Doing lines: refrains and copyists in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*

Haciendo una plana: estribillos y copistas en las *Cantigas de Santa María*

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Abstract

In the manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the refrains following each strophe, as well as the rubrics preceding each poem, are copied in red ink, into spaces left after the copying of the body of the text in black ink. This creates two specific constraints: the need to fit text into predetermined spaces, and the repetition inherent in copying the same text many times over. The task was probably delegated to junior copyists, meaning that many pages have more than one hand represented. Close study of the copying of refrains reveals that the copyists used a range of devices to vary and justify the text of refrains, and that copying could proceed across the whole page rather than column by column.

Keywords: *Cantigas de Santa Maria,* refrain, copyist, red ink

Resumen

En los manuscritos de las *Cantigas de Santa María,* los estribillos que siguen a cada estrofa, así como las rúbricas que preceden a cada poema, se copian en tinta roja en los espacios definidos una vez copiado el texto principal en tinta negra. Este procedimiento implica dos condicionantes: la necesidad de encajar el texto en espacios predeterminados y la repetición inherente a la copia del mismo texto en reiteradas ocasiones. Es probable que la tarea se delegara en copistas inexpertos, por lo que muchas páginas muestran más de una mano. El estudio minucioso de la copia de los estribillos revela que los copistas utilizaban diversas técnicas para variar y justificar el texto de los estribillos, y que la copia podía realizarse a lo largo de toda la página y no siempre columna por columna.

Palabras clave: *Cantigas de Santa María,* estribillo, copista, tinta roja

1. Refrains in the csm

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (csm) are distinguished from most other medieval poetic repertories by their high degree of internal organisation and

consistency. The four thirteenth-century manuscripts which comprise the entire medieval manuscript tradition are all closely linked with the royal scriptorium.[1] They share the same compilation strategy in which the body of the work is constructed of sequences of ten pieces of which nine are narrative miracle tales and the tenth a lyric praise song. Independently of this, the collection consists predominantly of poems of a single strophic form, the Alfonsine zajal, characterised by the use of refrains which open the poem and are repeated after each strophe, with the additional cohesion of a strophe design in which the final portion of the strophe shares metrical features with the refrain, thus echoing the preceding refrain and prefiguring the following one. The music accompanying the text has a comparable but not always perfectly congruent structure, so that the musical prefiguration of the refrain may begin before or after the textual prefiguration. The refrain itself is not an appendage to the strophe but provides a thematic red thread, enunciating the moral (*razon*) of a hagiographical narrative or the theme of a lyric praise song (Montoya, "Razon"). By virtue of its initial position the refrain also constitutes the incipit of the poem, and is thus recorded as part of the Table of Contents of the completed volumes (Parkinson, "Aberturas").

132

The refrain is thus a key element in each poem. It is made visually distinctive in all the manuscripts by being written in red ink, while the main text is written in black. The only exception to this rule is the opening refrain, which is written beneath musical staves in black ink; all subsequent repetitions of the refrain, even those inserted beneath musical staves, are in red ink. This distinctiveness makes the process of copying the repeated refrains a very different task from the copying of the rest of the text. On the one hand it involves the repetition of the same text multiple times. In principle the refrain is repeated as many times as there are strophes, though for reasons of layout some refrains are omitted in one or other witness.[2] Thus in a short poem such as *cantiga* 207 the refrain is repeated three times, while in a lengthy one such as *cantiga* 5, it is

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The manuscripts and their conventional sigla are: E = Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. b-I-2 (códice de los músicos); T = Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. T-I-1 (códice rico); F = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Banco Rari, 20; To = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/10069. On their history, see Fernández Fernández ("Los manuscritos", "Este livro") and Schaffer ("Evolution", "Los códices").

[2] Parkinson ("Layout") explains the calculations involved in fitting poems into the pages of the *códices historiados*.

repeated twenty-six times. *Cantiga* 65, the longest of the corpus, requires fifty refrain repeats. The repetitive nature of the task is intensified by the separation of this task from the task of copying the main text, as black ink and red ink were applied in sequence and possibly by different copyists. This paper explores the effects of this uniquely repetitive task on the textual and graphemic variation in repeated refrains.

I have previously argued that editors should give little importance to variation in the refrain repeats, as the refrain is by definition a repeated textual element, and so there is no reason in a critical text to preserve any non-significant variation.[3] It is one of the distractions of Mettmann's editions that they lovingly preserve some of the random variation of a single manuscript (Mettmann, *Afonso X, Alfonso X*; Parkinson, "Review", "Towards"). This does not mean that refrain variation is not significant. Where refrain variation provides evidence of scriptorium practice, and of the distinctive habits of copyists, it is relevant to the theories of the construction of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* which ultimately underlie editorial decisions (Parkinson and Jackson, "Collection"; Parkinson, "Aberturas").
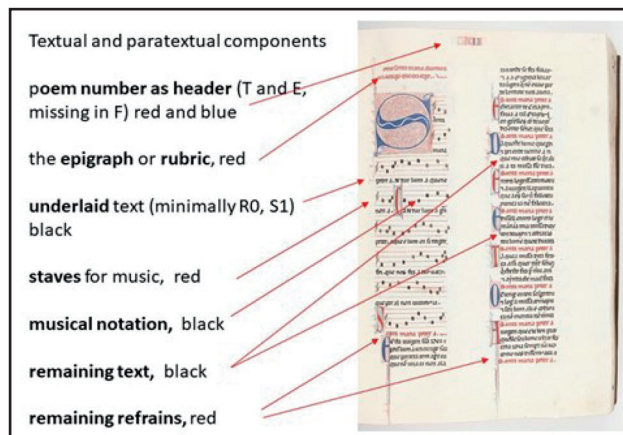
133

Image 1. Page layout components, Ms E f. 105r, cantiga 92

2. Page layout

To contextualize the process we need to explain the mechanics of page layout in the *csm* manuscripts (Parkinson, "Layout", "Structure").

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[3] Parkinson (*Alfonso X the Learned. Anthology*) relegates all refrain variation to the critical apparatus.

A typical text page of the CSM (image 1) is made up of:
- a cantiga number as header;
- rubrics or epigraphs for poems beginning on that page;
- text placed beneath music ("underlaid text"), ready to receive musical notation. The space constraints of the page and the intrusion of a large decorated initial into the opening stave(s) mean that the text is not laid out according to its metrical structure. The initial refrain and strophes are in black ink, repeated refrains are in red ink.
- text without music ("running text"), laid out in strophes, almost always divided into lines or half-lines; the strophes are in black ink, and the refrains, either in full or reduced to one or two lines, are in red ink.

134   Different classes of manuscript have overarching principles of page layout which affect these components. In the illustrated manuscripts T and F (the *códices historiados*), the addition of full-page miniatures is combined with the principle that each text occupies the entire space of a whole number of pages, so that no page contains parts of two or more poems. In the remaining two manuscripts, To and E, this principle does not apply, and it is rare for the beginning of the poem to coincide with the beginning of a page. The two types of layout also imply different approaches to the extent of the underlaid text. In MSS E and To the initial refrain R0 and the first strophe S1 are underlaid, with the refrain to the first strophe R1 usually part of the running text.[4] In T and F a larger number of strophes and refrains may be underlaid to achieve the overall aim of filling a complete number of pages.

These scribal practices imply three different classes of refrains in the text, with different palaeographical and textual qualities. Initial refrains (black ink) are always inserted in full, often with generous spacing of words to allow the music copyists to align the musical notation with the text, and with minimal use of abbreviatory devices. They are often subject to scribal emendation, in those cases where the text has been miscopied in ways which affect the match of text and music (Parkinson, "Text-music mismatches"). Some errors (such as the wrong division of words at stave breaks) are only found in underlaid text; a recurrent example of this type is the division of a diphthong into two pseudo-syllables, as in *De//us* (E118), *se//us* (E133), *Mate//us* (E155), *prime//ir* (T156), *ma//is* (T97). Refrains repeated in underlaid text (mainly

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[4] Refrains are numbered by the strophe they follow, with the initial refrain labelled R0. The lines of the refrain are R.1, R.2 etc. for the edited text, and R1.1, R1.2 for the lines of individual refrains in the witnesses.

but not exclusively in T and F) are almost always truncated, often to one or two words. Refrains repeated in running text are often reduced to one or two complete lines or half-lines, and are more or less heavily abbreviated according to the space available. Where the space allocation is generous, copyists have different practices: E, T and F justify the text by manipulating abbreviations, spacing and expanded letters to fill the complete column width; To does not attempt to justify the text of refrains or strophes, but uses decorative linefilling, alternating red and blue ink.[5]

A fourth type of refrain repeat is found in To, T and E, where the refrain, in full or in part, is copied into the Table of Contents as part of an entry consisting of rubric and an incipit.

3. Red and black

The division of refrains into black-ink work and red-ink work is an important factor. It is a commonplace of codicology that red ink is used for limited and often paratextual content such as rubrics, and that it was applied to the manuscript page after black ink. In the *CSM* manuscripts, with their complex page design, the subordination of red ink is more radical: red-ink text (refrains and rubrics) is not just performed after black ink work but is inserted into residual spaces defined by the extent of black ink work.[6] This is most noticeable in the case of refrains repeated in underlaid text, where the red-ink scribe is often left with minimal space.[7]

Different constraints affect the two main types of red-ink work. For rubrics there was a standard allocation of space at the beginning of each *cantiga*, which did not necessarily correspond to the amount of text subsequently copied into it: rubrics in E are typically allocated four or eight lines, corresponding to two staves with their text, a calculation which reflects the mechanics of fitting text and music into 40-line columns.[8] The task of the red-ink scribe in E was not made any easier when the *cantiga* began in the middle of a page, as there was no formal separation of the space left for the final refrain of the preceding *cantiga* and the initial rubric of the following one. Occasional

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[5] See Parkinson ("Structure") for discussion of the decorative scheme of To, Avenoza ("Codicología") on expanded letters in E.

[6] Two exceptions to this rule are the alternation of red and black ink in the Tables of Contents of To, E, T, and the *Intitulatio* of To which has alternate quatrains in red and black.

[7] In some cases the text of the refrain seems to have been inserted after the music.

[8] The same modular space allocation holds in T and F, where the page has 44 lines (Parkinson, "Layout"). In To there is no wasted space around rubrics, confirming that it is a copy of a completed manuscript.

miscalculations forced the red-ink scribe to close up the space between successive poems, to omit refrains or to truncate or cramp rubrics.

The running text, occupying several columns or even several pages, was inserted in strict black-red order, with the black ink scribe executing complete pages of text, leaving blank lines for the refrains. This is clear from the unfinished MS F, where a number of incomplete pages, such as f. 77r (image 2), have all the black running text and no refrains. In MS E, exceptionally, the same incompleteness is found in one folio, f. 327 (image 3), where neither music, refrains nor rubrics have been included. On this folio, the black-ink scribe has left a mere five lines between *cantigas* 364 and 365 (f. 327r) and between *cantigas* 365 and 366 (f. 327v), creating potential problems for the red-ink scribe.

4. Variation in refrain repeats
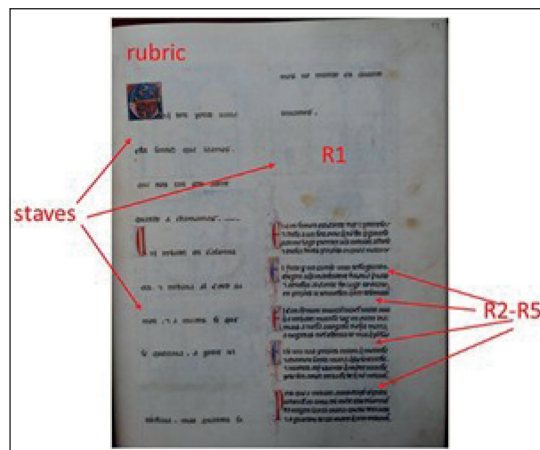
Image 2. Missing red ink in F f. 77r

The task of the red-ink scribe in the insertion of refrains was thus very different from most other copying duties. The scribe had to insert the text into gaps in the unfinished page. The page layout would provide constraints of space, as the width of the text columns was constant. This means that much of the natural graphemic variation in the csm is constrained. The use of abbreviations, for instance, is governed not by the general need to conserve parchment but by the specific need to adjust text to a particular container. At the same time, it invites the use of scriptorium-specific devices such as the deployment of expanded majuscules to allow short lines to fill the space allocated, and to terminate lines (Avenoza, "Codicología"; Ruiz García, "Escribir").

Image 3. Missing red ink in E, f. 327 r/v

Most distinctive, though, is the repetitive nature of the task, as the scribe had to insert *the same text* into every gap on the page, and then repeat the process on subsequent pages until the poem was complete. This recalls the task imposed on British schoolchildren of times past, for whom the writing out of a randomly selected text, "doing lines", was a punishment for misbehaviour, the gravity of the offence reflected in the number of repetitions imposed.[9]
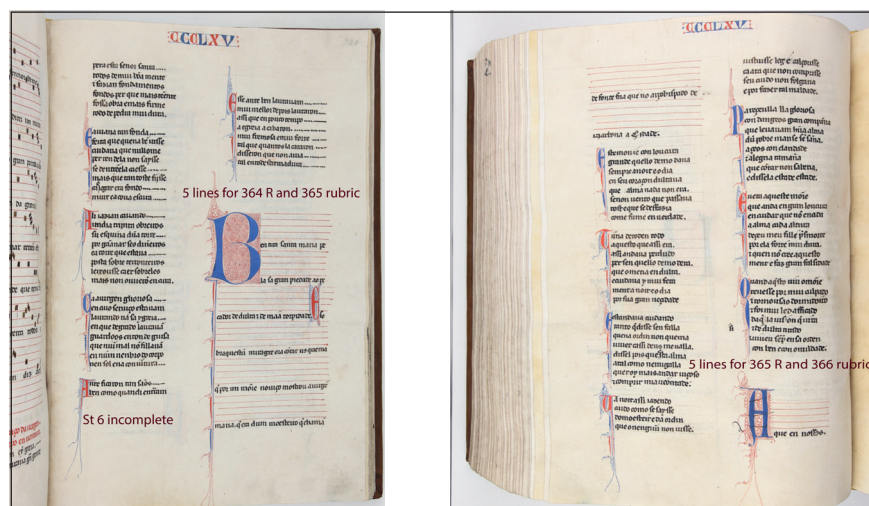
It is rare for there to be no graphemic variation in repeated refrains, though this is found in refrains truncated to a single short line or hemistich, such as T68, with *A grorioſa grandes faz* copied exactly, eight times. It is also rare for there to be major textual divergences (as opposed to simple miscopyings) between repetitions of the refrain, beside the more common occurrence of textual divergence between the initial refrain and the repeated refrains. In many cases it is the opening refrain which is in error.

There seem to be two significant parameters in the variation of repeated refrains. On the one hand, different manuscripts and copyists tend towards the limitation or proliferation of refrain variation, which is probably an aesthetic choice. On the other we find functional motivation, particularly the process of text justification, which can involve the deployment of alternative and complementary means of text compression or expansion.

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[9] Thanks are due to to David Hook for making me take this analogy seriously, and to Laura Fernández for discussion of Spanish equivalents; it seems that the Castilian term "hacer una plana" is used both for legitimate calligraphic practice and the punishment.

Comparisons between MSS To T and E suggest different institutional or individual responses to the repetition task.

Cantiga 5 (T15 To19) has 26 strophes, representing a substantial repetition task. It is laid out in single columns in all witnesses, so that there is little pressure of space, and all witnesses use an untruncated refrain in the repeats.

> Quen as coitas deste mundo ben quiser sofrer
> Santa Maria deve sempr' ante si põer

The To version is incomplete, as the loss of three folios has reduced it to the opening two strophes and the final three strophes, but these four repeated refrains are identical, and diverge from the opening refrain only in abbreviating *ben* to *bē*.

In T, there is a patterned variation over the 26 repeats, tabulated in Table 1.[10] Seven repeated refrains (10, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 26) are identical to one another, using a form in which final *-s* is sigmatic, medial *-s-* is long, and initial *s-* is long (doubled to aid word separation) or majuscule, and the final *-r* is a small majuscule.[11]

> Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR
> Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR

A further six (8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 19) diverge from them only in the use of a non-majuscule initial *p-* in *põer*. The remaining 13 repeats have a unique form. There are seven variants of the first line, primarily determined by the different combinations of majuscules or normal letters on the initial *m-* of *mundo,* the initial *s-* and the final *-r* in *soffrer*. There is a single occurrence of *coytas*, and one of *quiser* abbreviated <quiſ>. There are six variants of the second line, involving the initial *s-* of *sempre* and the initial *p-* of *põer,* three cases of <ſanta>, a single occurrence of <ſi> rather than <ſſi>, and a single case of põer with a final non-majuscule (also found in the opening refrain).

In E (Table 2) the variation is almost total, as only two of the 26 repeats (R23 and R24) have the same combination of variants over the two lines of the refrain. There are no less than nineteen variants of the first line and eight of the second, including the use of two alternate forms of the majuscule Q (recorded as Q1 and Q2). The miscopyings of *Quen* in R12 and R17 are excluded from the numbering.

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[10] In Table 1 and Table 2, the "code" column contains separate numbers for the variants of the first line (1.1-1.x) and the second line (2.1-2.x).

[11] Ruiz García ("Escribir", 157), notes that in T "La s alta y la s de doble curva tienden hacia la distribución tradicional: la primera en posición inicial y medial de palabra; la segunda, en posición final". The refrains of T73 show that this does not hold for all red-ink work.

138

Table 1. Variants of the refrain of Cantiga 5, MS T

			VARIANTS	CODE	
0	23v	Qven as Coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	Coi M sr	1.1	
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſſi põer.	SM ſ pr		2.1
1		Qvenaſ coytas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coy M sR	1.2	
2	24r	Qvenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR.	coi M sR	1.3	
3		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		ſanta María deue Sempr ante ſi PõeR	ſM S (ſi) PR		2.2
4	24v	Quenas coytas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	coy M sr	1.4	
		ſanta María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR.	ſM S PR		2.2
5		Quenaſ coitas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi m sR	1.5	
		ſanta María deue ſempr ante ſſi PõeR	ſM S PR		2.2
6		Q uenaſ coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	coi M sr	1.4	
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM s PR		2.3
7		Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi m sR	1.5	
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM s PR		2.3
8		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi põeR	SM S pR		2.4
9		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi põeR	SM S pR		2.4
10	25r	Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
11		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deu e Sempr ante ſſi põeR	SM S pR		2.4
12		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	coi M sr	1.4	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
13		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	coi M sr	1.4	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
14		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi põeR	SM S pR		2.4
15		Quenaſ coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi põeR	SM S pR		2.4
16	25v	Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	

139

			VARIANTS	CODE	
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſſi põeR	SM s pR		2.6
17		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
18		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
19		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi põeR	SM S pR		2.4
20		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſſi põeR	SM s pR		2.6
21	26r	Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer SoffreR	coi M SR	1.6	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
22		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
23		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
24		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſ ſoffreR	coi M quis/ sR	1.7	
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
25		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5
26		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quíſer ſoffreR	coi M sR	1.3	
		Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR	SM S PR		2.5

140

Table 2. Variants of the refrain of Cantiga 5, MS E

				VARIANTS	CODE
0	32v		Qvenas Coitas deſte mun/ do ben quiſer ſoffreR.	Q Ci m qui sff R	1.1
			Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſi põeR.	S M s a pR	2.1
1			Quen as Coitas deſte mundo ben qⁱſer ſofrer	Q1 Ci m qi sfr	1.2
			ſanta Maria deue ſempr ante ſi PõeR	s M s a PR	2.2
2	33r		Quenaſ coitas deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qi sffr	1.3
			Santa María deue ſempr Ante ſſi PõeR	S M s A PR	2.3
3			Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſofreR	Q2 ci M qi sfR	1.4
			Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi Põer.	S M S a PR	2.4
4			Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qi sffr	1.3
			Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi PõeR.	S M S a pR	2.5
5			Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffreR	Q2 ci M qi sffR	1.5
			Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſſi põeR.	S M S a pR	2.5
6			Quenas coitaſ deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qi sffr	1.3
			Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M S a PR	2.4
7	33v		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qi sfr	1.6
			Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M S a PR	2.4
8			Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſofreR	Q2 ci m qui sf R	1.7
			Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M S a PR	2.4
9			Quenas coytas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſoffreR	Q2 ci m qui sffR	1.8
			Santa Maria deue Sempr anteſſý PõeR.	S M S a PR	2.4
10			Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	Q1 ci m qui sffr	1.9
			Santa María deue Sempr ante ſi põeR.	S M S a pR	2.5
11			Quen as coitas deſte Mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffreR	Q1 ci M qi sffR	1.10

141

			VARIANTS	CODE
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M S a PR	2.4
12	34r	Qeuenas coitas deſte mundo ben qˤſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci m qi sffr	1.11
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſi põeR.	S M s a pR	2.1
13		Quenas coitaſ deſte Mundo ben qˤſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qi sffr	1.3
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
14		Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben qˤſer ſoffreR	Q2 ci m qi sffR	1.12
		Santa María deue Sempr ante ſi põeR.	S M S a pR	2.5
15		Quenas coytas deſte mundo ben qˤſer ſofrer	Q1 cy m qi sfr	1.13
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
16		Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben qˤſer ſoffreR	Q2 ci m qi sffR	1.12
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
17	34v	Qenas coitas deſte Mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qui sffr	1.14
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſſi PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
18		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben qˤſer ſoffreR	Q1 ci M qi sffR	1.10
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſí PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
19		Quenas coitas deſte Mundo ben qˤſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci M qi sffr	1.3
		Santa María deue ſempr Ante ſſi põeR.	S M s A pR	2.6
20		Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben qˤſer ſoffrer	Q2 ci m qi sffr	1.11
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſſí PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
21		Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben qˤſer ſoffreR	Q1 ci m qi sffr	1.15
		Santa María deue ſempr ante ſſí PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
22	35r	Quenas coytas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſofrer	Q2 cy m qui sfr	1.16
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſſí PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
23		Quenas coytas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	Q1 cy m qui sffr	1.17
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſſí PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7

142

			VARIANTS	CODE
24		Quenas coytas deſte mundo ben quiſer ſoffrer	Q1 cy m qui sffr	1.17
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ffi PõeR.	S M s a PR	2.7
25		Quenas coitas deſte mundo ben quiſ ſoffrer	Q2 ci m quiſ sffr	1.18
		Santa Maria deue Sempr ante ſi PõeR.	S M S a PR	2.4
26		Quenas coytas deſte mundo ben qⁱſer ſoffreR	Q1 cy m qi sff R	1.19
		Santa Maria deue ſempr ante ſſy Põer.	S M s a Pr	2.8

The three witnesses of *cantiga* 5 exemplify different responses to the repetitive nature of the copying task. In To, the only witness which is presumed to incorporate the copy of a complete manuscript rather than being an independent compilation, we have literal repetition. In T we have constrained variation, with a few lapses from an overall uniformity. In E we have variation for its own sake. Where the scribes of To and T seem to see a challenge, the E scribe sees a tedious task which he seeks to vary as a means of averting boredom.

The tension between perfectionism and distraction provides a useful framework for a number of more specific cases of patterned variation in E, T and F.

5. Patterned variation

5.1 Alternation

One of the simplest types of patterning is where the scribe uses different word forms or letter forms in alternate repeats of the refrain, as a means of varying the task.

Image 4. Alternation of majuscules in T 127

143

In cantiga T127 (f. 160r), in copying the two-line refrain repeat *Non pod' ome pela Virgen/tanta coita endurar* eight times, the scribe uses two types of majuscule N on the initial *Non.*

The rest of the line shows almost no alternations, except for an alternation of line-internal majuscules (*coita Endurar* or *Coita endurar*, but never *coita endurar* or *Coita Endurar*), and one example of *uᵢgen* beside eight of *uᵢgē*.[12]

5.2 Continuous improvement

In *cantigas* where the refrain needs to be compressed to fit the column width provided, the scribe experiments with different combinations of forms of abbreviation, to achieve perfect justification.

In F32 (f. 38v, *cantiga* 204), the twenty characters of the refrain repeat *Aquel que a virgen santa* need to be squeezed into a column width which only accommodates sixteen or seventeen characters (image 5).

Image 5. Refrain repeats in F32, f. 38v.

Stephen Parkinson

The scribe tries out five different combinations of abbreviating *aquel,* *virgen,* and *santa* (but curiously does not take the easy path of abbreviating *que* to *q̄*). Table 3 shows the seven refrain repeats, with the number of characters saved, showing a movement from one to three characters, requiring some letter and wordspace compression, until the optimum number of four characters saved is achieved in the final refrains of each column

Table 3: F 32 refrain repeats

R Aquel que a virgen santa	
column a	
Aquel que a *uirgē* santa	1
Aquel que a *u^{i}gē* santa	3
A*q̄l* que a *u^{i}gen* santa	4
column b	
Aquel que a *u^{i}gen* santa	2
Aquel que a *u^{i}gē* santa	3
A*q̄l* que a *u^{i}gen* santa	4
Aquel que a *u^{i}gen* s*c̄a*	4

Similarly in T73 (f. 107v) we find a perfectionist scribe, who requires various attempts to achieve optimum justification in trying circumstances. The text is laid out on two pages (f. 107r-v) with three columns of staves underlaying the first five strophes, and the remaining strophes on f. 107v column b, with a narrower column width. Image 6 shows the final refrain repeats. The refrain, *Ben pod' as cousas feas fremosas tornar//a que pod' os pecados das almas lavar* suddenly proves difficult to fit in without breaking it before the metrical line end. The only abbreviations deployed are *Bē* and *q̄*; otherwise the main compression device used is the increased use of long ſ. In R5-6 the scribe is forced to break *tor-nar* over two lines, and truncate *lavar* to *la*. In R7-8 he manages the complete text, but still with *tornar* divided. Finally in R9 the scribe gets the justification right. But instead of repeating his success, he attempts further compression in R10, and is left with line-end space which needs to be filled with an expanded R. In the final refrain R11, all these advances are lost as the scribe returns to the poor line division of the earlier strophes, and makes the only copying error of the text, *pocados* for *pecados*.
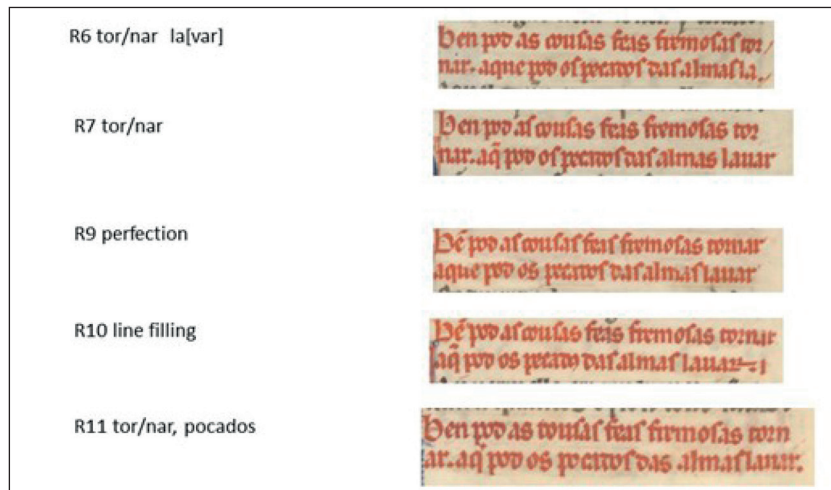
Image 6: The perfectionist scribe of T73 (f. 107v)

5.3 Continuous variation

A comparison with the other witnesses of *cantiga* 73 shows major variation in the use of long *s*, over the ten examples of medial and final *s* in the refrain. In To no two strophes have the same distribution, and the scribe uses the long *s* between five and nine times. In T, in the opening five strophes, all underlaid, the first half-lines are identical, with two cases of long *s* (the medial *s* of *cousas* and *fremosas*), and the complete second half-lines have no more than one each (three are truncated, two of them omitting the whole of the second half-line). In the running text there are variable numbers of long *s* in final positions in both half-lines, and complete lines use the long *s* six or seven times. (The one line in which final -*s* is avoided by the use of an abbreviation has five occurrences; in all other cases the word has a long *s*, so it can be assumed that the full line would have had six instances.) MS E, by comparison, is almost perfectly consistent, using pattern 1-0 in all strophes except the last, where pattern 1-5 is used. Table 4 shows the results for To and Table 5 the results for T.[13]

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[13] In these tables the *code* column combines variant numbers for the separate half-lines into a single code number, so that 4.2 indicates the fourth variant of half-line 1 combined with the second variant of half-line 2. The same code numbers are used for T and To.

146

Table 4. Refrain variants in *cantiga* 73 in To (To 89, ff 114v-115r)

To 89	Ben pod' as	cous	as	feas	fremos	as tornar	/ a que pod' os	pecados	das	almas lavar	code	total long s
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
0	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	1-1	5
1	s	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	2-2	5
2	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	3-3	9
3	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	4-2	6
4	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	5-4	6
5	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	s	ʃ	4-5	6
6	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	6-4	5
7	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	s	ʃ	7-5	6
8	s	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	ʃ	s	ʃ	2-6	6
9	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	3-4	7
10	ʃ	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	8-4	7
11	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	9-1	7
ʃ	6	12	6	7	12	8	1	4	9	10	75	
											62	
%ʃ	50	100	50	58	100	66	8	33	75	83		

Table 5. Refrain variants in *cantiga* 73 in T (ff 107r-107v)

T 73	Ben pod' as	cous	as	feas	fremos	as tornar	/ a que pod' os	pecados	das	almas lavar	code	total long s
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
0	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	s	s	s	1-0	2
1	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	s	s	-	1-0*	2
2	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	1-7	3
3	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	s	s	ʃ	1-5	3
4	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	-	-	-	-	1-x	2
5	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	-	-	-	-	1-x	2
6	s	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	6-3	6
7	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	10-3	7

147

8	s	ʃ	s	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	11-1	6
9	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	5-1	7
10	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	s	-	ʃ	ʃ	10-1*	5*
11	s	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	s	ʃ	s	ʃ	5-8	6
underlay ʃ	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	1		
running text ʃ	2	6	2	3	6	1	2	5	5	6		
running text ʃ %	33	100	33	50	100	16	33	100	83	100		
tot	2	12	2	3	12	1	2	6	5	7		

148

The distribution of the variants is clearly governed in part by one of the traditional rules for the use of long *s* (Ruiz García, "Escribir", cited in n. 11), which prescribes the use of long *s* in medial contexts; the convention that sigmatic *s* is used word-finally is the one that is relaxed. In T the distribution of final long *s* seems to have a phonetic conditioning: long *s* is always used when the initial sound of the following word is a voiced consonant (*das*, *lavar*); it is widely used where the following word begins with vowel (*almas*); and it is most variably used where the following word begins with a voiceless consonant (*cousas*, *feas*, *fremosas*, *tornar*, *pecados*).[14] No such pattern is detectable in the variation in To. Further study is needed to establish whether the main text follows different principles.

6. Direction of copying

These practices of varying the refrain combine with a more unexpected feature of refrain copying, namely that the scribes copying the refrains over a two-column page do not necessarily proceed from the top of column a to the bottom of column b. In some cases they work row by row down the whole page, copying refrains in alternate columns according to the location of the spaces. This practice is revealed by an incomplete page of F, f. 62v (image 7), where the half-completed refrain in column a is clearly where the red-ink work terminated.

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[14] This is similar to the rule currently governing the pronunciation of final -*s* in modern Portuguese (Parkinson, "Portuguese", 138), where a voiceless palatal [ʃ] is found before voiceless consonants, a voiced palatal [ʒ] before voiced consonants, and a dental [z] before vowels.
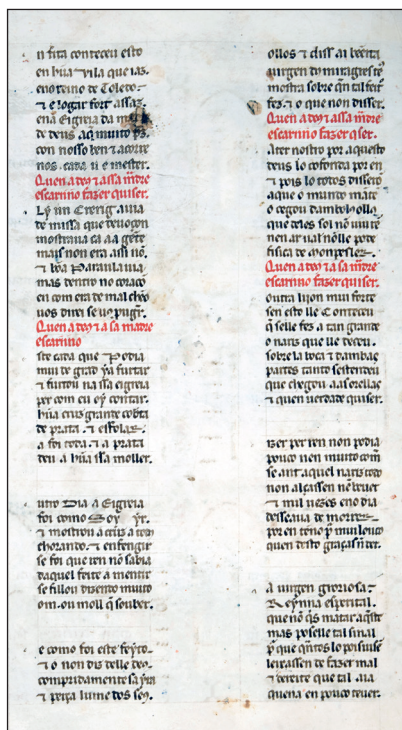
Image 7. Interrupted refrain copying in F (f. 62v)

Note how the variant *ssa* appears across the columns in the first row and *sa* in the second row, confirming that textual alternation also works in this way.

The case of alternating majuscule N in T127 (image 4 above) is another example of this practice, with the two Ns alternating in pairs in a zigzag pattern across the columns, rather than being independent alternations on each column.[15]

Similarly when we return to our abbreviated lines in F32 (§5.2, image 5), we find that the two repetitions of the same solution go from column b to the next line down in column a, as the column b refrains are located higher up the page than the column a ones. The scribe starts with variations on *virgen*, then tries *aquel*, and finally uses the most radical abbreviation, *ſc̄a* for *santa*.

This practice does not seem to have been limited to red-ink work. The incomplete Florence manuscript ends on an incomplete page of text, f. 131r

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[15] It also explains the occurrence of the form *õe* which alternates with *ome* in F21: the change-over from *ome* to *õe* takes place in the third refrain in each column of f.22v, and continues in all the remaining refrains of both columns, co-occurring with the use of the abbreviation *gᵃn* for *gran*.

(image 8), in which the copyist has inserted one strophe at the top of each column and was part way through the second row of strophes when copying was interrupted. So the first row of strophes copies strophes 3, 8 and 13, and the second row copies strophes 4, and 9 and is interrupted in the middle of strophe 14.
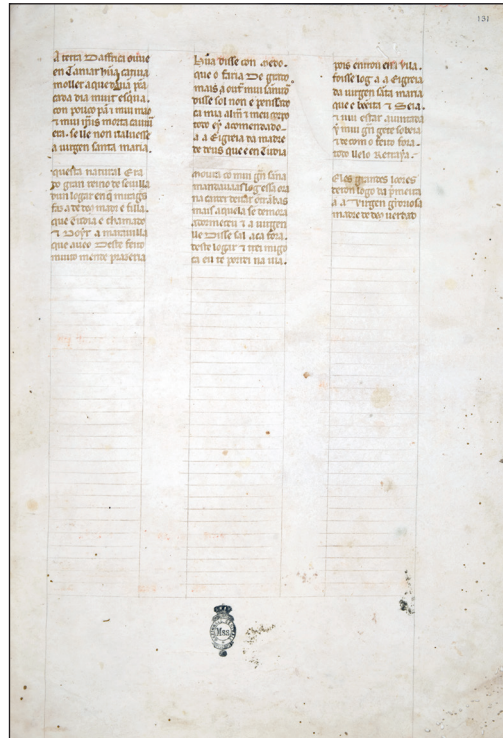
150

Image 8. Horizontal text copying
in an incomplete page (F f.131r)

7. Conclusions

Cohen-Mushlin (*The Making of a Manuscript, A Medieval Scriptorium*) demonstrated how red-ink work (rubrication) was used as a means of training inexperienced scribes who were gradually brought into wider activity. Ferreira ("Stemma") notes that the red-ink work in To uses different scribes from the main text, and that scribes originally assigned red-ink work were later given black-ink tasks. It does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the

Alfonsine scriptorium executing the CSM saw the repetitive work of refrain copying and the insertion of rubrics as lesser tasks to be consigned to junior scribes, in which they learned the technique of horizontal copying used in the main text, as well as the manipulation of script for the purposes of justifying text in specific column widths. Fernández Guiadanes and Fidalgo ("Escritura", 257) indicate a small number of *cantigas* in T where they have concluded that the refrains have been written by a different copyist. A full study of red-ink and black-ink hands across the CSM manuscript tradition is called for, to show how many different copyists were involved. The number of hands identified for Mss T, F and E by Ruiz García ("Escribir"), Fernández Guiadanes and Fidalgo ("Escritura") and Avenoza ("Codicología") is almost certainly an underestimate.[16]

If horizontal copying was indeed a general pattern of textual copying, it implies new types of copying errors. The classic transmission errors of contamination and perseveration assume the influence of adjacent text, which is assumed to be in the same column. In horizontal copying it is possible for the trigger text to be horizontally rather than vertically adjacent.

Horizontal copying of complete texts also implies a different type of model for the scribes to work from, as it is non-sequential. To execute the copy of F f. 132, the scribe either needed a master laid out in the format of the intended page, or some indication of where to begin each column. Avenoza ("Codicología"), has shown that different copyists of E worked simultaneously on separate quires, without a requirement that a new quire began with a new poem, so that they would need instructions as to where in the master text to begin and end copying.

The copying of the CSM manuscripts, like the construction of the texts and the compilations, was a much more complex operation than has been appreciated. Even the humblest of copying tasks can reveal the secrets of the workshop.

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[16] Fernández Guiadanes and Fidalgo ("Escritura", 263) claim that the copyist who executed most of T was also the *copista general* (hand A) of E, responsible for *cantiga* 5. The differences in refrain copying between the versions of *cantiga* 5 in T and E (studied in section 4) suggest that at least the refrains were executed by dfferent copyists.

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152

Stephen Parkinson

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153