

MUSIC AND THEORY IN LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS:
THE MANUSCRIPT PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, *FONDS LAT.* 11266

By

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THE RARITY of thirteenth-century manuscript sources containing representative examples from both musical and theoretical traditions is a notorious disadvantage to any study of the polyphony of the *ars antiqua*. Such a source is the earliest recension of Lambertus's *Tractatus de musica*, now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris under the shelf number 11266, which transmits seven thirteenth-century double motets¹. However, one ought not simply to assume that the musical compositions illustrate the practice of the treatise, as both Coussemaker (1865, 169ff) and Ludwig (1910, 1/2, 590ff) did. Even since then, most critics have followed the assumptions of these two authors (Gennrich 1957, XLII; Anderson 1971, 39; Norwood 1978, 80; Baltzer 1980). An examination of the data on which these hypotheses are based may lead to a re-assessment of the relationship between music and theory in this manuscript and may suggest alternative interpretations.

The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 11266 (hereafter *P11266*) contains forty-one folios: the *Tractatus de musica* of Lambertus extends to folio 35r, and the seven motets from folio 35v to the end. The quiring of the manuscript suggests that the motets may be integral to the rest of the book, since there appears to be no question of their being contained in a *libellus*². The manuscript consists of five quires, the last being divided between the motets and the treatise (see diagram in fig. 1).

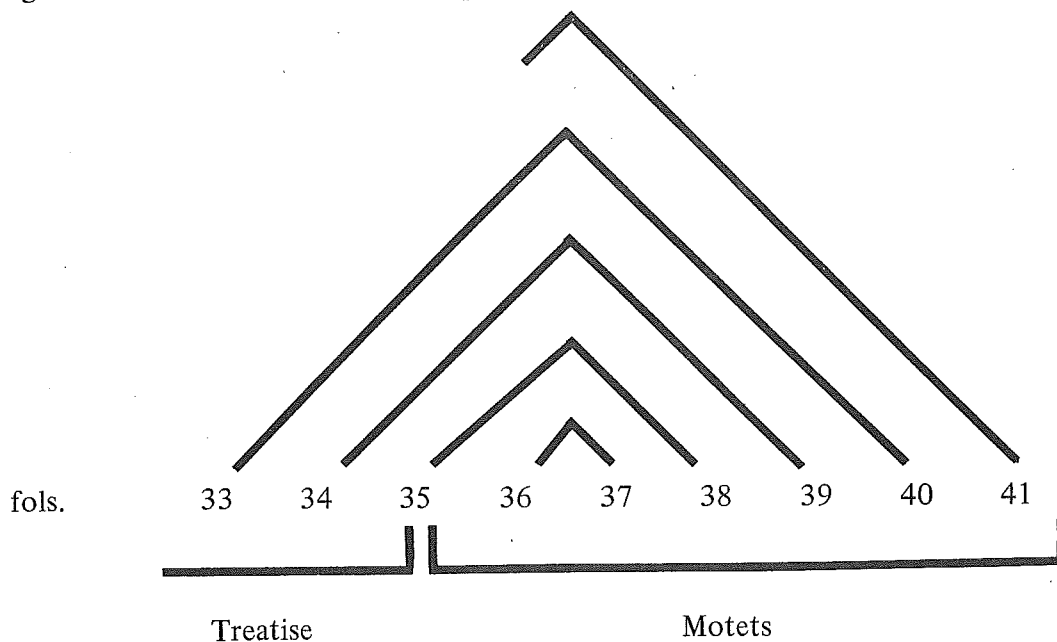
Various anomalous codicological features of the final leaf suggest that it was a later addition to the original eight-leaf quire. First, the pricking of the fifth quire is identical with that of the rest of the manuscript except that it runs at an angle of 15° to the bottom of the leaf³. This characteristic is not detectable in folio 41: therefore this folio cannot have been part of the quire when it was originally folded, pricked and ruled before being consigned to the scribe. Furthermore, folio 41 was added upside down, since the sheet arrangement (hair side to hair side and flesh side to flesh side) is disrupted between folios 40 and

1 The treatise was printed by Coussemaker (1864-76, 1, 251ff). Coussemaker's edition contains many errors, particularly in the music examples, and obscures the poetic structure of part of the text. For a better edition of the poetic part of the text and a translation see Anderson (1973, 60ff). A new edition of the complete treatise is being prepared by Gilbert Reaney in the series *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*.

The manuscript is summarily described by Déslisle (1863-71, 117) and by Royer (1913, 232).

2 For the nine criteria used to define a *libellus*, see Robinson 1977.

3 The pricking of manuscripts and other codicological matters are discussed by Gilissen (1969; 1972; 1977), and Vezin (1976-8). I would also like to acknowledge here the great assistance in paleography and codicology offered to me by Professor Julian Brown of King's College, London.

Fig. 1 Structure of *P11266*, fifth quire (*ff.* 33-41)

41. In addition, the usual position for a single leaf in a quire of four *bifolia* would be somewhere near the centre to reduce the chance of its becoming detached and lost. Had the quire originally been made up of nine leaves, this is where one would expect to find the added folio. Furthermore, the quality of the membrane at folio 41 is markedly lower than that of the rest of the manuscript. All these considerations — and the evidence of fig. 1 — show it to have been an addition to the manuscript; but at what stage in the compilation of the manuscript was it added?

If a scribe had been required to copy the *Tractatus de musica* of Lambertus and was ordered to leave the remainder of the fifth quire blank, he would have made up the quires as necessary, constructing the fifth quire from four *bifolia* only. The final folio, folio 41, might then have been added when another scribe was ordered to copy the seven motets on to the remaining folios and found that he needed another leaf. The lower quality of the membrane and the carelessness of the process of addition of folio 41 correspond to the generally lower standard of decoration and text hand of the motet collection. This sequence of copying agrees with the codicological evidence presented above.

In the section of the manuscript devoted to the treatise, many of the painted initial letters are decorated with a highly ornate filigree wholly lacking in the motet collection. In the latter, the initials are painted but not flourished, and there is no evidence that flourishing was intended, but omitted: these initials represent a totally different tradition of manuscript decoration. Such flourishing not only isolates different layers of the manuscript, but also provides indications of date and provenance, if the combination of various

components in the flourished initial are considered⁴. The manuscript provides a very good example of Parisian flourishing in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The 'hairpin' component above the initial is a Parisian trait, as is the 'subsidiary hairpin' and the 'double hook and triangle' infilling to the initial itself⁵.

In the most recent attempt to classify the various types of Gothic bookhand (Lief-tinck 1954, 15ff), three principal divisions have been adduced: *littera textualis formata*, *littera textualis* and *littera textualis currens*, in descending order of formality and prestige. Even though this system has its deficiencies, and many paleographers take issue with its classifications, it is possible to place the two hands at work in *P11266* within this system: the hand responsible for the treatise falls into the category of *littera textualis*, and that responsible for the motets may be described as *littera textualis currens*. None of the datable manuscripts with hands similar to the two in *P11266* can be assigned a date more accurate than to the nearest twenty or thirty years: all the manuscripts studied fall into the period between c1260 and c1290 (see Appendix to this article below). However, many of the hands studied, corresponding to the *littera textualis* of the treatise, occur in manuscripts which contain evidence of the *pecia* system⁶. Their provenance is hardly in doubt, since French *pecia* books are little known outside the environs of the University of Paris. Whilst no case can be made for suggesting that the treatise in *P11266* is representative of the *pecia* system, it does appear that the scribe of the first layer of the manuscript was trained in the University of Paris. There is also little doubt that Lambertus's *Tractatus de musica* would have been a most suitable text for teaching in the university, owing to its lengthy speculative introduction based on Boethius (Carpenter 1958, 46ff).

Despite its different classification as *littera textualis currens*, the hand of the motets in *P11266* appears to originate from a centre very close to that of the treatise. The two hands differ in quality rather than type: the lower quality of the hand of the motets fully corresponds to the less prestigious construction and decoration of the motet collection. The hand responsible for the motets also shows signs of university provenance: a comparison with Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 16607 (no. 11 in the Appendix below) showed that the scribes shared some habits. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 16607 is a manuscript copied after 1268 for Godefredus de Fontibus, a Master of Theology at the University of Paris⁷. The manuscript contains St Thomas Aquinas's commentaries on Aristotle's *De causis* and the *De caelo et mundo* attributed to Aristotle.

4 The process of establishing the provenance and date of a manuscript by an examination of flourishing is expounded in Patterson (1969). I would like to express my thanks to Mrs Patterson, who personally examined the manuscript on my behalf.

5 The most conclusive evidence offered by Patterson for Parisian provenance is the use of components referred to as the 'hairpin', 'subsidiary hairpin' and 'double hook and triangle' (1969, 124).

6 The first explanation of the *pecia* system was by Destrez (1935); Destrez's work has been updated by Pollard (1978). Pollard's fundamental objection to Destrez's views is that the latter suggested that the *pecia* originated in Paris: Pollard shows convincingly that it was in use in Bologna and Padua before its arrival in Paris. There is, however, no confusion over the manuscripts under discussion since their obvious Parisian provenance is attested by independent physical characteristics.

7 The colophon, on folio 1r, reads 'Iste liber est pauperum collegii magistrorum studentum in theologica facultate ex legato magistri Godefredi de Fontibus'.

It also includes other minor works by Thomas and the *De natura et origine animae* of Albertus Magnus. Both hands make use of an *f* ligated to the following letter and share the inconsistency of using both forms of *r* when it occurs in the middle of a word. The letter *s* is used in ligature with the following letter, in both hands, and the *x* is inscribed with an extended bottom-left to top-right diagonal in both sources. Identical forms of the ampersand are found, and both sources use a corresponding degree of abbreviation. Whilst it is not suggested that the two manuscripts are the work of the same scribe, they appear to be nearly identical in origin and tradition.

Further evidence of the place where the motets in *P11266* were copied is offered by details of the page layout of the motet collection, and its similarity to certain features of Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H196 (hereafter *Mo*), which was certainly decorated and probably copied in Paris (Branner 1977, 238; Branner's conclusions are discussed below). The similarities lie in the ruling of the stave lines and the size of the written area. The stave lines are of identical dimensions and appearance in both sources: they are ruled in red ink with a *rastrum* and are 11 mm high. These similarities alone would not be worth comment. However, the horizontal dimensions of the written block are identical (77 mm) and the vertical dimensions differ because there are seven stave lines to the page in *P11266* and eight in *Mo*. Had the sources both been compiled from scratch, this discrepancy would clearly invalidate any comparison between them. However, the size of the leaf in *P11266* had been determined in advance by the scribe of the treatise; it becomes clear, therefore, that the man who ruled the pages for the motets had to adjust his working habits, and had to draw only seven staves to the page instead of eight. It appears that both *P11266* and parts of *Mo* are products, if not of a single *atelier*, at least of a group of closely-related workshops in the Paris area specializing in the preparation of music manuscripts⁸. It is extremely unlikely, although the possibility must be accepted, that manuscripts with such similar format were copied anywhere other than in the same city.

These observations on the codicology, paleography and decoration of *P11266* suggest that the manuscript was copied in two stages, between 1260 and 1290, and almost certainly within the environs of the university. This hypothesis may now be supported and refined by an examination of the internal evidence of both treatise and motets.

One of the criteria used to relate musical and theoretical sources (and simply musical sources in the work of some authors) has been the number of concordances they display. Since three of the motets in *P11266* are quoted by Lambertus it has been assumed that there is a relationship between the two. Indeed there is; but three of the motets are also cited by the anonymous treatise entitled *Ars musicae mensurabilis secundum Franconem* (ed. Reaney and Gilles 1971) and six by the anonymous theorist of St Emmeram (ed. Sowa 1930). Furthermore, when the notation used in the Lambertus treatise is contrasted with that of the motets in *P11266*, it becomes clear that there are serious discrepancies in two of the three extracts (ex. 1).

8 It is difficult to suggest how many manuscripts such a hypothetical *atelier* or 'school' may have produced, owing to the scarcity of source material. It appears, however, that it is possible to add London, British Library, Additional 30091 to this small group of manuscripts with a similar page layout.

Ex. 1 Treatise



Trop use ma vie (f.23v)



Marie preconio (f.33r)



Demanant (f.33v)

Motets



Trop use ma vie (f.37r)



Marie preconio (f.37r)



Demanant (f.38r)

What, then, is the nature of Lambertus's theory, and what is its place in thirteenth-century theoretical thinking? Almost all the innovations in the *Tractatus de musica* are based on the teachings of Johannes de Garlandia, as exemplified in his treatise *De mensurabili musica* (ed. Reimer 1972). Lambertus's expansion of the number of rhythmic modes to nine is based on Johannes's initial system of six, and Lambertus's idiosyncratic treatment of ligatures is clearly an attempt to render Johannes's system less dependent on context. The fact that he is not quite successful in this task makes it possible to detect a thread of theoretical thinking that runs from Lambertus to the St Emmeram Anonymous (dated 1279) and on to Franco of Cologne who may, therefore, be dated c1280 (Frobenius 1970, 122ff)⁹. The ligature practice in Lambertus's *Tractatus de musica* not only relates the treatise to contemporary theory but also opens up the possibility of relating the treatise to such musical sources as *PI 1266*.

An examination of the text of the *Tractatus de musica* reveals the contextual nature of Lambertus's ligature theory (quoted here according to Coussemaker 1864-76, 1, 274):

Tertia divisio	The third division
tertie partis	of the third type
est quedam ligatura	is a certain ligature
seu conjunctura	or <i>conjunctura</i>
trium figurarum	of three notes
novem habens differentias;	having nine species;
quarum quolibet fit dupliciter;	of these there are evidently two types:
ascendendo videlicet et descendendo,	ascending and descending,
ut patebit.	as will be made clear.
Prima autem differentia hujus divisionis,	The first species of this division,
tam supra littera quam sine,	whether texted or not,

9 Andrew Hughes (1980, 795) states: 'The weight of the present evidence favours a date soon after 1250 for the *Ars cantus mensurabilis*'. This cannot, however, be regarded as a refutation of Frobenius's estimate.

talis est, quod quandocumque is such that whenever
 trinaria ligatura a ligature of three notes
 tam descendendo cum proprietate, (both descending with propriety
 quam ascendendo sine proprietate, and descending without propriety)
 reperta fuerit, is found,
 binaria ligatura sequente: with a two-note ligature following:



Prima longa est imperfecta, the first note is an imperfect *longa*,
 secunda recta brevis, the second a *recta brevis*,
 tertia prime similis, the third the same as the first [*i.e.* an imperfect *longa*],
 si brevis eam sequatur, if a *brevis* follows.
 si autem longa, If, however, a *longa* follows,
 tunc tertia tria tempora donat, then it is worth three *tempora*.
 Secunda differentia The second species,
 tam in proportione as much in proportion
 quam in proprietate, as in propriety,
 omnino per oppositum is judged completely opposite
 prime differentie, to the first species,
 tam supra litteram, whether texted
 quam sine littera iudicatur, or not,
 ut hic: for example:



The note-values within the ligatures in the second example are, as Lambertus states, the reverse of those in the first example, namely *brevis*, *longa imperfecta*, *brevis* and so forth. Lambertus's system requires the note-values within ligatures to be determined according to mode. Despite the fact that he is able to represent *longae* and *breves* graphically at the beginning and end of ligatures, he is not able to elucidate rules such as those of Franco (ed. Reaney and Gilles 1974, 45 and 50f):

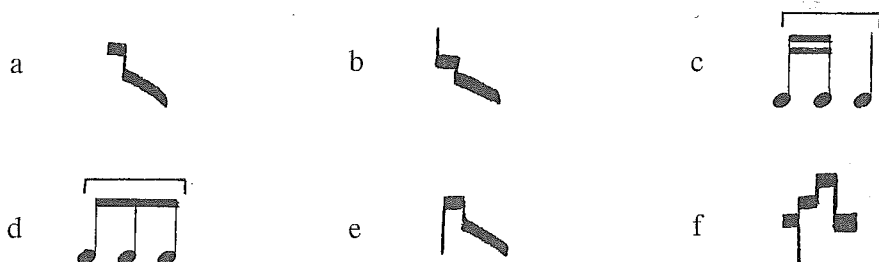
Ex quo sequitur quod omnia media ipsarum ligaturarum conveniunt in significatis.	It follows, therefore, that all middle notes of the same ligatures agree in significance.
Per quod patet positionem illorum esse falsam qui ponant in ternaria aliqua mediam esse longam, in omnibus autem aliis fore brevem . . .	Hence it appears that the position of those is false who maintain that, in the ligature of three notes, the middle note is a <i>longa</i> although in all others it is a <i>brevis</i> . . .
Item omnis media brevis, nisi per oppositam proprietatem semibrevietur ut dictum est prius.	Further, every middle note is a <i>brevis</i> , unless, by opposite propriety, it is made a <i>semibrevis</i> , as already stated.

Therefore, from the examples above, it is clear that, for Lambertus, middle notes of three or four-note ligatures are either *longae* or *breves* depending on the rhythmic mode in force rather than on any graphical distinctions.

This is the crux of the argument as it relates to the notation of the motets in *Pl1266*. The notation of the ligatures in this source never requires contextual evaluation, and follows the rules laid down in Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*. There are two examples where these rules lead to a faulty evaluation of the ligature, but these can be shown to be the result of scribal confusion.

In a couple of places in *Pl1266* a ligature is encountered which takes up the space of a *longa perfecta* (ex.2a). In a Franconian system, it would occupy two perfections, and be interpreted as a group comprising a *perfecta*, a *brevis* and a *brevis altera* if followed by another *longa*. However, in *Pl1266*, there are signs that an ascending stem on the left of the first note has been erased (the original form is shown in ex. 2b). There is evidence to show that, when the scribe found this ligature of two *semibreves* in his exemplar, he sometimes modified it to a ligature of three *breves*. In this instance, the scribe originally seems to have written the ligature in the form of ex.2b, which would have occupied the space of a *longa perfecta*, represented the rhythm of ex.2c in modern transcription and followed Franco's rules. However, he changed his mind, intending to notate the rhythm of ex.2d; to do so, he simply removed the ascending stem from ex.2b, leaving ex.2a. He neglected, however, to add a descending stem to the first note which would have turned the ligature into a correct Franconian representation of three *breves* (ex.2e).

Ex. 2



In the first *cursus* of the tenor in one of the works in *P11266*, a ligature is used with a correct Franconian representation of a group comprising a *longa perfecta*, a *brevis*, a *brevis altera* and a *longa perfecta* (ex.2f). However, in subsequent *cursus*, the stem is omitted, leaving a ligature that does not agree with Franconian theory. Such scribal laziness shows that the notation of *P11266* was influenced by the doctrine of Franco of Cologne even though scribal 'economy' often leads to the omission of details essential to the Franconian system.

In addition, the notation of the rests in *P11266* calls for comment. Lambertus (Coussemaker 1864-76, 1, 278) and most subsequent theorists give fairly elaborate diagrams of rests with more or less exact durations, though these seem to be lacking in *P11266*. In fact, there only appear to be two types used: a long and a short stroke, with no attempt at further refinement. However, unlike that of ligatures, the notation of rests depends on the quality of the source and the speed with which it was written down. From the physical evidence adduced above, it is clear that the quality of certain aspects of the motet layer of the manuscript is rather low, and the notation of the rests seems to reflect this quality.

The internal evidence of the motet layer of *P11266* demonstrates that it was copied under the influence of Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*. This fact alone provides a *terminus post quem* of c1280 for the second layer of the manuscript. Determining the date of the first layer of the manuscript is more difficult, but it may be placed between c1275 and c1280 with the following qualifications. Given the polemics levelled at Lambertus by the St Emmeram Anonymous in 1279 (listed in Sowa, ed., 1930, XVI), one cannot assume that Lambertus's treatise was composed earlier than c1270, and a date around 1275 may be more appropriate (Anderson 1973, 59). However, whilst it is assumed, on philological grounds, that *P11266* contains the earliest extant recension of the *Tractatus de musica*, it does not necessarily follow that it is the archetype for the manuscript tradition. One must, therefore, take account of the possibility that *P11266* was copied later than the 1270s. Conversely, it may be argued that, if Lambertus and Franco of Cologne were active in Paris around 1275 and around 1280 respectively, it is unlikely that the *Tractatus de musica* would have been copied after 1280, since it was superseded by the *Ars cantus mensurabilis*.

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Placing a *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the motets in *P11266* relies a great deal on the chronology of its concordant sources. It is unlikely that *P11266* was copied before the seventh fascicle of *Mo*, since that source contains motets with *tripla* in Petronian style, and the eclectic compiler of *P11266* would almost certainly have included an example of this type had one been available to him. Rokseth (1935-9, 4, 30) gave a date of c 1295-9 to the seventh fascicle of *Mo*, and this is the date commonly accepted. It was based on a study of the miniatures in the manuscript, concentrating chiefly on the only two named miniaturists in late thirteenth-century Paris, Jean Pucelle and Maître Honoré. Robert Branner (1977, 238) has suggested that the miniatures in the old corpus of *Mo* date from as early as the 1260s, and those in the first and seventh fascicles from slightly later. Since they employ Franconian notation, these fascicles must date from after 1280, and a dating in the early 1280s may be acceptable. Such a date for the earliest Petronian works is rather earlier than that commonly assumed, but is not entirely out of the question. In the light of the conflicting evidence, one may suggest tentatively that the motets in *P11266* were copied in the 1280s, probably towards the beginning rather than the end of the decade.

The eclecticism of the scribe of *P11266* has already been noted, and the contents of the manuscript resemble a selection of representative works from one or more larger collections. Two of the works have their origins in the Notre-Dame *clausula* repertory, and one appears to be a setting of a pre-existent text, executed some time before the copying of the old corpus of *Mo*, where two of the pieces in *P11266* have their origins. The final two pieces appear side by side in the seventh fascicle of *Mo*. Thus the works in *P11266* represent a cross-section of musical practice dating back perhaps eighty years from the time of their copying.

Despite this apparent eclecticism, some scribal preference can be detected, since the bilingual double motet is avoided in favour of Latin and French double motets. Certainly, the bilingual form was a transitional phenomenon, but its omission is surprising in the light of the scribe's generally catholic taste. No consistency is apparent in the subject matter of the texts. One piece virtually tropes the liturgical text of the tenor whilst many texts are secular to the point of eroticism. Three of the texts are Marian and, significantly, these are the most recent works: the two pieces that occur in the seventh fascicle of *Mo*, and the *triplum* text of the last piece in *P11266*, which was newly composed for this source or its exemplar.

Two facets of the physical nature of the manuscript throw light on its place in thirteenth-century musical tradition. Many earlier sources of thirteenth-century motets such as Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1099, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *nouv. acq. frç.* 13521, notate the voice parts successively, so that it is impossible to perform the music directly from them. The old corpus of *Mo* breaks new ground in placing *triplum* and *motetus* on facing pages of a single opening, with the tenor across the bottom of one or both pages; this layout enables the scribe to synchronize the ends of all three voices at the end of each opening, and permits a performance of the piece without complications. The manuscript Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, *Lit.* 115, and the later fascicles of *Mo*, present both the *triplum* and *motetus* in columns on each leaf of the opening: this is the technique used in *P11266*. However, it is not possible to perform the music from this manuscript, since the parts are not synchronized at the turn of the page, although the scribe clearly intended to synchronize them in this way. The voice-parts of the first piece are exactly synchronized, but the alignment becomes progressively more inaccurate throughout the collection. *P11266* was clearly conceived as a performing source, but was incompetently executed by the scribe.

Next, the terminal nature of the readings in *P11266* calls for comment. This source did not serve as an exemplar for any extant copy, although it may have done so for a copy or copies now lost. The lack of such concordances may be explained by the rapid rise of the Petronian motet in the last years of the thirteenth century, which may have rendered the older pieces in *P11266* unacceptable to contemporary taste. Alternatively, however, the manuscript may have left Paris shortly after copying: there seems to be a close connection between sources of peripheral provenance and manuscripts containing terminal readings. A fairly large number of thirteenth-century sources fall into this category, such as Munich, Bavarian State Library, *cod. lat.* 5539, Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, A410, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 119 (148) and, possibly, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135.

In conclusion, some comments may be offered on the possible use of the manuscript, its owners and its destination, based on the evidence already adduced. Such comments are, of course, largely speculative, and are offered with due reservations.

Whilst it is almost certain that both layers of *P11266* were copied in Paris, there appears to be a gap between the musical outlook of the treatise and that of the motet collection. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that, when the Lambertus treatise was copied with five blank folios at the end, music was ever intended to go there as well. The motets may have been added there rather than anywhere else simply because there was music there already. As mentioned above, the treatise seems very much like a university text, whereas the motets are a small anthology of the best works available, ranging from the most up-to-date to the most archaic styles. Whilst there is no direct relationship between the treatise and the motets, as this article has been at pains to point out, the link between treatise and motets is closer than the link between the section of the treatise devoted to polyphony and the lengthy speculative chapters of the treatise. Either the motets represent music performed for recreation by an academic whose professional interest was in *musica speculativa* taught in the university; or the musical education in the university was more broadly based, including the teaching of the most innovatory techniques of composition and performance.

It seems likely, therefore, that the original owner was an academic connected with the university. However, the man who had the motets copied into *P11266* must have had access both to the university and to some centralized source of production of music manuscripts. It is clearly possible that the book belonged to more than one owner between the copying of the treatise and the compilation of the motets. However, it is unlikely that the manuscript would have moved from one social *milieu* to another between the copying of the two layers. The owner may even have been a student at the University of Paris since there is evidence of students owning far more valuable books than *P11266*. Odofredus, a Bolognese professor of law, who died in 1265, relates the following incident (Sarti and Fatturni 2/1888-9, 1, 167; translation according to Branner 1977,2):

Dixit pater filio . . .	The father said to the son . . .
vade Parisius [sic], vel Bonon.	'Go to Paris or Bologna
et mittam tibi	and I will send you
annuatim centum libras.	£100 a year.'
Iste quid fecit?	And what did the boy do?
Ivit Parisius:	He went to Paris
et fecit libros suos babuinare	and had his books made to prattle
de literis aureis.	with gold letters.

It has already been observed that the layout of the voices on the page makes performance of the pieces in *P11266* difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, there do not appear to be any signs that the manuscript was used to any great extent; neither are there any indications of corrections made by performers, and the musical text indeed requires emendation. It seems likely that, once the motets had been copied, it was left unused until its acquisition by a French antiquarian in the late seventeenth century.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS DISPLAYING *LITTERA TEXTUALIS* AND *LITTERA TEXTUALIS CURRENS*

a) *Littera textualis*

- 1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 18224 (1261-75): Samaram and Marichal 1959-74, vol.3, pl.LI
- 2 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 5083-91 (1274): Masai and Wittek 1968-72, vol.2, pl.LIX
- 3 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, III 1031 (1265): Masai and Wittek 1968-72, vol.2, pl. XLIX
- 4 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II 2297 (1277): Masai and Wittek 1968-72, vol.2, pl.LXIII-LXV
- 5 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II 934 (1286): Masai and Wittek 1968-72, vol.2, pl.LXXXII
- 6 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II 1116 (undated): Lieftinck 1954, pl.XVI
- 7 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 15861 (undated): Destrez 1935, pl.IX
- 8 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 16157 (undated): Destrez 1935, pl.X

b) *Littera textualis currens*

- 9 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 523A (1276): Samaram and Marichal 1959-74, vol.2, pl.XXXIV
- 10 Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 469 (1271): Masai and Wittek 1968-72, vol.2, pl.LIV-LVII
- 11 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 16607 (after 1268): Samaram and Marichal 1959-74, vol.2, pl.LV

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