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Lichaam, eer en recht in middeleeuws Friesland : een studie naar de Oudfrieese boeteregisters

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Summary

I Body, hounour, and law

Introduction

The human body, aggression, violence, revenge, and compensation, are phenomena that can be found across all cultures and ages. Medieval Frisia is an excellent case study, because it was an autonomous feuding society, where violence and revenge were an integral part of daily life. Medieval Frisia also produced the abundant genre of the compensation tariffs. In these texts, all kinds of injuries, assaults and insults are enumerated. The remainder of this introduction is devoted to outlining the Old Frisian corpus and other written sources on Medieval Frisia. Finally, the structure of the book is discussed. Chapters 1 and 2 can be seen as the introductions to the rest of it: they familiarise the reader with the concepts body, honour, revenge and compensation, with the theoretical framework that is taken as a point of departure for the analysis in the book, and with the text material, i.e. the Old Frisian compensation tariffs. Chapter 3 shows how the Frisian Freedom ideology, feud, and law formed the context for the compensation tariffs. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 analyse the physical, social, and political body respectively. Chapter 7 forms the conclusion. Chapters 8 and 9 form part II of this study. They contain the analyses of the Old East Frisian (8) and the Old West Frisian (9) tariffs.

1 Body and Culture

Chapter 1 is devoted to the theory and methodology that will be followed in this book. In the theoretical part of this chapter, I first turn to cognitive linguistics. This discipline makes us attentive to the fact that we think with our bodies in two ways. First, we use our brain to think, whereby our brain on the one hand makes cognition at all possible and on the other hand sets boundaries to our ways of knowing. Second, we use the structures of our body to structure the world we perceive around us. This has led to a plethora of body metaphors. I will especially look for these kinds of mental schemata and metaphors.

Second, anthropological perspectives on the body are considered. From Mary Douglas, who distinguished two bodies – physical and social – we move to a model that distinguishes three bodies – physical, social, and politic. This model enables us to analyse the body in Medieval Frisia best. In the next paragraphs these three bodies are discussed in more detail.

2 Compensation and the Old Frisian Compensation Tariffs

This chapter is an introduction to the concepts honour, revenge, feud, and compensation, concepts without which the compensation tariffs cannot be understood. Except in Modern Western culture, everyone knows what honour is and what to do if honour is at stake: hit back, take revenge. Revenge can grow into feud if a man has enough friends and relatives to take revenge on a larger scale and if a culture knows such a mechanism. Feuds can take many years, and in general, certain rules are followed, such as: 1) be sure to reciprocate violence in equal manner (do not let the violence escalate to unmanageable proportions); 2) take turns; 3) it is alright to kill someone other than the original killer, as long as he belongs to the kin group of the killer. Societies die out if killings go on and on without end, so most cultures have mechanisms to end violence: compensation systems. These compensation systems can easily lead to overviews of wounds and offences and the amounts of money or goods to be paid in order to restore the balance between two individuals or kin groups. Thus, the Old Frisian compensation tariffs are not a unique phenomenon. The modern Dutch system of compensatory damages has grown out of a law system that shows no continuity with the Old Frisian system. Nevertheless, tariffs grew out of them (Dutch: *letselschadelijsten*) that show remarkable similarities with the Old Frisian compensation tariffs.

After having sketched the wound lists in the *Lex Frisionum* and the Old Frisian compensation tariffs, their similarities and differences, I move on to discussing the problem of continuity and change. Starting point is the fact that there are certain human universals, features of human culture that are always there.

I end this chapter with a discussion of the text traditions of the Old Frisian compensation tariffs. In the region east of the river Lauwers, there is the interregional *General Compensation Tariff* which must have been the only official compensation tariff until the thirteenth century. In about that period, regional tariffs arose. The oldest of these – the *Riustring*, *Hunsingo*, and *Brokmer Compensation Tariff* – we know from manuscripts that can be dated around 1300 AD. These tariffs are either small or show a lack of structure, or both. They can be considered to be texts that were on their way to evolve to full-fledged tariffs. This latter kind can be found about a century and a half later, being the *Emsingo Compensation Tariff* and the *Compensation Tariff of Kampa Jeldric*. They are long, show a clear structure and a more or less complete coverage of the material. I think the reason for this development can be found in the birth of the various independent countries or *terrae* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which led to regional courts of law and regional law texts. This means that we can see the compensation tariffs evolve over the course of time.

For the Old West Frisian region the situation is different. The manuscripts at our disposal all date from the second half of the fifteenth century (or later). Nevertheless, it is possible to discern four West Frisian text traditions, which I labelled groups A to D. The texts in these traditions are thought to go back to the thirteenth century tariffs of Oostergo (A), Wymbritseradeel (B), Franekeradeel (C) and Wonseradeel (D).

In chapters 8 and 9, the compensation tariffs are discussed in more detail. In or-

der, however, to not constipate the cultural analysis of the tariffs, i.e. part I, this detailed textual analysis has been moved to the back of the book, thus forming part II.

3 *Medieval Frisia: Freedom, Feud, and Law*

Feuds and law suits were both the context for the compensation tariffs and the arenas for winning (or losing) honour. In this chapter, I first discuss the Frisian Freedom ideology, because it forms the ideological background to feud and law. Being free, the Frisians had a right to their own laws, to their own law procedures, and to feud whenever they liked. Thus, freedom, feud, and law form a triangle that can be called the cornerstone of medieval Frisian society.

In the remaining part of this chapter, the processes of feud and law are described, both with special interest to the compensation tariffs. The feud is followed from the first manslaughter that causes it, to its final reconciliation. Because of the paucity of the Frisian medieval sources, material from medieval Iceland is added, to put some narrative flesh to the bones of the law texts. In the course of this entire chapter, the *Saga of Hrafnkel* is followed in order to elucidate some details of feud and law that are less visible in the Frisian material.

How things went at a court of law in medieval Frisia remains to a large extent uncertain. Not much research has been done on this topic, not even by historians of law. We have to make do with what the law texts, including the compensation tariffs, tell us. We know that the circumstances of a felony (who was attacked, where, when and with what intention) had their influences to the height of the compensation that could be claimed. The court procedure described is specified to that of a law suit presented to court by someone who has been wounded and wants to claim a compensation. Special attention is paid to the court registry (*skrift*) and the record-keeper or registrar (*skrivere*, litt. 'the one who writes'). This *skrivere* must have been someone who was entitled to decide what type of wound was presented at court, and how to 'register' (*skriva*) it. Not much is known about how a verdict came to be. We know that in the oldest phase of Germanic law, a defendant could swear innocent, which would end the case. In the course of time, this system changed, and hard evidence started to play a role. If it was publicly known (*burkuth*) that the defendant had committed the felony, he could no longer swear innocent. The rights of the plaintiff to pursue his claims overruled those of the defendant to swear innocent. At the end of a court session, a verdict was reached. If the defendant was proclaimed guilty, he had to pay compensation. Most of the time, he did so in three instalments (*feng*), so that after one year, his debt was paid off. We do not know exactly to what extent the Frisian court officials (judges etc.) saw to the execution of the verdict. It seems that for a large part, this was left to the plaintiff. We know that if a thief was condemned, the plaintiff had to hang him himself or pay someone to do it for him.

4 *The Physical Body: Human Anatomy and Injuries in the Compensation Tariffs*

In this chapter and in the next two, the three bodies – physical, social, and politic – are analysed. This chapter on the physical body explores the terms that were used by the compensation tariffs for parts of the human body and for types of injuries.

First, the way the human body is treated in Old Frisian outside the compensation tariffs is looked at. There are two small Old Frisian texts that also address the human body: the so-called *fia-eth* ('property oath') and an embryology. This last text sketches the stages a foetus goes through before it is born. To underline its importance to the compensation practice, the text was eventually incorporated in the youngest redaction of the *Emsingo Compensation Tariff*. When we compare the body terms that can be distilled from these two texts with the material that comes out of the compensation tariffs, only a few unique terms remain. These are either terms for internal organs, which are for the most part missing in the compensation tariffs, or terms for illnesses other than injuries. These small texts show us that Old Frisian must have possessed more body terms, which are not rendered in the texts. The reason for this is the focus of the compensation tariffs on visible and debilitating injuries. They were not medical handbooks.

Next, the body terms and injury terms from the compensation tariffs are listed and discussed. For the body terms, the material from all compensation tariffs is listed, ordered by the schema that seemed most likely: body, head, trunk, arm, hand, leg, foot, and other terms. As for the injuries, I start with a discussion of the system that underlies the compensation tariffs in this respect. The injuries were most likely structured according to their degree of seriousness, and this structure is followed in this chapter.

The chapter ends with a short discussion of what we know about physicians and surgeons in medieval Frisia (which is disappointingly little) and an overview of body schemata that can be distilled from the compensation tariffs. A very important one is the diaphragm as a horizontal axis. Because of this schema, for example, we hardly find any toe terms in the tariffs, because for compensation for the injury or loss of a certain toe, one was referred to the stipulation on the parallel finger (big toe=thumb etc.). Last, there are a number of different schemata for the hand and the teeth to be extracted from the various tariffs. These are discussed.

5 *The Social Body: Mapping the Body*

This chapter pays attention to three types of schemata of the social body. First, 'classical' schemata of the social body are discussed: the body as land and the body as a house (and *vice versa*). Evidence that the body was seen as a kind of land or landscape comes from a small text called *Adam Octipartitus*, which tells the reader how God created Adam from eight metamorphoses: his bones from stones, his flesh from the earth, his eyes from the sun, etc. In the compensation tariffs, moreover, we find a whole group of land metaphors to describe parts of the body or certain types of wounds. These terms correspond perfectly well to the view we find in the *Adam Octipartitus*. There are other texts in the Old Frisian corpus as well that bear evidence of a body-land metaphor.

Evidence for a body-house metaphor is twofold. First, there is an identification of a man and his house, to the extent that we find Old Frisian law texts that literally state 'if a man is burnt', when they mean to say 'if someone's house has been burnt'. Second, we find ample parallels between a body and a house that work via the so-called container metaphor. Just like a healthy body, an unscathed house contains 'breath', that leaves the body by means of the natural canals – either the mouth and nose, or the chimney (or smoke-hole). If body or house are wounded, this is sometimes described in the tariffs in terms of breath / smoke leaving the body / house via unnatural canals, i.e. the wounds that have been created.

Some body symbolisms are directly related to the Frisian Freedom ideology; the naked body, the neck, six hands and six limbs, and a schema of aggression (using the dichotomy 'hot' and 'cold'). The naked body symbolises an unwanted state of poverty, dishonour, slavery, lowliness. The neck is very much marked in the Old Frisian corpus because of the Frisian Freedom ideology. Because of these stories, and because of the Old Frisian word *frihals* for 'freedom', meaning literally 'free neckedness; having a free neck', the free neck of the free Frisians became proverbial: because of their *frihals* 'freedom', they had a *fria hals* 'free neck'. Around this neck they wore a golden necklace, in replacement of the wooden band that had been the token of their enslavement in the old days. This symbolism was also fed by the more general metaphor neck=life. If you had to pay with your neck for a certain crime, this meant you had forfeited your life.

Another body part that could metaphorically stand for the entire person was the hand. In Old Frisian laws, by extension of this symbolism, the 'six hands' are the relatives in the first degree: father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter. It is uncertain whether the schema of the six hands can be projected over the 'six limbs' (eyes, hands, feet), another prevalent schema in Old Frisian. This means it remains uncertain whether the parents were seen as the eyes of a person or family, the brothers and sisters as its hands, and the children as its feet. We know of comparable schema's from Indo-European and medieval culture, but the evidence for Old Frisian is too scarce to combine the two (i.e. six hands=six limbs). Last, we are able to discern a non-productive schema that has been reconstructed for Proto-Germanic by Heinrich Beck and that seems to be universal: a cool head and a warm belly. For Proto-Germanic, Beck found the words **hugi* 'mind' and **mōda* 'courage, guts'. These words have survived in Old Frisian, where they are rendered as *hei* and *mod*. They are used to describe emotional states: *fon haster hei* and *fon ovirbulgena mod* both mean 'out of anger, infuriated, out of rage'. Although it is possible to reconstruct a body schema where **hugi* / *hei* is located in the head, should be cool and can be sharp, and where **moda* / *mod* is located in the abdomen, should be warm (but not hot) and can swell up, this schema is no longer productive in Old Frisian. The example of *mod* and *hei* shows that the schema's we have found and are proved to be productive say something about the mental culture of medieval Frisia.

Third, there are a few schemata in the compensation tariffs which are used to define a functioning body. The most frequently attested schema consists of eleven 'things' (*wendan*) a man is no longer able to perform when he has been seriously

injured in the back or abdomen. This whole complex is analysed. Because of the nature of the functions that are described and because of the evidence from the tariffs, I believe that the eleven *wendan* originally pertained to the abdomen (*buklamethe* 'paralysis of the abdomen') and that it was only later that they were combined with the description of a paralysis of the spine / spinal cord (*walduwaxe*) in the *General Compensation Tariff*.

Finally, the ability to procreate is discussed, because this seems to have been very important to medieval Frisians. This is only logical: having children means that your DNA will be passed on. In the ideology of the Frisian Freedom it is said that Charlemagne gave both the born and the unborn Frisians their freedom, thus to last to all eternity. In the compensation tariffs, a great amount of attention is paid to injuries that cause men or women to lose their ability to procreate.

6 *The Political Body: Body, Honour, and Law*

The last body to be analysed is the political body, i.e. the way in which a physical body operates in a given society and receives and radiates meaning. Here the physical and social body come together: they are all used to give shape to the political body.

For the first time, Old Frisian terms present themselves. The political body can be defined as the equivalent of Old Frisian *mund* 'guardianship', *were* 'guardianship', *riucht* 'law, privilege' and *ere* 'honour'. The terms *mund* and *were* denote the guardianship a Free Frisian exercised over his property (land, house, livestock, moveable possessions) and over the people who fell under his tutelage (children, wife, members of his household; servants). Old Frisian *riucht* points to the law, but at the same time to the privilege to participate in law: to have the right to be present at a court of law and to be a *persona standi in judicio*. Only a Free Frisian had *riucht*, and by misbehaving he could lose it. Finally *ere* 'honour' encompasses all of the aforementioned terms. The honour of a Free Frisian was constituted by his *mund*, *were*, and *riucht*.

This makes it possible to draw a concentric model of the political body, which consists of three circles. In the centre is ego; the physical body of a Free Frisian. In the second circle are those elements which fall under his guardianship and for which body metaphors were found: his land, house, first degree relatives (his six hands), and gold. In the third circle we find his wife, cattle, textile, silver, and servants. These elements fall under his guardianship, but no body metaphors are found for these elements. In all, this concentric model constitutes an embodied model of honour for a Free Frisian. By damaging any of the elements from the model, the honour of a Free Frisian could be damaged.

Before discussing the implications of the model, the elements in the first and third circle are discussed. Those in the second have already been extensively discussed in the previous chapter and will not be reiterated here. First, there is the Free Frisian. Although he has already figured prominently in this book, more attention is paid here to his physical appearance and to ways in which he could be shamed by offending his appearance. His symbolically charged golden necklace and hairdo are

discussed, as well as the warrior culture of the Free Frisians. Finally, a Free Frisian could be dishonoured by making him dirty: throwing him in the mud or hitting him so hard that he would throw up and befoul himself.

In the third circle, we find a Free Frisian's wife, livestock, servants and other household members. A Free Frisian was responsible for all of these: if they perpetrated punishable deeds, the Free Frisian would have to pay for the damage they had caused. On the other hand, a Free Frisian could be dishonoured by hitting on his wife, livestock, etc. This corresponds with the idea that they fell under his honour.

Finally, we return to the model of honour. There are at least three ways in which the model can be read. First, there is a spatial interpretation. If we see the honour of a Free Frisian as a spatial sphere of influence, the model makes us aware of the importance of borders in Medieval Frisia. Any infringement on these borders were taken as insults or infringements on the Free Frisian himself. There are a lot of borders present in the compensation tariffs: borders of one's land that are transgressed, borders of a house, borders of the clothes of one's wife.

Second, the model makes it possible to better understand how compensation worked in Medieval Frisia. Since all elements from the model could also be used as a means of payment of compensations (land, houses, livestock, even wives in marriages that were arranged as part of a settlement of a feud), these elements can be seen as the constituents of the political body of a Free Frisian in the anthropological sense of the word. They were the building blocks of his personhood.

Third, there is an embodied interpretation. The model shows us to what degree honour is an embodied phenomenon. Honour starts in the physical body and then expands beyond it, but remains something physical: damaging anything from one's sphere of honour hurts on a physical level.

7 *Conclusion. Bodies in Medieval Frisia*

The concluding chapter consists of two paragraphs. In the first, the whole conglomerate of body, violence, honour and compensation is discussed. From the fact that we are dealing with universal phenomena, it is possible to discern a kernel or lowest layer in each culture that will always be present. Upon this layer, each culture builds its specific system. Thus, we as far as these phenomena are concerned, we will always see a combination of cultural continuity and cultural dynamics. In the second paragraph, the outcomes of the analyses of the three bodies (physical, social, politic) in Medieval Frisia are reiterated.

Summary

II Analysis of the Old Frisian Compensation Tariffs

8 *The Old East Frisian Compensation Tariffs*

In this chapter and in the next, a textual analysis of the various compensation tariffs is presented. The order is by and large chronological (first) and by region (second), starting with the Old East Frisian tariffs in this chapter. In the next chapter, the Old West Frisian tariffs are treated.

The first Old East Frisian tariff to be analysed is the *General Compensation Tariff*. This tariff must once have been the general East Lauwers compensation tariff (i.e. between the rivers Lauwers and Weser). It must have been the tariff that was used up until the thirteenth century, when the regional East Lauwers compensation tariffs arose. Redactions have not been found in Old West Frisian manuscripts, nor were the Old West Frisian tariffs derived from this text. However, we do see later borrowings from this text in a few Old West Frisian tariffs.

The *General Compensation Tariff* is found in the Old East Frisian manuscripts H1, H2, R1, E1 (see appendix 1 for these abbreviations). Moreover, there is a Latin version, to be found in H1 and H2, and a Low German version, found in four Low German manuscripts. Here, the edition of the text by Borchling is used. The divergence of the versions in the thirteenth-century manuscripts attests of the fact that the *General Compensation Tariff* must be old. It has been dated to the eleventh century. I refrain from speculations on this point, but only point to the fact that it is possible to reconstruct a version with 117 stipulations. This leaves 83 stipulations, spread over the various redactions, that are not in the reconstructed version. The *General Compensation Tariff* must have been in use for a long time and have spread over a wide area to explain the text tradition we observe.

Next come the three oldest regional Old East Frisian tariffs; the *Riustring Compensation Tariff*, the *Hunsingo Compensation Tariff*, and the *Brokmer Compensation Tariff*. They are all attested from manuscripts that by and large date from the thirteenth century. Each of these tariffs shows something peculiar that points to the fact that in the course of the thirteenth century, the East Lauwers regional tariffs must have arisen. This coincides nicely with the rise of the autonomous *terrae* or areas in this period.

The *Riustring Compensation Tariff*, e.g., is small. It only contains stipulations about the physical body; no stipulations about insults, or damaging someone's wife, land, cattle, nor paragraphs about disturbance of the domestic peace. Moreover, we can discern a large number of borrowings from the *General Compensa-*

tion Tariff. This points to a compensation tariff in *statu nascendi*, completing its dossiers on the various body parts and borrowing to fill in blanks.

The *Hunsingo Compensation Tariff* is peculiar because it consists of more than one text. There are two texts that certainly can be called small compensation tariffs (BH1 and BH3). But placed between these texts we find a curious mix of diverse stipulations. A part of this text material has also been called a compensation tariff (BH2). Thus, the *Hunsingo Compensation Tariff* comprises three parts – BH1, BH2, and BH3 – of which BH2 consists of only 25 stipulations. Between these three texts in manuscripts H1 and H2, there is other text material, part of which is definitely an independent text: the so-called *urkeran* or ‘supreme statutes’. Moreover, if we look at BH1 and BH3, we see an overlap in material (they have ca. 20 stipulations in common), but these two texts are not two variants of one original text. BH3 must be older than BH1, because a number of compensations in BH3 are defined as ‘two times X because of the Peace of God’, whereas these same compensations are found in BH1 as ‘Y because of the Peace of God’, and $Y=2X$. When finally assessing the status of *Hunsingo Compensation Tariff*, we are forced to admit, hesitantly, that it is a compensation tariff. This is because the *Emsingo Compensation Tariff* borrowed from all three parts – BH1, BH2 and BH3. This means that at one point, all three components circulated together as one text.

The *Brokmer Compensation Tariff* is actually part of the *Brokmerbref*, the law of the people of Brokmerland. But since one part of this large text forms a cluster of stipulations on injuries, and since it has been concluded that the *Brokmerbref* consists of a number of building blocks, we are justified to call one of these (paragraphs 174–216) the *Brokmer Compensation Tariff*. This tariff shows remarkably little parallels to the Emsingo or Hunsingo material, whereas other parts of the *Brokmerbref* are closely related to e.g. the Emsingo *Penningschuldboek*. Furthermore, the tariff shows a lack of clear structure and is very small: just 44 stipulations. As such, it hardly qualifies as a compensation tariff.

In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the compensation tariffs developed and expanded to full-grown texts. East Lauwers examples are the *Emsingo Compensation Tariff* and the *Compensation Tariff of Kampa Jeldric*. The *Emsingo Compensation Tariff*, attested from manuscripts E1, E2, and E3, shows an enormous increase in size in the course of its development: the version in E1 has 171 stipulations, that in E2 has 219, and finally, the youngest text in E3 has 287. Here, we find stipulations on injuries as well as on various types of damaging a person (his land, cattle, wife, etc.). From the tradition that found its origin in the *Hunsingo Compensation Tariff*, the *Emsingo Compensation Tariff* grew and grew, amassing material and restructuring the text when the collection became in disarray too much.

The *Compensation Tariff of Kampa Jeldric* is a prime example of how working out a system can cause a text to explode in size. This tariff is the longest Old Frisian compensation tariff. It consists of 409 stipulations. Like the *Riustring Compensation Tariff*, this text only treats the physical body and its injuries. It was clearly based on the *General Compensation Tariff*, but has reworked it to a large

extent, and expanded it considerably. For the most part, the increase in size is due to a systematic application of the so-called side effects of injuries. Where in the *General Compensation Tariff*, these side effects only applied to one body part (two at most), Kampa Jeldric made them into a list and applied them to every body part possible. Thus *abel and inseptha* ‘protruding or sunken scar tissue’ is only found at two places in the *General Compensation Tariff*. It is mentioned seventeen times in the *Compensation Tariff of Kampa Jeldric*.

Finally, there is the so-called *Fivelgo Compensation Tariff*. This tariff can hardly be qualified as such. There are no stipulations on injuries, only on killing, killing a foetus and other crimes. It is treated in this analysis because it has been called a compensation tariff by previous scholars.

9 The Old West Frisian Compensation Tariffs

The Old West Frisian Compensation Tariffs have been handed down in manuscripts which stem from the fifteenth century (J, U, D, A, Fs). But as we saw earlier, it is possible to discern four West Frisian text traditions: groups A, B, C, D. These groups represent the thirteenth century tariffs of Oostergo (A), Wymbritseradeel (B), Franekeradeel (C) and Wonseradeel (D). Grouping the Old West Frisian compensation tariffs had already been done by previous scholars. However, group D had not been identified as such until now, nor had the attribution to the thirteenth century regions taken place yet.

Group A consists of the *Compensation Tariff of Leeuwarderadeel* (BLw), the *Compensation Tariff of Ferwerderadeel and Dongeradeel* (BFD), and the *Compensation Tariff of the grandscriwer* (BGr). The former two tariffs represent what must originally have been the compensation tariff of Oostergo, whereas the *Compensation Tariff of the grandscriwer* (BGr) was a small separate text (consisting of 76 stipulations) that in a later stage (we do not know when exactly) was attached to the Oostergo tariff. This text contains a large amount of borrowed stipulations from the *General Compensation Tariff*.

Group B consists of the *Compensation Tariff of Dongeradeel* (BDg), the *Compensation Tariff of Wymbritseradeel* (BWb), the *Compensation Tariff of the Hemmen* (BHm), plus a few small texts: the *Interregional Compensation Tariff of Walddethum* (BWd), *Thit sint tha latha* (Lath), and the *Interregional Compensation Tariff* (BIr). This last text (BIr) was not incorporated into the tariff, but remained separate, whereas the other two (BWd and Lath) were. Moreover, the *Interregional Compensation Tariff* is actually not a compensation tariff, but a treaty between the lands of West Frisia, consisting of 11 stipulations.

Group C consists of the *Compensation Tariff of Wonseradeel and the Vijf Delen*, and the *Bireknada Bota*. Both texts are special. The *Compensation Tariff of the Vijf Delen and Wonseradeel* is the longest Old West Frisian tariff (309 stipulations), whereas the *Bireknada Bota* is the only tariff that has been printed in the late fifteenth-century incunable called *Freeska Landriucht* or *Druk*. All this points to the fact that this tradition, by incorporating as much material as was possible from the other traditions, was becoming, or had already become, the gener-

al West Lauwers Compensation Tariff. The fact that *Bireknade Bota*, which is a restructured, refined version of the more original *Compensation Tariff of Wonseradeel and the Vijf Delen* was, as said, taken up in the *Freeska Landriucht* also points in this direction.

Group D consists of the *Compensation Tariff of Franekeadeel and Wonseradeel* (BFW) and the *Westerlauwers Compensation tariff* (BWL). The Low German versions of this last text (NBWL) help us to fill the gap that lies between the two Old Frisian texts and see their relationship. The *Compensation Tariff of Franekeadeel and Wonseradeel* shows the least amount of modernizations and must be closest to the original Compensation Tariff of Wonseradeel.

When we overlook the Old West Frisian tariffs, it is remarkable to see that except for group C, they all consist of a core of ca. 110 to 130 stipulations. This again points to the fact that the tariffs we have originated in the thirteenth century and were later expanded. Another conclusion is that as far as contents is concerned, there is a large amount of overlap. In this respect, group B (*Wymbritseradeel*) is the most independent text tradition.