. Nevertheless, the versions of both texts differ from those

71 B. Lesser. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 576 Helmst., 2017 (https://handschriftenportal.de/workspace, HSP-ID: HSP-70b09d77-ffec-3c14-b613-014ebf939709, accessed 07/07/2026).

preserved in the Tallinn manuscript. In all the remaining manuscripts, the two texts are separated by other works or, in a few cases, *Termini* precedes *Ex quo*. Finally, only two further manuscripts containing both *Ex quo* and *Termini* – those of Solothurn and Stuttgart – belong to the same redaction (P) of *Ex quo* as the Tallinn manuscript, although they represent distant branches within that redaction.[72] It may therefore be concluded that the surviving manuscripts containing both *Ex quo* and *Termini* display no particularly close relationship. The decision to include both texts in a single codex appears generally to have been an independent choice on the part of the scribe and could therefore occur in geographically distant regions. Although Katara characterises the Tallinn text of *Termini* as confused,[73] the manuscript itself presents a neat and orderly transcript, suggesting that the text was not compiled from several sources but copied straight from one model, which in turn may have been responsible for the composition of the text. That exemplar may well have been another student's or scholar's manuscript compiled at a university or another educational institution in the Low German-speaking area and then incidentally transcribed by a presumably clerical person, at least partly in an Estonian rural area.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TALLINN MANUSCRIPT

While the owner's inscription in Cm 16 and specific binding features indicate that the manuscript belonged to the Tallinn Dominican friary, the questions of who copied the texts and what the connection of the rural settlement mentioned in the colophon might have been to the Tallinn friary are not so easy to answer.

Given the educational aspirations of the mendicants in general and the Friars Preachers' multilevel education system in particular, the manuscript complies well with the needs of a Dominican friary.[74]

72 'Vocabularius Ex quo', 208.

73 P. Katara. Versifizierte Glossen, 4: *zeigt … einen bunten Wirrwarr*.

74 For the general features of the mendicant education system, see for example M. M. Mulchahey. "First the Bow is Bent in Study": Dominican Education before 1350. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1998; A. Rüther. Educational Communities in German Convents of the Franciscan and Dominican Provinces before 1350. – Medieval Education. Ed. by R. B. Begley, J. W. Kotersky. Fordham University Press, New York, 2005, 123–132. On Dominican biblical studies, see for example W. A. Hinnebusch. The History of the Dominican Order. Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500. Vol. 2. Alba House, New York, 1973, 99–115. On Dominican schools and libraries in

Although there are only eleven surviving handwritten books and a few dozen manuscript fragments which can be connected to the Tallinn Dominican friary with greater or lesser certainty,[75] they still include texts which refer to studies of the arts, such as fourteenth-century fragments from verse grammars of Alexander de Villa Dei and Eberhardus Bethuniensis[76] as well as notes on orthography in a *Sammelband* from the end of the fifteenth century.[77]

It is not known when the vocabulary entered the friary's library. In January 1525, during the Reformation, the Tallinn Magistracy dissolved the friary and gradually took over the rest of its possessions, which probably included the meagre remains of its library.

Under the introduction of the *Ex quo* in the Tallinn manuscript, the scribe of the vocabulary has inserted the name *her marten* (Sir Marten) in red ink. Partly relying on the description in the archival catalogue from 1896, Hermann von Bruiningk suggested that it was the name of the scribe who was probably also the parish priest of Türi.[78] This assumption was generally accepted in subsequent historiography,[79] although no reliable sources concerning parish priests of Türi survive from the fifteenth century. Hans Treumann tentatively added the alternative possibility that the scribe might have been a Dominican friar.[80] In the 1470s a friar named Merten, the son of Wolder Kann from Tallinn, occurs among the Tallinn Dominicans. He was probably identical with the Merten Wolteri mentioned in 1482 as one of the leading brethren and with brother Merten who died before 1495.[81] However,

the northern Baltic Sea region (including Tallinn), see J. G. G. Jakobsen. The Dominican Order and Urban Literacy in Medieval Scandinavia. – Urban Literacy in the Nordic Middle Ages. Ed. by K. H. Andersen, J. B. Netterstrøm, L. M. Imer, B. Poulsen, R. Steenholt Olesen. Brepols, Turnhout, 2021, 375–410.

75 About the remains of this library, see K. Kolk. Trükitud raamatu esimene aastasada Eestis: raamatud, raamatukogud ja lugejad 15. sajandi teisest poolest 16. sajandi keskpaigani. Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tartu, 2025, 61–68, here particularly pp. 64–65.

76 Fragments of both verse grammars survive as binding material of manuscript books (TLA.230.1.Cm4 and TLA.230.1.Cm13 respectively).

77 TLA.230.1.Inc13a, fols 100r–102r.

78 H. von Bruiningk. Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet, 16 note 4. According to Bruiningk, the name was added by a different hand. This interpretation might have been caused by the fact that the scribe of Cm 16 often uses different forms of one and the same letter, *a* among them. Treumann was convinced that the name and the principal text were written by one and the same person (see H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist, 14, 17 note 1).

79 Relying on the study by Hermann von Bruiningk, Leonid Arbusow has included Marten in the list of parish priests of Türi (L. Arbusow. Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Dritter Nachtrag. Steffenhagen, Mitau, 1913, 133, 316).

80 H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist, 14.

81 T. Kala. Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad. Dominiiklaste ordu ja Tallinna Püha Katariina konvent. Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tallinn, 2013, 127, 167–168; H. Treumann. Seigake inkunaablisajandist, 14; Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Zweite Abteilung, Bd. 1. Deubner, Riga, Moskau, 1900, no. 242.

whether this friar (or these friars) might have had anything to do with the name under the introduction of the vocabulary cannot be said.[82]

In the medieval period Türi (80 km from Tallinn in a straight line) belonged to the Teutonic Order's *Komturei* Viljandi (Fellin) and the diocese of Tartu (Dorpat). The parish church was in existence by 1300[83] and stood on the frequently used road from Tallinn to Viljandi.[84] Thus it would not have been difficult for a Tallinn friar to visit the place. However, no records of a direct link between the Tallinn friary or an individual friar and Türi have been preserved. No sources that would mention specific place names survive from the travels of the Tallinn friars in the countryside in the middle of the fifteenth century. Such records survive only from the 1520s. In 1524 friar Petrus Romer travelled from Tallinn to Paide (Weissenstein), the centre of the Teutonic Order's *Vogtei* Järva (Jerwen).[85] The distance between Türi and Paide is approximately 12 km. We cannot exclude the possibility that the Tallinn friary had a kind of stopping place in Türi, for example for brethren who were collecting alms, and some contacts with this region may have existed in the 1450s when the vocabulary was copied.

As mentioned above, the breviary leaf containing the beginning of the office of St Andrew and used as the front pastedown of the codex was probably written by the same hand as the main part of the manuscript, the vocabulary (see Fig. 1). The fragment's textual contents may therefore help to determine the scribe's background. To investigate the liturgical affiliation of the breviary, its text was collated with other late medieval breviaries. Since the breviaries of Tartu, the 'home' diocese of Türi, and of the neighbouring bishopric of Tallinn have not survived, diocesan breviaries from the Baltic Sea region that were presumably close to the uses of Tartu and Tallinn were used instead. The Diocese of Tartu was a suffragan of Riga and that of Tallinn of Lund,[86] although the liturgies

82 The parish church of Türi was dedicated to St Martin, but regarding the form of the phrase in question it should be kept in mind that invocations of this kind addressed to patron saints are not known to have been common in manuscripts.

83 Baltisches historisches Ortslexikon. Teil I. Estland. Hrsg. von H. von zur Mühlen, bearb. von G. Westermann. Böhlau, Köln, Wien, 1985, 610; P. Johansen. Die Estlandliste des Liber Census Daniae. H. Hagerup, Kopenhagen; F. Wassermann, Reval, 1933, 106, 173–174 (in 1560 Türi was transferred to the Teutonic Order's *Vogtei* Jerwen).

84 P. Johansen. Die Estlandliste, 241.

85 T. Kala. Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad, 330. In winter 1524 the Tallinn friars received grain from Järva (ibid., 151). Whether the journey of the friar Petrus was somehow connected to these grain deliveries is not known; the accounts of the friary do not specify the aim of his journey.

86 For the subordination of the bishopric of Tallinn, see M. Maasing. Die Metropolitanverbindung Rigas mit den preußischen Bistümern zur Zeit des Erzbischofs Wilhelm von Brandenburg. – Die baltischen Länder und Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit. Hrsg. v. N. Angermann, K. Brüggemann, I. Põltsam-Jürjo. Böhlau, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2015, 165–187, here 168–169.

of both may also have been influenced by contacts with other North German traditions, particularly that of Lübeck. Due to the Dominican ownership of the vocabulary manuscript and the potential connection of the scribe with this order, the standard text of the late medieval Dominican breviary was included in the comparison. The structure of the office from the beginning of the vigil of St Andrew to the second lesson of matins of his feast day is most conveniently presented in the table annexed as an appendix to the present study.

Considerable variation between different liturgical uses occurs in almost every element of the office of St Andrew. Only the Gospel reading, the collect *Quaesumus omnipotens Deus* (at vespers), the invitatory antiphon *Adoremus victoriosissimum regem*, the responsory and versicle following the first lesson of matins of the feast day, and a few other chants remain invariable throughout the corpus. The readings for the matins of the vigil in all versions derive from Bede's sixteenth homily on the Gospels,[87] but the selection and sequence of the passages vary considerably. The rigid structure of the concise Dominican lessons, quoted almost verbatim from Bede but arranged in a modified sequence, also appears in the Kamień breviary and, to some extent, in that of Uppsala. All the remaining breviaries, including the Tallinn fragment, preserve the original order of the paragraphs (with omissions) and begin at the opening of the homily, although the subsequent extracts differ in every case. Most of the diocesan breviaries supplement the readings with short introductory phrases. While most diocesan breviaries display only minor divergences in the subsequent office of none, both the Tallinn fragment and the Lund breviary omit it altogether, as does the Dominican breviary. The vespers reflect the differences between the German tradition (including the Tallinn fragment) and the Scandinavian tradition (Lund and Uppsala), whereas the Dominican use retains its more concise form. The same dichotomy between the German (including the Tallinn fragment) and Scandinavian traditions continues in the sung portions of the first nocturn, with certain peculiarities in the Riga breviary; here, however, the usual 'German' version coincides with the Dominican tradition. The lessons of matins of the feast day are drawn from hagiographical tradition in all the breviaries, but whereas most diocesan liturgies (including the Tallinn fragment), with the sole exception of Kamień, preserve a uniform sequence of passages from the

87 Beda Venerabilis. Homeliarum evangelii libri II. Ed. D. Hurst. (Beda Venerabilis. Opera homiletica. Opera rhythmica. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 122.) Brepols, Turnhout, 1955, lib. 1, hom. 16.

Passion of St Andrew, the Dominican version instead introduces a series of anecdotal, exemplum-like miracle stories.

The Cm 16 fragment consistently follows one or other diocesan liturgical tradition. It coincides with Dominican practice only where the respective diocesan use also overlaps with it, and it is clearly distinct from the otherwise highly standardised composition of the Dominican breviary. Most notably, the fragment does not contain the Dominican miracle stories incorporated into the lessons of matins, which appear to have been particularly well suited to preaching. In omitting the office of none on the vigil of St Andrew, it resembles the Lund breviary, but overall it is closest to the Lübeck use. The combination of North German liturgical traditions with certain Scandinavian features suggests that the fragment may represent the liturgical use of Tallinn, although the surviving comparative material does not allow a secure attribution. Such Scandinavian connections would be considerably less expected in the case of Tartu, where affinity with the Riga use would be more likely; yet the fragment displays no distinctive features of the Riga liturgy.

This leads to the conclusion that the clergyman who copied the breviary, presumably for his own use, was at that time serving as a secular priest. Whether this took place in Türi or elsewhere remains uncertain; indeed, it is not even known whether the connection between the vocabulary manuscript and Türi extended beyond a merely ephemeral association. The unbound vocabulary and the disused breviary may have entered the bookbinder's workshop together. The vocabulary was intended to become part of the Dominican library and was therefore provided with a durable binding and a chain. A diocesan breviary may have been of less value to the friary, which could help explain its reuse as binder's waste, although the reason for its disposal remains uncertain.[88] Whether the scribe of both the breviary and vocabulary was initially one of the friars who may have temporarily served secular parishes, or whether the friary obtained the unbound manuscript from a secular priest, himself perhaps a future friar, remains unclear.

88 Discarding often depended on the physical condition of the manuscript. Perhaps a Dominican breviary would have continued to serve the needs of the friars at a time when printed breviaries had not yet become common: the very first breviary was printed around 1473 for the Use of Constance (Breviarium Constantiense. [Konstanz?/Basel?/Augsburg?], not after 1473, ISTC ib01150975, GW 5315), while the first Dominican breviary appeared in 1476 (Breviarium Fratrum Praedicatorum. Milan: Christoph Valdarfer, 1476, ISTC ib01138500, GW 5214). However, Dominican liturgical books could occasionally be used as binding material for other Dominican books; cf., e.g., the rear pastedown of New Haven, Beinecke, Music Deposit 60 (we owe thanks for this reference to the anonymous reviewer of this paper).

CONCLUSION

In studies on late medieval German glossaries the Tallinn manuscript has received uneven attention. Among the sub-redactions of the *Ex quo* vocabularies, it has been somewhat misplaced, partly apparently since it was temporarily not accessible to German researchers working on these vocabularies.

With its short introduction and location of grammatical categories behind the entries, the Tallinn manuscript seems to belong to a relatively early version of the *Ex quo* vocabularies that originated in the first half of the fifteenth century. Thus, in the 1450s, when the Tallinn manuscript was copied, it did not represent the latest textual tradition of these vocabularies. The comparison of the Tallinn vocabulary with manuscripts which have previously been described as standing textually close to it demonstrates that a meticulous division between individual sub-redactions might not always be justified, while the text of many manuscripts, the Tallinn *Ex quo* among them, could have been strongly influenced by random circumstances or scribal preferences. The Tallinn version of *Termini iuristarum* shows no close textual relationship to the other versions occurring in manuscripts also containing *Ex quo*. This leads to the conclusion that placing these texts side by side was usually the scribe's choice in each case, not an established textual convention. However, in the case of the Tallinn manuscript, both texts were apparently present in the codex that served as the model for Cm 16, since the scribe of Cm 16 regarded them as a single text, as evidenced by textual layout.

Like many other *Ex quo* manuscripts, the Tallinn vocabulary was meant for everyday use and was accessible to different people, as indicated by secondary additions on the last page of the volume. At some point the manuscript entered the library of the Tallinn Dominican friary. The breviary fragment, apparently copied by the same scribe as the vocabulary and later reused in its binding, follows a diocesan rather than a Dominican liturgical tradition. The principal scribe, even if he was not a friar himself, might still have had contact with the friary, an institution where this kind of manuscript could have been needed and a master copy easily obtained.

Acknowledgements

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APPENDIX. TEXTUAL CONTENTS AND LITURGICAL AFFILIATION OF THE BREVIARY FRAGMENT IN CM 16

The verso side of the fragment is easily readable; the text on the glued recto, particularly in the first column, is more poorly preserved and partly illegible. Nevertheless, the structure of the office, including the textual passages serving as the readings for the matins and the chants for the vespers of the vigil of St Andrew (contained on the recto side), can be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence from the surviving text, with the exception of the introductory phrases to the readings.

The fragment's text was collated with late medieval Dominican breviaries and several diocesan breviaries from the Baltic Sea region. The Dominican breviaries included in the comparison comprised three early printed editions[89] presenting virtually identical texts and three late medieval manuscripts,[90] which exhibit only minor divergences. The textual composition of the Dominican breviaries, both in terms of the selection of readings, chants, and prayers and of their precise wording, is so uniform that all Dominican breviaries may be treated as a single unit of comparison.[91] The diocesan breviaries included in the comparison were the printed editions of Riga, Lübeck, and Kamień Pomorski, together with a manuscript copy from Schwerin in the Holy Roman Empire, as well as a manuscript breviary of Lund and a printed edition of Uppsala from

89 Breviarium Fratrum Praedicatorum. Venice: Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn and Petrus de Bartua, [about 1477–78] (ISTC ib01139000, GW 5215); Breviarium Fratrum Praedicatorum. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1485 (ISTC ib01141300, GW 5219); Breviarium Fratrum Praedicatorum. Basel: Jacobus Wolff de Pforzheim, for Jacobus de Kirchen, 1492 (ISTC ib01142000, GW 5224).

90 Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, MsMurQ 5 (c. 1300); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter perg. 32 (2nd quarter of the 15th century, provenance: Strasbourg, St. Nicolaus in Undis); Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, C.IV.10 (mid-13th century, England?).

91 For general characteristics of the Dominican liturgy, see W. R. Bonniwell. A history of the Dominican liturgy. J. F. Wagner, New York, 1944; for the Dominican office of the saints, A.-É. Urfels-Capot. Le sanctoral du lectionnaire de l'office. – Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1. Sous la direction de L. E. Boyle et al. Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT), Aubervilliers, 2004, 319–353.

Scandinavia.[92] These diocesan breviaries display substantial differences from one another and must therefore be considered individually.

The titles in the table represent both full texts and headings in breviaries; the liturgical cross-references are given in brackets. The titles are normally standardised, except for the recto of Cm 16 where reconstructed transcriptions of the headings are provided, where possible; where the titles have not survived (the readings of the matins of the vigil), the text passage has been reconstructed from surviving sections. For Cm 16 and the Dominican breviary, all items are listed; for other breviaries, all explicitly cited titles are likewise included, but cross-references to other liturgical material appearing in only one or two breviaries are omitted. Medieval terminology, which appears in the source material, is employed for liturgical occasions and genres.

92 Breviarium Rigense. [Paris], s.n., voor Willem Corver (Amsterdam), 1513; Breviarium Lubicense (Lübeck). Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 18 Aug. 1490 (ISTC ib01164300, GW 5375); Breviarium Caminense. [Bamberg/Nuremberg?: Printer of the 'Breviarium Caminense', about 1480?] (ISTC ib01150550, GW 5298); Breviarium Suerinense, Pars hiemalis. Kirchenbibliothek Barth, 4° D 54 (Diözese Schwerin, about 1430–1440); Breviarium Lundense. Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Medeltidshandskrift 34 (Lund, c. 1500); Breviarium Upsalense. Stockholm: Johannes and Anna Fabri (Smedh), 30 Sept. 1496 (ISTC ib01187000, GW 5499).

Table 2. The structure of the office of St Andrew from the matins of the vigil to the second lesson of matins of his feast day in the breviary fragment in Cm 16 and a selection of late medieval breviaries. (Ant. – Antiphona, Ev. – Evangelium, Cap. – Capitulum, Coll. – Collecta, Hymn. – Hymnus, Invit. – Invitatorium, Lect. – Lectio, Magn. – Magnificat, Or. – Oratio, Ps. – Psalmus, Resp. – Responsorium, Vers. – Vers(icul)us; the equals sign indicates agreement with the entry in the previous column.)

	Riga	Lübeck	Kamień Pomorski	Tallinn, Cm 16	Schwerin	Lund	Uppsala	Dominican
Vigilia S. Andreae								
Ev.	Stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo (Io 1:35)	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lect. I (Bedae)	Tanta ac talis … Ecce enim narrante Evangelio … stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis (l. 4)	Ecce narrante Evangelio stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis (l. 4)	Stabat Iohannes et respexit Iesum (l. 23)	… [l. 4/7]	Narrante evangelio … stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis (l. 4)	Huius verba lectionis … Ecce narrante Evangelio … stabat Iohannes et ex discipulis (l. 4)	Stabat Iohannes et respexit Iesum (l. 23)	Stabat Iohannes et respexit Iesum (l. 23)
Lect. II	Statimque cognovimus (l. 7)	Ceteraque huiusmodi (l. 21)	Stabant cum illo et discipuli (l. 27)	… [l. 27]	Quid … Stabat Iohannes et respexit Iesum (l. 23)	Sed non est putandum (l. 16)	Stabant cum illo et discipuli (l. 27)	Stabant cum illo et discipuli (l. 27)
Lect. III	Hoc est testimonium (l. 14)	Ambulatio Iesu dispensationem (l. 30)	Ecce agnus dei. Cognovimus quare (l. 7)	Sequitur … [l. 45]	Conversus autem Iesus et videns (l. 54)	Stabat etiam quia illam virtutum (l. 26)	Ambulatio Iesu dispensationem (l. 30)	Ecce agnus dei (l. 7)

Continued on the next page

Table 2. Continued

	Riga	Lübeck	Kamień Pomorski	Tallinn, Cm 16	Schwerin	Lund	Uppsala	Dominican
Nona								
Hymn.	Benedictus Deus	(Hymnus ferialis)	-	-	(Hymnus ferialis)	-	-	-
Ant.	Qui persequebantur	Qui persequebantur	(Ant. Absterget Deus; Vers. Iustorum animae)	-	Andreas Christi famulus	-	-	-
Cap.	Scimus quoniam diligentibus	Benedictio Domini super caput iusti	Benedictio Domini super caput iusti	-	Benedictio Domini super caput iusti	-	Benedictus Deus et pater Domini Iesu Christi	-
Resp.	Nimis honorati	(Require in communi)	Nimis honorati	-	Nimis honorati sunt	-	Nimis honorati	-
Vers.	Annuntiaverunt opera	Nimis honorati	Dedisti hereditatem	-	-	-	Dilexit Andream Dominus	-
Coll.	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	-	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	-	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	-

Continued on the next page

Table 2. Continued

	Riga	Lübeck	Kamień Pomorski	Tallinn, Cm 16	Schwerin	Lund	Uppsala	Dominican
Vesperae								
Ant.	Ambulans Iesus iuxta mare Galilaeae	Ambulans Iesus iuxta mare Galilaeae	Ambulans Iesus iuxta mare Galilaeae	Ambulan[s Iesus iuxta] m[are] g[ali]ee	Ambulans Iesus iuxta mare Galilaeae	Ambulans Iesus; Unus ex duobus; Videns Andreas crucem; Beatus Andreas orabat; Dilexit Andream Dominus	Ambulans Iesus; Unus ex duobus; Videns Andreas crucem; Beatus Andreas orabat; Dilexit Andream Dominus	Unus ex duobus qui secuti sunt
Cap.	-	Dominus mihi astitit et confortavit me	(ut in nona)	B[enedictio Dni super caput …] (?)	Dominus mihi astitit et confortavit me	Fratres Corde creditur ad iustitiam	Fratres Corde creditur ad iustitiam	-
Resp.	Homo Dei	Homo Dei	Homo Dei	[Homo] dei (?)	Homo Dei	Homo Dei	Homo Dei	Homo Dei
Hymn.	Exultet caelum	Exultet caelum	Exultet caelum	[Exult]et (?)	Exultet caelum	Andrea pie	Andrea pie	-
Vers.	Dilexit Andream Dominus	In omnem terram	In omnem terram	[In] o[mnem] terram (?)	In omnem terram	In omnem terram	Dilexit Andream Dominus	-
Magn. Ant.	Mox ut vocem Domini	=	=	=	=	=	=	Ambulans Iesus iuxta mare Galilaeae
Coll./Or.*	-	(ut in nona)	(ut in nona)	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus	Quaesumus omnipotens Deus
Si transferatur Or.							Maiestatem tuam Domine	Maiestatem tuam Domine

Continued on the next page

Table 2. Continued

	Riga	Lübeck	Kamień Pomorski	Tallinn, Cm 16	Schwerin	Lund	Uppsala	Dominican
(Festum S. Andreae, Matutinum)								
Invit.	Adoremus victoriosissimum regem	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Ps.	Venite	Venite	=	=	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	=	=
Hymn.	Aeterna Christi munera	-	-	-	-	-	Aeterna Christi munera	-
Primum nocturnum								
Ant.	Christus me misit ad istam provinciam	Vidit Dominus Petrum et Andream	Vidit Dominus Petrum et Andream	Vidit Dominus Petrum et Andream	Vidit Dominus Petrum et Andream	Andreas apostolus dixit ad Aegeam	Andreas apostolus dixit ad Aegeam	Vidit Dominus Petrum et Andream
Ps.	(de apostolis)	Caeli enarrant	Caeli enarrant	Caeli enarrant	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	Caeli enarrant
Ant.	Ego si crucis patibulum	Venite post me	Venite post me	Venite post me	Venite post me	Ego crucis Christi servus	Ego crucis Christi servus	Venite post me
Ps.	(de apostolis)	Benedicam	Benedicam	Benedicam	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	Benedicam

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Table 2. Continued

	Riga	Lübeck	Kamień Pomorski	Tallinn, Cm 16	Schwerin	Lund	Uppsala	Dominican
Ant.	Andreas apostolus Domini magnum operatus	Relictis retibus secuti sunt Dominum	Relictis retibus secuti sunt Dominum	Relictis retibus secuti sunt Dominum	Relictis retibus secuti sunt Dominum	Cumque carnifices apostolorum	Cumque carnifices apostolorum	Relictis retibus secuti sunt Dominum
Ps.	(de apostolis)	Eructavit	Eructavit	Eructavit	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	Eructavit
Vers.	In omnem terram	In omnem terram	In omnem terram	In omnem terram	In omnem terram	(de apostolis)	(de apostolis)	In omnem terram
Lect. I	Proconsul Aegeas Patras civitatem ingressus	Proconsul Aegeas Patras civitatem ingressus	Cum doceret et praedicaret verbum Dei	Proconsul Aegeas Patras civitatem ingressus	Proconsul Aegeas Patras civitatem ingressus	Proconsul Aegeas Patras civitatem ingressus	Proconsul Aegeas Patras civitatem ingressus	Ex gestis. Beatus Andreas post passionem Domini
Resp.	Dum deambularet Dominus iuxta mare	=	=	=	=	Cum perambularet Dominus iuxta mare	Dum deambularet Dominus iuxta mare	Cum perambularet Dominus iuxta mare
Vers.	Erant enim piscatores et ait	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lect. II	Cui Aegeas dixit Tu es Andreas qui destruis	Crastina vero die de carcere eductus	Andreas respondit Ego sum	Cui Aegeas dixit Tu es Andreas et destruis	Andreas respondit Romani principes	Cui Aegeas dixit Tu es Andreas qui destruis	Cui Aegeas dixit Tu es Andreas qui destruis	Cum iuvenis quidam Christianus

*Diocesan breviaries and Cm 16 use *Coll(ecta)*, while the Dominican breviary has *Or(atio)*.

„Ex quo“ sõnastiku Tallinna käsikiri: tekstitraditsioon ja ajalooline taust

Tiina Kala ja Kaspar Kolk

Artikkel käsitleb Tallinna Linnaarhiivis säilitatava käsikirjalise ladina-alamsaksa sõnastiku „Ex quo“ ülesehitust, sisu, koostamisprotsessi ning ajaloolist tausta ja funktsiooni hiliskeskaegse Eesti intellektuaalses ja hariduslikus olustikus. Umbes 13 000 märksõna sisaldavale sõnastikule järgneb pealkirja „Termini iuristarum“ all tuntud värsivormis lühisõnastik, mis lõpeb kolofooniga. Kõik need tekstiosad on kirja pannud üks ja seesama kirjutaja, lisaks leidub käsikirja lõpulehekülgel lühimärkusi (sh omanikumärge) veel kolmelt kirjutajalt. Kolofooni järgi valmis käsikiri 1454. aastal Türil, omanikumärke ja köitetunnuste põhjal otsustades kuulus raamat Tallinna dominiiklaste konvendile. Varasematest uurijatest on käsikirja põgusalt käsitlenud Hermann von Bruiningk (1904), selle köitetunnuseid ja ajaloolist tausta kirjeldanud Hans Treumann (1968), keelelistel ja tekstoloogilistel aspektidel peatunud Pekka Katara (1946, 1948), Klaus Grubmüller (1967, 1988) ja Bernhard Schnell (1988).

„Ex quo“ sõnastiku algne otstarve oli hõlbustada piibli ja teiste ladina tekstide mõistmist. Sõnastiku eksemplarid olid hiliskeskajal saksa keeleruumis laialt levinud, neis on esindatud paljud keelevariandid nii ülem- kui alamsaksa alalt. Säilinud on ligi 300 käsikirja (osa neist mittetäielikud) aastatest umbes 1410 kuni 1502 ja enam kui 40 trükiväljaannet aastatest 1467–1505. Kuigi nende koostamise aluspõhimõtted ja tihti ka märkimisväärne osa tekstist kattuvad, esineb käsikirjade või käsikirjarühmade vahel ka erinevusi, nagu üksikute märksõnade või tervete märksõnaplokkide lisamine või ärajätmine, lahknevused märksõnaselgituste sõnastuses ja keeles (ladina või saksa), samuti sissejuhatuse sõnastuses. Schnell ja Grubmüller on välja toonud neli peamist „Ex quo“ redaktsiooni, jagades need omakorda arvukateks alamredaktsioonideks. Selles, millisesse neist paigutada Tallinna käsikiri, ei ole olnud täit üksmeelt. Suuresti seletab seda tõik, et 1960.–1980. aastail, mil saksa teadlased „Ex quo“ sõnastikuga kõige intensiivsemalt tegelesid, ei olnud Tallinna käsikirja terviktekst neile kättesaadav.

Schnelli ja Grubmülleri väitel kuulub Tallinna käsikiri 1410. aasta paiku koostatud ja umbes 12 700 märksõna sisaldavast algredaktsioonist (S) välja kasvanud redaktsiooni (P), mis sisaldab arvukalt täiendavaid märksõnu. Selle redaktsiooni leviku kõrgaeg hakkas 15. sajandi keskpaiku läbi saama; niisiis esindab Tallinna käsikiri „Ex quo“ sõnastiku selleks

ajaks juba vanemat versiooni. Sellele osutavad ka vormistuslikud eripärad, mis on pigem iseloomulikud 15. sajandi algupoole käsikirjadele. Tallinna käsikirja võrdlus redaktsiooni P alamredaktsioonides (X, X1, X3 ja X4) täheldatud kõrvalekalletega näitab, et Tallinna tekst ei ole lähedane mitte alamredaktsioonidele X3 ja X4, nagu seni väidetud, vaid pigem alamredaktsioonile X1, kuigi sedagi oma erijoontega. Käsikirju võivad üksteisest eristada unikaalsed, näiteks kirjutaja isiklikest eelistustest tulenevad tunnused, mistõttu iga üksiku käsikirja paigutamine ühte või teise uurijate piiritletud alamredaktsiooni ei tarvitse alati olla võimalik ega otstarbekas.

Lühike „Termini iuristarum" esineb käsikirjades tavaliselt lisandusena mõnele teisele leksikograafilisele tekstile, kõige sagedamini (üheteistkümnes säilinud käsikirjas) just „Ex quole". Sellest võiks oletada, et tekstide koosesinemisest kujunes omaette käsikirjaline traditsioon. Analüüs näitab, et nii see siiski ei olnud: eri käsikirjades paiknevad koos kõige erinevamad nii „Termini iuristarumi" kui „Ex quo" tekstivariandid, sageli teises järjekorras ja eraldatuna teistest tekstidest. Seega on tekstide valik käsikirjades tulenenud üldjuhul pigem iga üksiku kirjutaja otsustest. Tallinna käsikiri tugineb tõenäoliselt siiski juba sellele eeskujuks olnud, ent praeguseks tundmatu käsikirja kompositsioonile: mõlemad tekstid ja lisaks kolofoon on vormistuslikult täiesti kokku sulanud, millest võib järeldada, et ümberkirjutaja ei pruukinud neid eri tekstidena tajudagi.

Tallinna käsikirja võimaliku kirjutaja isik on tekitanud eri arvamusi. Teksti sissejuhatuse lõppu lisatud nime *her Marten* (härra Marten) pidas Bruiningk kirjutaja nimeks ja oletas, et tegu oli Türi kogudusepreestriga. Treumann püüdis kirjutajat samastada mõne Marteni või Merteni nime kandnud Tallinna dominiiklaste konvendi vennaga, ent 15. sajandi viimase kolmandiku allikad, kust sellist nime võib leida, ei osuta kuidagi Tallinna konvendi Merteni(te) seosele „Ex quo" käsikirja või Türiga. Paar 1520. aastatest pärit teadet viitab küll Tallinna dominiiklaste sidemetele Järvamaaga, kuid milles need täpsemalt seisnesid ja kas nende põhjal võiks eeldada konvendi või mõne selle venna kokkupuuteid Türiga juba 1450. aastatel, ei selgu. Lõpuks ei pruugi *her Marten* viidatagi üldse kirjutajale. Käsikirja köitmisel kaanelehena kasutatud makuleeritud breviaari fragment, mille on tõenäoliselt samuti kirjutanud „Ex quo" kirjutaja, esindab piiskopkondlikku (oletatavasti Tallinna piiskopkonna), mitte dominiiklaste liturgiat. Sellest võib järelduda, et kirjutaja oli breviaari kirjutamise ajal seotud ilmikkoguduse teenimisega.

Arvestades dominiiklaste suurt tähelepanu haridusele, sealhulgas piibliõpingutele, ning hästi välja arendatud koolisüsteemi, samuti asjaolu,

et Tallinna konvendist säilinud kümmekonna käsikirjalise raamatu ja mõnekümne käsikirjafragmendi seas leidub kolm grammatikaõpingutele viitavat tekstikatket, sobitub „Ex quo“ sõnastik siiski hästi hiliskeskaegse Tallinna konvendi eeldatavate vajadustega.