

## A Notated *Graduale-Prosarium* from Sens in Lisbon

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### Resumo

Até ao momento, pouco se conhecia sobre a história do manuscrito *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, um Gradual que inclui sequências com respectiva notação musical. Manuel Pedro Ferreira foi o primeiro a propôr que a proveniência deste manuscrito poderia ser a cidade de Sens, no entanto, nada foi publicado para comprovar essa posição informal. Neste artigo pretendo discutir os conteúdos do manuscrito *Iluminado 84* fundamentando, pela primeira vez, a hipótese da sua origem em Sens.

Através de uma análise aprofundada da codicologia e dos conteúdos litúrgicos deste manuscrito é possível identificar a sua origem na arquidiocese de Sens e comprovar detalhadamente as duas unidades codicológicas que o integram. A primeira copiada de uma fonte posterior a 1240 (mas anterior a 1264) e a segunda copiada de outra fonte posterior a 1297. A análise do conjunto de sequências e a sua contraposição a manuscritos contemporâneos revela que o *P-Ln Iluminado 84* pode ser considerado o mais antigo manuscrito que contém algumas das primeiras sequências de Sens em notação completa a ter sobrevivido até à actualidade. Por fim, algumas das inscrições manuscritas posteriores revelam pormenores importantes sobre as etapas da história do manuscrito, nomeadamente a sua presença no hospital de Joigny (próximo de Sens) no final do século XVII.

### Palavras-chave

Sens; Sequências; Aleluias; Guião; Joigny.

### Abstract

Little was known about the history of *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, a fully notated Gradual with integrated sequences. Manuel Pedro Ferreira first proposed Sens as the point of origin for the manuscript, but nothing was published to substantiate this informal proposition. In this article I discuss the contents of *Iluminado 84* and test the hypothesis of its origin in Sens for the first time.

By means of a close examination of the codicology of the manuscript and its liturgical contents, it is possible securely to identify its origins in the archdiocese of Sens and demonstrate that the manuscript consists of two codicological units. The first copied from a model dated after 1240s (but not much later than 1264) and the second unit copied from a model dated after 1297. Analysis of the set of sequences and their comparison with coeval manuscripts demonstrates that *P-Ln Iluminado 84* can be considered to be the oldest surviving manuscript to transmit some of the earlier sequences from Sens fully notated. Finally, some later-hand inscriptions reveal important details about the later history of the manuscript, proving that it was in the hospital of Joigny (near Sens) at the end of the seventeenth century.

## Keywords

Sens; Sequences; Alleluias; Custos; Joigny.

**P**ORTUGAL, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, *ILUMINADO 84* [P-Ln Iluminado 84, henceforth ‘I84’] is a fully notated Gradual with integrated sequences and a Kyriale.<sup>1</sup> The existing printed bibliography concerning I84 is limited to a short notice in Andrew Hughes’s catalogue of Portuguese manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> In recent years, the manuscript was included in the *Portuguese Early Music Database* (hereafter ‘PEM’) where its full digital reproduction and a CANTUS index are freely available for consultation.<sup>3</sup> Manuel Pedro Ferreira first proposed Sens as the point of origin for the manuscript, basing his hypothesis on the list of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses.<sup>4</sup> However, nothing has been published to date to substantiate this informal proposition. In this article I test the hypothesis of the origin of the manuscript in Sens and discuss any clues within the manuscript that can shed light on its origin and date.

### The Codicology of *Iluminado 84*

The manuscript contains 267 folios and is in good condition, in spite of some spots resulting from humidity and the loss of at least fourteen folios.<sup>5</sup> In I84 there are two foliations: 1) a continuous

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<sup>1</sup> I84 consists of *Proprium de Tempore* (ff. 1-158r), *Proprium Sanctorum* (ff. 158r-215), *Commune Sanctorum* (ff. 216-244), *Kyriale* and other chants (ff. 245-267).

<sup>2</sup> Andrew HUGHES, ‘Medieval Liturgical Books at Arouca, Braga, Evora, Lisbon, and Porto: Some Provisional Inventories’, *Traditio*, 31 (1975), pp. 369-84, at p. 382. A quick reference to I84 can be found in Lori Kruckenberg’s investigation of *Celeste organum*. Based on seventy-six versions of *Celeste organum*, the scholar discovered that nearly the whole of this sequence’s transmission can be securely divided into two basic groups (alpha and beta), which can be further subdivided into subgroups. The sequence *Celeste organum* from I84 fits into the beta-Sens subgroup and the manuscript is labelled as ‘Sens usum’. Lori KRUCKENBERG, ‘The Relationship between the Festal Office and the New Sequence: Evidence from Medieval Picardy’, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 5/2 (2013), pp. 201-33, at pp. 217-8.

<sup>3</sup> <<http://pemdatabase.eu/source/11083>> (accessed 29 November 2017). I84 is the first Mass manuscript fully indexed following the CANTUS style; this has been possible because the PEM database is part of the CANTUS Index net of online medieval music databases <<http://cantusindex.org/>>. The PEM database was established as part of the FCT-funded project ‘Musical Exchanges, 1100-1650: The Circulation of Early Music in Europe and Overseas in Iberian and Iberian-Related Sources’ (PTDC/EAT-MMU/105624/2008), directed by Manuel Pedro Ferreira at CESEM, FCSH - Universidade Nova de Lisboa, between 2010 and 2013.

<sup>4</sup> The list of Alleluia verses in I84 can be consulted in PEM: from the homepage <<http://pemdatabase.eu/>> click on ‘Compositions’ on the top menu. From the ‘Compositions’ page click on the ‘Source’ dropdown list and select ‘P-Ln (Lisboa) Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro Iluminado 84’. While on the same page, select both ‘Al’ and ‘AlV’ in the ‘Genre’ field. Now click ‘Apply’ to retrieve the list of Alleluia verses in I84.

<sup>5</sup> The gaps in the original foliation show lacunae between: ff. 50-51 (1 folio); 182-183 (1 folio); 188-189 (1 folio), 244-245 (2 folios); 250-251 (5 folios), 258-259 (1 folio); 261-262 (1 folio); 262-263 (1 folio). Besides, at least one folio is lost at the end of the ‘final section’, which is interrupted in the middle of a Tractus Pro Defunctis.

modern foliation written by pen in Arabic numbers, placed at the top of the recto of each folio and 2) the original foliation, which shows many gaps in the numbering and is written in red Roman numerals, it is placed at the top right corner of the recto of each folio.<sup>6</sup> The original foliation is written in French style.<sup>7</sup> This means that, for example, 180 is given as 'C.III.' where each 'I' represents twenty folios, and the value of twenty folios 'XX' is written above the 'III'; the whole is to be read as: *cent quatre-vingt*.<sup>8</sup> In this way, folio 181 is written as 'C.III.I', 191 as 'C.III.XI' and so on.

Another feature that connects I84 to a French milieu is the absence of custodes. After studying the rules for the Franciscan and Dominican orders, Michel Huglo was able to show that the custodes were totally unknown in the thirteenth century in northern France, especially in the area around Paris, and only two or three centuries later did the use of the custos become normal practice in France, as elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> The absence of custodes can thus be considered characteristic of manuscripts from the regions of northern France encompassing Paris.<sup>10</sup> The absence of custodes in I84 strongly suggests northern France as the place of origin of the manuscript, and dates it between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Custodes can be occasionally found in I84 but they are additions made by later hands and they have various shapes.<sup>11</sup> The later addition of custodes suggests either that the manuscript (produced in northern France in the thirteenth/fourteenth century) remained in use in the place of origin until the fifteenth century (when some later scribes added the custodes) or, alternatively, it may suggest an early displacement of I84 (produced in northern France) to an area where custodes were known, needed and therefore added.<sup>12</sup> A clue comes from elsewhere in the manuscript: later-hand additions to ff. 99r, 105v and 167r tell us that, at a certain point, the

<sup>6</sup> All the references to I84 in this article are given following the modern foliation. The original foliation on folios 253 and 254 is respectively '264' and '263'. These two folios contain the sequence 'Lauda Syon'. The examination of the text and music on these folios confirms that they are in the right order and the mistake is in the original numbering. Mistakes in the original foliation: there are two folios numbered '143'; the foliation is missing on folios: 91, 148, 157, 158, 220. The modern foliation has two folios '246' ('246A' is followed by '246'), their original foliation is respectively '251' and '250'. The last folio of *Iluminado 84* is numbered '267' as modern foliation and '280' in Roman numbers.

<sup>7</sup> This style of foliation is explained in Françoise FERY-HUE, 'L'organisation du volume', in *Lire le manuscrit médiéval*, edited by Paul Géhin (Paris, 2007), pp. 53-73, at p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> The picture of f. 180 from I84 is available at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/image/11441>> (accessed 29 November 2017). A PEM account is required in order to zoom in on the digital images in high resolution.

<sup>9</sup> Michel HUGLO, 'Règlement du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle pour la transcription des livres notés', in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Martin Ruhke (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1967), pp. 121-33; and Michel HUGLO, 'Notated Performance Practices', in *Plain song in the Age of Polyphony*, edited by Thomas F. Kelly (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 32-44.

<sup>10</sup> Michel HUGLO, 'Les pièces notées du Codex Calixtinus', in *The 'Codex Calixtinus' and the Shrine of St. James*, edited by John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen, Narr, 1992), pp. 105-24, at p. 106.

<sup>11</sup> For examples, see the shapes of the custodes on ff. 63v, 64r and 64v. Later-hand custodes can be found also on ff. 29rv, 30rv, 49v, 55v-67r, etc.

<sup>12</sup> More precise information on the date of copy of I84 can be found in the section 'The Date of Institution of the Liturgical Feasts in Iluminado 84', below.

manuscript was handled by 'Estienne Le Seutre', who entered the hospital of Joigny (located 30 km south of Sens) on Wednesday 24 May 1692 (f. 167r).<sup>13</sup> I84 seems to have remained in the hospital until 31 July 1698, when someone else added another inscription, claiming that the manuscript belonged to the hospital of Joigny (f. 99r). These additions suggest that I84—written somewhere in Northern France at some point during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—remained in that area until the end of the seventeenth century, when it is demonstrated it was in Joigny.

The hospital of Joigny had been established in 1330 by the countess Jehanne, wife of Charles of Valois, brother of the King of France Philip IV; who founded the hospital to practice the seven acts of mercy, that is, compassionate acts concerning the material needs of others. The countess imposed here the presence of six friars (five priests and one cleric), and six sisters, all belonging to the order of St Augustin.<sup>14</sup> From the time of its foundation the hospital of Joigny was not under the authority of the archbishop of Sens but under direct influence of the King of France and the Pope.<sup>15</sup> After its foundation the hospital of Joigny went through some difficult times, especially during the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) when it was badly damaged, and in 1530 when it was destroyed by a fire and later on only partially reconstructed.<sup>16</sup> Other documents show that the hospital suffered also bad economic conditions and poor management. However, some documents dated to 1621-3 prove that in those years the hospital paid a considerable amount (400 livres) to buy vestments and the necessary equipment to celebrate the liturgy.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, no liturgical books are specifically mentioned in this purchase, but it seems possible to surmise that I84 could have been bought in this occasion, if it was not already part of the possessions of the hospital. Either hypothesis is plausible; what seems unlikely, instead, is that I84 was part of the possession of the hospital of Joigny since its foundation because its original possessions could have been easily dispersed during the difficult times and damages the hospital suffered in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the date and the reason why I84 was brought to Portugal and the later history of the hospital of Joigny does not clarify how the manuscript left this institution.

<sup>13</sup> Here is a tentative reading of the later-hand additions: Ce pent [abbreviation for 'present'] livre appartient a l'hôpital de Joigny le 31 julliis 98 Le Gen [...] (f. 99r); a l'Hôpital de Joigny (f. 105v); Faict par moy Estienne Le Seutre (?) 1692, le 24 may le mercredi jour de mon entree [...] a l'hôpital de Joigny (f. 167r). The complete list of later hand inscriptions on I84 can be found on PEM (see 'Inscriptions and marks' in the description of I84). I would like to thank Dr Océane Boudeau who helped me with the reading of the seventeenth-century French additions. F. 167r is available at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/image/11415>> (accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>14</sup> The foundation charter listed all the services of the chapel, especially the anniversaries to be celebrated every year. In 1337 countess Jehanne was buried in the hospital, which continued to receive some important donations in the years to come. Bernard FLEURY, *Histoire de l'hôpital de Joigny* (Joigny, Association Culturelle et d'Études de Joigny, 2001), pp. 14-5.

<sup>15</sup> FLEURY, *Histoire de l'hôpital* (see note 14), p. 16.

<sup>16</sup> FLEURY, *Histoire de l'hôpital* (see note 14), p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> FLEURY, *Histoire de l'hôpital* (see note 14), p. 17.

Returning to the codicology of I84, a close palaeographical observation makes it possible to distinguish the presence of two scribes and unveil some information about the production of the manuscript. The main differences between these two scribes can be seen in the decoration of the initials.<sup>18</sup> Usually Scribe A wrote simple pen-work initials, while scribe B preferred to write inhabited initials showing much more skill. Scribe A's initials have the internal space broken up by horizontal lines and the inner sections of the initials are alternately left empty and painted with a lick of yellow:



**Figure 1.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'D' from f. 50r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal



**Figure 2.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'Q' from f. 50r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

Scribe A's highest degree of complexity in the decoration consists in filling the inner sections with four-leaf shapes:<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 3.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'A' from f. 49v, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal



**Figure 4.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'V' from f. 72v, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

<sup>18</sup> Besides this, Scribe B had a tendency to leave less space between letters than Scribe A.

<sup>19</sup> Other examples can be found on ff. 8r, 28v, 50r, 86r, 89r, 93v, etc.



**Figure 5.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'O' from f. 101r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

Scribe B's inhabited initials occasionally show the same four-leaf shape, but Scribe B's initials are much more ornamented and complex than A's:



**Figure 6.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'A' from f. 252r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal



**Figure 7.** *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, initial 'V' from f. 258v, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal



**Figure 8.** Initial 'B', detail from *P-Ln Iluminado 84*, f. 267r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (see figure 9)

The vast majority of I84 was written by Scribe A (ff. 1-250). The section written by Scribe B (ff. 251-267) integrates the Kyriale started by Scribe A (ff. 245-250) and extends the contents of I84 with additional liturgical feasts and chants.<sup>20</sup> No interventions of Scribe A can be seen on the folios

<sup>20</sup> The complete list of liturgical feasts in I84 can be consulted at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/chants?src=11083>> (accessed 29 November 2017).

written by Scribe B. On the contrary, Scribe B made several interventions on the folios written by Scribe A.<sup>21</sup> Scribe B's later hand interventions/changes found on Scribe A's folios usually consist of: tetragram(s) added at the bottom of the page,<sup>22</sup> extra rubrics,<sup>23</sup> or erasures and rewriting of portions of text and music.<sup>24</sup> This suggests that Scribe B completed I84 after Scribe A had created the original bulk of I84. Scribe B's final supplement was created with an attempt to maintain a stylistic continuity with the original bulk, as we can observe in the style of foliation, *mise en page* (8 tetragrams per page) and even in the decoration of the initials (in spite of the fact that Scribe B was much more talented than Scribe A and could create more complex decorative patterns, as we have seen above).

### The Liturgy in *Iluminado* 84

The examination of the liturgical contents of I84 demonstrates the presence of some elements that undoubtedly connect the manuscript with a French context (the Mass for Saint Louis) and, more specifically, the Archdiocese of Sens (the Alleluia verses post-Pentecost and the set of sequences). Furthermore, important evidence concerning the dating of I84 comes from the analysis of the date of institution of its liturgical feasts. Let us discuss in detail each of these elements.

#### *The Mass for Saint Louis*

Saint Louis, King of France and founder of the Sainte-Chapelle, died on 25 August 1270 in Tunis and was canonized in 1297 by Pope Boniface VIII.<sup>25</sup> Saint Louis's Mass and Office are spread widely throughout French manuscripts and, due to the importance of the saint, a reference to his feast is often found in later additions to manuscripts and calendars written before 1297.<sup>26</sup>

The Mass for Saint Louis in I84 is not found in the *Proprium Sanctorum*—as one would expect—instead, it is found in the final section on ff. 260r-261v.<sup>27</sup> The Mass for Saint Louis in I84

<sup>21</sup> Scribe B made later hand additions and/or changes to: 70r/9, 74v/9, 10, 103r/9, 106v/9, 116r/4, 117r/1, 2, 9, 10, 118v/9, 128v/1, 6, 8, 139v/2, 143v/9, 145r/9, 148v/9, 152r/2, 156v/1, 4, 158r/4, 5, 163r/1, 172v/9, 179v/6, 180v/3, 8, 189v/1, 191v/7, 194v/9, 198v/1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 201v/9, 10, 11, 202r/3, 205r/3, 208r/1, 208v/6, 209v/1, 2, 3, 4, 211v/4, 5, 9, 213r (bottom tetragram), 223v/9, 230r/1, 245v/9, 246av/9.

<sup>22</sup> The *mise en page* of I84 consists of eight tetragrams per page (either in the part written by Scribe A and Scribe B). Scribe B added extra tetragram(s) on 70r, 74v, 106v, 118v, 143v, 145r, 148v, etc.

<sup>23</sup> Rubrics written by Scribe B can be found at the bottom of ff. 103r, 117r, 202v.

<sup>24</sup> Like on ff. 116r/4, 117r/1, 2, 128v/1, 6, 8. Heavy interventions are made on f. 198v where B completely rewrites the first three text lines (and added a tetragram at the bottom of the page).

<sup>25</sup> Paul PERDRIZET, *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge, d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures* (Paris, Publication de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1933), pp. 209-12.

<sup>26</sup> For example, a later hand added 'O[biit] Loud[ovicus] christianissimi regis francorum totum duplum' on 25 August in the calendar of the notated Ordinal from Notre-Dame Bari 13(96). Another reference to the feast for Saint Louis is added within the main part of the same manuscript on p. 157. On this manuscript, see Elsa DE LUCA, 'I manoscritti musicali dell'Archivio di San Nicola a Bari: Elementi francesi nella musica e nella liturgia' (Ph.D. dissertation, Università del Salento, 2011), pp. 273-5.

<sup>27</sup> The 'final section' (ff. 251-267) was written by Scribe B.

comes with a sequence, following the alleluia, but the Mass is incomplete as the final part of the communion is lost due to a lacuna.<sup>28</sup> The table shows the chants for the Mass for Saint Louis in I84 and other selected manuscripts from Paris and Sens.

<i>P-Ln Iluminado 84</i>	<i>F-Pm 406, 410, 412</i>	<i>F-Pn lat 1337</i>	<i>F-Pm 413</i>	<i>F-MOf71</i>	<i>F-SEm 17</i>
In <i>Magnificatus est</i>	In <i>Gaudeamus omnes</i>	=	=	=	=
InV <i>Et nunc reges intelligite</i>	InV <i>Domine in virtute tua;</i>	=	=	=	=
Gr <i>Domine in virtute tua</i>	Gr <i>Domine prevenisti</i>	=	=	=	=
GrV <i>Desiderium cordis</i>	GrV <i>Vitam petiit</i>	=	=	=	
Al <i>Felix corona</i>		=	=	=	Al <i>Iustus germinabit</i>
		Al <i>Pater sancte Ludovice</i>		=	
				Al <i>Ludovice lucens</i>	
		Al <i>Qui das salute</i>		=	
Sq <i>Regem regum</i>	Sq <i>Letabunda psallat</i>	=	Sq <i>Regem regum</i>	Sq <i>Ludovico pangamus</i>	Sq <i>Hic sanctus</i>
			Sq <i>Letabunda psallat</i>		
			Sq <i>Superni regis gaudia</i>		
Of <i>Filie Syon</i>		=	=	=	Of <i>Inveni David</i>
Cm <i>Iustum deduxit</i>		=	=	=	Cm <i>Fidelis servus</i>

**Table 1.** The Mass for Saint Louis in *Iluminado 84* and selected manuscripts from Paris and Sens. In the table differences from the previous column are given in full. The same chant as in the previous column is given by ‘=’.

<sup>28</sup> The Mass for Saint Louis in I84 can be consulted at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/image/11602>> (accessed 29 November 2017).

The corresponding Mass for Saint Louis occurs in the three Parisian Missals but lacks musical notation: France, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 406 [*F-Pm* 406] (without foliation); France, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 410 [*F-Pm* 410 (olim 231)] ff. 319v-320v; and in the Missal from Notre-Dame France, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 412 [*F-Pm* 412 (olim 217)] ff. 328v-329r. In the Parisian Gradual Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1337 [*F-Pn* lat. 1337] on ff. 263-266, there is the Mass for Saint Louis (with music), and it has exactly the same Parisian structure as that found in the three Missals of the Bibliothèque Mazarine but with four Alleluias. France, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 413 [*F-Pm* 413] was a Parisian manuscript acquired by the Sainte-Chapelle in 1403, and it contains the Mass for Saint Louis (without music) on ff. 228v-230r. *F-Pm* 413 has the same chants as the other Parisian manuscripts but with some additions: the Alleluia *Felix corona* is followed by three more Alleluias. It also contains three additional sequences. Regarding the manuscripts from Sens analysed here, the Mass for Saint Louis is absent in France, Sens, Bibliothèque municipal, 15, 16, 19 [*F-SEm* 15, 16, 19]; in the Missal Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 864 [*F-Pn* lat. 864] and in the Missal UK, London British Library, Add 30058 [*GB-Lbl* Add. 30058].<sup>29</sup> Fortunately, the Mass for Saint Louis can be read in the manuscripts from Sens France, Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, 71 [*F-MOf* 71] and France, Sens, Bibliothèque municipal, 17 [*F-SEm* 17].<sup>30</sup> In *F-MOf* 71 within f. 249rv the Mass for Saint Louis (without music) is to be found, which is identical to manuscripts *F-Pm* 406, 410 and 412 save for the addition of the sequence *Ludovico pangamus*, which is cued and readable on f. CCLXV. In manuscript *F-SEm* 17 on f. 84r there is a slightly different Mass for Saint Louis, and it is found in the section written by a seventeenth-century hand. Here, the Mass for Saint Louis has no musical notation and all the chants are cued. The Mass has the same introit, introit verse, gradual, gradual verse as the Parisian manuscripts *F-Pm* 406, 410, 412 but different choices for the sequence, offertorium and communion.

<sup>29</sup> On *F-SEm* 15, 16, and 19 see: Christian MEYER (ed.), *Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Age des bibliothèques publiques de France (CMN)*, vol. 3, p. 193 (*F-SEm* 15, Missel à l'usage de Sens, XII ex.); pp. 193-5 (*F-SEm* 16, Graduel de Sens (temporal), XIII m., 1676); pp. 200-1 (*F-SEm* 19 Sacramentaire, Rituel et Missel festif, prov. Cathédrale de Sens, XIV/XV). *F-Pn* lat. 864 is a fifteenth-century Missal *A l'usage de Sens* in two volumes. *F-Pn* lat. 864(1) is a summer Missal available at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8529517n?rk=128756;0>> (accessed 29 November 2017). *F-Pn* lat. 864(2) is a winter Missal available at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8529510r?rk=107296;4>> (accessed 29 November 2017). *F-Pn* lat. 864(1) contains the rubric *Dedic. ecclesiae de Ervaco* which refers to the feast of the Dedication for the church of Ervy-le-Châtel, in the diocese of Sens (see f. 157). A concise description of *GB-Lbl* Add 30058 can be found at <[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo\\_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS032-002021648&indx=1&recIds=IAMS032-002021648&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dsct=0&frbg=&scp.scps=s cope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1528127400333&srt=rank&mode=Basic&&dum=true&vl\(freeText0\)=additi onal%2030058&vid=IAMS\\_VU2](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS032-002021648&indx=1&recIds=IAMS032-002021648&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dsct=0&frbg=&scp.scps=s cope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1528127400333&srt=rank&mode=Basic&&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=additi onal%2030058&vid=IAMS_VU2)> (accessed 29 November 2017). I wish to thank David Hiley who brought the manuscript *GB-Lbl* Add 30058 to my attention in 2012 and generously shared with me some notes on this manuscript.

<sup>30</sup> On *F-MOf* 71 see Victor LEROQUAIS, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Catalogue descriptif* (Paris, 1924), vol. 2, pp. 368-9. On *F-SEm* 17 see MEYER, *Catalogue des manuscrits notés* (see note 29), vol. 3, pp. 196-7 (Graduel de Sens (sanctoral), XIII m., 1676) and note 37.

From the Table, there emerges a certain degree of similarity between the Mass for Saint Louis that appears in I84 and in the manuscripts from Sens and Paris that I have consulted. Indeed, all these manuscripts share at least some chants. Although the identical series of chants for Saint Louis from I84 cannot be found in any of the other manuscripts consulted, the feast of Saint Louis still remains a strong piece of evidence that connects I84 to a French milieu.<sup>31</sup> Being the most recently-instituted liturgical feast of I84, the Mass for Saint Louis sheds light on the dating of the manuscript and, when combined with other pieces of evidence, it gives clues to the models from which I84 was copied.<sup>32</sup>

### *Alleluia Verses Post-Pentecost*

The Alleluias for the major feasts of the year, such as Christmas and Easter, tend to be quite stable in the Gregorian chant tradition, while the choice of the Alleluia verse for the other feasts provides information on local uses.<sup>33</sup> Among the group of dominical Alleluias, those for the Sundays after Pentecost show greater variety.<sup>34</sup> Since different churches rarely chose the same Alleluias, one may compare the series found in different sources and estimate the degree of similarity between them. In his study on Norman Chant, Hiley pointed out that the lists of post-Pentecost Alleluias in German manuscripts present much greater similarity than what can be observed in Italian and French manuscripts; in the latter we can read more series of post-Pentecost Alleluias which are shared by fewer manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> Among the lists of post-Pentecost Alleluias in manuscripts from Northern France, Hiley identified a list peculiar to Sens as per manuscript *F-Pn lat. 864*.<sup>36</sup> More recently, Kelly made a thorough study of both the Alleluias and the sequences in some other manuscripts from Sens and published comprehensive lists of them.<sup>37</sup> A comparison between the series of

<sup>31</sup> The same chants for the Mass of Saint Louis in I84 can be found in Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles, Ms. 273 f. 155<sup>bis</sup> r-155<sup>ter</sup> v (Christian Meyer, personal communication to the author, 20 February 2013; there is no RISM sigla for this library). This manuscript is a fifteenth-century Carthusian Gradual with the following ex libris on 157<sup>bis</sup> r 'Iste liber est domus Montis Sancti Ludovici prope Novionum ordini Cartusiensis', see MEYER, *Catalogue des manuscrits notés* (see note 29), vol. 2, pp. 35-6.

<sup>32</sup> See section 'The Date of Institution of the Liturgical Feasts in *Iluminado 84*'.

<sup>33</sup> Schläger's research remains the most comprehensive effort to categorise the medieval Alleluia repertory. See Karlheinz SCHLÄGER, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire* (Munich, Walter Ricke, 1965). SCHLÄGER, *Alleluia-Melodien I, bis 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 7 (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1968). SCHLÄGER, *Alleluia-Melodien II, ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 8 (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1987).

<sup>34</sup> David HILEY, 'The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on MSS 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid' (Ph.D. diss., University of London, King's College, 1981), pp. 180-223, see especially p. 182.

<sup>35</sup> HILEY, 'The Liturgical Music' (see note 34), pp. 183, 185.

<sup>36</sup> HILEY, 'The Liturgical Music' (see note 34), p. 186. See note 29 above for into on *F-Pn lat. 864*.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas F. KELLY, 'Sequences at Sens', in *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, edited by Terence Bailey and László Dobcsay (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences - Ottawa, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2007), pp. 341-67, lists at pp. 350-67.

Alleluia verses post-Pentecost from I84 against the series of Alleluias in the manuscripts from Sens analysed by Hiley and Kelly demonstrated that they match, as Ferreira had already noted.<sup>38</sup>

### *Sequences*

The repertory of sequences at Sens has been studied by Kelly, who identified two chronological series and provided useful tables indicating the assignment of each sequence in the two series.<sup>39</sup> The earlier series containing slight variations may be recognised in the two ordinals of Sens Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1206 [*F-Pn* lat. 1206], Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelle acquisition latin 115 [*F-Pn* n. a. lat. 115] and in the Gradual in two volumes, temporal and sanctoral, France, Sens, Bibliothèque municipal, 16 and 17 [*F- SEM* 16, 17].<sup>40</sup> The later series of sequences is found in the Missal with sequences integrated Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 10502 [*F-Pn* lat. 10502] and in the Sequentiary added to the same Missal (ff. 206v-217).<sup>41</sup> The early set of sequences can be dated to the late twelfth century, while the later set can be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. The sequences of the early series often match the sequences prescribed in the later series; the differences between the two sets consist, in some cases of gaps that have been filled,<sup>42</sup> whereas, on other occasions, new sequences replaced older ones.<sup>43</sup>

The sequences from I84 are listed in the Appendix; each difference existing between I84 and the two series of sequences at Sens can be found in the column ‘Concordances’.<sup>44</sup> The analysis of the sequences in I84 further confirms Ferreira’s hypothesis of Sens as place of origin of the

<sup>38</sup> The Alleluias in I84 can also be consulted at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/compositions?src=11083&genre%5B%5D=Al&genre%5B%5D=AIV&string=&cid=&office=&category=All>> (accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>39</sup> The tables are in KELLY, ‘Sequences’ (see note 37), pp. 350-67.

<sup>40</sup> *F-Pn* lat. 1206 is an Ordinal of Sens of the late twelfth century, where sequences are indicated by their incipits, without music. *F-Pn* n. a. lat. 115 is an Ordinal of Sens for the church of Yèbles dated to the thirteenth century; here the sequences are indicated by their incipits, without music; Ordinal is incomplete, breaking off in Holy Week. Some sequences of the earlier series are written in seventeenth-century hand in both *F- SEM* 16 and 17. Both *F-SEM* 16 and 17 show on the first page the title ‘Missale ad usum metropol. ac primatial. Ecclesiae Senonens. Ante annum 1230 scriptum multiusque missis propriis ss. Anno 1676 auctum et illustratum’. This title is followed by ‘pars prima—proprium de tempore’ in *F-SEM* 16 and by ‘pars secunda—proprium de sanctis’ in *F-SEM* 17. The first half of *F-SEM* 16 (up to the middle of the sequence for Holy Innocents) is in a seventeenth-century hand but appears to transmit the tradition of the thirteenth century. A supplement to *F-SEM* 16 gives sequences for Corpus Christi. At the end of *F-SEM* 17, in another seventeenth-century hand, there is a ‘supplementum huius libri’, and some added proper masses and a further series of masses approved in 1671. These descriptions of the manuscripts are taken from KELLY, ‘Sequences’ (see note 37), p. 342. On *F-SEM* 16-17 see also MEYER, *Catalogue des manuscrits notés* (see note 29), vol. 3, pp. 193-7.

<sup>41</sup> *F-Pn* lat. 10502: Missal from Sens which begins with a full calendar and a three-folio Kyriale. Description taken from KELLY, ‘Sequences’, (see note 37), p. 342. On *F-Pn* lat. 10502 see also LEROQUAIS, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits* (see note 30), vol. 2, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> Like in the Sundays after Epiphany, after Easter and the ferias after Pentecost. KELLY, ‘Sequences’ (see note 37), p. 344.

<sup>43</sup> Such as the sequences for Advent 4, Christmas 3, Stephen, the Vigil of Epiphany, Trinity and Andrew. KELLY, ‘Sequences’ (see note 37), p. 344.

<sup>44</sup> The sequences in I84 can also be consulted at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/compositions?src=11083&string=&genre%5B%5D=Sq>> (accessed 1 December 2017).

manuscript. More specifically, the comparison reveals that I84 shows a greater similarity with the early set of sequences, even if, occasionally, it adheres to the liturgy transmitted in the later set.<sup>45</sup> Within the manuscripts of Sens representative of the early series, divergences are occasionally found. For example, sometimes the two ordinals *F-Pn* lat. 1206 and n. a. lat. 115 have no sequence for a specific feast while *F-SEM* 16-17 provides one; when this happens, I84 has the same sequence of *F-SEM* 16-17.<sup>46</sup> In other instances, instead, the manuscripts of the early group provide different sequences for the same liturgical feast and, likewise, I84 is concordant with *F-SEM* 16-17.<sup>47</sup> It is important to remember here that some of the sequences of the first series are indicated only by their incipits, without music, in the two Ordinals *F-Pn* lat. 1206 and n. a. lat. 115, and the same sequences are written fully in *F-SEM* 16-17, but by a seventeenth-century hand. As a matter of fact, I84 appears to be the earliest manuscript from Sens containing the full text and music for some of the sequences of the early series. Furthermore, the occasional similarities between I84 and the later set of sequences from Sens seem to demonstrate that sequences at Sens changed gradually between the end of the twelfth century (first series) and the first half of the thirteenth century (later series), and I84 represents an intermediate stage of development.

The comparison between I84 and the two series of sequences in Sens reveals that some liturgical feasts found in I84 are absent in the two sets.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, I84 lacks some feasts provided in both series.<sup>49</sup> These differences suggest that none of the manuscripts representing the early and the later series of sequences at Sens can be considered as a direct model from which I84 was copied.

#### *The Date of Institution of the Liturgical Feasts in Iluminado 84*

The palaeographical analysis indicated two phases in the creation of I84, a fact that seems to be confirmed by the analysis of the liturgical feasts found in Scribe A's and Scribe B's sections. Scribe A's section does not contain any feast instituted after the middle of the thirteenth century; here the most 'modern' feast is the Reception of Crown of Thorns,<sup>50</sup> instituted at semiduplex rank in the early 1240s by Bishop Guillaume d'Auvergne (1228-49).<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, Scribe B's section

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, the sequences for Fer. 4 Pent., In Dedicatione Eccl., Columbae, Martini.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, the sequences for Dom. 3 p. Pascha, Dom. 4 p. Pascha, Dom. 5 p. Pascha Fer. 3 Pent., etc.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, the sequences for Thomae Cant., Silvestri, Petri & Pauli.

<sup>48</sup> These feasts are: De Corona Spinea (instituted after 1239), Thomae Cant. (canonised in 1173), Bartholomei and Catharinae.

<sup>49</sup> Feasts absent in I84 and found instead in the two series from Sens are the Invention of Relics at Sens (7 January), Germani, Inv. Rel. S Steph. and Remigii.

<sup>50</sup> Placed in the *Proprium Sanctorum* on ff. 193r-195r.

<sup>51</sup> Rebecca A. BALTZER, 'The Saints and the Sanctorale: Dating by the Decade in 13th-Century Paris', in *International Musicological Society, 17th International Congress (Leuven, 1-7 August 2002), Programme Abstracts*, edited by Ivan Asselman and Bruno Bouckaert (Neerpelt, 2002), 408. Handout. I wish to thank Rebecca Baltzer for providing the

contains the more recent liturgical feasts found in the manuscript. The section starts with Corpus Christi (ff. 251r-255r), a feast instituted by Pope Urban IV in 1264 and commonly found in fourteenth-century manuscripts. Scribe B's section of I84 gives much emphasis to Corpus Christi, providing also chants for the Dominica infra Octava and the Octave (ff. 255r-258r). Furthermore, it is in this section that we can read the Mass for Saint Louis, which is the most recent feast of I84.<sup>52</sup> All these pieces of evidence indicate that Scribe A copied from a model dated after the 1240s (but not much later than 1264). Conversely, Scribe B copied from a model dated after 1297 (the date of the institution of Saint Louis's feast) and the supplement created was probably intended to enhance the contents of I84 with some more contemporary liturgical feasts and their chants.

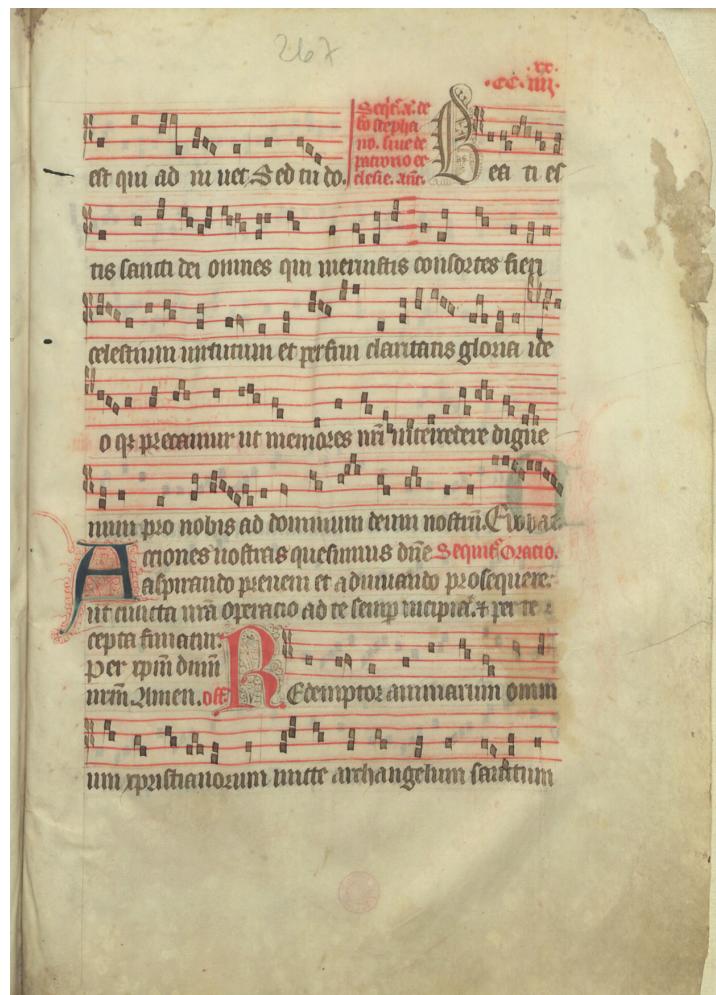


Figure 9. P-Ln Iluminado 84, f. 267r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal

handout and additional bibliography on Parisian manuscripts. The Reception of Crown of Thorns commemorates the arrival of the relic at Sens on 11 August 1239. The relic was received by Saint Louis, who later on wanted it to be moved to the newly constructed Sainte-Chapelle. On the office for this feast see Brigitte ARNAUD and Annie DENNERY, *L'office de la Couronne d'épines à Sens* (Canada, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2012).

<sup>52</sup> On the Mass for Saint Louis see section 'The Mass for Saint Louis' above.

### *The Proprium Sanctorum in Iluminado 84*

At the end of I84 Scribe B wrote chants for the washing of the altars on Maundy Thursday (ff. 266v-267v); here, on f. 267r there is the rubric ‘Antiphona de Sancto Stephano sive de patrono ecclesie’ followed by the antiphon ‘Beati estis sancti’ (Cantus ID 001581).<sup>53</sup> This is a typical antiphon usually sung on All Saints’ Day or for the Commune Sanctorum and it does not refer specially to Stephen.<sup>54</sup> The rubric in I84 is somewhat confusing; it could be interpreted to mean that the ‘patronus ecclesiae’ is not Stephen, that is, ‘Sing an antiphon for St Stephen or for the patron of your church (whoever he/she is)’. As is widely known, the Cathedral of Sens is dedicated to Saint Étienne and the presence of this Stephen antiphon, along with other elements that connect I84 to the Sens environment, is a reason for testing the chants of the *Proprium Sanctorum* in I84 for their relationship to the liturgy of Sens Cathedral.<sup>55</sup> The relationship is, however, not as close as one might expect;<sup>56</sup> for example, I84 does not place any special emphasis on Paula matrona (27 January), whose relics have been kept in the Cathedral of Sens since the ninth century.<sup>57</sup> I84 lacks any reference to the feast of the Invention of Relics on 7 January, which is often found in calendars and manuscripts related to the diocese of Sens.<sup>58</sup> Another feast found in Sens is that of the founding saints Savinianus, Potentianus, and Columba on 31 December (during their mass, a memorial for Genovefa is usually mentioned).<sup>59</sup> On 31 December, I84 has, instead, the chants for Silvester

<sup>53</sup> F. 267r can also be consulted in figure 9 and at <<http://pemdatabase.eu/image/11616>> (accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>54</sup> The Antiphon Cantus ID 001581 and the analysis of the liturgical occasions when it was sung are available at <<http://cantusindex.org/id/001581>> (accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>55</sup> The seat of the archdiocese of Sens was in the Cathedral and until 1622 the archdiocese of Sens held jurisdiction over Auxerre, Chartres, Meaux, Paris, Orléans, Nevers, Troyes, etc.; the Cathedral’s treasure contains a fragment of the True Cross and the vestments of Thomas Becket. See KELLY, ‘Sequences’ (see note 37), p. 341; and Barbara HAGGH-HUGLO, ‘Description and Evaluation of Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat. 429: Complete Calendar of the Use of the Abbey of St. Pierre-le-Vif in Sens and Incomplete Kyriale’, in *Archivum de musica medii aevi: Notes et Documents* (2013), p. 8 available online at <<http://www.musmed.fr/AdMMAe/Haggh-Huglo,%20Calendar%20of%20Sens.pdf>> (accessed 1 December 2017). The facsimile edition of MS Lat 429 is available at <[https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:30873510\\$1](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:30873510$1)> (accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>56</sup> On the *Proprium Sanctorum* in the Cathedral of Saint Étienne see Océane BOUDEAU, ‘Le Sanctoral de la Cathédrale de Sens’, in *Papers Read at the 17th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus (Venice, 2014)* (forthcoming). This essay is based on the comparison of ten calendars dated from manuscripts from the diocese of Sens dated between c. 1200 and 1575.

<sup>57</sup> In I84 the chants for Paula matrona are cued on f. 166r. The feast of Paula matrona is absent in almost all the manuscripts from Sens that I have consulted for this research. However, it is found in F-SEm 17 f. 14r, and we can observe a perfect correspondence between I84 and the chants for Paula matrona in this manuscript. The chants cued in I84 are also cued in F-SEm 17, likewise those written full text in I84 are written in the same way in F-SEm 17. The only difference between these two manuscripts is that I84 has musical notation whereas F-SEm 17 does not. F-Pn lat 864(1) winter shares three chants for Paula matrona with I84, they are found without notation on f. 164r. On the feast for Paula matrona see PERDRIZET, *Calendrier parisien* (see note 25), p. 84.

<sup>58</sup> The feast of the Invention of Relics was celebrated on 7 January only in the diocese of Sens, see Victor LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1934), vol. 1, pp. 63, 83; vol. 4 pp. 47, 54, 155, 157-9. For example, this feast is found in the calendars of F-Pn lat. 864, GB-Lbl Add. 30058, F-MOf 71, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat. 429 [US-CAh lat. 429], F-SEm 15; and in the following manuscripts à l’usage de Sens: F-SEm 16 f. 28v, GB-Lbl Add. 30058 f. 24v, Italy, Bari, Archivio della Basilica di San Nicola [I-BAsn 2(87)] f. 79v, F-Pn lat. 864 f. 23v, F-Pn lat. 10502 f. 32rv.

<sup>59</sup> This feast can be found in F-Pn lat 864, F-Pn lat. 10502, I-BAsn 2(87), GB-Lbl Add. 30058 and F-SEm 15.

(f. 162r) and there is no mention of Genovefa.<sup>60</sup> The absence of the feast of relics of Sens, and of the feasts of Paula matrona and the founding saints, do not invalidate the argument that I84 originated in the archdiocese of Sens, but suggest that I84 was not produced for use in the Cathedral of Saint Etienne of Sens. On the other hand, the presence of the Antiphon 'Beati estis sancti' in Holy Week in I84 would certainly be worth verifying in other manuscripts from the Archdiocese of Sens as it seems to be uncommon and peculiar to I84.<sup>61</sup> It is to be hoped that future research on other manuscripts from Sens can help to clarify better the exact origin of I84.

## Conclusion

This research had as its point of departure an informal proposition made by Manuel Pedro Ferreira concerning the origins of a notated *Graduale-Prosarium* in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon. The analysis of I84 and its comparison with other manuscripts from Paris and Sens has, for the first time, shed some light upon its date and origins. The style of foliation and the presence of the Mass for Saint Louis connect I84 to a French milieu, whilst the absence of custodes restricts the identification of the origins to Northern France. The main characteristics that support the identification of the origins in Sens, as proposed by Ferreira, are the Alleluia verses and the sequences.

Palaeographical analysis proved that it is possible to reconstruct some phases in the history of the manuscript from its production to the modern era. I84 was written by Scribe A (ff. 1-250) and Scribe B (ff. 251-267). The analysis of the liturgical feasts confirms two phases in the creation of I84. The final supplement was intended to enhance the contents of the original bulk of the manuscript with some feasts added to the liturgy in the second half of the thirteenth century, such as Corpus Christi and the Mass for Saint Louis. Finally, some later-hand inscriptions tell us that the manuscript was in Joigny (near Sens) at the end of the seventeenth century. These inscriptions allow us to surmise a steady presence of the manuscript in the Sens area from the time of its production and to hypothesize that I84 was brought to Portugal only in the eighteenth century or later.

<sup>60</sup> Sens *F-SEm* 17 lacks the feast for the founding saints on 31 December and celebrates on this occasion Silvester. A comparison between *F-SEm* 17 and I84 reveals that it is possible to find a perfect correspondence between the chants for Silvester cued and prescribed in I84 on f. 162r and the chants for the same saint cued in *F-SEm* 17 on f. 11v. Saviniani et Potentiani are celebrated in I84 on 19 October (f. 210r).

<sup>61</sup> In the Mass manuscripts from Sens consulted for this research, there is no evidence of Antiphon ID 001581 being sung during Holy Week; however, the feast *Feria V in Cena Domini* is absent in *F-SEm* 17 and 19.

## Appendix

### Sequences in *Iluminado 84*

Folio	Feast	Incipit	Analecta Hymnica vol:page	Concordances <sup>62</sup>
001v	Dom. 1 Adventus	<i>Salus aeterna indeficiens mundi vita Lux</i>	7:1/53:28	
003v	Dom. 2 Adventus	<i>Regnante sempiterna per saecula</i>	7:30/53:5	
005r	Dom. 3 Adventus	<i>Qui regis sceptra forti dextra solus</i>	7:31/53:8	
011r	Dom. 4 Adventus	<i>Jubilemus omnes una Deo nstro qui</i>	7:33/53:9	LS has <i>Deo nostro qui creavit omnia.</i>
012v	Vigilia Nat. Domini	<i>Jubilemus omnes una Deo nstro qui</i>	7:33/53:9	
015r	Nativitas Domini	<i>Nato canunt omnia Domino pie agmina</i>	7:49/53:41	
017r	Nativitas Domini	<i>Sonent regi nato nova cantica cujus</i>	50:282	
019v	Nativitas Domini	<i>Christi hodierna pangimini</i>	7:42/53:25	LS has <i>Splendor patris et figura.</i>
021v	Stephani	<i>Magnus deus</i>	7:221/53:353	LS has <i>Heri mundus exaltavit.</i>
024r	Joannis Evang.	<i>Organicis canamus</i>	7:167	
026r	Nat. Innocentium	<i>Celsa pueri concrepent melodia</i>	53:264	
028v	Thomae Cant.	<i>Sonent regi nato nova cantica cujus</i>	50:282	This feast is absent in both ES and LS.
029v	Dom. p. Nat. Dom.	<i>Caeleste organum hodie</i>	7:51	
031r	Octava Nat. Domini	<i>Laetabundus exsultet fidelis</i>	54:5	In <i>F-Pn</i> n. a. lat. 115 and <i>F-Pn</i> lat. 1206 this feast is followed by 8va Stephani. 8va Stephani is absent in both <i>F-SEM</i> 16-17 and LS.
032r	Vigilia Epiphaniae	<i>Sonent regi nato nova</i>	50:282	Here I84 differs from both ES and LS. ES has Letabundus, whilst LS has Lux est orta.
035r	Epiphania	<i>Epiphaniam Domino</i>	7:53/53:47	Epiphania is followed by the feast of the relics (7 January) in ES. The feast of the relics is absent in I84.
037v	Dom. 1 p. Epiph.	<i>Insomnis hos mo*</i>	Not AH	LS has <i>Virgo mater.</i>
038r	Octava Epiphaniae	<i>Insomnis hos mo*</i>	Not AH	LS has <i>Virgo mater.</i>
039r	Dom. 2 p. Epiph.	<i>Caeleste organum hodie</i>	7:51	
040r	Dom. 3 p. Epiph.	<i>Sonent regi nato nova cantica cujus</i>	50:282	Dom. 3 p. Epiph. is followed by Dom. 4 p. Epiph. only in LS.
104v	Dom. Resurrectionis	<i>Fulgens praeclara rutilat</i>	7:57/53:270	
107v	Fer. 2 p. Pascha	<i>Mane prima sabbati surgens</i>	54:214	

<sup>62</sup> A blank space is left when the sources agree. The early set of sequences in Sens is found in manuscripts *F-Pn* lat. 1206, *F-Pn* n. a. lat. 115, *F-SEM* 16 and 17. The early set is abbreviated in the table as 'ES'. The later set of sequences in Sens is found in *F-Pn* lat. 10502 and it is abbreviated in the table as 'LS'.

109v	Fer. 3 p. Pascha	<i>Victimae paschali laudes immolent</i>	54:7	
111r	Fer. 4 p. Pascha	<i>Psallat plebs devota</i>	42:22	
115r	Octava Paschae	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	54:7	LS has <i>Zima vetus</i> . I84 does not have the feast Dom. 2 p. Pascha, which is instead provided in both ES and LS.
117r	Dom. 3 p. Pascha	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	54:7	Within ES only <i>F-SEm</i> 16 has a sequence for this feast, and it is <i>Victime</i> . LS instead has <i>Ecce dies celebris</i> .
118r	Dom. 4 p. Pascha	<i>Psallat plebs devota</i>	42:22	Within ES only <i>F-SEm</i> 16 has a sequence for this feast, and it is <i>Psallat plebs</i> . The later set instead has here <i>Lux illuxit dominica</i> .
119r	Dom. 5 p. Pascha	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	54:7	Within ES only <i>F-SEm</i> 16 has a sequence for this feast, and it is <i>Victime</i> . LS instead has here <i>Mundi renovati</i> .
122v	Ascensio Domini	<i>Rex omnipotens die</i>	7:83/53:111	
125r	Dom. p. Ascensionem	<i>Ecce stetere*</i>	Not AH	I84 does not have the feast 8va Ascensio.
127v	Dom. Pentecostes	<i>Sancti spiritus assit</i>	53:119	
129v	Fer. 2 Pent.	<i>Almiphona iam gaudia</i>	7:73/53:132	LS has <i>Lux iocunda lux insignis</i> .
131v	Fer. 3 Pent.	<i>Laudes deo devotas</i>	54:21	ES has <i>Plaudens turma</i> , except <i>F-SEm</i> 16 which has <i>Laudes deo devotas</i> . LS has <i>Simplex in essential septiformi gratia</i> .
132v	Fer. 4 Pent.	<i>Alma chorus domini</i>	53:132	ES has no sequence for this feast. LS has <i>Alma chorus domini</i> .
136r	De Trinitate	<i>Benedicta sit beata trinitas</i>	7:109/53:143	LS has <i>Profitentes unitatem</i> .
156r	In Dedicatione Eccl.	<i>Clara chorus dulce</i>	54:138	ES has <i>Rex Salomon</i> , however <i>F-SEm</i> 16 has no sequence.
159v	Andreae	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>	53:367	LS has <i>Exultemus et letemur</i> .
160r	Nicolai	<i>Congaudentes exsultemus</i>	54:95	
162r	Thomae Apost.	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>	53:367	
162r	Thomae Cant.	<i>Sonent regi</i>	50:282	ES has <i>O Thoma</i> , however <i>F-SEm</i> 17 and LS have <i>Sonent regi</i> . In ES this feast is followed by <i>cras. S. Thome</i> with the sequence <i>Sonent regi</i> (if Sunday).
162r	Silvestri	<i>Caeleste organum hodie*</i>	7:51	ES has <i>Sonent regi</i> , however <i>F-SEm</i> 17 and LS have <i>Celeste organum</i> .
162v	Vincentii	<i>Praecelsa saeclis colitur</i>	7:226/53:359	
165r	Conversio Pauli	<i>Clare sanctorum*</i>	53:367	
166r	Paulae	<i>Laetabundus</i>	54:2	
168v	Purificatio Mariae	<i>Hac clara die</i>	7:115/53:168	
176r	Philippi, Jacobi	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>	53:367	

177r	Inventio Crucis	<i>Laudes crucis attollamus</i>	54:188	
180r	Joannis Port. Lat.	<i>Eia carissimi agamus</i>	44:163	
183r	Joannis Baptistae	<i>Gaude caterva diei</i>	7:57/53:270	
186v	Petri, Pauli	<i>Laude iucunda melos</i>	7:183/5:21/53:211	<i>F-SEM</i> 17 has Laude instead of Gaude as found in all the other manuscripts.
188r	Pauli	<i>Sacra Paule*</i>		Only in <i>F-SEM</i> 17 the feast for Pauli is followed by trans. S Martini; however, here the sequence <i>Martine inclite*</i> was cancelled.
188r	Octava Apostolorum	<i>Clare sanctorum*</i>	53:367	
188v	Mariae Magdalena	<i>Mane prima sabbati*</i>	54:143	
188v	Jacobi	<i>Clare sanctorum*</i>	53:367	
188v	Columbae	<i>Regina virg*</i>	48:115	ES has <i>Virginis egregie*</i> while LS has <i>Regina virg*</i> . The feast for Columbae is followed in both series by Germani, which is absent in I84.
189r	Vincula Petri	<i>Gaude Roma caput</i>	55:283	The feast Vincula Petri is followed in both series by Inv. Rel. S Steph., which is absent in I84.
191v	Laurentii	<i>Stola iucunditatis</i>	54:61	
193v	De Corona Spinea	<i>Regis et pontificis dyadema</i>	8:22/54:204	The feast De Corona Spinea is absent in both ES and LS but it is found in the seventeenth-century ‘supplementum huius libri’ in <i>F-SEM</i> 17 with the sequence <i>Regis et pontificis</i> .
197v	Assumptio Mariae	<i>Aurea virga</i>	7:122/53:186	
200r	Assumptio Mariae, 8	<i>Ave Maria gratia</i>	54:337	
201r	Assumptio Mariae, 8	<i>Hac clara*</i>	7:115/53:168	
201v	Bartholomaei	<i>Clare*</i>	53:367	The feast Bartholomei is absent in both ES and LS.
201v	Augustini	<i>Hic sanctus cuius*</i>		
201v	Decoll. Jo. Bapt.	<i>Ad honorem tuum Christe</i>	55:220	
203v	Lupi	<i>O Lupe*</i>	Cf. <i>Christo inclita</i>	
204r	Nativitas Mariae	<i>Alle celeste</i>	7:111/53:166	
206v	Nativitas Mariae, 8	<i>Ave Maria*</i>	54:337	
206v	Exaltatio Crucis	<i>Laudes cru*</i>	54:188	
206v	Matthaei	<i>Clare sanctorum*</i>	53:367	
207v	Michaelis	<i>Ad celebres rex</i>	7:195/53:306	The feast Michaelis is followed in both series by <i>Remigii</i> , which is absent in I84.
210r	Savinianus, Potentianus	<i>Mirabilis*</i>	7:231/53:372	
210r	Simonis, Judae	<i>Clare sanctorum*</i>	53:367	
211r	Omnium Sanctorum	<i>Christo inclita</i>	7:132/53:201	
213r	Martini	<i>Martine inclite*</i>	Cf. <i>Christo inclita</i>	ES has <i>Organicis*</i> .
213r	Bricii	<i>Brici inclite*</i>	Cf. <i>Christo inclita</i>	

214r	Catharinae	<i>Vox sonora nostri chori</i>	55:209	The feast Catharinae with the sequence <i>Vox Sonora</i> is absent in both ES and LS with the only exception of BNF lat. 10502 (ff. 206v-217).
218v	Comm. Evangelistarum	<i>Clare sanctorum senatus</i>	53:367	
223r	Comm. unius Mart.	<i>Organicis canamus modulis</i>	7:167	
232v	Comm. plur. Mart.	<i>Mirabilis Deus in sanctis</i>	7:231/53:372	ES provides sequences also for the feasts Confessorum and Virginum. It is possible that also I84 originally had these feasts, as the Commune Sanctorum is now interrupted on folio 244 due to a lacuna.
252v	Corporis Christi	<i>Lauda Sion salvatorem</i>	50:584	Also in the seventeenth-century addition to <i>F-SEM</i> 16.
256r	Dom. p. Cor. Christi	<i>Laureata plebs fidelis</i>	8:37	
258v	Annae	<i>Mater matris domini</i>	39:101	Also in the seventeenth-century ‘supplementum huius libri’ in <i>F-SEM</i> 17.
259v	Conceptio Mariae	<i>Gaudeamus in hac die</i>	7:38/53:44	
260v	Ludovici	<i>Regem regum veneremur</i>	55:227	Same sequence as in <i>F-PM</i> 413. The seventeenth-century ‘supplementum huius libri’ in <i>F-SEM</i> 17 has instead <i>Hic sanctus</i> *.
266r	De BMV	<i>Benedicta es coelorum regina</i>	54:396	

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