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THE PRODUCTION OF POLYPHONIC
MANUSCRIPTS IN THIRTEENTH-
CENTURY PARIS: NEW EVIDENCE FOR
STANDARDISED PROCEDURES*

Modern understanding of the production and dissemination of thirteenth-century polyphony is constrained by the paucity of manuscript sources that have been preserved in their entirety; the panorama of sources of medieval polyphony is essentially fragmentary. Some of the surviving fragments, however, were torn from lost books of polyphony that were to some extent comparable to well-known extant codices. The fragment of polyphony preserved in the binding of manuscript 6528 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid is illustrative in this respect. This fragment displays a number of codicological and musical features that are strikingly similar to those of the Florence manuscript (F). Both sources share format and mise-en-page, make use of similar

*The online version of this article has been updated since original publication. A notice detailing the changes has also been published at <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127918000104>.

We wish to thank Mark Everist, Carmen Julia Gutiérrez and the anonymous reviewers of *Early Music History* for their invaluable comments and suggestions. Permission to reproduce the images has been graciously accorded by the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) and Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo (MiBACT).

The following library sigla are used:

CH-SGs Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek
D-GI Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek
E-Mn Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
F-Pn Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
GB-Lbl London, British Library

In addition, the *Ars antiqua* manuscripts mentioned in this article are indicated by their familiar sigla:

F Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1
LoA London, British Library, Egerton 2615
Ma Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 20486
W₁ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.

Conducti are identified in brackets with their standard catalogue numbers as given respectively in R. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertoire* (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen, 1981) and G. A. Anderson, 'Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 6 (1972), pp. 153–229; 7 (1975), pp. 1–81.

styles of script, notation and pen-work decoration, transmit the pieces in the same order, and present virtually identical musical readings. The Madrid fragment thus provides new evidence for a standardised production of polyphonic books in thirteenth-century Paris. The study provides a detailed account of the fragment's codicological and philological features, and explores the hypothesis that it originated in the same Parisian workshop that produced F.

Modern understanding of the production and dissemination of Western twelfth- and thirteenth-century polyphony is largely constrained by the paucity of surviving complete manuscript sources and the *mare magnum* of fragments scattered worldwide in libraries. While France, and Paris in particular, are generally considered the cradle of what is conventionally and meaningfully named 'Notre-Dame' polyphony, this repertory travelled far beyond the boundaries of its original place, spreading through most of today's Europe. Two out of the four large extant collections transmitting the repertory were not compiled in Paris or France, but in Scotland in the 1230s (W₁)¹ and Castile between approximately 1240 and 1250 (Ma).²

¹ The insular origins of W₁ are discussed in E. H. Roesner, 'The Origins of W₁', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29 (1976), pp. 337–80, at pp. 337–9. M. Everist, in 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W₁', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), pp. 1–42, examined the possibility that this manuscript was compiled for the Augustinian canons of St Andrews cathedral and dated W₁ to c. 1230. This date is confirmed in R. A. Baltzer, 'The Manuscript Makers of W₁: Further Evidence for an Early Date', in D. B. Cannata, G. Ilnitchi Currie, R. Charnin Mueller and J. L. Nádas (eds.), *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner* (Middleton, Wis., 2008), pp. 103–20. J. Brown, S. S. Patterson and D. D. Hiley, in 'Further Observations on W₁', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, 4 (1981), pp. 54–80, dated W₁ to the mid-thirteenth century. K. H. Kennedy Steiner, in 'Notre Dame in Scotland: W₁ and Liturgical Reform at St Andrews' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2013), pp. 175–95, recently suggested that W₁ may have been copied for the aristocratic monastic community of the Céli Dé at St Andrews cathedral. Facsimile editions of W₁ are: *An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628) Published in Facsimile with an Introduction*, ed. J. H. Baxter (Oxford and Paris, 1931), and *Die mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W₁: Vollständige Reproduktion der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, ed. M. Staehelin (Wiesbaden, 1995). A digital reproduction of W₁ is available online at <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?pointer=0&dir=mss%2F628-helmst>.

² The Castilian origins of Ma were firmly established by H. Anglès in his *El códex musical de Las Huelgas*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1931), i, pp. viii, 48, 71–5, 213, 236. J. Pumpe, in *Die Motetten der Madrider Notre-Dame-Handschrift*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 48 (Tutzing, 1991), p. 14, suggested that Ma was written in Spain by a music copyist. J. C. Asensio Palacios, in the introduction to his edition *El códice de Madrid: Polifonías del siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 11–28, argues again in favour of the Iberian identity of Ma's scribe (pp. 17–18) and assumes a dating of c. 1260–5 for the compilation of the manuscript. M. G. Muntané, in her *La música medieval en España* (Kassel, 2001), pp. 118–25, suggests a dating around the mid-thirteenth century. See also B. Hagg-Huglo, 'Modes, Tenors, Scribes, and Stems: The Hispanic Features of Two Hispanic Manuscripts, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. 20486, and Las Huelgas, Santa María la Real, Ms. IX', in F. Hentschel and M. Winkelmüller (eds.), *Nationes, 'Gentes' und die Musik im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 341–3; D. Catalunya, 'Music, Space and Ritual in Medieval

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The largest manuscript collection of twelfth- and thirteenth-century polyphony and the 'Notre-Dame source' par excellence is the Florence manuscript (F), compiled in Paris sometime between 1240 and 1250,³ possibly for the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle, the chapel of the Parisian royal palace on the Île-de-la-Cité, which took place on 26 April 1248;⁴ its present location in Florence dates back to the fifteenth century, when it entered the library of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (1416–69), perhaps as a gift from Louis XI.⁵ So far, F retains its uniqueness as the only complete, almost all-inclusive and central 'Notre-Dame source', while the thirteenth-century Parisian production of comparable books of polyphony – an activity that might have

Castile, 1221–1350' (Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 2016), pp. 309–14; Catalunya, 'Further on the Origins of Ma' (forthcoming). A digital reproduction of Ma is available online at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000005661&page=1>.

³ See R. A. Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), pp. 1–18, where F is dated between 1245 and 1255. M. Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York, 1989), pp. 50–86, places F in the 1240–50 decade. See also B. Haggh and M. M. Huglo, 'Magnus liber – Maius munus: Origine et destinée du manuscrit F', *Revue de Musicologie*, 90 (2004), pp. 193–230. A comparative catalogue of F is published in M. Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1 della Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: Storia e catalogo comparato* (Pisa, 2002). With the exception of a planctus (*Sol eclipsim patitur* [331; K38], fols. 451^{r-v}) on the death of Fernando III of Castile-León (1252) and two untexted conducti that were copied decades later in mensural notation on spare staves (fols. 252^v–254^v), F was compiled entirely by a principal text scribe and a principal notator. The two added mensural conducti in F are *Patris patris natique filia* (260; F31) and *Si membrana esset celum* (326; F32), both transmitted with their texts in other sources. An updated catalogue of the conductus repertory and its sources is G. Bevilacqua and M. Everist (eds.), *Cantum pulchriorem invenire: Conductus Database*, <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk> (2013). A colour facsimile of F was published in *Antiphonarium seu magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario: Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pluteus 29.1*, ed. E. H. Roesner, *Codices illuminati medii aevi*, 45 (Munich, 1996). A digital reproduction of F is available at <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?id=TECA0000342136&keyworks=Antiphonarium#page/1/mode/1up>.

⁴ A royal context for F was first proposed by Mark Everist in *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 85, on the basis of the typically Capetian fleur-de-lys depicted on an azure background inside the initial 'V' of the Christmas gradual *Viderunt omnes*, which opens the manuscript. Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, in their '*Magnus liber – Maius munus*', pp. 225–6, further made the suggestion that the manuscript was copied for Louis IX and prepared for the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle. Moreover, David Catalunya has recently argued that the above-mentioned planctus *Sol eclipsim patitur* added to F was commissioned by Blanche of Castile and performed in the Sainte-Chapelle, thus strengthening the hypothesis that F was connected to the French royal chapel rather than the Cathedral of Notre-Dame (Catalunya, 'Music, Space and Ritual', pp. 54–9).

⁵ Haggh and Huglo, '*Magnus liber – Maius munus*', pp. 195–9 and n. 89 below. See also Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 60–2 and Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1*, pp. 34–43.

already been in place in the first quarter of the century⁶ – can only partially be reconstructed, like a puzzle with a number of missing pieces. The subject of the present study is a so far neglected piece of this fragmented picture, which contributes to a deeper understanding of the place polyphonic music occupied in the emergent commercial book production of thirteenth-century Paris.

The source consists of three fragmentary folios from the same *Ars antiqua* manuscript that were attached to the binding of manuscript E-Mn 6528 – a copy of Priscian's *Ars grammatica*. The only folio that is currently fully visible (see Figures 1 and 2) contains two fragmentary polyphonic conducti known from other sources: *Legem dedit olim Deus* and *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (see Table 1). David Catalunya recently noticed that this fragment displays a number of codicological and musical features that are strikingly similar to those found in F: both sources share format and mise-en-page, make use of similar styles of script, notation and pen-work decoration, transmit the pieces in the same order,⁷ and present virtually identical musical readings.⁸ The present article provides a detailed account of these features and explores the hypothesis that the musical fragment in E-Mn 6528 originated in the same Parisian workshop that produced F. *Ars antiqua* sources that can reasonably be recognised as products of the same workspace are extremely rare: so far, the only known case was the second section of the composite manuscript LoA, which Mark Everist suggests originated from the same workshop in which F was compiled.⁹ The physical characteristics and musical content of E-Mn 6528 provide further evidence for the standardised production of polyphonic books in thirteenth-century Paris, and therefore contribute to our understanding of the reproduction and dissemination of Notre-Dame polyphony.¹⁰

⁶ See G. Bevilacqua, 'The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony? A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century', *Music & Letters*, 97 (2016), pp. 1–41.

⁷ No other surviving source transmits these two pieces in this order.

⁸ Catalunya, 'Music, Space and Ritual', pp. 62, 316–20, 328.

⁹ Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 66–8, 86–9; *French Thirteenth-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615* (ff. 79–94v), ed. M. Everist (London, 1988), p. 47. The *Ars antiqua* portion of LoA is edited in a facsimile *ibid.* A handful of colour images from LoA are available online at: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6666&CollID=28&NStart=2615>.

¹⁰ While fragments preserving already known music may have, as Mark Everist put it, little to offer in relation to questions of composition processes, reception and perception of thirteenth-century polyphony (M. Everist, 'Master and Disciple: Teaching the Composition of Polyphony in the Thirteenth Century', *Musica Disciplina*, 58 (2013), pp. 51–71, at



Figure 1 E-Mn 6528: Ars antiqua Fragment 1, recto (back flyleaf). © BNE



Figure 2 E-Mn 6528: Ars antiqua Fragment 1, verso (back flyleaf). © BNE

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Table 1 *Contents and concordances of the back flyleaf of E-Mn 6528 (Fragment 1)*

Conductus fragments in E-Mn 6528	Concordances
<i>Legem dedit olim Deus</i> (192; I21): fol. 124 ^v	F, fol. 312 ^{r-v} W ₁ , fols. 162 ^v (153 ^v)–163 ^r (154 ^r)* CH-SGs 383, pp. 135–8
<i>Lux illuxit gratiosa</i> (201; H27): fol. 124 ^{v-r}	F, fols. 313 ^r –314 ^r W ₁ , fols. 156 ^v (147 ^v)–157 ^r (148 ^r) Ma, fols. 79 ^v –80 ^v

*Both new and old foliations of W₁ are provided; the former, which was added after the loss of a number of leaves, is given in brackets.

The existence of the *Ars antiqua* fragment in E-Mn 6528 was first acknowledged in 1910 by Friedrich Ludwig, who had received a description from Wilhelm Meyer.¹¹ At that time, however, the musical folios were still glued to the cover, and therefore only a section of the conductus *Lux illuxit* was visible. Two decades later, Higiní Anglès briefly mentioned E-Mn 6528's pastedown and suggested that its musical notation was connected with that of W₁.¹² In 1946, Anglès and Subirà included the fragment in the catalogue of musical manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, without providing any significant additional information.¹³ More recently, Juan Carlos Asensio saw the pastedown when it had been detached from the back cover and reported the presence of both conducti.¹⁴ Additionally, Maricarmen Gómez Muntané suggested that the fragment must have belonged to an 'important' collection of conducti, given 'the quality of the copy'.¹⁵ Nonetheless, neither Asensio nor Gómez Muntané performed a detailed examination of E-Mn 6528, as their works concerned a different topic and entailed a larger scope respectively. A thorough discussion of the resemblance of this fragment to F and its implications for the knowledge of Parisian book production in the thirteenth century has so far been lacking.

p. 51), sources manufactured in the same workshop according to similar standards can reveal much about the production and trade of books of polyphony.

¹¹ F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili* (Halle, 1910), i/1, p. 131.

¹² Anglès, *El còdex musical de las Huelgas*, i, pp. 86, 370. Just like Mayer and Ludwig, Anglès was able to see only one side of the fragment. Anglès's description also includes an uncommented list of concordances of *Lux illuxit gratiosa*.

¹³ H. Anglès and J. Subirà, *Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, i: Manuscritos* (Barcelona, 1946), pp. 152–3.

¹⁴ Asensio, *El códice de Madrid*, p. 19. Asensio observed that the source is of 'uncertain origin' and that it witnesses the knowledge of Notre-Dame polyphony on the Iberian Peninsula.

¹⁵ Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, p. 123.

The Host Manuscript and its Binding

E-Mn 6528 contains the first sixteen books of Priscian's *Ars grammatica*.¹⁶ The body of the manuscript consists of 123 folios measuring approximately 230 × 140 mm (ruled frame: 187 × 86 mm), a narrower format than usual. The codex was rebound in the fifteenth century; the binding structure, as well as the flyleaves and pastedowns that were attached to the new cover, will be discussed below.

A number of codicological and palaeographical features suggest that the host manuscript may date to the twelfth or very early thirteenth century at latest. All the quires of the book begin consistently with the hair side of the parchment and the text is always entered starting from above the top line of the ruled frame: both features are typical of twelfth-century Western manuscripts; they start to be reversed in books produced before the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁷ The script of the main text, most likely the work of a single scribe, also points to the twelfth century: the lack of fusion and overlaps of letters and the use of very short ascenders and descenders are typical of a twelfth-century pre-Gothic hand.¹⁸ In addition, the forms of some individual letters are commonly found in twelfth-century Iberian manuscripts. Two forms of **a** are used, one with the top of the shaft turning over to the left, and another, common in the Iberian Peninsula, drawn with a large lobe that makes it look like a single-compartment **a**. Two types of **d** appear in the text: one is vertical (a vestige of Carolingian script), the other is uncial with a curved ascender to the left that occasionally concludes with a small stroke curving to the right; the concurrence of both types is not uncommon in twelfth-

¹⁶ A digital reproduction of E-Mn 6528 is available at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000132763&page=1>. Priscian, originally from the Roman province of Mauretania in North Africa, was active in early sixth-century Constantinople and the *Ars grammatica* (also known as *Institutiones grammaticae*) was his major work; see A. Luhtala, *Grammar and Philosophy in Late Antiquity: A Study of Priscian's Sources* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2005), p. 79.

¹⁷ These changes were possibly related to the gradual adoption of lead points in place of dry points to draw ruled guidelines on parchment: it may have been an aesthetic choice to begin quires with the flesh side of the parchment, where lead-point ruled lines are much more visible; in turn, more apparent guidelines may have provided scribes with a clearer and no more 'open to the top' frame that suggested them to begin writing below the top ruled line. See M. Palma, 'Modifiche di alcuni aspetti materiali della produzione libraria latina nei secoli xii e xiii', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 12 (1988), pp. 119–33; and N. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), pp. 13–16.

¹⁸ A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 57–8.

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century books and, in E-Mn 6528, are used in succession within words with double **ds**, a feature that appears in Iberian and southern French manuscripts. The same phenomenon can be observed for the forms of **f** and **r**, both of which extend slightly below the baseline, a feature found in German and Iberian manuscripts of the twelfth century.¹⁹

The decorated initials of the host manuscript do not add much information to the foregoing palaeographic analysis. The decoration work was carried out by more than one individual at different times; some initials are in twelfth-century style (see, for example, fols. 90^r, 96^r, 107^r); others were clearly added later in the thirteenth century (see fols. 7^r, 23^r, 115^r). In any case, these styles and types of decoration are frequently found in manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula, France, and elsewhere.²⁰

Whereas the palaeographical and ornamental features do not rule out a possible Iberian origin of the host manuscript, we can affirm with a high degree of certainty that the codex was rebound in fifteenth-century Spain. The current cover (see Figure 3) is an interesting exemplar of *mudéjar* binding, typical of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberia, and characterised by the use of Sienna tanned goatskin decorated with circles, braided shapes and other geometric patterns. The term *mudéjar* derives from the Arabic *mudayyan*, and refers to people of Islamic faith who did not convert to Christianity after the *Reconquista*. The *mudéjar* art, indeed, resulted from the combination of coexisting Islamic and Christian traditions within the Iberian Peninsula.²¹ The main centres of production of this kind of binding were Toledo and Barcelona, followed by Valencia, Zaragoza, Salamanca, Guadalajara, Burgos, Segovia and Seville among others.²² E-Mn 6528's cover is described in the catalogue of *mudéjar* bindings of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.²³

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 60–3.

²⁰ See F. Avril et al., *Manuscrits enluminés de la Péninsule Ibérique* (Paris, 1983); J. Domínguez Bordoná, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1933); www.enluminures.culture.fr.

²¹ M. I. Á. Zamora, 'Encuadernaciones mudéjares', *Artigrama*, 23 (2008), pp. 445–81, at pp. 445–6, 456; see also A. Carpallo Bautista and E. E. Burgos-Bordonau, 'Las encuadernaciones mudéjares de lacerías, tipo "toledano" y "salmantino" en la catedral de Toledo', *Al-Qantara*, 33 (2012), pp. 375–404; A. Carpallo Bautista, 'Las encuadernaciones mudéjares toledanas con motivos centrales de la catedral de Toledo', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 42/2 (2012), pp. 567–99.

²² Zamora, 'Encuadernaciones mudéjares', p. 458.

²³ Biblioteca Nacional de España (ed.), *Piel sobre tabla: Encuadernaciones mudéjares en la BNE. Catálogo de la exposición* (Madrid, 2013), p. 157. We wish to thank Antonio Carpallo and Christopher de Hamel for sharing their observations on E-Mn 6528's binding (private communications with the authors). According to Carpallo, most of the decorative patterns of this cover are extremely common in Spanish *mudéjar* bindings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the horseshoe pattern is less common, although its origins cannot be determined. De Hamel confirms that the binding does not look obviously or typically Parisian, as the *mudéjar* style had practically no influence on Parisian bindings.

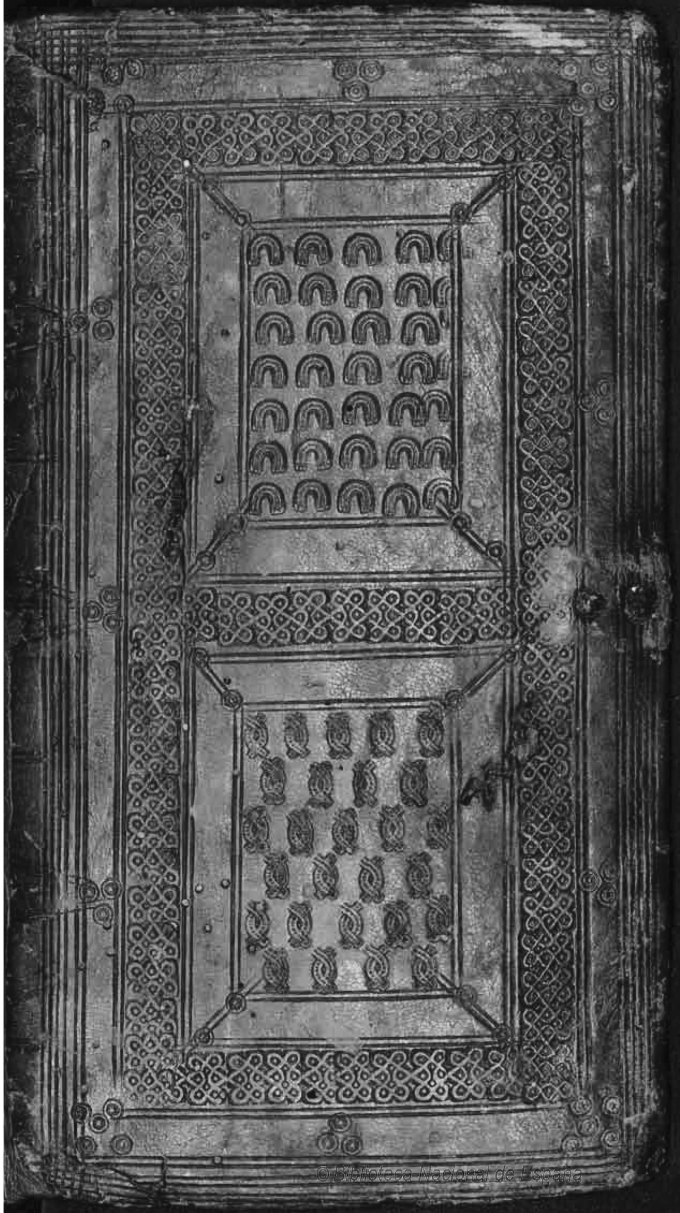


Figure 3 E-Mn 6528: Front cover. © BNE

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Nonetheless, although its *mudéjar* style and, therefore, Iberian origins are firmly established, its precise provenance remains elusive.

The provenance of the twelfth-century grammar book and its fifteenth-century binding cannot be determined with further precision.²⁴ The Biblioteca Nacional de España does not preserve any record of its acquisition, a fate shared by a number of medieval codices now in Madrid.²⁵ Paradoxically, the origins of the thirteenth-century fragment of polyphony inserted into the binding of E-Mn 6528 can be delineated in more detail, given its shared features with F.

The *Ars antiqua* Fragment

E-Mn 6528's fifteenth-century binding was originally provided with parchment pastedowns, which were detached from the front and back covers during restoration work that took place in the Biblioteca Nacional in the late twentieth century. Figure 4 shows a diagram of the current structure of the binding. The fully visible *Ars antiqua* folio, referred to as 'Fragment 1', was inserted upside down and glued to the back cover as a pastedown. 'Fragment 2', however, retained its upright position and was inserted as an inner reinforcement before Fragment 1 was pasted down; Fragment 2 continues inside the back cover and the only portion of the folio now visible is the outer margin of the original folio (see Figure 5).²⁶ The parchment bifolio attached to the front cover has a third fragment

For a comparison of the decoration patterns present in E-Mn 6528's binding and other *mudéjar* bindings preserved in Toledo Cathedral, see Carpallo Bautista, 'Las encuaderaciones mudéjares toledanas', pp. 579–80, 588–9, 597.

²⁴ In M. Sánchez Mariana, 'Notas sobre la biblioteca monástica de San Salvador de Oña', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 82 (1979), pp. 473–96, at p. 491, E-Mn 6528 is cited as one of the two possible candidates for the identification of a copy of Priscian's *Ars grammatica* mentioned in the early thirteenth-century catalogue of the Benedictine monastery of San Salvador de Oña, near Burgos. Sánchez Mariana does not discuss this hypothesis further, which is in fact not possible to confirm. Priscian's *Ars grammatica* was one of the most popular books in cathedral and monastic schools throughout the Middle Ages.

²⁵ During the Spanish Civil War (1936–9) many manuscripts, especially from religious centres, were mostly sent to the National Library in Madrid in order to preserve them from possible damage or destruction. The information about the provenance of a number of codices got lost – or was simply not recorded – during a rather chaotic transfer process.

²⁶ Still, the end of a few red-coloured staves with musical notation are visible beneath the fold. The end of the staves of the first system and two rests are visible in Figure 5, detail a. The notes are not visible on the photographic reproduction, but they can be seen in the original manuscript; they appear on an extremely small portion of the parchment beneath the fold, right before the fragment enters the cover. Unfortunately, it was not possible to capture a satisfactory photograph of these notes.

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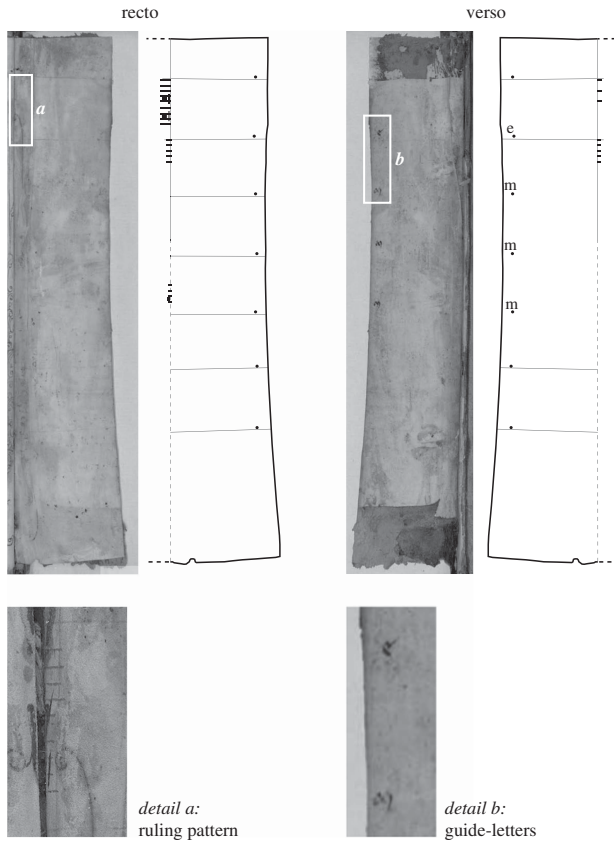


Figure 5 E-Mn 6528: Ars antiqua Fragment 2. Reproduced with the kind permission of the BNE

from the same source pasted to it ('Fragment 3', see Figure 6),²⁷ and also contains an offset of musical notation from a fourth, now lost, fragment that most likely acted as an inner reinforcement inside the cover.²⁸

²⁷ Fragment 3 is a stub from a lost folio that preserves the end of some staves (with musical notation) and the folio's outer margin. Unlike Fragment 2 (see below), no lead guiding lines and pricking marks are visible in Fragment 3 (most likely, the guiding lines are not currently visible due to the damage the parchment suffered when detached from the front cover).

²⁸ Before 'flyleaf I' was pasted to the front cover, the bifolio itself was reinforced with other pieces of parchment in order to make it thicker and stronger; one of these reinforcements was Fragment 3. An offset of musical notation is visible on the portion of the bifolio that remained uncovered between the stub pasted on the fold and Fragment 3. That this is an offset is evident from the fact that those remnants of notation appear horizontally flipped (this is noticeable in the inclination of the pen; see Figure 6, detail c). The offset does not

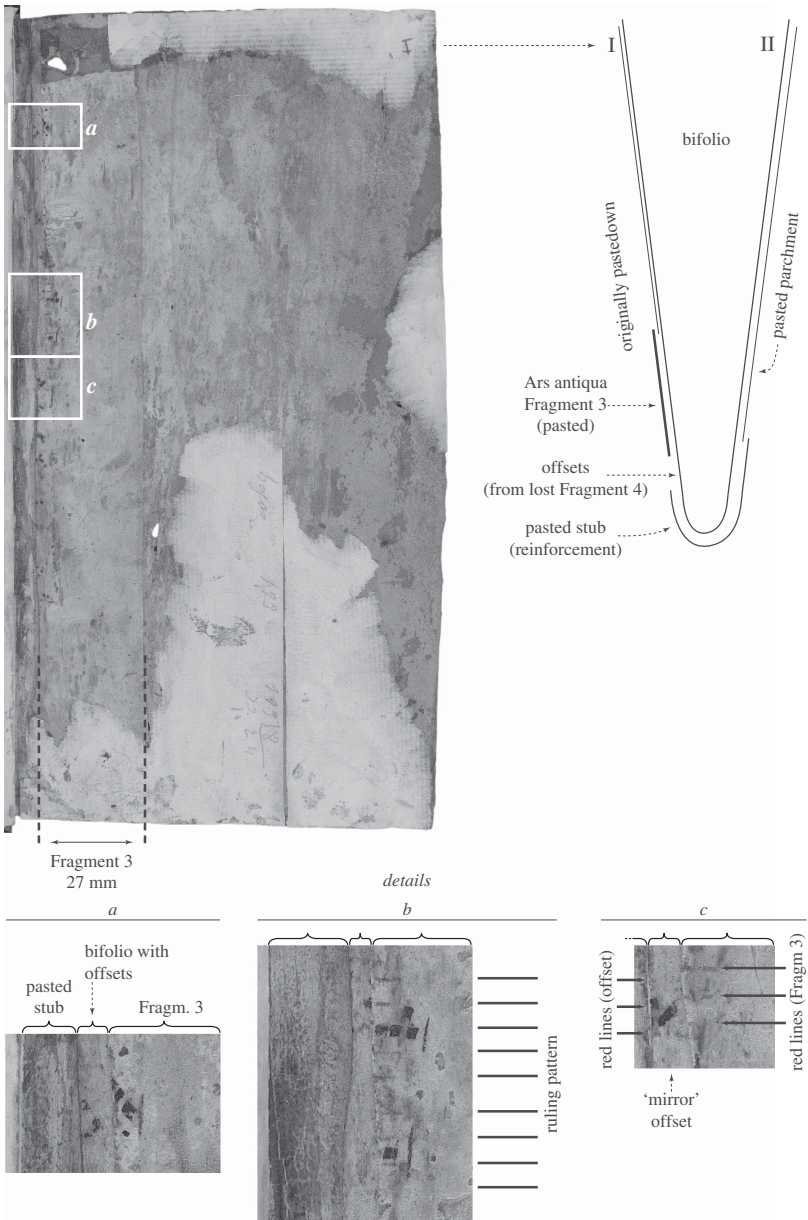


Figure 6 E-Mn 6528: Ars antiqua Fragment 3. Reproduced with the kind permission of the BNE

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The bookbinder cut off the left side of Fragment 1's original bifolio, and then inserted the last gathering of Priscian's book into the remaining original fold of the mutilated bifolio (see Figure 4). Once glued to the back cover as a pastedown, Fragment 1 was trimmed in order to make it fit the format of the cover. However, whilst the outer margin of Fragment 1 thus became narrower, that of Fragment 2 was preserved in its entirety (see Figure 5). Fragment 2 displays the upright corner of ruled frame, six guiding lines for the text, and the pricking marks used to rule those guiding lines. On the verso of this Fragment 2, the letters 'e' and 'm' are placed next to the folio's edge. Carmen Julia Gutiérrez suggests that these are guide-letters indicating the minor initials to be inserted by the decorator, and that Fragment 2 might originally have belonged to a fascicle containing *clausulae*, rather than *conducti*. Similar guide-letters are occasionally noticeable in F, both in outer and inner margins (see, for instance, fols. 147^r and 327^{r-v}). A typical *conductus* section in F would not display many minor initials per folio, but fascicles transmitting *clausulae* would have the same initial letter repeated in three or more consecutive systems (lines), as occurs, for example, on fol. 151^r, where the initial letter 'm' for *Manere* is found in three consecutive systems.²⁹ The fact that the ruling pattern of Fragment 2 consists of five lines for the upper voice but only four lines for the lower voice – the typical layout for two-part pieces based on liturgical tenors – further supports this hypothesis (see Figure 5, detail a).³⁰

Both the pricking marks and the guide-letters were obviously meant to be trimmed off. Pricking marks are not visible in F and LoA, and the guide-letters in the Madrid fragment are placed right behind them. Also noteworthy is that the folio edge of Fragment 2 has a careless, curved contour, further suggesting that at least this section of the original manuscript remained untrimmed.

seem to come from Fragment 3, as the red-coloured staves do not align; however, it is possible that the lost Fragment 4 came from the same folio as Fragment 3.

²⁹ We warmly thank Carmen Julia Gutiérrez for sharing her observation in a private communication. In F, there are a number of two-part *clausulae* starting with the letter 'e', but only two starting with the letter 'm' that are transmitted in groups of more than three pieces: five consecutive *clausulae* on the tenor *Manere* on fol. 151^{r-v}, and four consecutive *clausulae* on the tenor *Mors* on fol. 159^v (these tenors are identified in Ludwig's *Repertorium* with the numbers M5 and M18 respectively). In neither case are these *clausulae* in F preceded or followed by pieces opening with the letter 'e', which suggests the Madrid fragment presents them in a different order than F.

³⁰ This ruling pattern seems to have been a shared feature with Fragment 3 (see Figure 6, detail b). It is thus possible that Fragments 2 and 3 belonged to the same fascicle, or even bifolio.

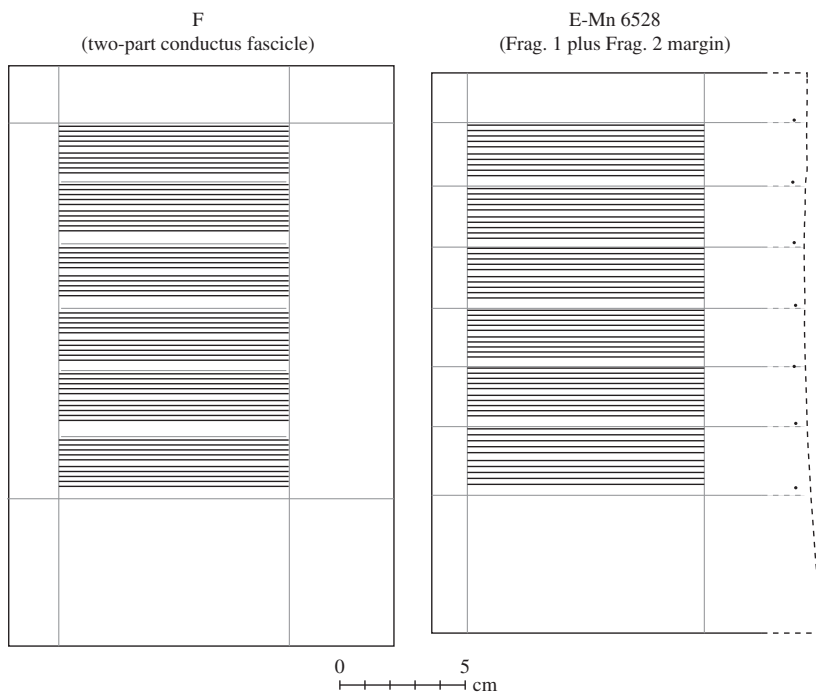


Figure 7 Format and mise-en-page of manuscript F and E-Mn 6528

Fragment 1 currently measures 225×127 mm, with a ruled frame of 148×92 mm, and an outer margin some 25 mm wide. The fully preserved outer margin of Fragment 2, however, ranges between 40.5 and 47 mm (the folio has a curved edge). This indicates that the original *Ars antiqua* manuscript was around 20 mm wider – and, possibly, also slightly longer – than the current size of Fragment 1. These sizes roughly correspond those of F, the largest of the main *Ars antiqua* sources, which measures 232×157 mm and has an outer margin of around 40 mm (see Figure 7).³¹ Moreover, the high-quality parchment of the fragment is akin to the fine one used for the Florence manuscript; it is thin (approximately 0.3 mm), flexible, and consistently

³¹ All the other *Notre-Dame* manuscripts are smaller than F: W_1 measures 215×150 ; W_2 is 175×130 mm; and *Ma* is 166×115 mm. *LoA* was also possibly trimmed, since despite sharing the same ruling patterns of F, it measures approximately 218×140 mm. In terms of size, a recently identified Parisian source dating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, MS 1471 (214×140 mm), is very close to W_1 , the earliest of the extant complete sources of the repertory; see Bevilacqua, ‘The Earliest Source of *Notre-Dame* Polyphony?’, pp. 5, 28.

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white.³² The type of lead pen used to rule the writing frame and text guiding-lines is very similar in the two sources. Perhaps the only substantial divergence in the preparation of the parchment of the two sources is that, whilst in F the text guiding-lines rarely continue over the outer margin, in E-Mn 6528 they do so more frequently.

Yet, even more significant is the perfect match of the mise-en-page of the Madrid fragment with that of manuscript F: the ruled frames are 148 × 92 mm and 149 × 92 mm (average) respectively.³³ Obviously, this difference of a millimetre in height should not be taken into consideration, given that the same degree of discrepancy is found within F.³⁴ In both sources, the frame accommodates six two-part systems of red-coloured staves which have an average height of 10 mm.³⁵

Identical mise-en-page was, as mentioned above, the principal evidence presented by Mark Everist to suggest that the *Ars antiqua* section of LoA and manuscript F were prepared in the same workshop.³⁶ Everist hypothesised the use of a common 'template' for the pricking, which led to exact similarities in the ruling, and argued that a mere 'imitation' of a pre-existing format would have occasioned considerable differences; he presented W₁ as a clear example of an attempt at imitating the format of contemporaneous Parisian manuscripts.³⁷ The evidence presented above suggests that E-Mn 6528's fragment went through a very similar preparation process as F and LoA, which

³² Different shades of colour, stains, tears and wrinkles are certainly due to the mistreatments this flyleaf went through after being ripped away from its original quire and glued to the wooden board of the back cover of E-Mn 6528.

³³ In this article, only the mise-en-page of two-part compositions in F is considered, in order to compare it to the conductus fragment in E-Mn 6528. In any case, in F the size of the ruled frame is essentially unvaried throughout the manuscript, while the subdivision of the writing space changes according to the number of voice parts.

³⁴ These slight variations were intrinsic to the ruling technique. Usually a gathering would be pricked hard through the pile of leaves using two rulers as guides, or a compass; then the ruled lines would be drawn joining the holes with a dry-point or, as in the case of both the Madrid fragment and F, a lead-point held against a ruler, and the pricked holes would be trimmed off during the process of binding the volume. This technique produced identical ruled patterns which, however, presented variations to the millimetre. See Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 70; Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992), pp. 23–5; and E. Ruiz García, *Manual de codicología* (Madrid, 1988), p. 134.

³⁵ The staves consist of five stave-lines, with the exception of a six-line and four-line stave in E-Mn 6528 (see Figure 1 bottom system, top stave, and Figure 2 third system from the top, upper stave).

³⁶ Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 66–70, and *French Thirteenth-Century Polyphony in the British Library*, ed. Everist, p. 47.

³⁷ Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 67.

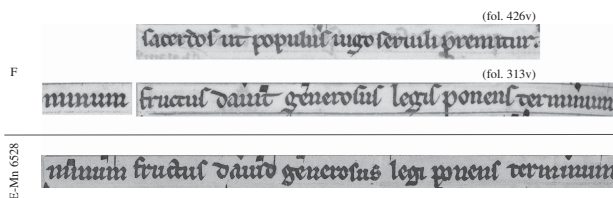


Figure 8 Comparison of text script in F and E-Mn 6528. Reproduced with the kind permission of the MiBACT and the BNE

prompts one to wonder whether the same hypothetical template was used in the three manuscripts.

There is, in fact, further palaeographical evidence that ties the Madrid fragment and F together. The text script of the two sources is extremely similar in many details (see Figure 8). The type of script is a northern thirteenth-century *littera textualis*, characterised by the use of double-compartment **a**, ascenders without loops and flat on the top, and straight **f** and **s** that do not descend below the baseline.³⁸ This type of script results from an accurate and all-but-rushed ductus that produces easily legible letters, neatly separated from one another, and with a very regular module. In both sources the size of minims is approximately 3 mm, and most of the individual letters are written in exactly the same fashion: the double-compartment **a** has an open upper bow; the limb of **h** extends below the baseline; medial **r** appears in both straight and round forms; straight **s** appears in both medial and final position with its foot turning upwards to the right; round **s** is also occasionally used at the end of a word; **t** is very short and its shaft barely extends above the head-stroke; **x** is written drawing two diagonal strokes, the one going from the top right to the bottom left, displaying an elongated descender approached with a clockwise short stroke made with the full width of the nib and then proceeding downwards in a descending hairline. In F, the letter **d** is often drawn in its uncial form with an elongated shaft sloping to the left. Nonetheless, certain calligraphic features of the Madrid fragment, such as the shorter shaft of the letter **d**, are also found in F's monophonic fascicle (see, for instance, F, fol. 426^{r-v}).

³⁸ These observations, as well as the following ones concerning the scripts in F and the Madrid fragment, are based on the comprehensive description and discussion of northern *littera textualis* given in Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 72–101.

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Only a few, subtle calligraphic differences between F and the Madrid fragment suggest that the two manuscripts were copied by different hands. Unlike in the Madrid fragment, the lower lobe of the letter **g** in F always has a shaft sloping down to the left. The loops of the long **s** are longer and more open in F than in the Madrid fragment. The Madrid scribe took the care of adding a diacritical stroke above the letter **i** in order to distinguish it from adjacent **u** minims – though not from adjacent **m** or **n** minims – while the scribe of F rarely used the diacritical stroke, and on occasion placed it above **i** next to **m** and **n**. It is of course impossible to determine the large-scale scribal variability of the Madrid copyist by analysing only one folio. Yet as it seems, the text scribes that worked on the Madrid fragment and F were two individuals trained in the same ‘school’.

Essentially the same observation holds for the musical notation of E-Mn 6528 and F: the music script is so remarkably similar in the two sources that it is sometimes hard to distinguish two different hands (see Figure 9).³⁹ This music script is characterised by the short downward stems of the single notes, the stems of binary and ternary ligatures are often longer, and those of the *porrectus* usually extend slightly above the upper left corner of the oblique shaft. The square note-heads are drawn with a slight inclination of the pen’s nib to the right, which forms an angle ranging between 10° and 14° with respect to an imaginary line perpendicular to the staff. The *nota plicata* is drawn in two pen strokes, also with a slight inclination. The diamond-shaped notes, on the contrary, have their vertical axis perpendicular to the

³⁹ It is reasonable to assume that text and notation were entered by distinct individuals in a single manuscript: both tasks would require specialised personnel with distinct skills. The making of a book such as F would have involved several distinct craftsmen (scribes, notators, illuminators, etc.); see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 96. The procedure would typically require a scribe to enter the text before the music: this would provide a guideline for the subsequent work of the music scribe. As a consequence, the text scribe of a conductus, for example, would need to estimate how much space would be needed between syllables in order to copy a melismatic passage. Evidence of this practice can be noted, for instance, in F on fol. 201^r, with the last syllable of the word *pregustatur* of the conductus *Salvatoris hodie* (C5, 315): here the text scribe left more space than the music would have required, as noticed by Baltzer, ‘The Manuscript Makers of W₁’, p. 111 and Figure 5. The text scribe of LoA must have encountered the same problem, as in his version of *Salvatoris hodie* (fol. 86^r) he left too much space for that very melisma; see Bevilacqua, ‘The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony?’, p. 29, n. 115. Rebecca Baltzer, in ‘The Manuscript Makers of W₁’, p. 111, has shown that text was entered before music in W₁ as well, at least for the conducti. Whereas the Madrid fragment does not seem to display the same type of inconsistencies that would indicate whether the text was copied before the music, it is reasonable to assume that its makers adopted the same method that was implemented in comparable thirteenth-century polyphonic music manuscripts.

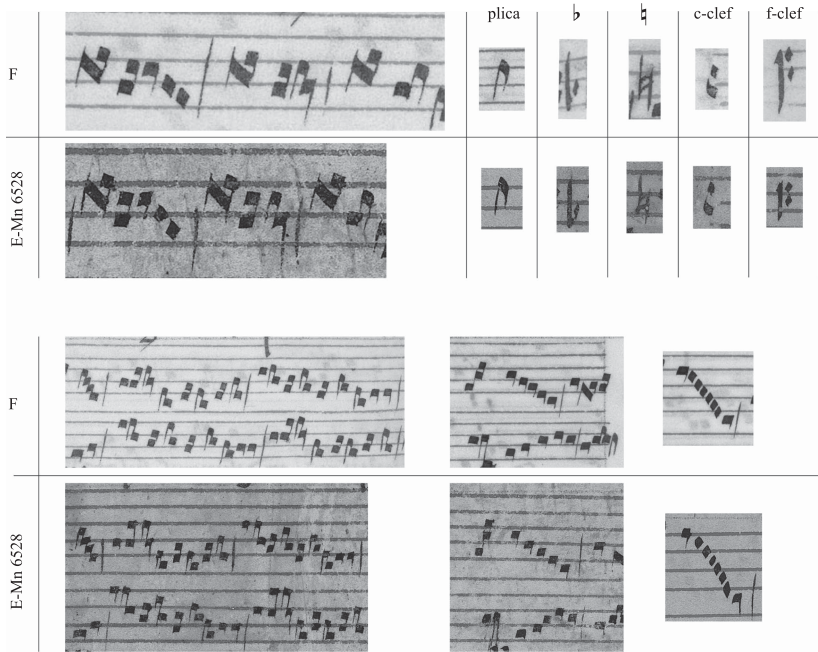


Figure 9 Comparison of music script in F and E-Mn 6528. Reproduced with the kind permission of the MiBACT and the BNE

stave. Many other elements, such as the C-clef and the accidentals, look mostly identical in the two sources. The F-clef, however, looks significantly different in the two sources.⁴⁰ In the Madrid fragment, the vertical stem is rather thick and the strokes on its right are positioned on the G and E spaces of the stave, while in F the stem is thinner and the strokes are placed on the A and F lines.

The pen-flourishing decorations of the Madrid fragment and manuscript F are more easily distinguishable as the work of two individuals, even though they clearly belong to the same tradition. The elaborated filigree initials include the same type of components, which are fairly common in thirteenth-century French manuscripts:

⁴⁰ In her study of thirteenth-century Dominican music scribes, Eleanor Giraud suggests that variations in elements such as clefs and accidentals are often better indicators of the presence of different hands than the square components of notation; see E. J. Giraud, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2013), p. 207. For a discussion of how each notator has an individual manner of drawing the F-clef, see *ibid.*, pp. 209–11.

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spirals, 'palmettes', 'extended fans', flourish stalks with bulbs and 'paws', and long flourishes with curled tips.⁴¹ Practically all the principal ornamental components of the Madrid fragment are also present in F, although not always used with the same frequency. The conductus *Lux illuxit gratiosa* in F begins at the top of the page, while in E-Mn 6528 it begins in the third system. The position of the initial within the page affects the design of its filigree. The conductus *Lex honus importabile* (F, fol. 293^v) also begins in the third system and, therefore, the comparison of its decorated initial with that of *Lux illuxit gratiosa* in E-Mn 6528 is more pertinent. The two capital letters L are essentially identical in shape and the pen-flourishing decorations have a very similar overall design (see Figure 10). The 'extended fan' component beside the letter, however, is less frequent in F (see Figure 11b). The curled tip of the long flourishes is usually adorned with a small wave in F, while E-Mn 6528 displays a flower (Figure 11d). The bulb that articulates the descending flourish stalk is wider in E-Mn 6528 than the average in F (Figure 11e). The decorator at work in F tended to elaborate rather intricate spirals in the initials' infillings, yet the type of spiral is essentially the same in the two manuscripts (Figure 11g).

The codicological and palaeographical similarities between the Madrid fragment and F inevitably bring the above-mentioned manuscript LoA back into the picture. While the conductus flyleaf in E-Mn 6528 displays features whose resemblance to F go well beyond an identical ruling pattern, LoA presents a number of divergences from F. To begin with, the script in LoA, however still clearly recognisable as a thirteenth-century *littera textualis*, has – despite having the same allocated space for the text as in F – a smaller module and is more angular when compared to the other two sources,⁴² leaving very little doubt that a different scribe is at work here (see Figure 12). The same can be said about the notation in LoA: it shares some similarities with that of F, but is undoubtedly the work of a different hand.⁴³ In addition, LoA was not decorated with

⁴¹ See S. Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 42, 73–4.

⁴² This is particularly evident in the bow of the letter *h*, made with two strokes of the pen, thus forming a sharp corner that is absent from E-Mn 6528 and F, where the bow is drawn with a single curving stroke; see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 64–5.

⁴³ As pointed out *ibid.*, p. 68, the notator of LoA used somewhat different shapes for the notes and adopted the *conjunctura*, a right-to-left descending diagonal trait attached to the first note in a series of three descending *currentes*; this figure is absent in F and E-Mn 6528.



E-Mn 6528



F, fol. 293^v

Figure 10 Pen flourishing decoration in F and E-Mn 6528. Reproduced with the kind permission of the MiBACT and the BNE

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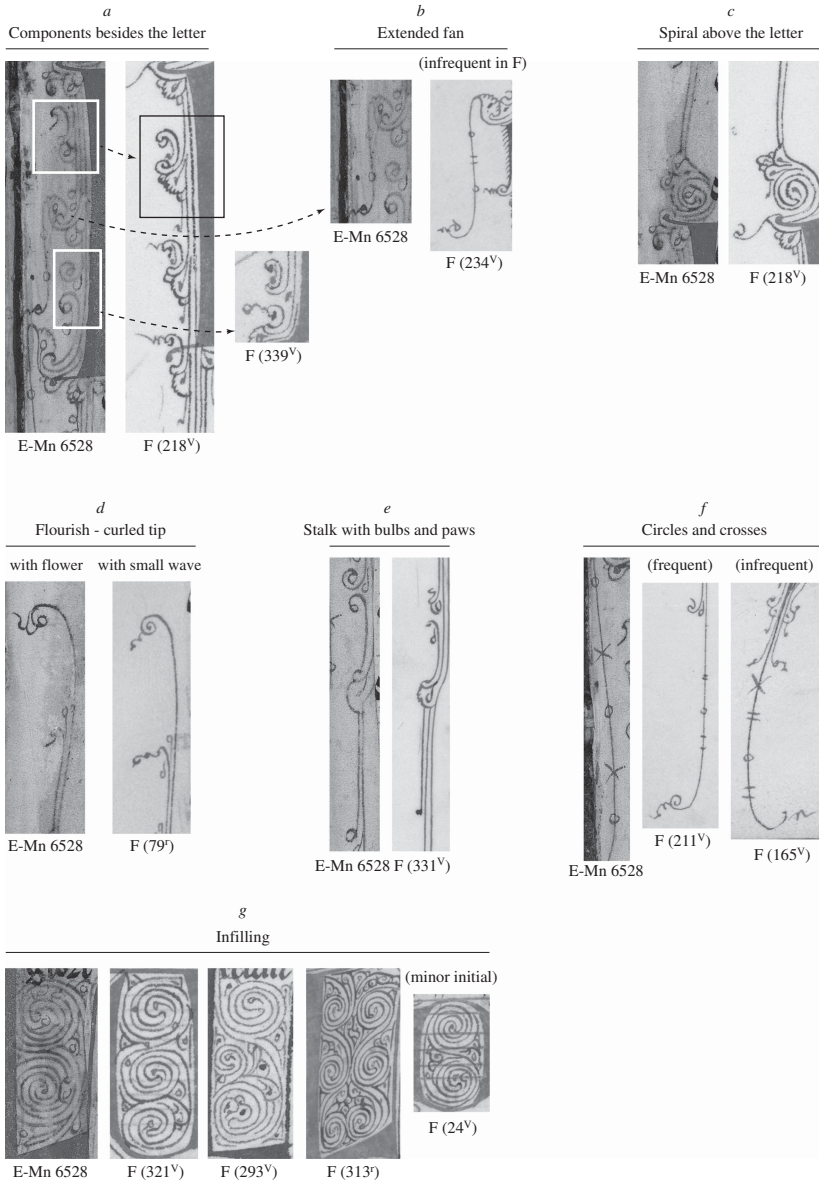


Figure 11 Pen flourishing decoration in F and E-Mn 6528 (details). Reproduced with the kind permission of the MiBACT and the BNE



Figure 12 British Library, Egerton 2615 (LoA), fol. 87^v/88^r (older/newer foliation). © British Library Board

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elaborate filigree initials; it received far less intricate and quite ordinarily drawn *initiales champies*.⁴⁴

Given the shared features between the Madrid fragment and F, it is tempting to assume that the former was originally part of a book that did not differ much in volume, artistic ambition and scope from its Florentine counterpart, especially given the likelihood that the manuscript transmitted not only *conducti* but also *clausulae* and *organa*, and possibly other conventional *Ars antiqua* genres such as motets. The question of how the manuscript reached Spain will be addressed in the last section of this article.

In any case, the evidence discussed so far suggests that the Madrid fragment could have originated in the same Parisian workshop that produced F. This raises the question of whether one source was copied from the other, or they were both copied from a common exemplar. In order to shed light on this question we must analyse the musico-poetical transmission of the musical content of the Madrid fragment in all its extant sources.

TRANSMISSION

The textual and musical material available in E-Mn 6528, consisting of the final cauda of *Legem dedit olim Deus* and a great part of *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, allows partial comparison with other sources. Such comparison is nevertheless rather revealing.

First, it will be helpful to examine the textual transmission. The text of *Legem dedit olim Deus* in E-Mn 6528,⁴⁵ compared with all other extant sources of the poem, is given below (all abbreviations have been expanded and identified with the use of italic font; bold signals variants; lacunae are indicated with square brackets). In this case, all readings are essentially identical, even though it can be noted how E-Mn 6528 and F make no use of abbreviations, which on the other

⁴⁴ *Initiales champies* are initials painted with gold on a blue and red background with a white filigree (*ibid.*, p. 87). Despite having a higher rank in the hierarchy of decoration than filigree initials, those provided in LoA are so simple that Everist defines them as 'unprepossessing' (*ibid.*, p. 94). The different ornamental standards of LoA, together with the fact that this manuscript appears as a smaller and less organised collection with respect to F, led Mark Everist to suggest that these two sources respectively 'represent the very finest and the most mediocre production' that the same workshop was capable of (*ibid.*, pp. 93–4).

⁴⁵ From now on, the *conductus* fragment in the back flyleaf is simply identified with the siglum of its host manuscript, that is E-Mn 6528.

hand appear once in W_1 and more distinctly in CH-SGs 383, a thirteenth-century tropary from present-day Switzerland.⁴⁶

E-Mn 6528	F	W_1	CH-SGs 383
[. . . lit]terali	. . . litterali	. . . litterali	. . . lit[ter]ali
spiritalis gratia et	spiritalis gratia et	spiritalis gratia et	spiritalis gratia et
pro morte	pro morte	pro morte	pro morte
temporali	temporali	temporali	temporali
eternalis gloria	eternalis gloria	eternalis gloria	eternalis gloria

Lux illuxit gratiosa offers more material for comparison, as E-Mn 6528 transmits its whole three-stanza poem: some of the variants are worth consideration:

E-Mn 6528	F	W_1	Ma
Lux illuxit	Lux illuxit	Lux illuxit	Lux illuxit
gratiosa novum	gratiosa novum	gratiosa novum	gratiosa novum
ferens gaudium	ferens gaudium	ferens gaudium	ferens gaudium
in hac die	hac in die gloriosa	in hac die	in hac die
gloriosa luminare	luminare	gloriosa luminare	gloriosa luminare
gentium super	gentium super	gentium super	gentium super
nos enituit	nos enituit	nos enituit	nos enituit
In qua forma	In qua forma	In qua forma	[I]n qua forma
spetiosus pre filiis	spetiosus pre filiis	spetiosus pre filiis	spetiosus pre filiis
hominum fructus	hominum fructus	hominum fructus	hominun [sic]
david generosus	davit generosus	david generosus	fructus david
legi ponens	legis ponens	legi ponens	generosus legi
terminum	terminum	terminum	ponens
circumcidi voluit	circumcidi voluit	circumcidi voluit	terminum
			circumcidi voluit
Iuravit david	Iuraravit david	Auravit david	[I] uravit david
dominus et eum	dominus et eum	dominus et eum	dominus et eum
non penituit nam	non penituit nam	non penituit nam	non penitebit
super david	super david	super david	nam super david
solum david de	solum davit de	solum david de	solum david de
fructu posu[it]	fructu posuit	fructu posuit	fructus posuit

In F, the inversion of the words *hac* and *in* in the first stanza (third line) is unique, but may well be ascribed to mere scribal distraction and it does not affect the prosody or the text underlay. W_1 has the single reading *auravit* instead of *iuravit* (third stanza, first line), which is

⁴⁶ An improbable north Italian origin was first suggested in P. Wagner, 'Le manuscrit 383 de la bibliothèque de Saint-Gall', *Revue d'Histoire et de Critique Musicale*, 2 (1902), pp. 289–304. J. Handschin, in 'Conductus-Spicilegien', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 9 (1952), pp. 101–19, at p. 117, proposed that this tropary originated from the French part of Switzerland.

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definitely a mistake. This inaccuracy, however, may have originated in a lack of coordination between scribe and decorator: as a matter of fact, the letter **a** is drawn as a blue minor initial, marking the beginning of a new stanza, and is the result of a stage in the process of manuscript compilation that is distinct from the writing of the main text in black ink.

Similarly, Ma presents the unique reading *penitebit* (third stanza, second line) in place of *penituit* adopted in all other sources. Theoretically, this cannot be considered a mistake, as the meaning of the sentence remains unaltered, except for the verb tense that switches from perfect to future in Ma.⁴⁷ The reason for the different tense lies in the origin of the passage itself, which is a quotation of Psalm 109:4: 'Iuravit Dominus, et non poenitebit eum' (The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent). Ma seems thus to follow the biblical passage more closely; such a variant may have been found in the model used by the scribe of Ma or could even be due to the scribe's inclination to adapt the passage to the sacred text.

Discrepancies between E-Mn 6528 and F involve the words *Iuravit* and *David*: the Madrid fragment presents *David* in all instances (second stanza, third line, and third stanza, first and fourth lines), which is the correct reading, but at the same time has the erroneous *Iuravid* in place of *Iuravit*. F consistently and incorrectly reads *davit* in place of *David*, but has the correct reading *Iuravit*, except for an unnecessary repetition of the syllable *ra*.⁴⁸ These discrepancies may suggest that there is a certain degree of separation between the textual traditions of *Lux illuxit gratiosa* in E-Mn 6528 and F; indeed, they may have originated in the alliterative feature of the passage that perhaps led scribes to confusion. There is even a chance the passage was already corrupt in their supposedly common exemplar, and that different attempts to correct the same error led to different results and different readings.

Consistent with the codicological evidence, the comparison of textual variants seems to indicate that, despite their similarities, E-Mn 6528 and F were not copied from one another but have a collateral relationship to a single model source. The analyses of musical variants of *Legem dedit olim Deus* and *Lux illuxit gratiosa* point to the same conclusion.

The comparison of *Legem dedit olim Deus* transmitted in E-Mn 6528 with the versions copied in the other sources points to variants in the

⁴⁷ This means that, while E-Mn 6528, F and W₁ read 'The Lord swore an oath to David / And did not punish him', Ma has 'The Lord swore an oath to David / And will not punish him'.

⁴⁸ This can be identified as another mistake due to scribal distraction. It is possible that the same can be guessed for the mistaken use in F of the genitive *legis* in place of the correct dative *legi* (second stanza, fourth line).

musical text. Example 1 provides a transcription of the syllabic excerpt transmitted in all the sources.⁴⁹ A unison between duplum and tenor closes the word *litterali* (Example 1, at no. 4).⁵⁰ E-Mn 6528 is the only source with an *e* unison, whereas F and W₁ conclude on *f*. Such a discrepancy may be attributed to scribal inattention in placing the notes on the staff. For example, the interval of a minor second displayed by the Sankt Gallen manuscript (Example 1, at no. 4) is certainly erroneous and suggests that such differences may not depend on separate traditions but rather on copyists' distractions. With a few exceptions consisting mostly of minor notational differences (e.g. duplum, at no. 13; tenor, at no. 14; and duplum, at no. 16), E-Mn 6528 and F generally tend to share the same variants. W₁ and CH-SGs 383 do not differ much either, but both have a unique distinct variant: the former is the only source with a *g-g-a* ascending figure in duplum, at

⁴⁹ All melismatic (*sine littera*) sections of conducti in the following music examples have been interpreted according to the principles of thirteenth-century modal notation. Syllabic (*cum littera*) sections, on the other hand, have been transcribed with stemless note-heads. The rhythm of syllabic sections of conducti in Ars antiqua sources is a convoluted issue which provides wide grounds for scholarly dispute. Gordon Anderson proposed a rhythmic modal interpretation based on a quantitative reading of the poetic metre of the text and supported by later sources transmitting conducti in mensural notation; see G. A. Anderson, 'The Rhythm of cum littera Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26 (1973), pp. 288–304, and Anderson, 'The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript as Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), pp. 480–9. Ernest Sanders suggested an isochronous reading of the syllabic passages, assigning the same value of a *longa trium temporum* to each syllable of the text; see E. H. Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), pp. 439–69. More recently, Christopher Page proposed a rhythmically neutral transcription which accounts for the different possible interpretations and likely fluidity of the rhythm in the syllabic passages of conducti; see C. Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France* (London, 1997), pp. 14, 67. Such a proposition encountered criticism; see, for instance, Theodore Karp's review of Page's abovementioned book in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), pp. 613–19. In this article, we follow Page's suggestion and transcribe syllabic passages with stemless note-heads, using square brackets and dashed slurs to indicate ligatures and *currentes* respectively; this seemed to us to be the most appropriate manner to acknowledge the rhythmical opacity (and perhaps variability) of such passages and the most suitable transcription for the purpose of our article. A brief excursus of scholarly hypotheses and suggestions for the interpretation of *cum littera* sections of conducti is given in J. Mazzeo, 'The Two-Part *Conductus*: Morphology, Dating and Authorship' (Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 2015), pp. 17–18.

⁵⁰ Examples 1 to 8 are provided with numbers (appearing every five units) above the upper staff. These numbers indicate either syllabic units (for the *cum littera* sections) or ternary longs (for the melismatic and modal passages). In this article, numbers are used to refer to specific portions in the examples. Voice parts are specified in the text, but when such distinction is not provided, the passage indicated is considered in both the duplum and tenor.

The image displays a musical score for a polyphonic setting of a Latin text. It consists of four staves, each representing a different voice part. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words in square brackets indicating specific phonetic or orthographic details. The score is divided into measures, with bar numbers 5, 10, 15, 20, and 25 marked at the beginning of each line. The notation includes various rhythmic values (minims, crotchets) and melodic lines with note heads and stems. The lyrics are: [lit] - te - ra - li spi - ri - ta - lis gra - ti - a et pro mor - te tem - po - ra - li e - ter - na - lis glo - ri; lit - te - ra - li spi - ri - ta - lis gra - ti - a et pro mor - te tem - po - ra - li e - ter - na - lis glo - ri; lit - te - ra - li spi - ri - ta - lis gra - ti - a et pro mor - te tem - po - ra - li e - ter - na - lis glo - ri; li - te - ra - li spi - ri - ta - lis gra - ti - a et pro mor - te tem - po - ra - li e - ter - na - lis glo - ri.

Example 1 *Legem dedit olim Deus*, stanza 4, lines 1–4

no. 3, while the latter has a unique and more elaborate ligature pattern at no. 10.

Some slightly sharper differences are noticeable in the concluding cauda of *Legem dedit olim Deus*. Example 2 provides transcriptions of the second *ordo* of the cauda in the four sources. There are essentially no differences between E-Mn 6528, F and W₁, with one exception: in the tenor, ternary long 3, W₁ has a simple binary ligature in place of the *binaria plicata* displayed by both E-Mn 6528 and F. This means that in W₁ we have an uninterrupted first mode *ordo*, while the other two sources have a shortened *fas* as a resulting effect of the *plica*. CH-SGs 383, in addition to its total lack of the typical ligature patterns of the modal system, displays a completely different melodic reading of the passage.

The alignment of E-Mn 6528 and F, their contrast with W₁, and the unmeasured notation of CH-SGs 383 are more apparent in Example 3, which includes the final four *ordines* and the conclusive *punctus organi* of

The image displays a musical score for the final cauda (second ordo) of the hymn *Legem dedit olim Deus*. It is organized into four systems, each consisting of two staves. The first three systems correspond to the sources E-Mn 6528, F, and W₁. In these systems, the upper staff shows a melodic line with a ternary long 3 and a binary ligature, while the lower staff shows a similar melodic line. The fourth system, for CH-SGs 383, shows a completely different melodic reading. The score is in G-clef and 8/8 time, with a key signature of one flat (F major/D minor). The notation includes various ligatures and a final cadence.

Example 2 *Legem dedit olim Deus*, final cauda (second *ordo*)

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Legem dedit olim Deus, final cauda and punctus organi". The score is presented in four systems, each with two staves. The systems are labeled on the left as E-Mn 6528, F, W₁, and CH-SGs 383. Each system begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values (minims, crotchets, quavers) and rests. Brackets and numbers (5, 10, 15) are used to group notes, likely indicating fingerings or breath marks. The word "(gl'ori)" is written below the first staff of each system. The final system (CH-SGs 383) includes a section marked "10" and ends with a double bar line and a final cadence. The notation is dense and characteristic of medieval manuscript notation.

Example 3 *Legem dedit olim Deus, final cauda and punctus organi*

Legem dedit olim Deus. At ternary longs 4 and 12, W_1 lacks the *plicae* which are instead present in both E-Mn 6528 and F, determining a shortening of their preceding notes and a different harmonic and melodic conclusion of the *ordines*. W_1 also provides a unique rhythmic arrangement of the final *ordo*: while E-Mn 6528 and F have a rather straightforward first-mode pattern, interrupted only by a *plica* at ternary long 15, W_1 diverges from this configuration introducing a four-note ligature with *currentes* (duplum, ternary longs 16–17) and two single notes (tenor, ternary longs 16–17) that determine the *extensio modi* of the passage. The *punctus organi* is a further element of disagreement: essentially, no source shares exactly the same reading with another, but while E-Mn 6528, F and CH-SGs 383 display only some slight differences between each other, namely in the melodic ascent from *f/g* to *c'* that introduces the cascade of *currentes* and the note(s) preceding the concluding unison *d*, W_1 has a unique and more elaborate pattern – consisting of a sequence of a *ternaria*, a *quaternaria* and a *binaria* – that precedes the distinctive descending melodic seventh of the *punctus organi*.

As for CH-SGs 383, its melody follows the reading of E-Mn 6528, F and W_1 , with the exception of the five-note ligature in the duplum at no. 12 that ascends to *a* before descending to *d* as the other sources do. Its notation, however, marks a neat distinction between this manuscript and the other sources. CH-SGs 383 tends to lack *plicae* that are present in the other manuscripts (e.g. nos. 3 and 9) and conversely adds them where they are not (e.g. nos. 4, 7 and 10), but most notably, it displays unique non-mensural ligature patterns that do not allow rhythmic interpretation.

The fragment of *Legem dedit olim Deus* transmitted in E-Mn 6528 allowed limited comparison with the complete extant sources of the conductus. Nevertheless, it can be summarised that, whereas a few readings are certainly unique to individual manuscripts, E-Mn 6528 and F have more in common with each other than with the remaining sources. In particular, it seems that W_1 systematically avoids the use of the *plica* within a first-mode context, thus resulting in a typical first-mode long-short pattern, whereas both E-Mn 6528 and F apply the *plica* to the same ligatures, providing a slight deviation from the rhythmic repetition (as in Example 2, tenor) or creating longer *ordines*, where the vertical *tractus* after the *binaria plicata* functions as a mark of alignment rather than a rest (as in Example 3). It thus seems that the scribes of these two sources were following the same notational tradition.

Further evidence comes from the longer fragment of *Lux illuxit gratiosa* transmitted in E-Mn 6528. The transmission of the opening cauda of this conductus is instructive. As evident from Example 4,

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The image displays a musical score for the opening cauda of 'Lux illuxit gratiosa'. It is organized into four systems, each representing a different manuscript source: E-Mn 6528, F, W₁, and Ma. Each system contains two staves, typically a treble clef on top and an alto clef on the bottom. The notation includes various note values, ligatures, and rests. Numerical markers (5, 10, 15) are placed above the staves to indicate specific measures. The word 'Lux' is written below the first staff of each system. The score illustrates differences in ligature arrangements and note durations between the sources, particularly in the upper voices (W₁ and Ma) and the tenor parts (F and E-Mn 6528).

Example 4 *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, opening cauda

E-Mn 6528 and F are identical, except for the missing specification of a *bb* in the first *ordo* in the Madrid fragment.⁵¹ In the duplum (ternary longs 1–7), both sources have the first *ordo* arranged in a typical third-mode pattern, consisting of a single note followed by three ternary ligatures and a rest. The upper voices in W₁ and Ma share a different ligature arrangement of the *ordo*, which displays an isolated note followed by a ternary and binary ligature in succession: this passage can be transcribed as first mode with *extensio modi*. The comparison of the tenor parts reveals the same differences: F and E-Mn 6528 both have, after four ternary longs, a binary and ternary ligature; W₁ and Ma instead invert the order of these ligatures, suggesting a different arrangement of short and long durations.

⁵¹ Thirteenth-century sources, however, are rather inconsistent in indicating accidentals.

The image displays a musical score for four different manuscript sources: E-Mn 6528, F, W₁, and Ma. Each source is represented by two staves: a vocal line and a lute line. The vocal lines contain the lyrics 'glo - ri - o - sa lu - mi - na - re gen - ti - um su - per nos' and are marked with measure numbers 5, 10, and 15. The lute lines contain tablature. The notation shows differences in ligature patterns and rhythmic arrangements between the sources, particularly in the tenor part.

Example 5 *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, stanza 1, lines 3–5

Similarly, the comparison of the second *ordo* in the four sources confirms the alignment of F and E-Mn 6528 on the one hand and W₁ and Ma on the other: in particular, the dissimilar ligature patterns in the tenor (1, 1, 1, 2, 3, 1 in F and E-Mn 6528; 1, 1, 3, 3, 1 in W₁ and Ma) determine different rhythmic arrangements, which in turn bring different rhythmic interpretations of the duplum parts, which otherwise display rather similar configurations in all manuscripts.

The first syllabic section of *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (Example 5) also displays some minor variants that highlight the association of E-Mn 6528 and F in opposition to W₁ and Ma. For instance, the syllable *glo* in the tenor part (at no. 1) in both E-Mn 6528 and F has a ternary ligature with *currentes* (essentially a *climacus*), while the other two sources have a two-note ligature. Also, it is possible to notice how the syllable *gen* in the duplum (at no. 9) is sung on a note with an additional ascending *plica* in

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both E-Mn 6528 and F, while the other two manuscripts have a simple binary ligature and no *plica*. Likewise, the short rhythmic passage (ternary longs 12–16) at the end of Example 5 reveals some differences that are indicative of the consistency between E-Mn 6528 and F: both manuscripts make the identical use of rests in this section, whereas W_1 and Ma lack almost all the rests and also tend to slightly disagree here (Ma has even a unique placement of the word *super*, resulting in the passage being sung almost entirely on the syllable *per* rather than *su*).

The cauda that concludes the first stanza of *Lux illuxit gratiosa* (see Example 6) confirms again the close correspondence between E-Mn 6528 and F as opposed to the alignment of Ma and W_1 . Within this *sine littera* passage, the Madrid fragment and F agree essentially in all aspects, except in the very final part (ternary longs 30–3), where the reiteration of a pitch and a different ligature pattern in F lead to a slightly different rhythmic arrangement. W_1 displays essentially the same version, with some minor variants in the duplum (ternary longs 6–7 and 14–15) and a different rhythmic pattern in both parts towards the end of the melisma (ternary longs 27–33), determined by a different grouping of ligatures, lack of rests and repetition of pitches. Contrary to expectations, Ma does not align with W_1 , but neither does it with E-Mn 6528 or F: instead, it displays a unique and sharply distinct rhythm characterised by ternary longs, mostly repeating the same pitch, and sparser ligatures. The result is a longer, slower cauda that shares the same melody with the other three sources but deviates from these sources in terms of rhythm.

There are a number of possible explanations for why Ma, which so far seemed to align with W_1 , takes its own path in this passage. The divergence may be attributed, for instance, to the scribe of Ma, who might deliberately have modified a passage given in his exemplar. But it may well be that the longer version of the cauda was already present there. In the absence of the models used by scribes in putting together their collections, coupled with the fact that we cannot precisely determine how the process of compiling a book of polyphony took place, both explanations are equally plausible. Despite the fact that Ma presents this unique variant, its version of *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, as seen in previous comparisons, nevertheless pairs with the one provided in W_1 rather than that given in E-Mn 6528 and F. This is further confirmed by additional passages of the conductus.

Example 7 presents the ending of the cauda that opens the third stanza of *Lux illuxit gratiosa*. Again, E-Mn 6528 and F share the same ligature patterns in both parts (1, 2, 3, etc.). These patterns are essentially inverted in W_1 and Ma (1, 3, 2, etc.), resulting in a different arrangement of short and long values. Another noticeable variant

E-Mh 6528

(enitu)

F

(enitu)

W₁

(enitu)

Ma

(enitu)

Example 6 *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, stanza 1, line 5 (cauda)

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The image displays a musical score for four voices: E-Mn 6528, F, W₁, and Ma. Each voice part is represented by two staves of music. The score is organized into four systems, each corresponding to one of the voices. The first system is labeled 'E-Mn 6528' and the others 'F', 'W₁', and 'Ma'. Each system contains two staves of music with various annotations including measure numbers (20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45) and 'it.' markings. Brackets and dashed lines connect notes across staves, indicating polyphonic relationships and phrasing.

The image shows a musical score for four different sources: E-Mn 6528, F, W₁, and Ma. Each source has a vocal line and a corresponding line of lyrics. The lyrics are: (lu) - - - - ra - vit, (lu) - - - - ra - ra - vit, (Au) - - - - ra - vit, and ((I)u) - - - - ra - vit. The score includes a five-measure rest (plica) on the syllable 'ra' in the first two staves.

Example 7 *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, stanza 3, line 1 (opening cauda)

appears in the tenor, at no. 7 on the syllable *ra*: E-Mn 6528 and F have a repeated *a* with an ascending *plica* added, whereas both W₁ and Ma have a four-note ligature with no repeated note and no *plica*.

An additional variant that further separates E-Mn 6528 and F from W₁ and Ma can be noticed in Example 8. The beginning of the cauda that concludes the conductus on the syllable *su* is notated in the duplum (ternary longs 8–11) with the same pattern of two longs followed by a ternary ligature in E-Mn 6528 and F, even though F adds a rest between the second *longa* and the *ternaria*. W₁ and Ma instead present a common pattern made of a long, a ternary ligature and another long (which in W₁ is followed by a rest that is not provided in Ma). This passage is not identical in any of the sources, but still the rhythmic solutions adopted support once more the association of E-Mn 6528 and F – in opposition to the variant shared by W₁ and Ma – that we have observed so far. Other

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The image displays a musical score for a polyphonic setting. It consists of four staves, each representing a different manuscript source: E-Mn 6528, F, W₁, and Ma. Each staff shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are 'da - vid de fru - ctu po - su'. The score is divided into two systems, with measure numbers 5 and 10 indicated above the staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values and melodic contours, with some sources showing slight variations in the melodic line.

Example 8 *Lux illuxit gratiosa*, stanza 3, line 4

variations can be noticed in the *cum littera* section preceding the cauda: at the duplum at nos. 3 and 4, for instance, there is a slight inconsistency among all sources with the exception of E-Mn 6528 and Ma, which share the same reading (it is mostly a matter of the lack or presence of *plicas*, even though the descending melodic excerpt from *c'* to *g* is maintained in all manuscripts). More consistent is the unique variant in W₁ in the tenor at no. 6, which organises its descending pattern from *f* to *c* with a combination of a ternary and a binary ligature, whereas all other sources have a simpler *climacus*.

Despite the few discrepancies identified, it seems clear that the musical tradition presented in E-Mn 6528 is closely related to that provided by F. W₁ and Ma appear to follow and share a distinct tradition, while CH-SGs 383 seems to follow its own non-modal interpretation of *Legem dedit olim Deus* that includes a few unique melodic variants that can

either be due to the scribe's intervention or a different tradition of the conductus. This is unsurprising, since this tropary is fairly different in appearance and content from the other sources.

One of the most notable aspects of the comparison given above is that the ligature patterns displayed by E-Mn 6528 tend to be the same as those used in F, in opposition to the solutions adopted in W_1 and Ma. In particular, E-Mn 6528 and F use ligature patterns that gesture towards third-mode rhythms, whereas the same passages in W_1 and Ma are notated in the first mode (see Examples 4 and 7 above). This specific divergence may be seen as indicative of the reading in W_1 and Ma being earlier, and possibly closer to a lost archetype,⁵² than that provided in E-Mn 6528 and F: both Ernest Sanders and Edward Roesner suggested that the main pre-modal rhythmic principle of early Parisian polyphony was a long–short pattern that was later classified by theorists as first mode.⁵³ It might thus be possible that, to some extent, the notational (and therefore rhythmic) choices adopted by E-Mn 6528 and F represent a later revision and update of the older version given in W_1 and Ma, whose modal notations are still

⁵² This hypothesis is proposed in M. Everist, 'A New Source for the Polyphonic Conductus: MS 117* in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 3 (1994), pp. 149–68, at p. 165.

⁵³ Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', pp. 449–50; E. H. Roesner, 'The Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*', in E. K. Wolf and E. H. Roesner (eds.), *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue* (Madison, Wis., 1990), pp. 41–74, at p. 47. Both scholars mention passages in the anonymous *Discantus positio vulgaris* and Anonymous IV's treatise that make reference to some basic rules governing pre-modal notation; see *Hieronymus de Moravia, O.P., Tractatus de musica*, ed. S. M. Cserba, *Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (Regensburg, 1935), p. 190, and *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, ed. F. Reckow, *Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 4–5 (Wiesbaden, 1967), i, pp. 45–6. In J. Knapp, 'Two XIII Century Treatises on Modal Rhythm and the Discant: *Discantus positio vulgaris*, *De musica libellus* (Anonymous VII)', *Journal of Music Theory*, 6 (1962), pp. 200–15, the *Discantus positio vulgaris* is dated around 1230–40 (p. 202). More recently, Sandra Pinegar has widened these dates to between 1220 and 1280 in 'On Rhythmic Modes', *Theoria*, 8 (1994), pp. 73–112, at pp. 76, 80. The treatise survives only in the revised and later compilation by Jerome of Moravia, who made his redaction of this work in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Thus, only a few sections of the treatise can be understood as representative of an early modal theory, as highlighted in F. Reckow, 'Proprietas und Perfectio: Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert', *Acta Musicologica*, 39 (1967), pp. 115–43, at pp. 137–8. Sanders maintains that the earlier section of the treatise (where the passage regarding pre-modal notation appears) may date to the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', p. 444). The most recent edition of Jerome's treatise is *Hieronymi de Moravia Tractatus de musica*, ed. C. Meyer, G. Lobrichon and C. Hertel-Geay, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 250 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 2–270. Anonymous IV's *Musica* is dated to after 1272 by Reckow in his edition of the treatise (Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat*, i, p. 50), while E. H. Roesner, in 'Who Made the "Magnus Liber"?', *Early Music History*, 20 (2001), pp. 227–66, at p. 230, suggested that the text could be some decades later than 1272.

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somehow connected to the pre-modal predominance of the long–short–long pattern. It would not, however, be wise to mark the reading of W_1 and Ma as ‘original’, as it is not possible to determine the exact span of time that separates the creation of a conductus from the moment it was written down into a manuscript collection.⁵⁴ Moreover, the idea of an original form of the repertory implies a certain stability of the repertory itself, and such stability is yet to be demonstrated or discarded. Be that as it may, the notational correspondences between E-Mn 6528 and F are indicative of a shared musical house-style.

FROM A PARISIAN WORKSHOP TO AN IBERIAN BOOKBINDER

When the considerations of the musical congruence of the Madrid fragment with F are combined with the codicological and palaeographical denominators common to the two sources, it is reasonable to conclude that they are closely connected. Rather than a lineal relationship, where one manuscript is copied from the other, the evidence discussed above suggests that the two sources are collaterally related and derive from a common musical and codicological model. This model must have been held in a Parisian workshop and functioned as the benchmark for the production of polyphonic books with almost identical characteristics.⁵⁵ The rather minor inconsistencies between F and E-Mn 6528 hardly contradict the notion that the two manuscripts were compiled from the same exemplar. These inconsistencies could simply be explained by assuming that the transmission of polyphony was rarely a purely mechanical process, and that experienced scribes often acted as ‘editors’. Catherine Bradley has recently drawn attention to the possibility that the scribe of F may have been directly responsible for the reworking of some motets and conductus-motets.⁵⁶ Yet the discrepancies found in the conductus of E-Mn 6528 and F are so trivial that they cannot be characterised as the result of a reworking process.

⁵⁴ The conductus, in particular, was possibly cultivated in Paris since the 1160s: see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 68; E. H. Sanders, ‘Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus’, in L. Dittmer (ed.), *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen* (Henryville, Ottawa and Binnigen, 1984), ii, pp. 505–30; and T. B. Payne, ‘Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique’, *Current Musicology*, 64 (1998), pp. 104–51. On aspects of chronology in general, see M. Everist, ‘The Thirteenth Century’, in M. Everist (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 65–86.

⁵⁵ See Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 68.

⁵⁶ C. Bradley, ‘Re-workings and Chronological Dynamics in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Motet Family’, *Journal of Musicology*, 32 (2015), pp. 153–97.

Rather, they might be the result of a flexible approach to the process of copying, in which the scribe felt free to contribute with his own experience and view of performance practice.⁵⁷

What is striking here is the apparently well-structured chain production of books around the mid-thirteenth century. The process involved scribes and artists from different shops.⁵⁸ F, for instance, was furnished with text and music by a scribe and a notator, then sent to an artist who drew filigree minor initials, and finally to a painter working in the Johannes Grusch atelier.⁵⁹ One wonders whether E-Mn 6528 may have followed the same itinerary. It is also reasonably apparent that

⁵⁷ Looking at the transmission of *organum purum* and discant in the Ars antiqua manuscripts, Edward Roesner has emphasised the high degree of conspicuous variation between sources found side by side with passages that present nearly no modifications from one manuscript to the other, at times even within the same piece, thus suggesting that copying and composing music may not have been thought of as distinct activities by Ars antiqua scribes. Roesner, 'Who Made the "Magnus Liber"?'', pp. 233–4.

⁵⁸ Collaboration of artisans from different workshops was a common practice in cities like Paris, Oxford and Bologna, where the demand for newly copied books was obviously higher than anywhere else; see R. Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origin of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), pp. 24–30, at p. 4.

⁵⁹ At least three more thirteenth-century music manuscripts were decorated in the Johannes Grusch atelier: a noted breviary dating between 1239 and 1253 (F-Pn lat. 15613), a noted missal copied after 1247 (F-Pn lat. 9441) and a compilation of Dominican liturgy dated to c. 1260–2 (GB-Lbl Add. 23935); see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 75–7, and Giraud, 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts', pp. 122–7. Both breviary and missal were compiled for the use of Paris. The former, as shown in C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 257, n. 73, seems to share certain liturgical characteristics with F, while the latter was most likely compiled for the Parisian cathedral itself; see M. Huglo, 'Notated Performance Practices in Parisian Chant Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century', in T. Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 32–44, at pp. 34 and 38–9. These two service-books were also decorated with minor initials which were the work of the same artist, although they were written and noted separately (Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 94–5). GB-Lbl Add. 23935 was a liturgical exemplar destined for the Master General of the Dominican Order and copied in the convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris, which in the thirteenth century seems to have hired a number of text and music scribes from the professional Parisian book trade, as widely discussed in E. Giraud, 'The Dominican Scriptorium at Saint-Jacques, and its Production of Liturgical Exemplars', in A. Nievergelt, R. Gamper, M. Bernasconi Reusser, B. Ebersperger and E. Tremp (eds.), *Scriptorium: Wesen – Funktion – Eigenheiten. Comité international de paléographie latine, XVIII. Kolloquium. St. Gallen 11.–14. September 2013* (Munich, 2015), pp. 247–58. All three chant manuscripts were copied by scribes using *littera textualis* bookhand and *nota quadrata* notation that share common traits but were most likely drawn by distinct individuals, who, in turn, cannot be identified with any of those who worked on F, E-Mn 6528, or LoA. Reproductions of F-Pn lat. 15613 and 9441 are available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90726584.r=15613?rk=21459;2> and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067739d.r=9441?rk=21459;2> respectively.

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E-Mn 6528 and F, as well as LoA, were all produced over a relatively brief chronological span, sometime between 1245 and 1255.⁶⁰

The hypothesis that F, LoA and E-Mn 6528 represent evidence of the multiple production of books of polyphony, which were issued by the same workshop with identical formats, shared contents and clearly recognisable house-style features, brings to mind the *pecia* system adopted for university texts. A *pecia* is a separate portion of a complete work that university stationers would rent to students, masters and scribes, thus facilitating the process of multiple, simultaneous copying of the same book.⁶¹ This system started to be regulated by the University of Paris only between the third and the last quarter of the thirteenth century,⁶² roughly one generation after the production of F, LoA and E-Mn 6528. However, the system was already in place in Paris decades before the university and the city stationers standardised it. The Paris Dominicans of the rue St-Jacques, for instance, applied their own form of chain reproduction by copying from unbound quires, called *pecias*, before 1250.⁶³ Manuscripts copied from *pecia* were therefore not necessarily associated with university teaching.⁶⁴ Workshops produced books in pieces (gatherings and fascicles) without adopting the *pecia* system *strictu sensu*.⁶⁵ Lay bookmakers soon saw the

⁶⁰ See *French Thirteenth-Century Polyphony in the British Library*, ed. Everist, p. 47.

⁶¹ See J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du xiii^e et du xiv^e siècle* (Paris, 1935); see also G. Pollard, 'The "Pecia" System in the Medieval Universities', in M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), pp. 145–61, at pp. 145–8.

⁶² Pollard, 'The "Pecia" System', pp. 145–8; and Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 163–4.

⁶³ Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000), i, pp. 85–6; and Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, p. 164.

⁶⁴ One example is the manuscript F-Pn lat. 16663 (compiled sometime between 1272 and 1306 and divided into *pecie*), the only extant copy of a music theory collection compiled by Jerome of Moravia, a Dominican friar active in the second half of the thirteenth century in Paris at the St-Jacques convent. See C. Page, 'Jerome of Moravia and the Rubeba and Viella', *Galpin Society Journal*, 32 (1979), pp. 77–98, at pp. 77–80; and J. Dyer, 'Speculative "Musica" and the Medieval University of Paris', *Music & Letters*, 90 (2009), pp. 177–204, at pp. 186–7. The practice of copying quire by quire may have been imported from Bologna to the Dominican convent in Paris, from which, in turn, it spread to the stationers and workshops of the rue St-Jacques, as proposed in Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, p. 86. A digital reproduction of F-Pn lat. 16663 is available online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432480x.r=16663?rk=42918;4>. Joseph Dyer deemed the possibility that Jerome's text was copied for university purposes quite unlikely, as its rather practical contents would not meet the speculative nature of the university curriculum, which, moreover, did not seem to include a systematic teaching of music during the thirteenth century. Dyer, 'Speculative "Musica"', pp. 186–7.

⁶⁵ Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 164, 169.

prospective economic advantages of chain production as devised by the Dominicans, and started to adapt the system to their purposes.⁶⁶

The reconstruction of the exemplars of LoA and E-Mn 6528 is a matter nearly left to speculation. The very likely prospect that F was put together by copying from distinct exemplars,⁶⁷ however, matches the standardised book-making practices in thirteenth-century Paris. In his description of thirteenth-century Parisian books of polyphony, Anonymous IV, writing in the late thirteenth century about events he may have witnessed several decades earlier, gives details of different and separate manuscript entities (*volumina*)⁶⁸ which bear close similarities to the identifiable subsections of F, their coherence being determined essentially by the number of voices and musical genre. Mark Everist has recently proposed that Anonymous IV based his description of two-part conductus *volumina* on his – at times hazy – memory of what might have been the exemplars of F.⁶⁹

One can thus imagine a Parisian workshop holding Anonymous IV's *volumina*, each transmitting pieces with certain characteristics. Multiple scribes would be given one *volumen* each and could even work simultaneously. Yet whereas scribes operating in the same workshop would use these *volumina* to copy music on parchment prepared with identical mise-en-page, their attitude towards the repertory, as well as conditions of compilation and fascicular construction, might vary. The compiler of F was determined – or requested – to include as much material and in the most complete form as possible, while that of LoA

⁶⁶ Another example of Parisian pre-*pecia* systematic reproduction of books is provided by the manuscripts F-Pn lat. 8617A and lat. 6631, copies of Seneca and Ps. Seneca which – like F, LoA and E-Mn 6528 – share the exact same mise-en-page but were written by different scribes and decorated by distinct artists; see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 167–8.

⁶⁷ The intricate relations between certain clausulae and motets in F – some stemming from the same exemplar and others from distinct ones, as demonstrated by Baltzer and Bradley – strongly suggests that the makers of this manuscript relied on a number of distinct exemplars. R. Baltzer, 'Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula' (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1964), pp. 96–7 and C. Bradley, 'Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), pp. 1–70, at pp. 21–2.

⁶⁸ Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat*, i, p. 82.

⁶⁹ In particular, Everist noticed that Anonymous IV's distinction of *volumina* transmitting conducti with *caudae* from those having conducti without *caudae* coincides (to some extent but not entirely) to the division of the seventh fascicle of F, which transmits 130 two-part conducti and presents five subsections, all but one identified by historiated initials; three of these subsections consist exclusively of conducti with *caudae*, while the remaining ones mix both syllabic and melismatic pieces. These aspects are discussed in M. Everist, 'Anonymous IV and the Conductus', unpublished paper presented at the 45th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Prague, 2017.

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had a more idiosyncratic approach to the repertory transmitted in the exemplars and made a selection of pieces (four organa, three motets and five conducti), some of which he did not bother to copy in their full versions.⁷⁰

These different approaches to the corpus of polyphony, and perhaps the variable circumstances of fascicular production, are clearly mirrored by the different standards of decoration, very high in F and the rather modest in LoA, and suggest the workshop's ability to adjust its work to satisfy different standards of commission and their budgets. The two-part conductus fascicles of E-Mn 6528 and F were possibly copied from the same booklet (or *volumen*).

Given the shared features of E-Mn 6528 and F, it seems reasonable to assume that the manuscript from which the fragment originated held a status comparable to that of F. Since a royal context for F seems plausible, one wonders whether the Ars antiqua fragment of E-Mn 6528 was the product of an equally high-ranking commission. In 1987 Rebecca Baltzer identified seventeen lost Notre-Dame manuscripts in catalogues of medieval libraries of Europe.⁷¹ Judging from the very brief descriptions given in these catalogues, most of these manuscripts seem to have shared (to what extent is obviously impossible to determine) the same contents and organisation of F, beginning with four-part organa (notably, the gradual *Viderunt omnes*) and ending with monophonic pieces. Unsurprisingly, these books once belonged to personalities and institutions such as Pope Boniface VIII, King Edward I of England, the Sorbonne in Paris, and St Paul's Cathedral in London.⁷²

Thus far there is no demonstrable evidence that the same workshop where F, LoA and E-Mn 6528 were possibly compiled produced many other similar manuscripts. However, it is entirely plausible that a Parisian workshop producing volumes of Ars antiqua polyphony was a successful business; its co-ordinators took care to acquire fine-quality parchment and hire professional scribes, notators specialised in polyphonic music,⁷³

⁷⁰ LoA presents a selection of certain sections of organum and does not provide the strophic conducti with the residuum text for additional stanzas; see *French Thirteenth-Century Polyphonic Music in the British Library*, ed. Everist, pp. 51–4.

⁷¹ R. A. Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), pp. 380–99.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Anonymous IV reports the names of a few *notatores*, that is music scribes, who were active in thirteenth-century Paris (see Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat*, i, p. 50); some of them may have well been involved in the making of professional collections of polyphony. On this topic, see J. Haines, 'Anonymous IV as an Informant on the Craft of Music Writing', *Journal of Musicology*, 23 (2006), pp. 375–425.

skilled pen-flourishers and – at least in the case of F, which was a royal commission – talented illuminators.⁷⁴

We do not know who commissioned the manuscript from which the *Ars antiqua* fragment in E-Mn 6528 was copied, nor can we determine when, how and why the unbound gathering(s) arrived in the Iberian Peninsula. Yet we can imagine a number of possible scenarios. The only fact we can assume with a high degree of certainty is that the parchment was available to a *mudéjar* bookbinder in fifteenth-century Spain. Physical evidence suggests that the fragment had not been used as recycled material prior to its insertion into the binding of E-Mn 6528. It seems rather unlikely that waste material travelled more than 600 miles for the mere purpose of being recycled.⁷⁵ It is thus reasonable to assume that the *Ars antiqua* manuscript arrived in the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century, when it was still regarded as a valuable manuscript.

Castilians had been active at the French court in Paris ever since 1200, the year in which Blanche of Castile went there as the future wife of Louis VIII, becoming mother of Louis IX, with emissaries from her sister Queen Berenguela – whose official residence was the royal palace in Las Huelgas of Burgos. The two sisters Blanche and Berenguela, each a dominant figure in affairs of state,⁷⁶ served as dynamic poles for the transmission of cultural currents.⁷⁷ This connection

⁷⁴ The first verso of F presents a full-page miniature with representations of Boethius' *musica mundana*, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis*; in addition, there are fourteen historiated initials with figures inspired by the text that they introduce; see Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1*, pp. 59–63. The illuminations have been identified as being realised within the Parisian atelier of Johannes Grush between 1245 and 1255: see Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures', p. 15; Branner, 'The Johannes Grush Atelier', pp. 24–30; and Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, pp. 74–5.

⁷⁵ It is widely acknowledged that bookbinding workshops were usually provided with waste material from obsolete manuscripts sold very cheaply by local individuals or local institutions such as cathedrals and monasteries. There is no evidence for an international trade of waste parchment.

⁷⁶ Blanche acted as queen regent of France from 1226 to 1234 (her son Louis IX being underage), and again from 1248 to 1252, when Louis left for the seventh crusade. Berenguela was queen consort of León from 1197 to 1206, queen regent of Castile from 1214 to 1217, queen of Castile by own right in 1217, and the counsellor of the king of Castile-León until her death in 1246. On the long-sustained relationship between the two queens, Blanche and Berenguela, see F. J. Hernández, 'La corte de Fernando III y la casa real de Francia: Documentación, crónicas y monumentos', in J. I. Ruiz de la Peña (ed.), *Fernando III y su tiempo* (Ávila, 2003), pp. 103–55, at pp. 131–2. See also H. S. Martínez, *Berenguela la Grande y su época* (Madrid, 2012), and M. Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180–1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York, 2009). See also P. Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Malden, Mass., 2008), pp. 57–9.

⁷⁷ See J. Hernández and P. P. Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal: The Life and Times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Florence, 2004), p. 41.

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explains, for example, the presence of ‘political’ monophonic conducti with texts by Philippe the Chancellor in the Las Huelgas codex.⁷⁸ Many other notable figures of the Castilian political and ecclesiastical scene were present in Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada – intellectual, historian, royal chancellor and influential archbishop of Toledo between 1209 and 1247 – studied in Paris and later returned there as a diplomat and royal chancellor. Archbishop Ximénez, who most likely met Philippe the Chancellor and Perotinus in Paris, must have played a crucial role in the introduction of French polyphony to the Cathedral of Toledo.⁷⁹ In the 1240s, two sons of the king of Castile were also sent to study in Paris: Infante Felipe and Infante Sancho, future archbishops of Seville and Toledo respectively. By 1248, the Castilian prospect at the very summit of French royalty continued to be highly promising. In April of that year, the new archbishop of Toledo Juan de Medina was invited to officiate at the consecration of the Sainte-Chapelle as the only foreign prelate present at that solemn and highly charged occasion. One month later, Louis IX offered him various gifts, including a fragment of the True Cross and other relics, which made their way to Toledo.⁸⁰ Masters of polyphony (*organistae*) are documented in Toledo Cathedral since the twelfth and throughout the thirteenth century; Archbishop Juan de Medina might therefore have been interested in acquiring a new manuscript of Parisian polyphony. The cathedrals of Burgos and León were also deeply influenced by Parisian art and culture, and there is evidence that their bishops and cantors were particularly interested in polyphony.⁸¹

Any member of the Castilian royal family and high clergy (bishops, archbishops, *infantes*) with direct contacts in Paris could have acted as potential commissioners of a beautiful Parisian manuscript of polyphonic music. The royal connection, however, deserves further exploration. In the 1250s, Alfonso X began to plan an extremely ambitious strategy aimed at pushing his own candidacy for the Holy Roman Imperial crown. Alfonso’s plan included the union of the

⁷⁸ Burgos, Biblioteca del Monasterio de Las Huelgas, MS 11 (*olim* MS IX). The manuscript was compiled in the royal abbey of Las Huelgas c. 1340. See Catalunya, ‘Music, Space and Ceremony’, pp. 87–258. See also N. Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid, 2004).

⁷⁹ D. Catalunya, ‘Thirteenth-Century *Organistae* in Castile’, in H. Fidon (ed.), *Medieval Organ Art*, Orgelpark Research Reports, 4 (Amsterdam, 2017), pp. 105–40, at p. 108 (e-book available at www.orgelpark.nl).

⁸⁰ Hernández, ‘La corte de Fernando III’, pp. 131–2; Hernández and Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal*, pp. 59–64.

⁸¹ See Catalunya, ‘Thirteenth-Century *Organistae* in Castile’.

kingdoms of France and Castile. In 1255, the kings of France and Castile agreed to betrothe their respective heirs – the first-born son of Louis IX and Alfonso's eldest daughter, Berenguela, at the time the heir to the Castilian throne.⁸² In June of that same year, Alfonso's chancellor took part in an espousal ceremony in Paris on behalf of the bride. The dynastic project failed because the French heir died prematurely and a boy was born to Alfonso. In any case, negotiations and contacts between the two courts during the early 1250s must have implied an intense cultural exchange, in which ceremonies and gifts played an essential role.

In the 1260s, a new Franco-Castilian project began to take shape. In 1266, Alfonso sent his emissaries from Seville to Paris to negotiate the marriage of his new heir, Alfonso de la Cerda, to the daughter of Louis IX, Blanche of France. The Franco-Castilian wedding finally took place in Burgos in 1269 with the greatest solemnity.⁸³ The extravagant ceremony was split between the Royal Abbey of Las Huelgas and the cathedral. Francisco Hernández argues that it was most likely on this occasion that Alfonso X received the three lavishly illuminated volumes of the *Bible moralisée* – the so-called 'Bible of St Louis' now preserved in the Cathedral Library of Toledo – as a gift from Louis IX.⁸⁴ This extremely fine product of Parisian craftsmanship dates back to Blanche of Castile's first regency and may actually have been commissioned by Blanche herself for her young son Louis IX.⁸⁵ The three volumes, mentioned in Alfonso X's last will,⁸⁶ ended up in the treasury of the Cathedral of Toledo sometime after Alfonso's death in 1284. In the same last will, Alfonso X mentioned at least one other book in four volumes from Louis IX.⁸⁷ One could speculate whether the French

⁸² See F. J. Hernández, 'Relaciones de Alfonso X con Inglaterra y Francia', *Alcanate: Revista de Estudios Alfonsíes*, 4 (2004–2005), pp. 167–242.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 195–7.

⁸⁴ See F. J. Hernández, 'The Bible of Saint Louis in the Chapels Royal of France and Castile', in M. Moleiro (ed.), *Bible of Saint Louis. Commentary volume* (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 19–39; Hernández, 'Two Weddings and a Funeral: Alfonso X's Monuments in Burgos', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 13 (2012), pp. 407–33; Hernández, 'Relaciones de Alfonso X con Inglaterra y Francia'. See also Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300*, p. 160; P. Büttner, 'Bilder zum betreten der Zeit: Bible Moralisée und Kapetingisches Königtum' (Ph.D. diss., University of Basel, 2002), p. 50.

⁸⁵ See Hernández, 'The Bible of Saint Louis', pp. 19–20.

⁸⁶ A Bible 'en tres libros, ystoriada de dentro, que nos dió el rey don Loys de Francia' ('in three books, illuminated inside, given to us by King Louis of France'). Will dated 10 January 1284. *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. M. González Jiménez (Seville, 1991), no. 521, p. 559.

⁸⁷ 'los quatro libros que llaman *Espejo ystorial* que mandó facer el rey don Loys de Francia' ('the four books called *Espejo ystorial* commissioned by King Louis of France'). *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. González Jiménez, no. 521, p. 559.

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king also sent a book of Parisian polyphony to his daughter's father-in-law, a very fitting gift for a music lover like Alfonso X the Wise.⁸⁸ This would be in agreement with the highly regarded status of a manuscript like F.⁸⁹ Another possibility left to speculation is whether the *Ars antiqua* manuscript from which the Madrid fragment was torn belonged to the private chapel of Louis IX's daughter, Blanche of France, whose possessions passed through different hands after her hasty flight from Castile in 1278.⁹⁰

Be that as it may, the *Ars antiqua* fragment E-Mn 6528 sheds new light on the context of the production the largest, principal extant source of Notre-Dame polyphony, F. The sources of thirteenth-century polyphony that have survived practically untouched by the merciless vicissitudes of time have done so because of 'historical caprice', to borrow Craig Wright's words.⁹¹ As a matter of fact, whereas F remained nearly undamaged in the hands of the Medici family, even escaping the iconoclastic fury of Giacomo Savonarola and his followers in the late fifteenth century,⁹² its 'sister' codex, now witnessed by the fragments in E-Mn 6528, was dispersed, leaving only a small trace of its existence.

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⁸⁸ Alfonso simply mentions 'other books' from his own chapel. For a discussion of Alfonso's personal interest in polyphonic music and other sources of French polyphony that can be related to his Royal Chapel, see Catalunya, 'Music, Space and Ritual', pp. 32, 34, 63–84; Catalunya, 'Polyphonic Music at the Court of Alfonso X the Wise' (forthcoming).

⁸⁹ Hagg and Huglo ('*Magnus liber – Maius munus*', p. 202) suggested that F may have been offered to Piero de' Medici as a 'diplomatic gift', perhaps by Louis XI, who even granted the Florentine rulers the right to use the Capetian fleur-de-lys in their coat of arms. A possible indication of the presence of F among the personal books of the French kings, before it was sent to Florence, is found in Charles V's inventory of 1373–1424, where an entry provides the description of a book that might well have been F. Interestingly, this inventory mentions two other books transmitting *Ars antiqua* repertory, and it is reasonable to assume that Charles V's predecessor may have owned even more. See *ibid.*, pp. 227–8, and Appendix I, available online at: <http://www.music.umd.edu/sites/music.umd.edu/files/Magnus%20Liber-%20-%20Maius%20Munus%20AppendiceAppendix%20I.pdf>. See also Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners', pp. 396–7.

⁹⁰ The premature death of her husband in 1275, heir to the crown of Castile, caused a crisis of succession that gave rise to a civil war in Castile. Hernández suggests that, rather than a gift, Alfonso X might have taken possession of the 'Bible of Saint Louis' from his daughter-in-law's chapel or from that of Alfonso de la Cerda – whose funerary chapel stood in Las Huelgas of Burgos. See Hernández, 'The Bible of Saint Louis', pp. 31 and 33.

⁹¹ Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris*, p. 268.

⁹² Masani Ricci, *Il Codice Phuteo 29.I*, p. 25.

