

studies, Anders Winroth was able to demonstrate in the late 1990s that manuscripts Aa, Bc, Fd, and P – once thought to be later abbreviations – actually contain the earlier first recension. Since Winroth's discovery, Carlos Larrainzar, Atria A. Larson, and the present author have uncovered several other abbreviated and fragmentary witnesses to the first recension²².

As mentioned above, three of the four manuscripts which contain the first recension – Aa, Bc, and Fd – also contain second-recension texts added in the margins, in appendices, and/or on inserted leaves²³. Anders Winroth, in his initial study, suggested that these additions derive from completed copies of the second recension which were excerpted so as to bring the text of the first recension „up to date“²⁴. Since then, Carlos Larrainzar, Melodie H. Eichbauer, Atria A. Larson, and José Miguel Viejo-Ximénez have proposed an alternative theory: the additions do not descend from the completed second recension, but rather preserve intermediate stages of accumulation between the first and second recensions²⁵. These scholars tend to doubt that the second recension ever existed as a fixed and actively disseminated form (i.e. a recension), casting it instead as one stage of organic growth on the way to the vulgate text of the thirteenth century. However trivial this debate might seem to outsiders, there is much interpretive value at stake. If the second recension did exist as a fixed and actively disseminated text, scholars should absolutely try to identify the specific motives and people behind it. If it did not, then scholars should hesitate to associate it too closely with specific schools or political movements of the mid-twelfth century²⁶. The following section will re-examine

22) These additional witnesses include Sg, Pfr, Mw, and Gw. On Sg, see Carlos LARRAINZAR, *El borrador de la „Concordia“ de Graciano: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 673 (=Sg)*, in: *Ius ecclesiae* 11 (1999) p. 593–666; on Mw, see Atria A. LARSON, *An Abbreviation of the First Recension of Gratian's Decretum in Munich?*, in: *BMCL* 29 (2011–2012) p. 51–118; on Gw, see John BURDEN, *Gratian North of the Alps: New Evidence of the First Recension in the Archdiocese of Salzburg*, in: *BMCL* 34 (2017) p. 89–112.

23) On the additions to first-recension manuscripts, see also Melodie H. EICHBAUER, *From the First to the Second Recension: The Progressive Evolution of the Decretum*, in: *BMCL* 29 (2011–2012) p. 119–67.

24) WINROTH, *Making* (as n. 2) p. 130–33.

25) For a summary of these arguments, see LARSON, *Gratian's De penitentia* (as n. 7) p. 66–87. See also the works (as n. 32) of Eichbauer, Larrainzar, and Viejo-Ximénez.

26) For one such attempt, see Stanley CHODOROW, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's*