

Understanding the Old Hispanic Office

Based on highly original archival and palaeographical research, this is the first methodological and factual primer in English on the distinctive liturgical tradition of early medieval Spain. It provides clear and approachable blueprints for future work on the description and analysis (musical, theological and cultural) of this and other liturgies. For non-specialists, the authors introduce the main features of Old Hispanic rite, its manuscripts, its services and its liturgical genres. For specialists, they model a variety of ways to work with the Old Hispanic materials in depth, incorporating notational, musical, theological and historical perspectives. For those interested in musical notation, the book lays out a method for working with unpitched neumes, with illustrative results, that will inspire and challenge others working on monophonic chant. For historians and liturgists, the texts and melodies are analysed in combination with the theological context that informed their creation.

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Understanding the Old Hispanic Office

Texts, Melodies and Devotion in Early
Medieval Iberia

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-108-99401-9 — Understanding the Old Hispanic Office
 Emma Hornby, Kati Ihnat, Rebecca Maloy, Raquel Rojo Carrillo
 Frontmatter
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CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
 a department of the University of Cambridge.

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 education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108994019

DOI: 10.1017/9781108991223

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First published 2022

First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Hornby, Emma, 1973– author. | Ihnat, Kati, 1981– author. | Maloy, Rebecca, author. |
 Carrillo, Raquel Rojo, 1980– author.

Title: Understanding the Old Hispanic office : texts, melodies, and devotion in early medieval Iberia /
 Emma Hornby, Kati Ihnat, Rebecca Maloy, Raquel Rojo Carrillo.

Description: [1.] | Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2022. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022012746 | ISBN 9781108845892 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108994019 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Mozarabic chants–History and criticism. | Catholic Church–Mozarabic rite. |

BISAC: MUSIC / General

Classification: LCC ML3070 .U53 2022 | DDC 782.32/2200946–dc23/eng/20220602

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022012746>

ISBN 978-1-108-84589-2 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-99401-9 Paperback

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Preface and Acknowledgements

EMMA HORNBY (Editor)

In 2008, my good friend Rebecca Maloy came to visit me in Bristol. We were both nearing the conclusion of previous research projects. ‘What are you doing next?’ one of us asked. ‘Old Hispanic chant,’ the other replied. ‘But *I’m* doing Old Hispanic chant next,’ said the first. ‘Let’s do it together.’ For more than a decade now, our ongoing collaboration has been characterised by a failure to remember which of us said (or wrote) what, but for the conversation to result in ideas that are stronger than either of us could have come up with alone.

The Old Hispanic Office project was our second major collaboration.¹ We gratefully acknowledge funding of the research leading to these results by the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC grant agreement no. 313133. With funding for five years, we were able to work with postdoctoral researchers and PhD students to make considerable progress in understanding the Old Hispanic office liturgy. Kati Ihnat worked on Iberian devotion to the Virgin Mary, from liturgical, historical and theological perspectives. Elsa De Luca worked on Old Hispanic notation, particularly that of L8, and on the monograms and cryptographic symbols in that manuscript. Raquel Rojo Carrillo worked on the vespertini, undertaking a genre analysis that explored general liturgical structures as well as the texts and melodies of the vespertini themselves. Paul Rouse, our software engineer, contributed to our understanding of the notational signs as he helped us create neume taxonomies for our Chant Editing and Analysis Program. Litha Efthymiou was our project composer, creating music that responded to ideas raised by the rest of us and that aimed to recreate, in a modern idiom for modern audiences, something of the spiritual or aesthetic potential of Old Hispanic chant and liturgy. As well as supporting these colleagues, and collaborating with them to develop ideas across the project, Rebecca and I developed our work on the melodic, theological and notational content of Old Hispanic chant. Many of the

¹ The first, on Old Hispanic Lent, is summarised in our previous monograph, *Music and Meaning*.

results of five years of collaborative conversation are included, or alluded to, in the present volume, and we gratefully acknowledge the formative role that all our colleagues played in developing the ideas that are communicated in this book.²

As well as regular collaborative conversations with Litha, our in-house composer, we enlisted the help of other composers to communicate our research findings to a wider public. We had many intensive face-to-face conversations with our three composer colleagues at the University of Bristol (Michael Ellison, Neal Farwell and John Pickard), all of whom wrote music responding to our research.³ Further, over fifty composers, from Denmark to Italy, from Bulgaria to the USA, wrote music that responded to the research, communicating various aspects of the aesthetics or compositional practice of Old Hispanic chant and liturgy. In 2015, we used a publicly available online forum for detailed conversations with a hundred composers about our research.⁴ The composers were fascinated by the puzzle of the notation; the characteristics of the melodies, including the repeated melodic patterns and the great flurries of notes on a single syllable; and the theological and liturgical context. After workshop performances and recordings of twenty new pieces, six of the composers were commissioned to write longer works for public performances in Bristol and Cambridge, and the resulting pieces engage with Old Hispanic principles of melodic construction, including extended melismas (e.g. Driessen, Willis, Greenhorne); musical lines inspired by neumes (e.g. Willis, Driessen); Old Hispanic liturgy as springboard for exploring musical time and space (e.g. Driessen, Lemon); and the Old Hispanic combination and adaptation of pre-existing texts for new purposes (e.g. Lemon).⁵ We wish to express our thanks to all the composers who engaged so productively and fruitfully with our work, helping to shape it into its current form.

² For other project outputs, both individual and co-authored, see the bibliography of this volume, the neume taxonomies created at www.neumes.org.uk and some of Litha Efthymiou's compositions (www.efthymiou.co.uk/About/About_Litha/), most notably *Rituals to Mould Her With* and *Myisi*. Discussions of the collaborative process may be found in Efthymiou, 'Devising an Opera', and Efthymiou and Hornby, 'New Music'.

³ John Pickard's *Daughters of Zion* (text by Gavin D'Costa) is included in a recording by the Nash Ensemble, *The Gardener of Aleppo and Other Chamber Works* (2020; BIS-2461).

⁴ www.tapatalk.com/groups/old_hispanic_office/

⁵ Some of these pieces can be heard at: <https://soundcloud.com/alison-willis-composer>; <https://soundcloud.com/karen-lemon.com/audio/> (full recording available on request); <https://soundcloud.com/mauroagagliate>; <https://soundcloud.com/miranda-driessen/marginalia>; <https://soundcloud.com/david-greenhorne>; <https://soundcloud.com/francisco-carbonell-125541228>; <https://soundcloud.com/euchar-gravina/ocho-canticos-magnificat-1>; and <https://soundcloud.com/euchar-gravina/ocho-canticos-nunc-dimittis>

We were given opportunities to present our work at many conferences and seminars, nationally and internationally. There are too many to mention all of them by name, but we note with particular appreciation the supportive and intellectually challenging conversations with colleagues in Bristol's Centre for Medieval Studies, the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, the Cantus Planus conferences, Med-Ren, Kalamazoo, the Leeds International Medieval Congress, the Institute for Historical Research seminars and the meetings of the American Musicological Society. At the British Library, Nicolas Bell gave us access to meeting rooms so that we could talk while working on the manuscripts; this was enormously appreciated. Several colleagues were extremely generous with their time and expertise, offering us workshop sessions where we shared work in progress for feedback and advice, including Inga Behrendts, Ainoa Castro Correa, Wendy Davies, Margot Fassler, Kate Helsen, Susan Rankin and Rose Walker. Several workshops held at Bristol ('Senses of Liturgy' and 'Glossing the Liturgy') provided us with yet more feedback from scholars of liturgy too numerous to name but to whom we are very grateful. We also wish to thank our students, friends and colleagues who have read and commented on sections of this book while it was in draft form. These include the University of Bristol Music Department writing group ('kindly open heart surgery without anaesthetic'): Argun Çakir, Lindsay Carter, Chris Charles, Felipe Corte Real de Camargo, David Dewar, Zach Diaz, Will Finch, Sara Garrard, Alex Gibson, Kate Guthrie, Sarah Hibberd, Asli Kaymak, James McNally, Maeve O'Donnell, Peter Relph, Paul Rouse, Tommaso Sabbatini, Dianne Scullin, Melanie Shaffer, James Taylor, Sarah Thompson and Justin Williams. We have benefited from close and critical reading by Marcus Jones and Emily Wride. The anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press also offered valuable suggestions, and we are immensely grateful to them for their wisdom and generosity. We wish to thank Kate Brett at Cambridge University Press, for her comradeship, support and patience while we brought this project to completion. We gratefully acknowledge subventions towards image reproduction costs from the Faculty of Arts, University of Bristol, the University of Colorado Boulder and the Martin Picker Fund of the American Musicological Society, supported in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

We are grateful to the following institutions for giving us permission to reproduce materials from manuscripts in their collections: British Library (BL45, BL51); Biblioteca Nacional de España (BN01); Real Academia de la Historia (A56); Library of the Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos (S3, S4 and

S6); Chapter Library of Toledo Cathedral (T4, T5 and T7); Archive of León Cathedral (L8); University of Zaragoza, Faculty of Law (Z418).

Finally, our heartfelt thanks to our families, for their companionship, support and love: Tom, Hannah, Peter, Cynthia, Ian, Sarah, Andrés, Philipp and Elenni.

Manuscript Sigla

Our manuscript sigla are largely derived from Randel, *Index*. Exceptions are: L8 rather than his AL (we have chosen a siglum that combines the manuscript's location with its shelfmark); and Z418 (thought, when Randel made his index, to have been copied at the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, hence his siglum SJP). All British Library manuscripts have been labelled BL rather than Randel's BM, since they have been moved from the British Museum to the British Library. For summary notes on the notated chant manuscripts, with bibliography, see Appendix 1. See also <http://musicahispanica.eu/>.

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type (for detailed contents, see Table 3.1, pp. 45–7)	Date	Origin	Included in Appendix 1?	Online images (where available; all accessed August 2019)
A14	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 14	Liber horarum (fragment), liber hymnorum (fragment)	11th century	Probably San Millán de la Cogolla		http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=12
A22	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 22	Commicus	11th century, before 1073	San Millán de la Cogolla		http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=67
A30	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 30	Misticus	10th or 11th century	Probably San Millán de la Cogolla	✓	http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=66
A56	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 56	Liber ordinum maior	10th or 11th century	San Millán de la Cogolla	✓	http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=65
A60	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 60	Miscellany codex, including notated litany services (ff. 28v–29r and 48v–50r)	10th century	Unknown	✓	http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=27 and http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=90
A64 bis	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 64 bis	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum	10th century	San Millán de la Cogolla		http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=115

A64 ter	Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 64	Liber psalmodum, liber canticorum	Late 10th century	Unknown	http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=114
AH1277	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, MS 1277	Liber canticorum	11th century	San Millán de la Cogolla	http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/2609410?nm
BL00	London, British Library, Add. MS 25600	Passionarium	919	Written for San Pedro de Cardena, at the behest of Abbat Damian, by ‘Gomes dictus Peccator’	
BL44	London, British Library, Add. MS 30844	Misticus, liber canticorum (fragment: ff. 173r–177v)	10th or 11th century	Unknown	www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_30844
BL45	London, British Library, Add. MS 30845	Misticus	10th or early 11th century	Uncertain; possibly San Millán de la Cogolla	www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_30845
BL46	London, British Library, Add. MS 30846	Misticus	10th or 11th century	Uncertain	
BL50	London, British Library, Add. MS 30850	Antiphoner (fragment, flyleaves)	11th century	Santo Domingo de Silos (main part of manuscript)	

xx

(cont.)

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type (for detailed contents, see Table 3.1, pp. 45–7)	Date	Origin	Included in Appendix 1?	Online images (where available; all accessed August 2019)
BL51	London, British Library, Add. MS 30851	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum, liber hymnorum, liber horarum, mysticus	11th century	Uncertain	✓	www.bl.uk/ manuscripts/ FullDisplay.aspx? ref=Add_MS_30851
BL52	London, British Library, Add. MS 30852	Orational	Late 9th century or first half of 10th century	Uncertain	✓	
BL95	London, British Library, Add. MS 11695	Antiphoner (flyleaves)	10th or 11th century	Uncertain	✓	www.bl.uk/ manuscripts/ FullDisplay.aspx? ref=Add_MS_11695
BN01	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10001	Liber psalmorum, liber canticorum, liber hymnorum	c.1100 or somewhat later	Preserved in Toledo, and has palaeographic and musical connections to that city, but origin uncertain	✓	http://bdh-rd.bne.es/ viewer.vm?pid=d- 2781010
BN01 (flyleaves)	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10001	Mysticus (2 folios)	11th century	Uncertain	✓	http://bdh-rd.bne.es/ viewer.vm?pid=d- 2781010

BN10	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10110	Misticus	Second half of 13th century	Copied by Ferdinandum Iohannes, priest of the parish church of Santas Justa y Rufina, Toledo (colophon on f. 12v); Tradition B	✓	http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-2699020
BN22	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 822	Passionarium	10th century	Unknown		http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000043239
BN29	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10029 (Códice de Azagra)	Mixed contents, including Saint Eulogius's passion	9th–10th century	Unknown		http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000139680
BN56	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 11556	Antiphoner (flyleaf, fragment), manuale (fragment, flyleaf)	11th century	San Zoilo de Carrión (founded between 1060 and 1070) or perhaps the founding abbey, San Zoilo de Córdoba	✓	http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000192144&page=1
BN94	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 494	Commicus (flyleaf, fragment), passionarium	10th–11th century	Unknown		http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000125639&page=1
Calz	Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Archivo Capitular, frag. Cod. no. 1	Liber horarum	10th–11th century	San Martín de Albelda	✓	

(cont.)

Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type (for detailed contents, see Table 3.1, pp. 45–7)	Date	Origin	Included in Appendix I?	Online images (where available; all accessed August 2019)
Cinc	Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, Klau Library, MS Acc 434	Misticus (fragment)	c.1200	Probably Toledo	✓	http://mss.huc.edu/ manuscripts/ms-acc- 434/
Coim	Coimbra, Archivo da Universidade, IV-3a S-Gv. 44(22)	Misticus (fragment)	Date unknown	Uncertain; Tradition B	✓	http://pemdatabase.eu/ image-gallery/91309
Esc a I-I-13	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, MS a-I-13	Miscellaneous contents, including a rule for nuns with a responsory	10th or 11th century	Convent in Bobadilla		
Esc b I-I-4	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, MS b-I-4	Passionarium	11th century	San Pedro de Cardaña		
Esc b-III-26	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, MS b-III-26	Passionarium (fragment)	11th century	Unknown		
Esc D-I-1	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, MS D-I-1	Calendar (manuscript also includes legislative material alongside writings by Isidore of Seville)	994	San Millán de la Cogolla		

Esc D-I-2	El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, MS D-I-2	Calendar	976	Albelda, copied by Vigila, Sarracino and Garsea		
Lam	Lamego, Palacio Episcopal de Lamego, Caixa 2, Fragmento 017	Misticus (fragment)	Second half of 10th century or 11th century	Unknown	✓	http://pemdatabase.eu/image-gallery/91295
L2	León, Cathedral Archive, MS 2	Commicus	Donated to the church in León 1071	Copied for Pelagio, bishop of León 1065–1073		
L5	León, Cathedral Archive, fragment F-5	Liber ordinum (fragment)	11th century	Unknown	✓	
L8	León, Cathedral Archive, MS 8	Calendar, antiphoner	Mid-10th century	‘East of León’ or the monastery of San Isidoro in León	✓	https://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=449895
NY16	New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS B.2916	Misticus	Mid-11th century	Uncertain; possibly San Millán de la Cogolla	✓	
OV	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXIX	Orational	c.700; before 734	Tarragona		www.nuovabiblio.tecmanoscritta.it/Generale/BibliotecaDigitale/mostraImmagini.html?codice=15&volume=1

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Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type (for detailed contents, see Table 3.1, pp. 45–7)	Date	Origin	Included in Appendix 1?	Online images (where available; all accessed August 2019)
PB39	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 239	Misticus (partial)	10th or 11th century	Uncertain		https://gallica.bnf.fr/ ark:/12148/ btv1b8459307/fl .item.r=NAL%20239
PB69	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2269	Commicus (palimpsest), with sermons	8th–9th century, or (more likely) 12th–14th century (see p. 44 and 55)			
PB71	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171	Calendar, commicus	Before 1067	Santo Domingo de Silos		http://gallica.bnf.fr/ ark:/12148/ btv1b8457362r
PB79	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2179	Passionarium	11th century			
PB80	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2180	Passionarium	992			

PB99	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2199	Antiphoner (fragment, ff. 14r–16v)	Late 9th or early 10th century	Unknown	✓	http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105243380
PB239	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 239	Passionarium	10th–11th century			https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84559307
PBs12-1	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Smith-Lesouëf 2	Liber psalmodum, liber canticorum	11th century			http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84559233
PBs12-2	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Smith-Lesouëf 2	Liber psalmodum, liber canticorum	11th century			http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84559233
Sal	Salamanca, Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca, MS 2668	Liber psalmodum, liber canticorum, liber horarum	1059	Copied by Christophorus for Queen Sancha of León	✓	https://gredos.usal.es/handle/10366/55563
Sant	Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, MS 609	Calendar, liber psalmodum, liber canticorum, liber horarum	1055	Copied by Pedro, with the illuminator Frutuoso (f. 208v), for King Ferdinand I of León, at the instigation of his wife Sancha	✓	https://minerva.usc.es/xmlui/handle/10347/9014
SI	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, MS 1	Antiphoner (fragment) in a manuscript mainly comprising Smaragdus's commentary on the Benedictine rule				
XXV						

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Manuscript sigla	Shelfmark	Manuscript type (for detailed contents, see Table 3.1, pp. 45–7)	Date	Origin	Included in Appendix 1?	Online images (where available; all accessed August 2019)
S3	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, MS 3	Calendar, liber ordinum minor, misticus	Calendar dated before 1064; liber ordinum dated 1039; misticus is late 11th century	Unknown; intended for parish rather than monastic use. Liber ordinum was copied by Iohanne presbitero scriptore (f. 177r)	✓	
S4	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, MS 4	Calendar, horologium (f. 4r, indicating daily psalms at monastic services), liber ordinum maior	1052	Copied by the priest Bartholomew by order of Abbot Domingo of the monastery of San Prudencio de Laturce, and paid for by Sancho Garceiz and his wife Bizinnina. The place of copying is not certain	✓	

S5	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, MS 5	Misticus	1056	Uncertain; colophon names the copyist as Blasco (f. 82v)	✓
S6	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, MS 6	Paper misticus; parchment misticus	Late 10th or 11th century	Uncertain	✓
S7	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, MS 7	Misticus, liber horarum	11th century	Uncertain; monastic	✓
S26	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadía, fragment 26	Antiphoner (fragment)	Late 9th or early 10th century	Uncertain	✓
T3	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 33–3	Liber horarum	Late 12th century	Probably Toledo; monastic. One of the scribes is signed as ‘Elenus abba’ (f. 67v)	✓
T4	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 35–4	Misticus; orational (fragment, ff. 172r–v); comicus (fragment, ff. 176r–178v)	1192–1208	Probably Toledo	✓
T5	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 35–5	Misticus	13th century	Probably Toledo; Tradition B	✓
T6	Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 35–6	Misticus	Late 10th to early 11th century	Unknown	✓