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
Canada

THE EARLIEST KLOSTERNEUBURG ANTIPHONERS

by

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in
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the medieval ecclesiastical chant which survives in three twelfth- and five fourteenth-century manuscripts from the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg, near Vienna (CCl. 589, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1018). These manuscripts together give an account of the Divine Office as it was performed at Klosterneuburg over a period of about two centuries. Although some of the chants contained in these manuscripts are well-known, such as those for the Easter drama identified as the *Visitatio sepulchri*, large portions of these manuscripts have remained relatively unstudied.

For each of the eight antiphoners, I have provided detailed manuscript studies which include both physical descriptions of the volumes and analyses of their repertoires of Gregorian chant. A full chapter is devoted to the unique musical notation of the Klosterneuburg scriptorium; I have identified three notational styles in the eight antiphoners under investigation. The complete contents of these antiphoners, listed by chant, are included on accompanying diskettes as appendices in CANTUS format. These data files are also available via the Internet at the CANTUS website.

Among other matters which have been addressed are the history of the monastery, the relationships among the surviving manuscripts with respect to issues of provenance, the occurrences of unusual tropes within the antiphoners such as the *prosa Quem non prevalent*, and the application of *differentiae* to antiphons. Important to the current investigation has been the confirmation of a “Germanic” or “east-Frankish” melodic chant tradition within both these Klosterneuburg manuscripts and other antiphoners of German provenance. Through a comparison of the melodic contents of the Klosterneuburg sources with twenty other Office antiphoners of both Germanic provenance and other origins, I have placed the eight earliest Klosterneuburg antiphoners within the Office tradition of regions of German influence (i.e., the areas in and near present-day Germany, Austria, and Switzerland).

KEYWORDS: Gregorian chant, antiphoner, medieval, Klosterneuburg, Austria, Augustinian, monastery, east-Frankish, melodic dialect, CANTUS, Office, notation, manuscripts

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Certificate of examination	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Illustrations	ix
List of Plates	xi
List of Appendices	xii
1 Gregorian Chant in German-Speaking Areas of Western Europe	1
2 The Augustinian Monastery at Klosterneuburg	31
3 The Surviving Twelfth-Century Antiphoners at Klosterneuburg	48
i. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013</i>	51
ii. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012</i>	56
iii. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010</i>	60
4 The Surviving Fourteenth-Century Antiphoners at Klosterneuburg	65
i. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017</i>	66
ii. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018</i>	71
iii. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589</i>	78
iv. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015</i>	83
v. <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011</i>	88
5 “Klosterneuburg” Notation	95
6 The Manuscript Tradition at Klosterneuburg	118
i. The Provenance of the “Klosterneuburg” Sources	118
ii. The Relationships Among the Surviving Antiphoners Dating Before 1400	126
7 Tropes in the Klosterneuburg Liturgy	151
i. <i>Quem non prevalent</i>	155
ii. <i>Virginei floris nomen</i> and <i>O panis vite veneranda</i>	168
8 Antiphons and the Application of Differentiae in Medieval Psalmody: A Case Study of CCl. 1017 and 1018	178
9 Responsorial Chants in the Office	205

10 The Region of German Influence and the Manuscript Sources Consulted for the Comparison of Melodic Chant Dialects	218
11 The Melodic Tradition at Klosterneuburg: A Case Study of the Ferial Antiphons Contained in Twenty-Five Antiphoners	267
12 The Nature of the German Repertory	294
Plates	308
Appendices	328
Bibliography	333
Vita	347

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
1 A document containing the first-known mention of the name "Österreich"	34
2 Babenberg Margrave Leopold III "der Heilige"	35
3 Klosterneuburg Stiftskirche before the neo-Gothic remodelling of the towers	37
4 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013</i> , from f. 63 ^r	51
5 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012</i> , from f. 29 ^r	57
6 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010</i> , from f. 50 ^r	60
7 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017</i> , from f. 73 ^v	68
8 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017</i> , from f. 73 ^r	69
9 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018</i> , from f. 131 ^v	72
10 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018</i> , from f. 247 ^r	74
11 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589</i> , from f. 1 ^v	79
12 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015</i> , from f. 77 ^v	84
13 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011</i> , from f. 91 ^r	89
14 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015</i> , from f. 2 ^r	143
15 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018</i> , from f. 261 ^r	143
16 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013</i> , ff. 56 ^v -57 ^r	157
17 Leaf from the "Gottschalk" Antiphoner — <i>Yale University, 481.51.3</i> ^v	165
18 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017</i> , from f. 21 ^r	199
19 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017</i> , from f. 84 ^r	199
20 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017</i> , from f. 62 ^r	201
21 <i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018</i> , from f. 42 ^r	201
22 <i>Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 28</i> , from f. 35 ^r	233
23 <i>Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29</i> , from f. 66 ^v	235
24 <i>Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 273</i> , from f. 39 ^v	237
25 <i>Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek — Musikabteilung, Aug. LX</i> , from f. 37 ^r	239
26 <i>Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek des Stadt Kassel, Theol. 2° 124</i> , from f. 58 ^v	241
27 <i>Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek des Stadt Kassel, Theol. 2° 129</i> , from f. 2 ^r	242
28 <i>Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 1137</i> , from f. 46 ^r	243
29 <i>München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 17010</i> , from f. 31 ^r	244
30 <i>Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 480</i> , from p. 97	245
31 <i>Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 607</i> , from p. 507	248
32 <i>Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 406 (olim 3.J.7)</i> , from f. 82 ^v	250
33 <i>Vorau, Stift — Bibliothek, 287</i> , from f. 25 ^r	253
34 <i>Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, 1799**</i> , from f. 30 ^v	254
35 <i>Aberystwyth, Llyfryll Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales), 20541 E</i> , from f. 41 ^v	257

36	<i>Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library), lat. 118, from f. 108'</i>	259
37	<i>Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9, from p. 102</i>	260
38	<i>Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 601, from p. 81</i>	261
39	<i>Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12044, from f. 29'</i>	263
40	<i>Worcester, Worcester Cathedral – Music Library, F. 160 (olim 1247), from f. 30'</i>	266
41	“At a glance” table 5219	278
42	“At a glance” table 1549	281
43	“At a glance” table 1498	282

LIST OF PLATES

		Page
1	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013, f. 125^v</i>	308
2	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013, f. 126^r</i>	309
3	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012, f. 113^r</i>	310
4	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012, f. 151^v</i>	311
5	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012, f. 30^v</i>	312
6	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010, f. 5^v</i>	313
7	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010, f. 49^r</i>	314
8	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, f. 174^v</i>	315
9	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, f. 1^v</i>	316
10	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, f. 43^r</i>	317
11	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, f. 261^r</i>	318
12	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, f. 192^v</i>	319
13	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, f. 157^v</i>	320
14	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, f. 158^r</i>	321
15	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, f. 40^r</i>	322
16	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015, f. 2^r</i>	323
17	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015, f. 192^r</i>	324
18	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011, f. 15^v</i>	325
19	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011, f. 133^v</i>	326
20	<i>Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011, f. 229^r</i>	327

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendices on Diskette:

- I: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013*
- II: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012*
- III: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010*
- IV: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017*
- V: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018*
- VI: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589*
- VII: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015*
- VIII: CANTUS index of *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011*

Appendices in Print:

Page

- IX: Computer Programming for Analysis of the Ferial Antiphon Melodies 330

CHAPTER 1

GREGORIAN CHANT IN GERMAN-SPEAKING AREAS OF WESTERN EUROPE

Among the many hundreds of Latin liturgical chant manuscripts surviving from medieval western Europe are eight antiphoners dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century from the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg, near Vienna. These manuscripts, identified with the shelf numbers *Codex Claustroneoburgensis* (hence CCl.) 589, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1015, 1017, and 1018, are the earliest extant sources of the sung Office at Klosterneuburg. Following a detailed physical description of each of these sources including the notation used to record the chants, an analysis of the contents of each volume, as well as the identification of both interesting and rare features within the manuscripts, I have determined that the Klosterneuburg Office belongs to a “German” branch of the broad Gregorian chant tradition,¹ as it shares many characteristics with other Office manuscripts from Germanic regions.

The earliest Klosterneuburg antiphoners lie within a region of German influence, that is, an area where German is the primary spoken language.² Along with many other manuscripts originating from this area, the Klosterneuburg manuscripts exhibit traits that

¹The commonly-used term “Gregorian” has been adopted here both to identify the body of chant which was imposed from Rome northward onto regions of western Europe during the eighth and ninth centuries, and to distinguish this repertory from other types of chant, including, among others, Byzantine, Mozarabic, Gallic, Ambrosian, and Old Roman. Although alternate terms for Gregorian, such as “Gallic-Roman,” have recently been suggested for this chant repertory, the overwhelming acceptance of the familiar term “Gregorian” warrants its presence here. It need not be stated that usage of this term does not entail the blind acceptance of any legends concerning church music which have been associated with Gregory I “the Great” (Pope from 590-604), such as his alleged role in the transcription or divinely-inspired composition of chant melodies as dictated through the Holy Spirit. However, Gregory’s legacy as a strong leader and a prolific writer, and his position as one of the four great doctors of the church must be recognized; his influence on ecclesiastical matters was, no doubt, great.

²These areas include modern Germany, Austria, parts of Switzerland, and extend westwards into portions of the Low Countries. During the Middle Ages, the regions under German influence encompassed a number of kingdoms, duchies, and other political units. See Chapter Ten for a more detailed description of the German political, language, and cultural boundaries.

have been deemed to be uniquely German or east-Frankish.³ It was approximately eight decades ago when the notion of a distinct Germanic chant tradition within the whole body of western-European Gregorian chant was first raised by Peter Wagner in a paper read before the Musicological Congress of The German Music Society in June, 1925,⁴ and later extensively described.⁵ Although the introduction of this theory encountered a rather inhospitable reaction from chant scholars of the day and was considered controversial for many years (some would say it still is), recent studies into various aspects of an east-Frankish chant tradition have provided more convincing results.

Even so, one of the obvious complexities in the analysis of chant manuscripts originating from the east-Frankish region lies in the realization that, although all sources which transmit one or more features of a German chant tradition originate from the region defined as German, not all manuscripts which originate from this German region consistently transmit such a tradition. In addition, there are many aspects which comprise such a German chant tradition and set it apart from the chant sung in west-Frankish regions; these aspects include variants in melodic contour, modal assignment, usage of

³“East-Frankish,” with reference to the borders of the former kingdoms of the Franks. has recently become the favoured term to describe the regions of western Europe which extend toward the eastern borders. The term “west-Frankish” has effectively replaced “Romanic” and developed into a convenient identifier of all other western-European centres, primarily those where the spoken language or cultural influence is not German. West-Frankish regions include France, parts of the Low Countries, and Spain. For example, as well as Italy and England; the latter are included in this group since the dissemination of Gregorian practices to northern Italy and England was via the existing west-Frankish territories. Maria-Elisabeth Heisler raises the question of terminology in an effort to address the occurrences of the so-called “German” characteristics in manuscripts from regions which are not in the German-speaking sphere. She proposes the use of these more inclusive terms in her article “Die Problematik des >>germanischen<< oder >>deutschen<< Choral-dialekts,” *Studia Musicologica* 27 (1985): pp. 67-82. The replacement of the term “Romanic” (or “romanisch,” as used by Wagner and other Germans) with “west-Frankish” also eliminates any confusion of this branch of the Gregorian repertoire with “Old-Roman” chant, which is sometimes referred to simply as “Roman” chant.

⁴Peter Wagner, “Germanisches und Romanisches im frühmittelalterlichen Kirchengesang,” in *Bericht über den I. musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress der deutschen Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig vom 4. bis 8. Juni 1925* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), pp. 21-34.

⁵See, for example, the introduction to the facsimile edition, *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig (XIV. Jahrhundert) als Zeuge deutscher Choralüberlieferung*, Publikationen älterer Musik, vol. 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930, 1932; Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), pp. III-LXIV, where Wagner provides comparative tables showing the variants contained in ninety-six chants and a detailed explanation of the variants by mode.

particular chants, the order in which those chants were sung, the veneration of saints, specific local traditions, and so on. With so many parameters, it has become increasingly clear in modern chant research that the distinction between east and west is not necessarily straightforward.

In order to grapple with the apparent inconsistencies which have been uncovered in what had been proposed at one time to be a clearly-defined German branch of Gregorian chant, scholars are turning to detailed repertory studies and manuscript indexes. László Dobszay of the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* (hence CAO-ECE),⁶ one of the chant research bodies which undertakes such manuscript-indexing projects, has commented, “We have to study the hundreds of chant manuscripts first as witnesses of a musical life differentiated in time and space.”⁷ Taken a step further, in order to identify the nature and provenance of a particular manuscript, or a group of manuscripts, in a deeper sense than simply bibliographical designation, it is necessary to isolate and localize the tradition which influenced that source or that group of sources. Once the complete contents of chants contained in particular sources is known, associations between traditions can be proposed based on a concordance of sources. Through textual or melodic comparisons, it is possible to demonstrate affinities between manuscripts based on a number of factors, which might include geographical regions, monastic or canonical orders, and linguistic or cultural borders.

In considering the possibility of isolating occurrences of east- and west-Frankish chant traditions, and perhaps even confirming the validity of this distinction, the importance of individual chant repertory studies and the ensuing comparisons with other chant sources cannot be underestimated. Detailed repertory studies and manuscript indexes which incorporate both melodic and textual elements of chant are vital in order to

⁶In each of the research projects sponsored the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* (CAO-ECE), the reconstruction of a particular portion of a liturgical year is presented for one uniform liturgical tradition, based on the contents of a number of manuscripts representing that centre (church, diocese, or other common link).

⁷László Dobszay, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii — Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*, vol. I/A Saizburg (Temporale) (Budapest: Institute of Musicology, 1990), p. 11.

place the various sung traditions of the liturgical centres of western Europe within the whole body of Gregorian chant.

THE MANUSCRIPTS AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

The monastery of Klosterneuburg, positioned north-west of Vienna, has gained some recognition over the past century for its valuable library and rich manuscript tradition. For example, many of the sources which contain versions of the Easter liturgical drama have received considerable attention.⁸ International publications highlighting certain Klosterneuburg manuscripts have also raised the profile of the monastery library; these publications include the facsimile reproduction of the gradual believed to have originated at Klosterneuburg, which is now housed in the Graz Universitätsbibliothek (shelf number 807),⁹ and the transcription of the Klosterneuburg hymnary CCl. 1000 as part of the *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* series.¹⁰ Recently, the three twelfth-century Klosterneuburg antiphoners (CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013) were included in the analytical index of the Salzburg-area *Temporale* published in the CAO-ECE series.¹¹ The complete and individual contents of four of the eight early antiphoners

⁸See, for example, Hermann Pfeiffer, "Klosterneuburger Osterfeier und Osterspiel," in *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*. 1 (1908): pp. 1-56; Hermann Pfeiffer, "Das Klosterneuburger Osterspiel," *Musica divina* i (1913): pp. 158-176; the various mentions of Klosterneuburg sources in Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1975-1990), James M. Gibson, "The Place of the Quem Queritis in Presepe Trope in Medieval Liturgical Drama" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1976), Margaret Mary McShane, "The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1961); and, more recently, Michael L. Norton and Amelia J. Carr, "New Sources for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* at Klosterneuburg," *The Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 15 (1992): pp. 83-90. The tradition of the *Visitatio sepulchri* Easter drama at Klosterneuburg and in other liturgical centres within regions of German influence will be discussed more fully in Chapters Six and Twelve.

⁹Dom Jacques, Froger, ed., *Graduel de Klosterneuburg, Le manuscrit 807, Universitätsbibliothek Graz (XIIe siècle)*, Paléographie musicale, series 1, vol. 19 (Berne: H. Lang, 1974).

¹⁰Bruno Stäblein, ed., *Hymnen I: Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi [MMA 1], vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956).

¹¹Cited above. See note 7 of this chapter.

(CCI. 1012, 1013, 1017, and 1018) have also been indexed by the CANTUS project;¹² these are available in electronic format from the CANTUS website and have recently been published in book form.¹³ Owing to the production of detailed indices of this type, I have been able to fully examine both the contents of and the relationships among the early surviving antiphoners in the Klosterneuburg library.

THE EAST-FRANKISH CHANT TRADITION – THE CURRENT PERSPECTIVE IN RESEARCH

Scholarship on aspects of the east-Frankish chant tradition has largely been concerned with *der germanische Dialekt*, a particular melodic dialect which has been uncovered to varying degrees within the chants contained in many of the manuscripts from this region. The melodic German dialect involves, primarily, the apparent preference for the singing of a higher note at the semitone steps in the diatonic scale; the propensity in east-Frankish manuscripts for the pitches D-F-D to occur where D-E-D is found in a version of the same chant in west-Frankish books, or A-C-A to be sung in eastern regions instead of the western version of A-B-A or A-B \flat -A, results in a larger intervallic distance in the German melodies at those points.

By the time of Wagner's statement of his research findings, certain branches or "families" of liturgical chant with particular features had been recognized for some time by scholars; among these is the Sarum rite. However, the French-dominated scholarly community was not anxious to accept Wagner's proposal, nor to concede any priority to a unique German tradition.

¹²CANTUS is an internationally-renowned, Internet-accessible database of Gregorian chant which contains indices of selected sources of the Office. To date, the complete and individual contents of over fifty manuscripts and early printed books have been indexed. The manuscript indexes are fully searchable on the website, as well as downloadable to be used as research tools. The database is managed at the Faculty of Music, The University of Western Ontario, and is at the disposal of colleagues in accordance with the aims of the International Musicological Society Study Group *Cantus Planus*, which promotes cooperation in computer-assisted projects and the exchange of data in electronic form.

¹³Debra S. Lacoste, *Four Klosterneuburg Antiphoners: Augustiner-Chorherren Stiftsbibliothek, 1013, 1012, 1017 and 1018; A CANTUS Index* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998). This work was begun in Debra S. Lacoste, *Klosterneuburg 1017 and 1018: An Analytical Inventory* (Master's thesis, Faculty of Music, The University of Western Ontario, 1995).

CHANT RESEARCH IN THE EARLY-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Chant researchers in the early-twentieth century owed a large debt to the monks of the French abbey of Solesmes near Le Mans. Although these Benedictines were not the only individuals in Europe to engage in chant research following the Gothic revival and interest in things medieval which took place during the nineteenth century,¹⁴ the monks of Solesmes sponsored numerous publications, including both modern editions of chant repertoires and facsimile reproductions of manuscripts.¹⁵ However, the sizable influence that the monks of Solesmes exerted over chant research early in the century has had lasting effects on the field. Despite their enthusiasm for research and chant archetype reconstruction (now questioned among scholars), their advances in knowledge which have inspired many, and their sponsorship of expensive research projects and publications, some modern chant scholars have begun to recognize certain characteristics in the Solesmes methodology which bring into question the historical validity of some of their reconstructions. In particular, the priority assigned to specific sources with respect to melodic representations of chant has both obscured and confused modern knowledge of the chant melodies sung during the Middle Ages.

In pursuing early chant research, the Benedictines of Solesmes maintained that the “best” and “purest” version of chant melodies was necessarily the earliest. Therefore, they sought the earliest notated chant manuscripts to use as exemplars for their modern editions and reconstructions. It is generally believed among scholars that these sources preserve a melodic tradition that, in the case of many chants, is several centuries older

¹⁴Other nineteenth-century promoters of Gregorian chant include Michael Hermesdorff (Peter Wagner’s choirmaster and teacher), Franz Xaver Witt (founder of the Cecilian movement in Regensburg), Franz Xaver Haberl (editor of the *Regensburg* editions), and various French scholars who made early discoveries. [See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 622-624 for more details.]

¹⁵Dom André Mocquereau (1849-1930) was influential in the publication of these chant materials. In response to the attacks by supporters of the “official” chant editions (Pustet in Regensburg) on the *Liber gradualis* (1883), Mocquereau conceived of the *Paléographique musicale* facsimile reproductions with manuscript commentaries. Mocquereau was also a member of the commission formed in 1904 at the instigation of Pope Pius X to bring out a new official Vatican edition of chant. [Eugène Cardine, s.v. “Mocquereau, André,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12 (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 375.]

than the surviving books. Although tenth- and eleventh-century notated sources survive from many areas of Europe, in choosing their source material, the monks of Solesmes largely ignored early Germanic manuscripts because they, for the most part, were written in staffless neumes. The east-Frankish sources were useful for the study of all details except exact pitches; unfortunately, this was the very feature that Solesmes needed to ascertain in order to reconstruct the chant. The lack of pitch-accurate notation rendered these sources unusable as melodic models for their modern publications of chants. Since the goal of early chant research, particularly the research accomplished by the monks of Solesmes, was not primarily an academic pursuit, but rather one aimed at a reconstruction of the chant for a revival of its performance, transcriptions of exact pitches from the medieval books were vital. In contrast to the methods of the monks of Solesmes, Wagner and other “traditionalists” supported the idea that the chant tradition as a whole was worthy of study, including later as well as early sources.¹⁶ In recent years, scholars have revisited the non-diastematic neumes of the earlier manuscripts from German-speaking areas in order to compare the shapes of the melodies and the uses of particular notational signs with later, pitch-accurate sources from the same region. However, as David Hiley comments with respect to studies on the *Liber hymnorum* attributed to the monk Notker, “The difficulty of matching the neumatic notation of the early sources with appropriate later copies in staff-notation means that no critical musical edition of Notker’s book exists ...”.¹⁷ Similar difficulties have resulted for the repertories of Mass and Office chants.

The longer-lasting success of the oral tradition in east-Frankish regions and its resulting lack of pitch-accurate notation to pass on to succeeding generations was not the only reason why precedence was given to manuscripts of French, Italian, and English provenance in the early part of this century. Undoubtedly, the papal dismissal of the

¹⁶For more, see Alexander Blachly, “Some Observations on the ‘Germanic’ Plainchant Tradition,” *Current Musicology* [“Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders”] 45–47 (1990): p. 89.

¹⁷Hiley, p. 572.

Regensburg edition of printed chant books¹⁸ and the ensuing privilege which was granted to the new Solesmes Vatican edition led to an elevation of the French position with respect to chant studies. As well, some of the more important early chant research movements¹⁹ (notably that of the Solesmes monks) were headed by French scholars. Understandably, they chose sources readily available to them in nearby libraries; the majority of these sources originated in west-Frankish regions.

THE EARLY ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EAST-FRANKISH CHANT TRADITION

The German dialect theory has been largely ignored in surveys on Gregorian chant, as well as in many other chant studies. As early as 1934, only a few years after Wagner's introduction of his theory to the scholarly community, Dom Anselm Hughes reflected what appears to have been a general, derogatory attitude towards German sources in this conclusion: "(B) Comparison of actual sequences occurring in both schools shows that where a difference is due to a copyist's mistake, it is in the German MS that the mistake is regularly to be found; ..."²⁰ Hughes did, however, recognize a geographical division of sequences of the first epoch into 1) an Anglo-Gallican sphere, encompassing France, England, and Spain, and 2) a Germano-Italian sphere, which included Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands.²¹ These regions roughly correspond to those areas now classified as east- and west-Frankish.

¹⁸Both a *Graduale* and an *Antiphonale*, based on later-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century prints and edited by Franz Xaver Haberl, were published in the 1870s by the Regensburg firm of Pustet. In 1871, Pope Pius IX declared these Regensburg editions to be the only versions of chant to be officially recognized by the Roman Church. However, throughout the next thirty years, French scholars powerfully disputed this privilege, and when it expired in 1901, it was not renewed. Priority was then granted to the publications of Solesmes which were then adopted as the new Vatican editions. [See Hiley, pp. 624-627.]

¹⁹This is not to discount the research of scholars from other countries; however, nearly all of the important studies by scholars of nationalities other than French (scholars such as Bruno Stäblein, Hubert Sidler, Walther Lipphardt, Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, and others) were not published until later in the twentieth century.

²⁰Dom Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae: Edited from the Papers of the Late Dr. Henry Marriott Bannister* (Burnham: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1934), pp. 8-9.

²¹Hughes, pp. 3-4.

Even into the middle of this century, the Catalan scholar Higiní Anglès dismissed the notion of a Germanic chant tradition entirely:

... in spite of its great age, the existing corpus [of Gregorian chant] reveals remarkable identity in all the various schools of Europe. Comparative musical ethnology will find there an almost virgin field for the study of international melodies. It is not accurate to speak of Gregorian ‘dialects,’ for the varieties that may be found are utterly insignificant. An attempt was made in this direction by Peter Wagner in his theory of German Gregorian dialect, in spite of the fact that the few manuscripts which suggested the idea belonged to a rather late period.²²

The significant melodic divergences of many east-Frankish continental chant sources as opposed to their west-Frankish counterparts, as identified by Wagner in publications of the late 1920s and early 1930s, had been dismissed by Solesmes early in their chant archetype research. The effect has contributed to a general neglect of this east-Frankish melodic tradition until very recently, despite Wagner’s determination early in the twentieth century to raise scholarly awareness of the significant melodic variants in sources from German-speaking areas of central and eastern Europe. Alexander Blachly wrote in a 1990 article,

In contrast, however, to the extensive research on and discussion of Romanic chant, including the Sarum rite, writings on the Germanic tradition as such have been comparatively meager, even in German-speaking lands. To date, there has been virtually nothing written about the Germanic chant in English.²³

In his *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, David Hiley refers briefly to the German chant dialect, but proposes that it might more appropriately be termed a “regional accent.

²²Higiní Anglès, in *Early Medieval Music Up to 1300*, New Oxford History of Music, vol. 2, ed. by Dom. Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford, 1954), p. 97. In Wagner’s defence, it will be remembered that the notation in many manuscripts from east-Frankish regions was not pitch-accurate (i.e., on staff lines) until a “rather late period” despite the survival of numerous earlier east-Frankish sources contemporary with those extant from west-Frankish regions, the necessity of pitch-accurate notation for demonstrations of intervallic melodic variants eliminates those earlier east-Frankish sources from any melodic comparative study. See below for more on the proposed chronology of the Germanic chant dialect.

²³Blachly, p. 86.

since nothing in the basic vocabulary or grammar of the chants is affected.”²⁴ Dom Jacques Froger also disapproves of the term “dialect” to denote the minor alterations of the chant melodies. However, Froger’s argument also implies that the “Romanic” versions are more “authentic” and ought to be given priority.²⁵

SCHOLARSHIP ON THE EAST-FRANKISH TRADITION AFTER WAGNER

Despite the largely critical reaction to Wagner’s proposals, a number of scholars have accepted the notion of the Germanic chant dialect and made it the subject of their own research. Their studies, all of which have foundations in the research begun by Wagner, have advanced our understanding of the German chant tradition in one way or another and have tended to establish more clearly the place of this tradition within the Gregorian corpus. Several of Wagner’s students, including Hermann Müller,²⁶ Basilius Ebel,²⁷ and Hubert Sidler, have published articles on aspects of the Germanic chant tradition. As well, early in the life of the “Germanic Dialect Theory,” Wagner’s student Erik Abrahamsen recognized and detailed in his doctoral dissertation the so-called Germanic elements found in Danish chant books and Danish popular song.²⁸ In 1990, in his survey article on the “Germanic Plainchant Tradition,” Blachly lists these four

²⁴Hiley, p. 573.

²⁵“Le terme de <<dialecte>> pour désigner la version germanique des mélodies grégoriennes est impropre, car il suggère que les leçons germaniques sont authentiques au même titre que les leçons romanes.” (Froger, p. 15*, fn. 4.)

²⁶Hermann Müller, “Germanische Choraltradition und deutscher Kirchengesang,” in *Festschrift Peter Wagner zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Karl Weinmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), pp. 170-175.

²⁷P. Basilius Ebel, *Das älteste alemannische Hymnar mit Noten* (Einsiedeln: Berlaganstatt Benziger & Co., 1931).

²⁸Erik Abrahamsen, *Éléments romans et allemands dans le chant grégorien et la chanson populaire en Danemark*, Publications de l’Académie Grégorienne de Fribourg [Switzerland], vol. 11 (Copenhagen: P. Haase & Fils, 1923), as cited and briefly described by Heisler, pp. 71-72; see also Hiley, “Bibliography,” p. xxxiii, and Blachly, p. 89, fn. 14. Aside from many fragments containing musical notation, there are only about a dozen extant notated Danish liturgical books, none of which is a gradual or an antiphoner. [Hiley, p. 605.]

studies along with other works which refer in whole or in part to the Germanic chant tradition, and makes light of subsequent studies: “In the years since Wagner’s own groundbreaking publications on this subject, there have been only minor follow-up articles.”²⁹ In her 1986 dissertation entitled “Studien zum ostfränkischen Choraldialekt,”³⁰ Maria-Elisabeth Heisler provides a thorough literature survey of examinations into the east-Frankish chant dialect and cites the work of twenty-five scholars; of these, only three (Ekkehard Federl, Theodor Heinrich Klein, and Hubert Sidler) deal with the chants of the Office.³¹ The majority of the research projects cited by Heisler are dissertations or monographs, and most involve the study of either a single gradual containing chants for the Mass or the chant tradition of a single liturgical centre as compared to either Wagner’s results, the chants in the facsimile publication of the gradual *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 807*, or those of another centre. The melodic variants suggested initially by Wagner generally remain her determining factors for *germanisch* or *romanisch* attribution of each source or tradition.

Despite the number of works published so far on the Germanic chant dialect, most of which are studies by German scholars, a straightforward explanation of what this Germanic tradition incorporates has not clearly emerged. Aside from the obvious melodic feature of the widening of the interval at the semitone-steps of the diatonic scale (a feature which is by no means consistent in German manuscripts), there is not a strong sense of agreement among scholars as to the extent of this tradition within the Gregorian

²⁹Blachly, p. 89. For full bibliographic citations of the works by Karl Gustav Fellerer, Theodor Seelgen, Dominicus Johnner, Otto Ursprung, Jacques Handschin, Walther Lipphardt, H.G. Hammer, Leo Eizenhöfer and Hermann Knaus, and Karlheinz Hodes (beyond references provided elsewhere in the current study), see Blachly, p. 89, fn. 15.

³⁰Maria-Elisabeth Heisler, “Studien zum Ostfränkischen Choraldialekt” (Doctoral Dissertation, Johann Wolfgang GoetheUniversität, Frankfurt am Main, Germany, 1986).

³¹For full citations and descriptions of the works by Ekkehard Federl, Altman Kellner, Hubert Sidler, Karl Gustav Fellerer, Dom Jacques Froger, Johannes Aengenvoort, Günter Birkner, Franz A. Stein, Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Michael Härtig, Thilde Thelen, Hans-Josef Werner, Heinrich Freistedt, Heinz Kettering, Theodor Heinrich Klein, Walther Lipphardt, Heinrich Sowa, Michel Huglo, Fritz Feldmann, Zoltán Falvy, Hieronim Feicht, Hendrik van der Werf, Erik Abrahamsen, Carl Allan Moberg, and, of course, Peter Wagner (beyond references provided elsewhere in the current study), see Heisler, 1986, pp. 30-49.

chant repertory of medieval western Europe. A few of the important studies published since the time of Wagner's research are summarized below.

Ekkehard Federl's 1937 dissertation focuses on the cultivation of east-Frankish elements in the chants sung in the region of Würzburg.³² Federl seizes the older notion of the "mainzer Chorals," a term which occurs as early as the seventeenth century to denote the melodic differences apparent in the local chant,³³ and demonstrates its relationship to the Germanic chant dialect known from current research. He acknowledges the early recognition of the differences between the "mainzer Chorals" and the Romanic versions of the imported Roman-Gregorian chant, and adopts the older term "mainzisch" for his German versions.³⁴ Federl maintains the use of this older term in the phrase "gregorianisch-mainzischen Choral" to denote the mixture of both Gregorian and Germanic dialects as derived from the original Roman chant.³⁵ Even though Federl's work was referenced in part by Theodor Heinrich Klein,³⁶ his use of seventeenth-century terminology was not adopted by the scholarly community. Instead, Federl's description of this "mainzisch" phenomenon was met with criticism as being too narrow.³⁷

³²Ekkehard Federl, "Spätmittelalterliche Choralpflege in Würzburg und in mainfränkischen Klöstern," (Doctoral Dissertation, Würzburg, 1937). See citation in Thomas Kohlhase and Günther Michael Paucker, *Bibliographie Gregorianischer Choral* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1990), p. 346, item 3812.

³³The term *mainzisch* appears as early as 1672 in the *Manuductio ad cantum Gregoriano-Moguntium* (Würzburg) and again in 1783 in another publication. [See Heisler, 1986, pp. 31-32, and Bruno Stäblein, s.v. "Deutschland, B. Mittelalter. I. Der römische Choral im Norden," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [MGG], vol. 3, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), col. 273.]

³⁴"Das Eigenartige des germanischen Dialekts gegenüber der hergebrachten lateinischen Lesart wurde erkannt und empfunden und so kam es hier zu einer Namensgebung: im Unterschied zum römisch-gregorianischen Choral nannte man die als neu empfundene Lesart 'mainzisch'... ." [Federl, as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 30.]

³⁵The favoured term for Federl's *gregorianisch-mainzischen Choral* is currently "east-Frankish Gregorian chant."

³⁶Theodor Heinrich Klein, *Die Prozessionsgesänge der Mainzer Kirche aus dem 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhessischen Kirchengeschichte, vol. 7 (Speyer: 1962), as cited by Heisler, 1986, pp. 38-39. See also Kohlhase and Paucker, p. 345, item 3803.

³⁷Stäblein, for instance, commented, "Ist diese Bezeichnung zu eng gefaßt, so ist die Peter Wagners zu weit." [Stäblein, MGG 3, col. 273.]

An important and often-cited article concerning the German chant tradition was published in 1950 by Hubert Sidler.³⁸ Sidler was Wagner's student, and his work, in this publication at least, is based on Wagner's findings, those of Karl Gustav Fellerer, and other disciples.³⁹ Sidler's study focuses on the gradual *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 807*, one of the oldest documents containing the Germanic dialect.⁴⁰ An interesting feature of *Graz 807*, first observed and commented upon by Sidler in this article, is the high number of "corrections" or alterations made to the notation throughout the volume. Much of the notation in this manuscript is actually a musical palimpsest:⁴¹ portions of the original layer of neumes, which followed the Romanic chant tradition, were erased and recopied to comply with the Germanic melodic forms. Sidler claims that at least 200 notational alterations of this type are plainly visible on regular photographs, and that many more can be observed with the help of "palimpsest photography."⁴²

However interesting, Sidler's theory has not been left undisputed. Hendrik van der Werf, for example, has written, "In a thorough examination of the manuscript [*Graz*

³⁸Hubert Sidler, "Ein kostbarer Zeuge der deutschen Choralüberlieferung," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 34 (1950): pp. 9-15.

³⁹Sidler cites such works as: Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien: Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, Part II: *Neumenkunde, Paläographie des Liturgischen Gesanges* (Leipzig: 1912), Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Der gregorianische Gesang im deutschen Mittelalter," *Musica sacra* 43 (1936), pp. 230 ff., and Fellerer, *Deutsche Gregorianik im Frankenreich* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1941). [Sidler, p. 12, fn. 7.]

⁴⁰"... einer der ältesten und wichtigsten Zeugen der germanischen Choraltradition." [Sidler, p. 10.] This feature of *Graz 807* is mentioned in numerous articles, books, and manuscript inventories. See, for example, Rudolph Flotzinger, ed., *Musik in der Steiermark; Katalog der Landesausstellung 1980* (Graz: Bazi Herzog, 1980), p. 107, item 1.46.

⁴¹A palimpsest is the term applied to a manuscript or portion of a manuscript where an erasure (or partial erasure) has occurred and new material has been written over a still partially-visible older layer.

⁴²An infra-red light box is employed with this special photographic technique. "Eine bedeutsame, bisher unbeachtete Tatsache sei zum Schluß noch erwähnt: Unter den zahlreichen, schon vom ersten Neumator besorgten Korrekturen kann man sehr oft die ursprüngliche Lesart noch wahrnehmen, auf den mir seinerzeit zur Verfügung stehenden Photographien über 200mal. Und diese ursprüngliche Lesart war die *romanische*. Ohne Zweifel würden sich derartige Stellen beim Studium der *ganzen* Hs, besonders mit Hilfe der Palimpsestphotographie, verdoppeln und verdreifachen." [Sidler, p. 15.]

807] I found no evidence for this theory.”⁴³ That he found no evidence might be the result of the inclusion of only regular photographs in the published facsimile edition of this gradual. Without an examination of the original manuscript, or at the very least, the aid of specially-prepared photographs, the earlier layer of notation is not obvious, even to the trained eye. Since van der Werf cites the *Paléographie musicale* facsimile volume and acknowledges the Solesmes publication *Le graduel romain: édition critique, Volume II: Les Sources*⁴⁴ for his descriptions of the sources included in his study, it seems that he relied on the facsimile alone for his “thorough examination.” In response to van der Werf, Heisler argues that the manuscript does, in fact, show erasures, and it is, therefore, connected somehow with corrections.⁴⁵ Blachly provides two possible explanations for the current state of Graz 807: 1. the manuscript was copied from a Romanic model and was later “Germanized”; or, 2. the scribe, who was not familiar with the Germanic dialect, copied this manuscript from a Germanic source with staffless neumes, but interpreted them in the Romanic way.⁴⁶ In the latter case, the newer, “corrected” layer would have been a restoration of the Germanic dialect which had already been implemented in the house for which the manuscript was intended. However, in the former case, the “Germanizing” of the earlier Romanic layer could suggest a later adoption of the Germanic dialect where the Romanic versions formerly had been used. Blachly concludes, “The evidence of the corrections, therefore, is inconclusive with regard to establishing the priority of the Romanic or the Germanic tradition.”⁴⁷

Another article cited often is that of Bruno Stäblein in *Die Musik in Geschichte*

⁴³Hendrik van der Werf, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant: A Comparative Study of Ambrosian, Roman, and Gregorian Chant*, vol. I: A Study of Modes and Melodies, Part Two: Transcriptions (Rochester: Published by the author, 1983), p. VII.

⁴⁴The Monks of Solesmes, *Le graduel romain; édition critique*, Vol. II: Les Sources (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1957).

⁴⁵“Die Handschrift weist aber in der Tat Rasuren auf, und damit verbunden auch Korrekturen.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 34.]

⁴⁶Blachly, p. 104.

⁴⁷Blachly, p. 104.

und Gegenwart.⁴⁸ Early in his description of the transmission of liturgical chant from Rome northwards, which began in the third quarter of the seventh century, Stäblein remarks on the use in German manuscript sources of a higher pitch at the peaks of the melodies instead of the usual neighbouring semitone steps.⁴⁹ Stäblein's discussion of the matter is particularly convincing, as he draws on the writings of medieval theorists. The ninth-century theorist Aurelian of Réôme, for example, claimed that the *palatini* (Charlemagne's chapel singers) assigned the familiar "O"-antiphons sung during Advent to the first mode rather than the second because of the higher vocal melody.⁵⁰ By suggesting that their version of the melodies extended higher than the range of the second mode (i.e., up to c), Aurelian implies that they sang the antiphons in what has now been labelled as the Germanic dialect. There is another possible reference to the Germanic chant dialect in a statement by Theoger, Bishop of Metz (1117-1120). Theoger writes of the lowering of b ♯ to b ♭ by the "Italians or Romans" in contrast to the c sung by the Teutons.⁵¹ A third author referred to by Stäblein is John the Deacon, the early ninth-century biographer of Gregory the Great, who referred to the differences in the chant sung by the Germans: "Germans (i.e., Gauls) ... have mixed that which is improper into Gregorian chant."⁵² Stäblein also provides further evidence in the now often-quoted

⁴⁸Stäblein, MGG 3, cols. 272-286.

⁴⁹"Die in jeder rein melodischen Kunst stets labilen Halbton-Stufen (E-F, a-b, h-c) waren es, an denen sich die deutsche Melodik von der aller übrigen Länder absonderte: die deutschen Quellen schreiben, falls sonst der untere der beiden benachbarten Halbtöne die Melodiespitze darstellt, den oberen, z.B. in der Adventsantiphon jedesmal bei, also F statt E, und beim Melisma die Erhöhung aca" [Stäblein, col. 273.]

⁵⁰"Ant. *O Sapientia*: quamquam a palatinis ob excelsiorem vocis modulationem de primo intonatur tono [emphasis mine]." [Aureliani Reomensis, "Musica Disciplina," in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, ed. Martin Gerbert, vol. 1 (St. Blasien, 1784; Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), p. 45b.]

⁵¹"Hoc decachordum secundi a plerisque deutonicis maxime frequentatum vitant Itali vel Romani, continentes se in b. molli; quos imitantur quidam Teutonici." [Theogeri Metensis Episcopi, in Gerbert, vol. 2, p. 195a.]

⁵²Blachly's translation, p. 111, of "Germani seu Galli ... nonnulla de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt" as quoted by Stäblein, MGG 3, col. 273.

writings of Aribo Scholasticus (d. 1078), a theorist who lived in Freising.⁵³ Aribo wrote. “We [in the north] prefer melodic leaps more than the Italians [Lombards]; they enjoy more a stepwise melody [*spissior cantus*], while we are more pleased by less common [i.e., less stepwise] melody.”⁵⁴

Though not mentioned by Stäblein, musical examples in staff notation provided by the church-musician and theorist John (sometimes identified as “of Afflighem” or “John Cotton”) in his *De musica* (c. 1100) demonstrate that he, too, was familiar with the Germanic dialect.⁵⁵ Although his identity is not certain, it has been shown that the treatise of this “John” was written north of the Alps; there are several features which suggest that John was writing for students in a Germanic region of western Europe, possibly in the region around St. Gall, in modern Switzerland. For example, John uses 1) the interval notation of Hermannus Contractus (d. 1054), 2) tonal letters which are associated with the region immediately around St. Gall, and 3) the Greek names for the modes (Dorian, Phrygian, etc.), a usage which was more characteristic of German authors than Italians or French.⁵⁶ John’s selection of particular chants points toward a relationship with Germanic regions, and he thoroughly explains the *litterae significativae*. Claude Palisca remarks that these extra-notational signs were “rarely to be encountered outside southern Germany and Metz.”⁵⁷

Shortly after the publication of the MGG volume which included Stäblein’s influential article, Joseph Smits van Waesberghe published a study on the musical

⁵³Walther Lipphardt, “Über Alter und Ursprung des deutschen Choraldialekts,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 2 (1956): p. 105.

⁵⁴“Omnes saltatrices laudabiles, sed tamen nobis generosiores videntur quam Longobardis. Illi enim spissiori, nos rariori cantu delectamur.” [Aribonis Scholastici, “Music,” in Gerbert, vol. 2, p. 212b.]

⁵⁵Blachly compares the melody of the Vespers Magnificat antiphon for Ascension *O rex gloriae* given by John to that found in Romanic chant manuscripts. The cadential figure in John’s version has a leap from D-F where the Romanic version provides D-E. [Blachly, p. 106, and example 6 on p. 109.]

⁵⁶Claude V. Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. Warren Babb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 91-93.

⁵⁷Palisca, p. 91.

relationships between medieval sources from Aachen, Köln, Lüttich, and Maastricht.⁵⁸ He found that Lüttich followed the Roman tradition, Köln and Aachen followed the German tradition, and Maastricht was mixed. However, in a comparison with other sources from both Lüttich and Maastricht, Smits von Waesberghe found that the older books at these liturgical centres followed the German tendencies rather than the Roman, while the later sources were, in fact, Roman.

Following a study of all types of manuscripts from Essen, Heinz Kettering concluded that the question of determining Germanic or Romanic chant dialects in these sources was an important one, in consideration of the geographic placement of Essen on the border between the Rhineland and lower German regions. He discovered that the earlier manuscripts transmitted forms of the Germanic dialect, whereas the later manuscripts showed a noticeable increase in Romanic variants.⁵⁹ It is made clear in Kettering's study that the influences of surrounding establishments and centres of liturgical authority (i.e., the sees of bishops or archbishops) can be substantial.

Walther Lipphardt has written extensively on German sources of medieval song and liturgical chant, and he has discussed the Germanic dialect in a number of

⁵⁸Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen Aachen, Köln, Lüttich und Maastricht vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, " in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Aachen*, ed. by C.M. Brand and K.G. Fellerer, *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte* 6 (Köln: Staufen, 1954), pp. 5-13.

⁵⁹"Das Problem des germanischen und des romanischen Choraldialektes in den Melodiefassungen der Gesänge Essener Handschriften besitzt angesichts der Lage Essens auf der Grenze zwischen dem rheinischen und dem niederdeutschen Raum besonderes Gewicht. Während vor allem in der frühen Zeit die germanischen Dialektformen stark überwiegen, macht sich in späterer Zeit, da der Einfluß Kölns wächst, ein Zunehmen der romanischen Varianten bemerkbar. Grundsätzlich aber behaupten sich im Essener Stift germanischer Choraldialekt und gotische Notation, wohingegen in der benachbarten Benediktinerabtei Werden romanischer Choraldialekt und lateinische Notation herrschen." [Heinz Kettering, *Quellen und Studien zur Essener Musikgeschichte des Hohen Mittelalters*, *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, vol. 17 (Essen: 1960), as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 38.] It must be noted that Kettering's suggestion that a Romanic influence emerged from Köln has not been substantiated in other research. Heisler proposes that Kettering's remark may, conceivably, refer to a particular church in Köln where the Romanic version was followed. [Heisler, 1986, p. 38.]

publications.⁶⁰ In his 1956 article “Über Alter und Ursprung des deutschen Choraldialekts,” Lipphardt summarizes the characteristic idioms found in German manuscripts of the Middle Ages as compared to those from France, England or Italy. He writes of the raising of the uppermost pitch in German sources by either a semitone (from e to f, or ḅ - c) or a whole tone (from b b - c, or f - g),⁶¹ and cites the work of Wagner, Otto Ursprung,⁶² Stäblein, and Heinrich Sowa.⁶³

Heisler notes that Lipphardt’s work provides interesting points of view, as it is often concerned with the Germanic dialect in regions further to the east (i.e., in regions of modern Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.).⁶⁴ Heisler summarizes the results of several of the publications which consider the Germanic dialect in more eastern regions, in particular, the work of Lipphardt, Fritz Feldmann, Zoltán Falvy, and Heironim Feicht; Heisler states that it has been shown that the German dialect or German elements can be demonstrated in Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Polish, and Bohemian sources, but that overlaps between the Romanic and Germanic traditions are found.⁶⁵

The state of research to 1973 on this German chant tradition was consolidated in Dom Jacques Froger’s extensive introduction to the facsimile edition of *Graz*,

⁶⁰These include, among others, Walther Lipphardt, “Über Alter und Ursprung,” cited above. See Kohlhasse and Paucker, p. 347, item 3833; and Walther Lipphardt, “Das Moosburger Cationale,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 3 (1957): p. 112.

⁶¹“Erhöhung des Spitzentons um einen Halbton, indem man e durch f, h durch c, a durch b ersetzt; Erhöhung des Spitzentons um einen Ganzton, indem man b durch c, f durch g ersetzt.” [Lipphardt, “Über Alter und Ursprung,” p. 104.]

⁶²Otto Ursprung, *Die katholische Kirchenmusik*, ed. by Ernst Bücken, Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, vol. 9 (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), p. 50; as cited by Lipphardt, “Über Alter und Ursprung,” p. 104.

⁶³Heinrich Sowa, *Quellen zur Transformation der Antiphonen* (Kassel: 1935); as cited by Lipphardt, “Über Alter und Ursprung,” p. 105.

⁶⁴“Interessante Gesichtspunkte liefern auch die Arbeiten, die sich mit dem ‘germanischen Choraldialekt’ im Osten befassen.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 42.]

⁶⁵“In den vorausgehenden Beobachtungen zum gregorianischen Choral im Osten zeigt sich, daß der ‘germanische Choraldialekt’ bzw. ‘germanische’ Elemente in tschechischen, ungarischen, polnischen, böhmischen Quellen nachweisbar sind, daß sich aber Überschneidungen von ‘romanischer’ und ‘germanischer’ Überlieferung finden.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 46.]

Universitätsbibliothek, 807, the gradual believed to be from Klosterneuburg.⁶⁶ As mentioned earlier, this gradual has been recognized for some time as one of the earliest sources identifiably transmitting the Germanic dialect, yet this was not the original form of the notated melodies. At some point not long after the initial copying of the manuscript, the original notation, which followed Romanic versions, was replaced with Germanic forms. Froger comments that the ideal reproductive publication of the manuscript Graz 807 would entail a double presentation of each folio side in parallel photographs, with the earlier notational layer revealed on the left-hand side through the use of special photographic techniques, and with regular photographs showing the exposed notational layer on the right-hand side of each set of facing pages in the book. In this way, one could more easily compare the Romanic version, which was undoubtedly that of the model for this gradual, with its Germanized version copied directly on top.⁶⁷

A similar, though reversed, example of this sort of manuscript “editing” provides greater evidence that a conscious differentiation between Germanic and Romanic melodic forms was made by the medieval cantors and choristers. The fourteenth-century manuscript *Melk an der Donau, Benediktiner-Stift Melk — Bibliothek, 1056* was altered at some point from the Germanic to the Romanic version. Yet, in several cases, only the first occurrence of a particular chant was altered, so the Germanic forms remain for any other occurrences of that same chant later in the manuscript;⁶⁸ these obviously provide useful references for comparison of the melodic traditions.

A more recent study which takes a somewhat different path and results in some

⁶⁶Froger, pp. 7*-42*; in particular, see bibliography on pp. 7*-8*. There are two other graduals with more certain Klosterneuburg provenance: CCl. 73 (thirteenth-fourteenth century) and CCl. 588 (fourteenth century).

⁶⁷“L’idéal eût été de publier Graz 807 en une double série de photographies parallèles: sur la partie gauche des pages, les images permettant de lire le texte musical inférieur des parties palimpsestes, et en regard, sur la partie droite des pages, les images réalisées par le procédé photographique habituel comme dans la présente édition, où se voit le texte supérieur. De cette manière on aurait pu faire une comparaison systématique entre la version <<romane>> de la mélodie (sans doute celle du modèle de notre Graduel) et la version <<germanisée>> qui lui est pour ainsi dire superposée sur les mêmes feuillets du parchemin.” [Froger, p. 16*.]

⁶⁸Heisler, 1985, p. 80.

thought-provoking ideas is Hendrik van der Werf's *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant*.⁶⁹ In this survey of the development of the many forms of western chant, van der Werf makes a useful analogy which offers support to the term "dialect" with respect to the melodic variants occurring in Gregorian chants. He states, "The manner in which the melodies differ from one manuscript to another, or rather, the manner in which the melodies differed from one medieval church to another, is to a certain extent, analogous to divergences in spoken languages."⁷⁰ Following an initial distinction between the well-established chant traditions which existed alongside Gregorian, such as Old-Roman and Ambrosian, van der Werf differentiates between not two, but *three*, chant dialects based on the variants found within Gregorian chants. Determining just these three dialects seems to have been a matter of compromise, as he states, "At the turn of the millennium, probably every single church had its own 'dialect' of plainchant."⁷¹ In contrast to the opinions of some earlier scholars, van der Werf accepts all "dialects" without bias:

Experts in the development of languages ... have concluded a long time ago that no dialect and no language is more "authentic" than another one. ... Accordingly, for a comparative study of plain chant it seems advisable to accept initially all versions as equally valid, and to determine later which discrepancies may be scribal errors and which ones are local or regional variants.⁷²

Van der Werf's three dialect groups are comprised of: a) "Germanic," which occurs predominantly in the German-speaking regions of Europe; b) "Southwestern," found in sources from southern France and Italy, but also in sources from German-speaking regions of Switzerland, such as St. Gall; and c) the "Central" dialect, which occurs in

⁶⁹Hendrik van der Werf, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant: A Comparative Study of Ambrosian, Roman, and Gregorian Chant*, vol. I: A Study of Modes and Melodies, Part Two: Transcriptions (Rochester: Published by the author, 1983).

⁷⁰van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 4.

⁷¹van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 4.

⁷²van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 4.

sources from the remaining parts of the continent, as well as the British Isles.⁷³ These groupings were ascertained from a detailed study of forty Introit antiphon melodies found in twenty-six manuscripts. Of his selected sources, van der Werf determined that four represent the “Germanic” dialect, eleven the “Central” dialect, and four the “Southwestern” dialect.⁷⁴ Concerning the early St. Gall sources in his “Southwestern dialect” category (b) of Gregorian chant, van der Werf writes,

Unfortunately, adiastematic notation can not [sic] show Germanic traits, so there is no way of knowing whether the manuscripts from the abbey of Sankt Gallen also contain passages which would put the abbey in the orbit of the Germanic dialect of Gregorian chant, just as the spoken language of the town Sankt Gallen and its surroundings is Germanic.⁷⁵

To date, the work of Maria-Elisabeth Heisler has been the most expansive on the Germanic dialect. In her 1986 dissertation,⁷⁶ Heisler has contemplated Wagner’s research findings at great length, as well as studied nearly every article or reference to the Germanic dialect published this century.⁷⁷ She has constructed her own explorations on the foundations of earlier research, and compared examples of both Mass and Office chants in sources from regions across Europe. Based on a study of the “O”-antiphons sung during Advent, which is included as a portion of her dissertation, she has concluded that some chant manuscripts show a distinct separation of the traditions, but in several cases, both traditions or “dialects” are mixed.⁷⁸ Heisler has also identified what she believes to be the “formulaic” idioms of each melodic dialect; this formulaic material appears to be consistent within each manuscript, while the non-formulaic material differs

⁷³van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 4.

⁷⁴For a listing of the sources included in this study, see van der Werf, vol. 2, pp. VII-LX.

⁷⁵van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 70.

⁷⁶Cited above; see note 30 of this chapter.

⁷⁷See note 31 of this chapter for the list of scholars she references.

⁷⁸“Man kann daher kaum von einer in einer Lesart konsequent notierenden Handschrift sprechen.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 95.]

within some sources in both notation and melodic content.⁷⁹

It is Heisler who has suggested the alternate terminology of “east-Frankish” instead of “Germanic” with respect to chant dialects, in order to represent better the region where the Germanic elements occur. Heisler complains that the terminology proposed by Wagner (and subsequently adopted by nearly every other interested scholar since Wagner) is not correct, as it denotes an ethnological, geographical and linguistic interpretation.⁸⁰ She explains that in the Middle Ages, these terms were not direct opposites. The geographical term “Romania” does not correspond with the area described by Wagner, i.e., Italy, France, England, etc. (nor, in fact, does the opposing geographical term “Germania”), and a “romanischen Sprache” is not the everyday language of all within the area referred to as “Romanisch.” After the middle of the eighth century, “roman” as an ethnological determinant was no longer valid. For the new nomenclature, Heisler credits Bruno Stäblein who distinguishes between east- and west-Frankish traditions with respect to trope repertories.⁸¹ These terms relate to the region of the Franks (“Francia”) and its division into three kingdoms. Heisler prefers these more neutral and universal terms derived from “Francia,” since the borders of ethnic, geographical, or speech areas do not directly affect regions designated as east- and west-Frankish.⁸²

Heisler has also thoroughly analysed *graphisch* variants in manuscripts with staffless notation. Graphic variants involve the appearances of the neume signs which are used to convey melodic idioms within the chant melodies. Naturally, the use of a different neume, such as a *pes* (two notes) instead of *torculus* (three notes), or a *punctum/virga* (one note) instead of a *clivis* (two notes) has an impact on the chant

⁷⁹Heisler, 1986, p. 95.

⁸⁰“Beide Begriffe beinhalten eine ethnologische, eine geographische und eine linguistische Interpretation.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 138.]

⁸¹Bruno Stäblein, s.v. “Sequenz,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 12, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), col. 532.

⁸²Heisler, 1986, p. 139.

melody. A graphic variant is, for example, the difference between D-FE-D-D and D-EFE-D-D. Although the chronology of these features will never be certain, Heisler briefly muses about the possibility of the melodic variants being a later development than graphic variants.⁸³ One wonders if the melodic variants characteristic of the east-Frankish sources might have arisen from the graphic variants themselves (!). Heisler's comparison of neume usages in eighteen manuscripts from regions all across western Europe provides some interesting results. According to her survey, the manuscripts of German origin formed a significantly more uniform impression than the French/Italian group.⁸⁴ However, there were mixed results, as some sources inconsistently followed different chant traditions. For example, Heisler found what some earlier scholars have suggested: that two manuscripts from the same place but from different time periods can sometimes reflect opposing traditions. In the case of two manuscripts from Monza, the early-eleventh-century source *Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, C 12/75* leans towards the Germanic tradition, while the younger, thirteenth-century manuscript, *Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, C 14/77* is more similar to manuscripts transmitting the Romanic tradition.⁸⁵ Complexities such as this have caused Heisler to concede that there are manuscripts which stand in the middle of both Germanic and Romanic traditions.⁸⁶

In a further comparison of these graphic variants in manuscripts with pitch-accurate notation, Heisler also encountered inconsistencies in the affinities of the manuscripts to one or the other chant tradition. In a number of cases, for instance, the graphic variants were of the Germanic tradition while the melodic variants were Romanic, or vice versa.⁸⁷ Heisler has proposed, therefore, that there may be no

⁸³Heisler, 1985, p. 81.

⁸⁴Heisler, 1985, p. 78.

⁸⁵Heisler, 1985, p. 78

⁸⁶“Es gibt Handschriften, die immer etwa in der Mitte der beiden Überlieferungen stehen.” [Heisler, 1985, p. 78.]

⁸⁷Heisler, 1985, pp. 78-79.

connection between melodic and graphic variants;⁸⁸ rather, if graphic variants of one tradition are found with melodic variants of the other tradition, this is evidence of an intersection of the two chant traditions.⁸⁹ Sources which fall into this category generally lie on the border between the two regions where the spheres of influence overlap.

Since Heisler's work in the late 1980s, scholarship on the Germanic tradition has, for the most part, taken the form of passing references in books and articles on Gregorian chant. One such reference, for example, is made by Stefan Engels in his description of some fragments from a manuscript in the *Stiftsbibliothek* of St. Peter in Salzburg. He briefly remarks that one recognizes a German melodic version.⁹⁰ For the Germanic dialect enthusiast, this near silence in scholarly literature might imply a quiet (and perhaps reluctant) acceptance of the theory. However, it is quite possible that a critic would treat this relative lack of interest as a dismissal. Even so, two publications deserve mention: the survey article of Alexander Blachly, entitled "Some Observations on the 'Germanic' Plainchant Tradition,"⁹¹ and Rudolf Flotzinger's "Die Handschrift Graz 807, ihre Notation und der sogenannte germanische Choraldialekt."⁹²

In a fashion similar to Heisler's literature survey, Blachly summarizes the scholarship to date on the Germanic dialect theory and explains its main characteristics. He provides what appears to be the first North-American, English, readily-available (i.e., in a major journal), published summary article focused on the phenomenon of the

⁸⁸“Es besteht kein Zusammenhang zwischen den melodischen und graphischen Varianten.” [Heisler, 1985, p. 80.]

⁸⁹In varying degrees, Heisler found examples of these types of crossovers in the following sources: *Monza 14/77* (Monza), *Turin F.IV.18* (Bobbio), *Paris lat. 17307* (Compiègne), *Cambrai 61* (Lille), *Montpellier H.159* (Dijon), *Melk 1056* (Melk), *London add. 18031-32* (Stavelot), *Mailand AE XIV 12* (Utrecht), *Karlsruhe Pm 16* (Erfurt). [Heisler, 1985, pp. 78-79. See also, Heisler, 1986, pp. 80-84.]

⁹⁰“Man erkennt eine germanische Melodiefassung.” [Stefan Engels, “Die Notation der liturgischen Handschriften aus Klosterneuburg,” *Musicologica Austriaca* 14/15 (1996): p. 44.]

⁹¹Alexander Blachly, “Some Observations on the 'Germanic' Plainchant Tradition,” *Current Musicology* [“Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders”] 45-47 (1990): pp. 85-117.

⁹²Rudolf Flotzinger, “Die Handschrift Graz 807, ihre Notation und der sog. germanische Choraldialekt,” *Musica antiqua* VIII (1988): pp. 397-411.

Germanic dialect.⁹³ Along with the information on the Germanic dialect theory already cited here from previous scholarly works, Blachly adds the examples of music treatises from German-speaking areas where Germanic melodic variants are encountered. These treatises include: Lampadius, *Compendium musices, tam figurati quam plani cantus, ab auctore Lampadio Luneburgensi elaborata ... Bernae Helveti MDXXXVII* (f. Bi^v); Spangenberg, *Questiones musicae ... Iohan. Span[genbergi] ... Vitebergae Anno MDXLII* (f. Dvij^v); Vogelsang, *Musicae rudimenta ... per Iohan. Vogelsangum Lindauensem ... MDXLII* (ff. Dvj^r, Diiij^v, and Diiij^v); Glareanus, *Glareani Dodecachordum ... Basileae 1547* (pp. 144-45); Cretz, *Compendiosa introductio in choralen musicam ... Ioannem Cretz ... Venetum MDLIII* (f. Diiij^r); and Zanger, *Practicae musicae praecepta ... Ioannem Zangerum Oenipontanum ... Lipsiae Anno 1554* (f. Giiij^r).⁹⁴ Blachly also cites chant-based polyphonic collections from these same regions, collections whose chants display Germanic variants: Heinrich Issac's *Choralis constantinus* and the *Nicolaus Apel Codex*.⁹⁵

Alongside a presentation of Mass chants which display features of the Romanic and Germanic dialects,⁹⁶ Blachly proposes that,

The preference for the minor third in such places [as opposed to a major or minor second] is not the result of a German propensity to shun the notes *B*, *E*, or *A* as integral elements of the scale in every mode. It appears, rather, that the German sensibility favored a stronger emphasis on *fa* in the hexachord, especially in those passages where the Romanic tradition places *mi* at the peak of a turn of melody or in an exposed – usually cadential – descent into *re*.⁹⁷

Blachly also enters into a discussion concerning the inconsistencies which have

⁹³ Although the language of writing is not deemed to be a barrier in scholarly circles, access to published materials in foreign centres can be expensive, and is, at times, impossible.

⁹⁴ Blachly, p. 87.

⁹⁵ Blachly, p. 87.

⁹⁶ Blachly, pp. 96-100.

⁹⁷ Blachly, p. 95.

become more apparent in recent research in both of the melodic traditions. In an obvious assault on the Solesmes school, Blachly states, "... it is a falsification of history to deny the role of the Germanic tradition altogether, uncritically accepting Romanic sources as the sole keys to reconstructing the pitches in the oldest notated chant sources."⁹⁸

Flotzinger states that his article⁹⁹ is a "work-in-progress" that deals, once again, with the gradual Graz 807. The relationship of this manuscript to other sources which exhibit similar notation (notably, CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013) is explored, and so is the question of their origins.¹⁰⁰ In order to describe some notational styles, such as the propagation of staff notation, Flotzinger traces the history of several important people, including Gerhoch von Regensburg, Provost of Passau (1132-69), and Bishop Altmann of Passau (1065-91).¹⁰¹ Intermingled with Flotzinger's scant comments on the Germanic dialect are remarks concerning the notation in German sources. It appears from his remarks that both the melodic variants and the notational styles in extant German manuscripts were propagated within regional boundaries. However, Flotzinger highlights the role that the monks played through their radiating centres (monasteries and cathedrals) in the widespread dissemination of notational signs in particular, owing to the nature of their pastoral duties. Depending on the distances travelled by clerics, "regional" signs or markings thought to be associated with particular scriptoria may indeed be misleading.¹⁰²

⁹⁸Blachly, p. 116.

⁹⁹Rudolf Flotzinger, "Die Handschrift Graz 807, ihre Notation und der sog. germanische Chordialekt," *Musica antiqua* VIII (1988): pp. 397-411.

¹⁰⁰It appears that this "work-in-progress" led to the article published the following year: Rudolf Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft und Datierung der Gradualien Graz 807 und Wien 13314," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1989): pp. 57-80.

¹⁰¹Flotzinger, "Die Handschrift," p. 403.

¹⁰²"Die Verbreitung ist zwar regional begrenzt, aber nur eine relative, da sie niemals die ausschließlich verwendete Form darstellte. Die wichtigsten Gründe für diese Relativität dürften sein: Beharrungstendenzen bei den sog. alten Orden und Zugehörigkeit zu verschiedenen Reformkreisen, wobei die Wirkung der Chorherren wegen ihrer Seelsorge-Aktivitäten auch ohne Zentralismus im 12. Jh. als besonders groß zu veranschlagen ist (Klöster und Domkapitel als ausstrahlende Zentren). Daher erscheint jede regional bestimmte Bezeichnung als irreführend, manche Schwierigkeiten erledigen sich jedoch von selbst." [Flotzinger, "Die Handschrift," pp. 410-411.]

Flotzinger's closing comments concur with the findings of more recent scholarship; one cannot directly contrast Germanic and Romanic chant dialects.¹⁰³ The division between these two categories is not clearly defined, as there are many inconsistencies that must be reconciled. Flotzinger proposes, though, that it is conceivable that the chant of the High and Later Middle Ages is, rather, to be differentiated and categorized by monastic order, on stylistic grounds, through regional divisions, or in other ways.¹⁰⁴

THE CURRENT PROJECT

Determining that manner of differentiation, if one indeed exists, and ascertaining to what degree the east- or west-Frankish characteristics are present in the sung repertoire of the monastery at Klosterneuburg have become foci of the current project. I began this research as a manuscript study of the eight Office antiphoners dating before 1400 which are extant in the Klosterneuburg library. Owing to the current state of research into the east-Frankish melodic chant tradition, which has been concerned mainly with Mass chants, it has seemed appropriate to explore the notion of an east-Frankish chant tradition, enlarge upon this previous research if possible, and balance the general findings with readings from more Office manuscripts. Although the number of publications cited above which refer to the Germanic chant tradition may seem plentiful, the amount of attention that this branch of chant has received in full scholarly studies, compared to the research that has been undertaken in medieval chant in general, is actually quite meagre. At the outset, I expected to find characteristics of the east-Frankish tradition in the central group of Klosterneuburg antiphoners, since this monastery lies well within the region of German influence in western Europe; indeed, the information provided concerning the

¹⁰³“Auf keinen Fall kann man den ‘germanischen’ (oder wie auch immer bezeichneten) Choraldialekt dem ‘römischen/romanischen’ Choral auf der gleichen (stilistisch-musikalischen) Ebene gegenüberstellen.” [Flotzinger, “Die Handschrift,” p. 411.]

¹⁰⁴“Es wäre aber denkbar, den Choral des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters ordensspezifisch, stilistisch, regional oder in nochmals anderer Weise zu differenzieren und kategorisieren.” [Flotzinger, “Die Handschrift,” p. 411.]

Klosterneuburg sources in René-Jean Hesbert's monumental study of the usage and ordering of the responsories sung on the Sundays during Advent, contained in the fifth and sixth volumes of the main reference source for medieval Office antiphoner research. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (hence CAO),¹⁰⁵ places these manuscripts in a "family" grouping of other sources from German regions.¹⁰⁶

In light of the great amount of scholarly interest which has been invested in the gradual said to be from Klosterneuburg, now identified as *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek. 807*, I also considered it important to confirm to which tradition, either east- or west-Frankish, or to what degree of either tradition, the complementary antiphoners of the monastery follow. It should be noted that, although considered complex by some scholars, antiphoners contain particularly valuable information about the local chant traditions of a liturgical centre. Zsuzsa Czagány of the CAO-ECE project has written, for example, "While the order of the Mass chants was essentially similar everywhere in Europe in the Middle Ages, the antiphonaries represent varieties associated with institutions and, as a result, they are more adequate for distinguishing local traditions than the graduals."¹⁰⁷ Whatever the results, a study of such a valuable collection of three twelfth- and five fourteenth-century manuscripts preserving the Klosterneuburg chant tradition will certainly add to our understanding of chant in the southern-German orbit.

In order to determine the place of the medieval Office chant tradition of Klosterneuburg, I have undertaken both a detailed analysis of the eight surviving antiphoners dating before 1400 now preserved at the monastery library, as well as a large analytical and comparative project which deals with the melodies preserved for the ferial

¹⁰⁵René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963-1979).

¹⁰⁶See Chapter Nine.

¹⁰⁷Zsuzsa Czagány, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii — Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*, vol. III/A Praha (Temporale), ed. by Zoltán Falvy and László Dobszay (Budapest: Zenetudományi Intézet [Institute for Musicology], 1996), p. 10. See also László Dobszay, "The Program 'CAO-ECE: Corpus Antiphonalium Officii — Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae,'" *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988): p. 356.

antiphons (i.e., the antiphons sung on ordinary days, when no occasion of the *Temporale* or *Sanctorale* displaced the regular weekly cycle). The comments of Hendrik van der Werf provide some basis for this study of ferial antiphon melodies:

A comparative study, encompassing many melodies in many manuscripts, reveals in a surprising and fascinating fashion what kinds of changes actually did occur. The original melodies are lost forever but we can gain valuable information about their original style and structure by studying the variants, and by searching for reasons why specific changes were made.¹⁰⁸

Incorporated into the analysis of the eight antiphoners presented here are detailed physical descriptions of each manuscript (Chapters Three and Four), a study of the notation used to record the chant melodies (Chapter Five), comments on the provenance of the manuscripts (Chapter Six, first section), as well as references to the so-called “Klosterneuburg” Easter drama (Chapter Six, second section) and the rare occurrence of a prosa (Chapter Seven).

The purpose of my melodic research has not been to find the chant archetype, or “Ur-form,” of any particular melody. Rather, I have sought the formation of manuscript affiliations or “manuscript families,” and even groupings within those families, through the analysis and comparison of chant variants between many manuscripts. It is well understood that, owing to the sheer multitude of melodies and the uncounted numbers of extant chant manuscripts, it is virtually impossible to establish any real stemmatic connections among the medieval plainsong sources. Rather, it is through the detailed study of localized repertoires, such as the tradition of a single monastery or cathedral, that significant traits may be recognized and connections made between the traditions of liturgical centres. Dobszay writes,

Much as we may agree with the goals of research which strives [sic] to find a supposedly original form, a form which is essentially unique despite the many forms of sources, another endeavour may also be justified, one which may be said to take a strictly historical approach. This investigates an abundance of sources for their own sakes [sic], so as to obtain a

¹⁰⁸van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 1.

knowledge of the chant in its different manifestations, in its diversity in time and place, regardless of any preconceptions concerning development or decline.¹⁰⁹

In the first layer of my melodic-variant research, I will confirm the usual findings of the east-Frankish melodic tradition through a comparison of the nearly one hundred ferial antiphon melodies in each of the twenty-five sources surveyed. Owing to the computer-assisted nature of this project, and the database of over 2450 individual melodies which I have created by transcribing neumes into letter notation, I will thereafter be able to isolate and test the legitimacy of other melodic figures (i.e., “variants”) which have seemed significant in the course of the preliminary research.

Although these analyses have been aimed at placing the Klosterneuburg chant tradition within the whole body of western-European chant, a close study of the melodies of the ferial antiphons can also reveal the provenance of many of the other sources included in this examination. This is, indeed, just the beginning.

¹⁰⁹Dobszay, “The Program ‘CAO-ECE,’” p. 355.

CHAPTER 2

THE AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

In a gazetteer from the turn of the twentieth century, Karl Baedeker declared Klosterneuburg to be the “oldest and wealthiest Augustinian monastery in Austria.”¹ Shortly after its founding in the early twelfth century, Klosterneuburg attained a place of distinction among monastic houses. The political importance of Klosterneuburg and its monastic community was first established and then continually reinforced throughout subsequent centuries by the proximity of the monastery to the residence of the Margrave (later the Duke). The strategic value of the monastery edifices in their prominent location on the Danube was also realized a number of times. Over the first two centuries of its existence, the founding dynasty of the Babenbergs endowed enormous wealth and valuable possessions to the monastery, including the Verdun Altar, dating from 1181, which is one of Klosterneuburg’s most highly-regarded works of art. The monastery, in its present role as a national shrine of Austria, has since become the sanctuary of several national emblems, including the Austrian Archducal cap held since 1616, the remnants of the Margraves’s ceremonial vestments, and the “Babenberger Stammbaum” (1489-1493), the genealogical tree of the Babenberg family. Adding to the national importance of Klosterneuburg is the burial place of the Babenberg Margrave Leopold III and his family in the former chapter house, now known as “St. Leopold’s Chapel.” Leopold III, now popular as the patron saint of Austria,² was the founder of the Klosterneuburg monastery, and his burial shrine is a frequent pilgrimage site. Other treasures include a twelfth-century bronze candelabrum from Verona, the “Klosterneuburger Madonna” dating from

¹Karl Baedeker, *Austria, including Hungary, Transylvania, Dalmatia, and Bosnia: Handbook for Travellers*, 9th ed. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1900), p. 75. Of importance in Klosterneuburg for the sight-seer are the palatial abbey-buildings erected by Felice Donato d’Allio in about the year 1750, the column in front of the abbey church erected in 1381 on the cessation of the plague, and the “well-organized Lunatic Asylum.”

²Leopold was canonized on 6 January 1485 by Pope Innocent III.

1310, and a large collection of coins dating from Roman times.³ Klosterneuburg also houses a large and valuable library archive of 1256 manuscripts, 885 incunabula, and approximately 240,000 volumes.⁴

THE HISTORY OF KLOSTERNEUBURG

The small town of Klosterneuburg, in northeastern Austria in the modern state of Niederösterreich, lies in the hills of the Wienerwald approximately thirteen kilometres northwest of the centre of Vienna.⁵ It is situated on the west bank of the Danube at the foot of the Leopoldsberg, at the site of a once-important river crossing.

The history of Klosterneuburg dates back several millennia, as there is evidence of settlement in the Neolithic period. Before the Romans conquered the *Taurisci* (subsequently called the *Norici*) in about the year 14 B.C.E., this Celtic tribe inhabited the region now called Austria. Situated in the Roman province of *Pannonia*, Klosterneuburg was once the site of a Roman fortress, *Asturis*. During the first century C.E., the place where Klosterneuburg now lies developed into the Roman settlement *Quadriburgium*,⁶ and archers were stationed there.⁷ In the sixth century, the Slovenes conquered *Pannonia*; the Slovenes, or Corutanes,⁸ were part of the kingdom of Samo and were later included in

³Michael Alram, Roswitha Denk, and Wolfgang Szaivert, *Die Münzsammlung des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989).

⁴The Klosterneuburg library is the largest private library in Austria and houses one of the most important manuscript collections in that country. On the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek website, this monastery library is listed with other well-known Austrian libraries, such as Graz Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck Universitätsbibliothek, Melk Stiftsbibliothek (OSB), Salzburg Erzabtei Sankt Peter (OSB), Salzburg Universitätsbibliothek, and Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

⁵48° 18' N latitude, 16° 19' E longitude, 192 m above sea level.

⁶The four mountains or hills in the area are the Leopoldsberg, the Bisamberg, the Simonsberg, and the Kumenberg.

⁷Gerhard Langmann, *600 Jahre Römer in Österreich* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1977), p. 55.

⁸H. Wickham Steed, and Walter Alison Phillips, *A Short History of Austria-Hungary and Poland* (London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1914), p. 3.

the kingdom of the Avars (who were related to the Huns). Charlemagne (742-814) drove them back to the present Hungarian frontier in a war beginning in 791, and this eastern bastion of Charlemagne's empire, now under the rule of the Franks, became known as the "Ostmark." In the ninth century, however, Frankish domination weakened, and the Ostmark was overrun by the Moravians, and then the Magyars. Otto the Great, elected German king in 936, defeated the Magyars in 955 and refounded the Ostmark. In 976, his son Otto II announced Leopold (Liutpold) I (976-994) of the Babenberg dynasty as the first Margrave of this refounded *Ostmark*, a small region which originally encompassed the area south of the Danube from the river Enns to Melk (about sixty miles⁹). The first-known mention of this "east empire," the region which would later be named Austria or Österreich, was made in the Annals of Altaich¹⁰ in the year 996, in the phrase *in regione vulgari nomine Ostarrichi*.¹¹

⁹Steed and Phillips, p. 2.

¹⁰Erik G. Wickenburg, *A Pocket History of Vienna*, trans. by Arnold Bender (Idstein, Germany: Societäts-Verlag, 1972), p. 12.

¹¹Steed and Phillips, p. 2.

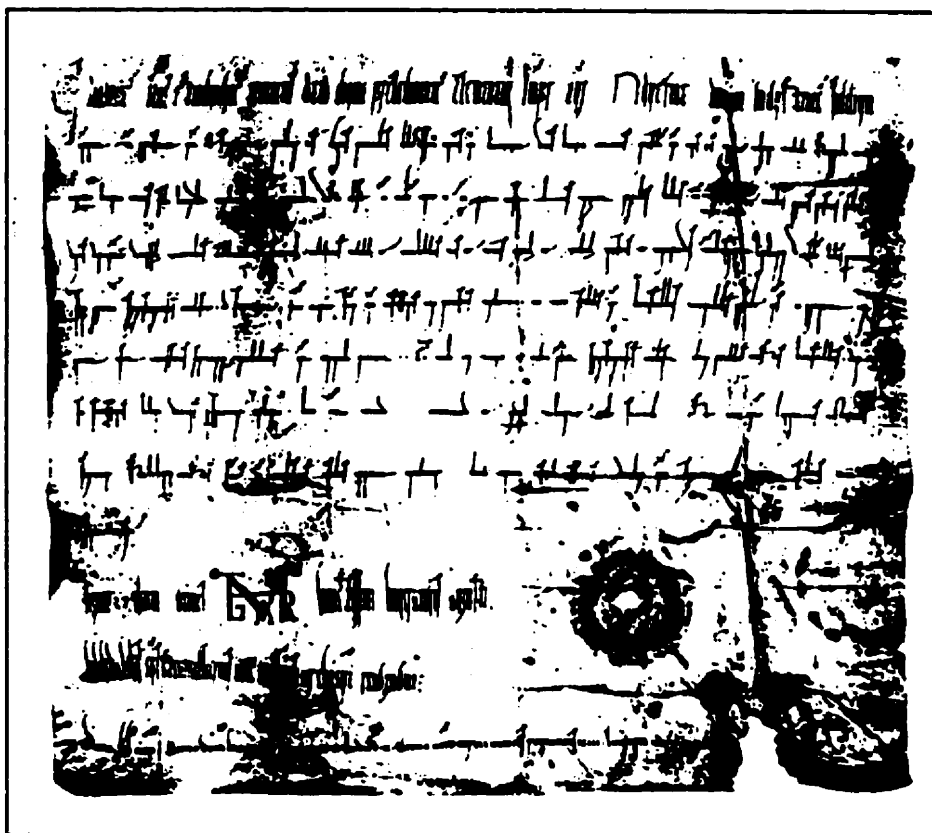


Illustration 1: A document of Emperor Otto III, dating from the year 996, which contains the first-known mention of the name "Österreich" ["Ostarrichi"].

Throughout the period of their rule, the energies of the Babenbergs were chiefly spent in enlarging and strengthening the position of the mark. The Babenbergs were, at first, conferred the imperial executive rank of Margrave which does not normally entail sovereignty, but they were later to become sovereign princes. Following several moves down the Danube from Pöchlarn, Melk, Krems, Gars am Kamp, and Tulln, all of which served as residences or capitals of the Babenbergs, Margrave Leopold III "der Heilige" [the holy] (1095-1136), the significant Babenberg for our story about Klosterneuburg, located his residence even further east in the twelfth century.



Illustration 2: Babenberg Margrave Leopold III "der Heilige" from the "Babenberger Stammbaum" (1489-1493)

LEOPOLD III

Although Leopold III's political connections were already quite extensive, since his great-grandmother was Hungarian, and his sister Gerberga (d. 1142) was married to the Bohemian prince Boriwoj von Böhmen,¹² his status was nevertheless increased through his marriage in 1106 to Agnes, the widow of the Swabian Duke Friedrich I of Hohenstaufen. The Emperor's son, Heinrich V, had offered his sister Agnes's hand to Leopold in recognition of Leopold's support for Heinrich V and the Pope against the Emperor, Heinrich IV (1056-1106), in the "Investiturstreit," which had occurred the year before (1105).¹³ As a result of his marriage to Agnes, Leopold received a large dowry, as well as connections to two imperial families. This higher political position manifested itself in an imposing castle to be used as a residence, which Leopold built in about the year 1106 on the ruins of a Hungarian fortress on the mountain later called the

¹²Ernst Joseph Görlich and Felix Romanik, *Geschichte Österreichs* (Innsbruck: Tyroler-Verlag, 1977), p. 63.

¹³Görlich and Romanik, p. 63.

Leopoldsberg.¹⁴ This was a strategically-important location; at this place, the Danube entered the narrows between the Leopoldsberg and the Bisamberg,¹⁵ and at the time the castle was built, well before the regulation of the river which was not completed until 1911, it was within reach of the Danube and could be defended.¹⁶ The castle was named “niwenburc” [neuburg].

Shortly after building his castle on the Leopoldsberg, Leopold founded a monastery there. According to legend, Leopold and his wife Agnes were standing on the balcony of the castle on their wedding day. A sudden gust of wind blew Agnes’s veil away, and the valuable cloth could not be found. Nine years later, when Leopold was out hunting, he was attracted by the gleam emanating from the long-lost veil, which was entangled but undamaged in an elderbush. “From this light appeared a vision of the Virgin Mary, directing him to build a church and a convent in her honour in this place.”¹⁷ Although the romantic legend is well known and has been portrayed in numerous artworks, the details do not coincide with the information in extant historical documents. Erik Wickenburg suggests that the Klosterneuburg monastery was meant as a gift of atonement for Agnes’s father, Emperor Heinrich IV, who died during his excommunication.¹⁸ The cornerstone for the collegiate church was laid on 12 June 1114 in the place of an older church.

¹⁴Berthold Černík, *Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Klosterneuburg* (Vienna: Floridus-Druck, 1958), p. 8.

¹⁵Wickenburg, p. 12.

¹⁶Klosterneuburg’s strategic location proved itself several centuries later in the battle against the Turks in 1683. The upper part of the town and the convent were not overtaken, and they served as important flank protection in the relief by the Christian army of the Turkish siege on Vienna.

¹⁷*Convent of Klosterneuburg* (Korneuburg: Kellner, n.d.), p. 3.

¹⁸Wickenburg, p. 13.



Illustration 3: The Klosterneuburg Stiftskirche before the neo-Gothic remodelling of the towers (1882-1892) by Friedrich von Schmidt.

THE TOWN OF KLOSTERNEUBURG

A settlement called “Neuburg” developed around Leopold III’s castle and monastery. The abbey section of the town was designated as “Klosterneuburg” after 1218 when, owing to flooding, it was separated from the market district, called “Korneuburg.” Before the Danube was regulated and directed two kilometres away from the town, it flowed quite strongly around the barrier of the Leopoldsberg and then divided into many shallower arms, probably causing the location of Vienna to resemble a delta.¹⁹ Disastrous flooding of the Danube in the summer of 1194 swept away village houses and plains were devastated, but the menacing Danube was not the only problem. One year earlier, in 1193, a “plague” of locusts had caused crop failures in Vienna and its outskirts, and just a short time before that, the returning crusaders had brought both violent temperaments and the plague to the region. Despite these continual inconveniences to its *Bürger*, the town

¹⁹Wickenburg, p. 7.

of Klosterneuburg endured and was chartered by Duke Albrecht I on 5 February 1298.

THE AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

In 1133, after consulting with the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishop of Passau, and other advisors, Leopold repossessed his monastery from the secular canons who had occupied Klosterneuburg since its founding, and brought in Augustinian canons to replace them.²⁰ The Augustinian order had emerged as an organized body in the middle of the eleventh century under the influence of the Gregorian reforms (attributed to Pope Gregory VII, 1075-1085), and a large number of houses were founded in Austria during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The order was officially recognized by the Lateran synods of 1059 and 1063, and it spread quickly throughout western Europe.²¹ As opposed to the strictly “monastic” Benedictine orders, such as those based in Cluny, Cîteaux, Chartreuse, and Grandmont, for example, Augustinian canons, also known as “Austin canons,” were uncloistered men living the full common life. They formed quasi-monastic communities bound by vows and the canon (hence the name *clerici canonici*) of Augustine.²² In contrast to secular canons, Augustinians abjured individual property. Cathedral chapters of canons were under the leadership of a provost (prior), who was secondary to a bishop within a diocese. The traditional ministries of Augustinians have

²⁰“An die Stelle der weltlichen Chorherren traten in Folge der Berathung Leopold’s mit dem Erzbischofe Konrad von Salzburg und den Bischöfen Reginmar von Passau und Roman von Gurk regulirte [sic] Chorherren aus den Häusern Salzburg, Chiemsee und St. Nikolaus bei Pasau (ein Wechsel, der in dieser Zeit häufig vorkömmt), unter dem von Chiemsee nach Klosterneuburg berufenen Propste Hartmann; gleichzeitig kamen Klosterfrauen nach St. Augustin’s Regel.” [Hartmann Zeibig, *Urkundenbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg bis zum Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Bd. 10, Pt. 1 (Vienna: Der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1857), p. XVIII.]

²¹Mary Berry, s.v. “Augustinian canons,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 1, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 696.

²²Augustine’s so-called “Rule” is shorter and more vague than that of Benedict; by the eleventh century, it was a collection of documents providing instructions on the religious life. The history of the documents which comprise the “Rule of St. Augustine” is, however, difficult to trace. Michel Parisse states, “Ce qui fut appelé, à la fin du xi^e siècle, règle de saint Augustin est un ensemble de documents dont il a été difficile de retracer l’histoire.” [Michel Parisse, *Les nonnes au Moyen Age*, ed. by Christine Bonneton (Le Puy: Atelier Pascal Vercken, 1983), p. 73.]

included divine worship in their cathedrals and collegiate churches, education, and hospitals. The characteristic qualities of the order are its fundamental sanity, flexibility, and insistence on brotherly love.²³

THE AUGUSTINIAN CANONESSES

Though there is scant evidence of such foundations remaining at Klosterneuburg, it became usual for Augustinian abbeys to establish women's convents, or nunneries, near the men's cloisters.²⁴ The women in these "double houses" followed the same Augustinian teachings as their male counterparts, but were, in many ways, dependent on the men's convent with which they were associated.²⁵ According to the writings of the thirteenth-century canon-regular, Jacques de Vitry, canonesses regular did not sing in the choir or at church; the men provided the Offices and listened to their confessions through a window. The women read the psalter and said the canonical hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary with total humility and devotion.²⁶ Although the women may not have sung the Office, women's convents did own liturgical books with musical notation, as seen in the inscriptions written on the opening leaves of some extant volumes.²⁷ Lina Eckenstein notes, "The importance of canonical orders, so far as women are concerned, lies in the fact that the twelfth century witnessed the foundation of a number of religious settlements for both sexes, in which men lived as canons and the women as nuns."²⁸

²³Berry, p. 697.

²⁴"Par la suite, toutes les abbayes de l'ordre établirent des maisons de nonnes, nonneries ou parthénons <<à jet de pierre>> des habitations des chanoines." [Pariſse, pp. 31-32.]

²⁵"Les chanoinesses régulières étaient souvent dans la dépendance étroite de monastères d'hommes auprès desquels elles étaient installées ...". [Pariſse, p. 39.]

²⁶Pariſse, p. 31.

²⁷The Klosterneuburg hymnary CCl. 1000, for instance, is inscribed in such a way. See the reference to Stäblein's transcription of this manuscript, below.

²⁸Lina Eckenstein, *Women Under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint-Lore and Convent Life Between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), p. 186.

THE MONASTERY AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

The twelfth century has been labelled “the golden age of monasticism,” owing to the increased prosperity of the existing monasteries and the foundation of a number of new monastic and religious orders.²⁹ In their extensive listing of monasteries which were established or reformed in Austria during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Ernst Joseph Görlich and Felix Romanik include Ardagger, Melk, Klosterneuburg, and Lambach, which were populated, at least for a time, with secular canons.³⁰ Görlich and Romanik note that through the acceptance of the Gregorian and Hirsau reforms, a close connection developed between the monasteries in Austria and those in Alsace, Lotharingia, Swabia, and Bavaria.³¹ Walther Lipphardt states that of all the monasteries founded by the Babenbergs in the region of the diocese of Passau, the founding of the Augustinian monastery of Klosterneuburg was the most significant, not least because of its great importance to the history of music in Austria.³²

²⁹Eckenstein, p. 185.

³⁰“In Österreich, war es vor allem Kremsmünster, das eines der ersten Reformklöster der strengen Richtung wurde. Starke Einfluß hatte ferner das Schwarzwaldkloster Hirsau; noch direkter wirkte das ebenfalls im Schwarzwald gelegene St. Blasien auf die Entwicklung in Österreich ein. Waren im 11. Jahrhundert sogenannte Kanonikatstifte — Klöster von Weltpriesterkollegien besiedelt — errichtet worden (Ardagger, Melk, Klosterneuburg, Lambach), so wurden jetzt nach der strengen Reformregel von Hirsau die Stifte Admont (1074), Millstatt (um 1080), St. Paul in Kärnten (1090), Garsten (1080) geschaffen oder von der Reformerei übernommen. In Tirol entstanden 1138 Georgenberg-Fiecht und 1146 Marienberg bei Mals. Auch die weltlichen Chorherrenstifte wurden von einer aus Bayern ausgehenden Reform erfaßt: so St. Florian bei Linz, St. Pölten, Reichersberg am Inn (1084), Eberndorf in Kärnten, St. Georgen (1128, im Jahr 1244 nach Herzogenburg verlegt), St. Andrä an der Traisen (1150), Seckau (1140), Vornau (1161), St. Andrä im Lavanttal (1212), Neustift in Tirol (1143), Welschmichael an der Etsch (Südtirol, 1145), Au (1163, später nach Gries bei Bozen verlegt) und schließlich das Domstift Salzburg (1182).” [Görlich and Romanik, p. 61.]

³¹“Durch die Annahme der Reform kam es zu engen geistigen und kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen den Klöstern in Österreich und denen in Elsaß, in Lothringen, in Schwaben und Bayern.” [Görlich and Romanik, p. 61.]

³²Die wichtigste Gründung aber im Bereich der großen Diözese ist die Gründung des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg, wo die Babenberger neben ihrer Residenz 1108 zunächst ein Kollegiatstift gegründet hatten, das dann unter Heinrich Jasomirgott ganz in das Eigentum der Augustiner-Chorherren überging. Dieses Klosterneuburg ist für die Musikgeschichte Österreichs von ganz besonderer Bedeutung.” [Walther Lipphardt, “Musik in den Österreichischen Klöstern der Babenbergerzeit,” *Musicologica Austriaca* 2 (1979): p. 50.]

It is well known that Augustinians were influential in the promotion and refinement of Gregorian chant, and the large collection of extant chant manuscripts at Klosterneuburg suggests that the canons of this monastery were no exception. The quality of singing at Klosterneuburg was apparently so high that novices wishing to enter the convent were often judged according to their musical abilities.³³ In his survey of music in Austria, Walter Salmen remarks that it was first in the time of the Babenberg Dukes, under differing social, religious, and ethnic conditions, that new life was realized in music-making.³⁴ Salmen reports that there was widespread use of the organ in churches and monasteries by the late thirteenth century,³⁵ and that Augustinians, in particular, had a special place for organ music in their liturgy. He continues by noting that some Augustinian monasteries hold a very important position in the history of music in Austria.³⁶ Klosterneuburg was certainly one of those, as its “enthusiastic care” in the delivery of the liturgy was remarked upon by Andreas Weißenbäck.³⁷

In the years following its “refounding” in 1133, Leopold richly provided Klosterneuburg with items of estate and liturgical books; these included a missal from the

³³Vinzenz Oskar Ludwig, *Klosterneuburg: Kulturgeschichte eines Österreichischen Stiftes* (Vienna: Brüder Hollinek, 1951), p. 63.

³⁴“Erst mit dem Zeitalter der Babenberger-Herzöge, also ab dem 12. Jahrhundert, konnte unter veränderten sozialen, religiösen und ethnischen Bedingungen eine Wiederbelebung eines differenzierten höheren Anspruchs genügenden profanen Musizierens verwirklicht werden.” [Walter Salmen, “Musik der Frühzeit,” in *Musik in Österreich: Eine Chronik in Daten, Dokumenten, Essays, und Bildern*, ed. by Gottfried Kraus (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 1989), p. 43.

³⁵Salmen, “Musik als Mittel und im Dienst der Christianisierung,” in *Musik in Österreich*, ed. Kraus, p. 47.

³⁶“Die Augustiner Chorherren und Augustiner Eremiten pflegen den Choralgesang weiter und sichern dem Orgelspiel einen festen Platz in der Liturgie. Einige ihrer Klöster haben große Bedeutung für die österreichische Musikgeschichte.” [Salmen, “Musik als Mittel,” in *Musik in Österreich*, ed. Kraus, p. 48.

³⁷“Da die feierliche Psalmodie im Chore von Anfang an zu den vorzüglichsten Obliegenheiten der Chorherren gehörte, ist es wohl selbstverständlich, daß seit dem Bestande des Stiftes die Musik, soweit sie für die Liturgie in Betracht kam, eine eifrige Pflege fand.” [Andreas Weißenbäck, “Aus dem älteren Musikleben im Stifte Klosterneuburg,” *Musica divina* i (1913): p. 153.]

episcopal church of the diocese at that time, St. Nikola in Passau.³⁸ After twenty-two years of construction, the consecration of the three-aisled Romanesque church “Maria Geburt,” took place on 29 September 1136,³⁹ just two months before Leopold’s death on November 15, 1136. The present cloister of the monastery, which became a focal point of the establishment, was built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on the north side of the abbey church.

The affluent monastery ensured its accumulated wealth through the usual means of tithes and other donations, both material possessions and money, in exchange for certain services. For example, the monastery received a sum for the admission of a son or daughter to the convent, the admission to the “Verbrüderung,” for burials, or for other gestures such as a thanksgiving for a rescue from danger.⁴⁰ Other funds were acquired from people who were undertaking pilgrimages to such places as Jerusalem, Compostela, and St. Aegid, and who left their money or possessions with the monastery either without condition, or with the understanding that the goods would become the property of the monastery if they did not return.⁴¹ For those suffering financial hardship, Leopold took in or “rented” selected items of their personal property for which he paid the owners a yearly amount.⁴² The monastery also accumulated money and gifts as donations from noble families, as well as from novices to the convent, since, following the teachings of Augustine, all members were required to renounce their personal property.⁴³

³⁸Klosterneuburg lay in the diocese of Passau until 1469 at which time the episcopal see of Vienna was established.

³⁹Černík, pp. 3-5.

⁴⁰Zeibig, p. XIX.

⁴¹Zeibig, p. XIX.

⁴²“Losgekaufte Hörige geben sich in Leopold’s Hand, um durch ihn dem Stifte übergeben zu werden, andere lassen sich ex voto zu einem jährlichen Gelddienste herbei oder übergeben sich selbst mit einem jährlichen Dienste ...”. [Zeibig, p. XIX.]

⁴³“Nun häufen sich auch die Schenkungen durch die Edlen des Landes, welche Leopold’s und seiner nachfolger frommer Sinn zum Wetteifer weckte. Auch Glieder des Stifts vermehrten die Begabung desselben.” [Zeibig, pp. XVIII-XIX.]

Through existing familial ties and favourable marriages, Leopold III maintained his political stature through Babenberg connections to many courts of central Europe, including Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. In addition to his existing ties and those of his wife, Agnes of Swabia, three of Leopold III's sons married women from Hungary, Bohemia, and Constantinople, and two of his daughters became wives of Bohemian and Polish princes. Leopold III's third-eldest son was appointed as provost of the Klosterneuburg monastery at an early age,⁴⁴ and eventually became Bishop Otto of Freising. In this role, Otto (named by Leopold after the first provost of the secular canons at Klosterneuburg⁴⁵) welcomed the new Cistercian order into Austria.⁴⁶ Another of Leopold III's sons, Konrad, became the Archbishop of Salzburg.

After Leopold III's death, the succeeding Babenberg dukes maintained a lively interest in the monastery. At various times, they transferred their residences back and forth from Klosterneuburg to Vienna, but maintained their patronage of the arts while ruling Austria until the extinction of the family in 1246. After Leopold III, the Babenberg line continued with Margrave Leopold IV "der Freigebige" [the generous] (1135-1141), who was succeeded by Heinrich II "Jasomirgott" [Yes, so help me God] (1141-1177). In 1156, Heinrich II was declared Duke of the Ostmark by Emperor Friedrich I, Barbarossa, the successor of Emperor Conrad III. The so-called "Golden Age" of the Babenbergs began with Leopold V "der Tugendhafte" [the virtuous] (1177-1194).⁴⁷ He called Minnesingers to his court, including Walther von der Vogelweide (1170-1230).⁴⁸ One of

⁴⁴"Nach des ersten Vorstands Tode ernannte Leopold seines drittgeborenen Sohn Otto noch bei jungen Jahren zum Propste und Opold zum Vicar." [Zeibig, p. XVIII.]

⁴⁵Wolfgang Pauker, "Die Bedeutung Klosterneuburgs im Kulturleben Österreichs," *Musica divina* ii (1914): p. 454.

⁴⁶Over the next few centuries, numerous Cistercian houses were established, including Heiligenkreuz in the Wienerwald (1133), Zwettl at Kamp (1138), Wilhering near Linz (1146), Viktring in Kärnten (1142), Kloster Marienberg in modern Burgenland (1194, no longer standing), Lilienfeld in Niederösterreich (1226), and Stams in Tirol (1272). [Görlich and Romanik, p. 63.]

⁴⁷Margrave Leopold V was Duke Leopold I.

⁴⁸Wickenburg, p. 16.

the monastery's most celebrated possessions dates from this period: the precious gold and enamel altar created by Nikolaus von Verdun (1181) and erected in the order of Provost Wernher.⁴⁹ Despite the fame of this altarpiece, Leopold V is, perhaps, better known for imprisoning Richard the Lionheart at Dürnstein Castle on the Danube. Leopold used the ransom payment of 20,000 marks in silver to fortify Vienna and two other border towns against Hungarian attacks.⁵⁰

Friedrich I "der Katholische" (1195-1198), Leopold V's eldest son, went on a crusade and died in Palestine, so the duchy passed to his brother, Leopold VI "der Glorreiche" [the Glorious] (1198-1230).⁵¹ Leopold VI took up residence in Klosterneuburg, and his court was once again gracious to the arts. Leopold VI's son, Heinrich, revolted against him, and Leopold had him killed in 1228. Leopold VI's second son, Friedrich II, was named "der Streitbare" [the quarrelsome] (1230-1246). In less than gallant acts of violence and oppression, this last Babenberg managed to make enemies of all his subjects and neighbours, including the church, the city of Vienna, and Emperor Friedrich II of Hohenstaufen.⁵² After Duke Friedrich II's death in battle with the Hungarians on 15 June 1246, the end of the Babenberg dynasty loomed. The Babenbergs had the right of female succession to the ducal throne, but there were no legitimate daughters to succeed Friedrich. So, the now-prosperous "Ostmark" (which had grown to a region stretching from Passau almost to Pressburg) was returned to the empire as a vacant fief. The Emperor appointed administrators to manage its affairs,⁵³ and after numerous claims to the duchy by interested parties, the region came under the rule of the

⁴⁹The "Verdun altar" is comprised of a series of fifty-one decorated tablets, each of which shows a scene from the Old or New Testament. These tablets exhibit what is often considered to be the earliest textual form of the *biblia pauperum*. According to monastery legends, this masterpiece was saved from the ravages of the fire in the early fourteenth century by dousing it with wine.

⁵⁰Steed and Phillips, p. 4.

⁵¹Margrave Leopold VI was Duke Leopold II.

⁵²Wickenburg, p. 19.

⁵³Wickenburg, p. 20.

Habsburg dynasty in the late-thirteenth century. Subsequent historical details, however interesting with respect to their potential effects on the music at Klosterneuburg, are beyond the scope of the present study; events which might be considered in a further study include the “civil war” in Klosterneuburg in the early fifteenth century as a result of the struggle between the Habsburg dukes over the regency of Albrecht I,⁵⁴ the resistance against the strong movement towards Protestantism, the interest in humanism and natural science in the fifteenth century, the invasions of the Turks in 1529 and 1683,⁵⁵ the “baroque-icizing” or “baroque plating” of the architecture in the seventeenth century and the remodelling of the monastery after the Escorial by Donato Felice d’Allio under Charles VI, the effects of the Josephinian reforms, the seizing of the monastery by Napoleonic French troops in 1805 and 1809, and the creation of the German vernacular “Klosterneuburg Meßtexte” by the famous Klosterneuburg monk, the “folk-liturgist” Pius Parsch (1884-1954).⁵⁶

THE LITERATURE ABOUT KLOSTERNEUBURG

The long-lasting prominence of the monastery at Klosterneuburg has resulted in twentieth-century scholarly interest in many facets of its history. In addition to the books and articles cited in Chapter One concerning chant at Klosterneuburg,⁵⁷ a number of other aspects of this monastery have been discussed in print. For example, scholars including

⁵⁴See Dana Bennett Durand, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952), p. 57.

⁵⁵See, for example, Kulturamt der Stadtgemeinde Klosterneuburg, *Klosterneuburg 1683: Türkensturm und Verteidigung* (Klosterneuburg: Stadtgemeinde Klosterneuburg, 1983).

⁵⁶Although beyond the *terminus ad quem* of the present manuscript study, Friedrich Jakob has written about the baroque organ built in the abbey church by Johann Georg Freundt from 1636 to 1642. [Friedrich Jakob, *Die Fest-Orgel in der Stiftskirche Klosterneuburg: Geschichte und Restaurierung der Freund-Orgel von 1642* (Vienna: Mayer & Co., 1990).] Several centuries later, the organ was played frequently by Anton Bruckner. Earlier organs at Klosterneuburg included one built between the years 1437 and 1441; the names of the carpenter, painter, and gilder are known, but that of the organ builder has been lost. There also must have been an organ there under Provost Petrus Lehnhofer in 1394 because there is an organist named Wolfhardus mentioned.

⁵⁷See the sources in Chapter One, notes 8-13, for example.

Vinzenz Oskar Ludwig,⁵⁸ Berthold Černík,⁵⁹ and the current Klosterneuburg librarian, DDr. Floridus Röhrig (Can. Reg. Archivar, Bibliothekar und Kustos des Stiftes Klosterneuburg)⁶⁰ have all written histories of Klosterneuburg alongside their other published accounts of the monastery. A variety of articles on such topics as liturgical history, architecture, and fine arts has also been written by a handful of scholars; some of these articles are included in both the old and new series of the monastery's publication, *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*.⁶¹

An important project which is currently in progress involves the recataloguing of the Klosterneuburg monastery library. Even though the contents of the Klosterneuburg library have been catalogued a number of times,⁶² the process of publishing in both electronic and traditional book form an up-to-date, detailed, catalogue of the manuscripts held in the Klosterneuburg library has begun. The first two volumes of a new "Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg" have been published

⁵⁸Ludwig, *Klosterneuburg: Kulturgeschichte eines Österreichischen Stiftes*, cited above; Ludwig et al, *Klosterneuburg: Stadt und Stift*, Kleine Historische Monographien, nr. 9 (Vienna: Reinhold, 1927); Ludwig, "Klosterneuburger Altdrucke (1501-1520)," in *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* 8/1 (Vienna: 1917): monograph; Ludwig, "Die Klosterneuburger Inkunabeln," in *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* 8/2 (Vienna: 1920): monograph.

⁵⁹A chronological approach, with descriptions of events at Klosterneuburg entered beside the years in which they occurred, is taken by Černík, *Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift*. In addition to co-authoring the handwritten library catalogue, Černík has written articles for the *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* such as, Berthold Černík, "Das Schrift- und Buchwesen im Stifte Klosterneuburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* 5 (1913): pp. 97-176.

⁶⁰Floridus Röhrig, *Klosterneuburg*, Wiener Geschichtsbücher, vol. 11, ed. by Peter Pötschner (Vienna: Paul Zsolnay, 1972).

⁶¹*Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* (Vienna: 1908; Vienna-Leipzig: 1909-1920); *Neue Folge* (Klosterneuburg, 1961-1966; Vienna-Köln-Graz, 1971 ff.).

⁶²For example, M. Fischer, *Catalogus bibliothecae Claustro-neoburgensis, I: Codices manuscripti qui extant in bibliotheca Claustro-neoburgensi* (Klosterneuburg: handwritten, 1808). The most recent catalogue is: Hermann Pfeiffer and Berthold Černík, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in bibliotheca canonicorum regularium S. Augustini Claustro-neoburgi asservantur*, vol. 1: CCl. 1-260 (Vienna, 1922), vol. 2: CCl. 261-452 (Vienna, 1931), vol. 3: CCl. 453-636 (Handwritten), vol. 4: CCl. 637-830 (Handwritten), vol 5.: CCl. 831-999 (Handwritten), vol. 6: CCl. 1000-1256), vol. 7: Autorenregister (Handwritten), vol. 8: Incipitregister (Handwritten).

by Alois Haidinger,⁶³ and several more are in preparation.⁶⁴ A listing of addenda and corrigenda to this new catalogue is available at the website of the monastery library: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/~ksbm/k4_5000.htm>. In part one of his published catalogue, Haidinger includes an index of the literature he cites; this index provides an interesting selected bibliography of writings on Klosterneuburg and the sources extant in its library.⁶⁵

Several other websites also provide valuable information about Klosterneuburg and its monastery; it should be mentioned, however, that some are aimed at tourists rather than researchers. The more instructive sites providing information about Klosterneuburg include:

- The monastery: <http://www.stift-klosterneuburg.at>
- History and information: <http://www.klosterneuburg.net>
- More history and information: <http://www.klosterneuburg.net/tourismus>
- Even more history and information: <http://tourist-net.co.at/klostl.htm>
- Complete texts of the Verdun Altar, with translations and commentary as provided by James Marchand of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: <http://raven.cc.ukans.edu/~hisite/texts/verdun.txt>
- Biography of Babenberg Margrave Leopold III: <http://jupiter.imareal.oeaw.ac.at:8080/real/gtour/babenb/000341.html>

⁶³Alois Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, part 1: Cod. 1-100, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe II: Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 2/1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983); Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, part 2: Cod. 101-200, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe II: Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 2/2 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991).

⁶⁴F. Lackner, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, part 3: Cod. 201-300, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe II: Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 2/3; Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, part 4: Cod. 301-400, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe II: Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 2/4.

⁶⁵Haidinger, *Katalog*, part 1, pp. XXI - XXVI.

CHAPTER 3

THE SURVIVING TWELFTH-CENTURY ANTIPHONERS AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

Approximately 1200 of the large and valuable collection of 1256 manuscripts in the Klosterneuburg monastery library date from the sixteenth century and earlier. The vast majority of these manuscripts, as expected, is concerned with liturgical subjects.¹ The assortment of extant noted books (and some others which contain unnotated chant texts) includes antiphoners, graduals,² ordinalia,³ ritualia,⁴ many breviaries,⁵ and a variety

¹Descriptions of all manuscripts are listed in the handwritten library catalogue prepared by Pfeiffer and Černík.

²The “Klosterneuburg” gradual reproduced in facsimile in the *Paléographie musicale* series is not housed at Klosterneuburg, but rather at the Graz Universitätsbibliothek. However, the Klosterneuburg library does hold the graduals CCl. 73 (thirteenth-century) and 588 (fourteenth century).

³Ordinalia include CCl. 635 (fourteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg not notated), 983 (1393, use of Klosterneuburg), 1014 (c. 1500, use of Klosterneuburg), 1026A (1576, use of Klosterneuburg), 1027 (c. 1515, from a German-speaking Augustinian monastery in Hungary? [see Norton and Carr, p. 87.]), 1194 (fourteenth century, use of Passau), and CCl. 1213 (1325, use of Klosterneuburg, identified as a breviary).

⁴Ritualia include CCl. 628 (c. 1330, use of Klosterneuburg, identified as a benedictionale), 629 (c. 1330, use of Klosterneuburg, identified as a benedictionale), 1021 (c. 1350, use of Klosterneuburg, benedictionale), 1022B (c. 1350, use of Klosterneuburg, benedictionale), 1210 (fifteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg, identified in library catalogue as a breviary), and 1211 (fifteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg).

⁵Among the multitude of breviaries are CCl. 61 (c. 1455, use of Klosterneuburg), 590 (c. 1350, use of Klosterneuburg), 592 (fourteenth century, from the area of Klosterneuburg), 595 (thirteenth century, monastic use), 596 (fourteenth century, monastic use), 602 (fourteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg), 630 (use of St. Jakob bei Wien), 963 (c. 1330, use of Passau), 965 (fourteenth century, use of Passau), 967 (fourteenth century, use of Passau), 969 (thirteenth century, from the area of Klosterneuburg), 970 (fifteenth century, use of Salzburg), 972, 973, 974, 977 (fifteenth century, from the area of Klosterneuburg), 978 (1388, use of Passau), 982 (fourteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg), 988, 990, 991 (fourteenth century, monastic use), 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1169, 1172 (1463, from the area of Klosterneuburg), 1173, 1174, 1175, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185 (fifteenth century, from Klosterneuburg?), 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189 (fourteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg), 1191, 1192 (1482, use of Klosterneuburg), 1193 (fifteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg), 1195 (fifteenth century, use of Klosterneuburg), 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200 (fourteenth century, from the area of Klosterneuburg), 1201, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1211, 1217, and 1220.

of other volumes.⁶

Among those manuscripts labelled as “antiphoners” are three dating from the twelfth century; these complete antiphoners are identified with the shelf numbers *Codex Claustroneoburgensis* (CCI.) 1010, 1012, and 1013. Each of these volumes contains the chants for half of the liturgical year, either the *pars hiemalis* (winter) or the *pars aestivalis* (summer). The *Temporale* (usual liturgical occasions) and *Sanctorale* (saints’ feasts) are intermingled in calendar order in these antiphoners. None of these service books contains a tonary.

Two of these twelfth-century manuscripts, CCI. 1013 and 1012, which are among the oldest surviving sources of the sung Office liturgy in the Klosterneuburg library, have been recognized as complementary antiphoners. These volumes can be paired to create a complete representation of the chants sung during the full year. CCI. 1013 contains the chants used during the winter months from Advent to Ascension, and CCI. 1012 provides those for the summer beginning with the feast of Pentecost and including the Sundays after Pentecost, the Common of Saints, the chants from the Old Testament books used in the summer months, as well as a few added feasts at the end of the volume.

The remaining antiphoner dating from this early period is identified as CCI. 1010. A complete liturgical year is not preserved in this manuscript, nor does another antiphoner in the Klosterneuburg collection complement CCI. 1010 with chants for the remainder of the year.⁷ Since CCI. 1010 ends with chants for Holy Week, it was clearly not intended to be paired with the other surviving twelfth-century sources (CCI. 1012 and

⁶Manuscripts which combine a number of different items include, for example, CCI. 491 (fourteenth century; unnotated Advent chants for the Blessed Virgin Mary and sermons by such church personages as St. Bernardus and Conradi Germinicensis [Conrad of Hamburg]), and 574 (c. 1200, miscellany).

⁷Although CCI. 1010, 1012, and 1013 have been referred to as a single antiphoner and treated as a manuscript group in several publications, such a combination is not correct. This error occurs, for example, in the otherwise generally reliable and sizable article by Walther Lipphardt on the Easter drama, “Studien zur Musikpflege in den mittelalterlichen Augustiner-Chorherrenstiften des deutschen Sprachgebietes,” *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg N.F.* 7 (1971): p. 23. The contents of CCI. 1010 as compared with CCI. 1012 and 1013 reveal a duplication of material for a portion of the year rather than a relationship of complementary contents.

CCl. 1013), as these divide the liturgical year at Pentecost. The complementary antiphoner to CCl. 1010, therefore, is presumed lost or destroyed, perhaps owing to the catastrophic fire in the early fourteenth century.⁸

The Klosterneuburg antiphoners reflect a secular or cathedral usage. This usage, which differs from monastic practices, involves a usual arrangement of three antiphons and three responsories for each of the three nocturns in Matins. Occasionally, there is a fourth responsory in the last nocturn (for a total of ten responsories in the Office), and sometimes, an even longer series of either antiphons or responsories is presented with the other Matins chants.⁹ These extra chants were presumably considered as alternates to be used at the discretion of the cantor. The inclusion of four responsories within a single nocturn recalls the older, monastic cursus where, in the case of Matins, each of three nocturns contains four antiphons and four responsories (for a total of twelve of each genre).¹⁰ The occasional occurrence of such an extra responsory or a longer series of chants in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners appears to be a remnant of this earlier practice.

⁸See note 13 of Chapter Six.

⁹For the complete contents of each of these eight volumes, see the manuscript inventory listings for the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners. These are in the CANTUS indexing format, and have been included on computer diskettes as electronic appendices to this repertory study.

¹⁰Incorporated within a rather complex history, the distinction between the secular and monastic cursus during the later Middle Ages was primarily with the distribution of the 150 psalms throughout the weekly Offices. Surviving manuscripts show, for example, that the three nocturns of an ordinary Matins Office are organized differently for the "secular" cursus (the usage for cathedral canons and clergy in non-monastic liturgical centres) than for the monastic cursus (the usage which was generally followed by the various cloistered monastic orders). In its usual arrangement, each nocturn in cathedral Matins consists (among other items) of three psalms, each with an antiphon, followed by three lessons, each with a responsory. In monastic Matins, there are six psalms with antiphons and four lessons with responsories in each of the first two nocturns, as well as one antiphon sung with the Old Testament canticles and three more responsories in the third nocturn; this results in a total of twelve psalms for monastic Matins, as opposed to the nine of cathedral Matins. There are, of course, many other distinguishing features between secular and monastic forms of the Office; thorough explanations are detailed in modern publications of both chant and liturgical scholarship. See numerous references in Hiley, for example, and in Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of The Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1993).

1. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1013*
RISM Siglum: A-KN 1013

The 164 parchment folios of the twelfth-century antiphoner CCl. 1013¹¹ measure 259 x 165 mm and have a principal writing-space of 200 x 135 mm; the script extends slightly beyond the dimensions of the ruled frame (200 x 130 mm). The folios are numbered in a modern hand in black ink in the upper right-hand corners of the recto sides. On each side, there are twelve lines of text in Carolingian minuscule with musical notation in the intervening spaces (see Illustration 4).¹²

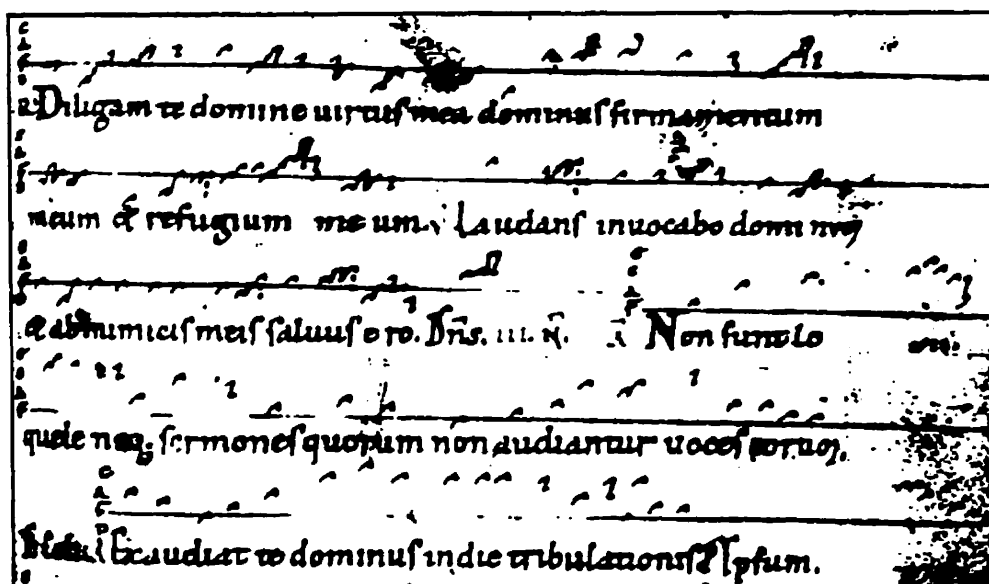


Illustration 4: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013, from f. 63'*

¹¹CCl. 1013 was included as manuscript *267 in René-Jean Hesbert's study of responsory series in vol. 5 of *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* [CAO], and as "Klo 1" by Raymond LeRoux in his article "Les Répons <De Psalmis> pour les Matines de l'Épiphanie à la Septuagésime," *Études grégoriennes* 6 (1963): pp. 39-148. CCl. 1013 is listed in the handwritten library catalogue as "Liber antiphonarium cum neumis in quatuor lineis." See Pfeiffer and Černik, *Catalogus*, vol. 6, p. 538. It was filmed by the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library [HMML], Collegeville, MN, as Project *6024.

¹²See Plate 1 at the end of this volume, and also the plates of CCl. 1013 ff. 28^v, 29^r, 42^v, and 43^r included in Froger, pp. 45^{*}-46^{*}. There is a brief description of the notation, as well as a comparative study of the textual styles found in CCl. 1013, 1012, 1010, and Graz 807 in Froger, pp. 35^{*}-38^{*}.

At least two text scribes contributed to this manuscript.¹³ Both scripts are round in aspect and similar in style. A change in hand is apparent on several folios beginning on 126^r (see Plates 1 and 2). Here, the letters are more narrowly-spaced, apparently drawn with a thinner nib, and reduced in height from 3 mm to 2 mm. No other changes in hands are obvious throughout the antiphoner proper, though several other hands are apparent in the binding materials.¹⁴ Black ink (fading to brown in some places) is used for the text, punctuation, marginalia, and neumes. Rubrics are red, as are the larger initials, with the exception of both the multi-coloured decorated initial on f. 145^v to mark the first antiphon of Easter Lauds, and those with miniatures which are also in the Easter feast. The illustration inside the letter “V” on f. 144^r, the first letter of the Vespers Magnificat antiphon, shows the three women coming to Christ’s tomb. They are wearing long robes of green and yellow, and are set against a blue background with red dots. The image inside the “A” on the verso side (f. 144^v), highlighting the first responsory of Matins, depicts the angels guarding the tomb.

The musical notation used in CCl. 1013 is characteristic of that found in many of the chant manuscripts now housed in the Klosterneuburg library. This so-called “Klosterneuburg” notational style consists of a mixed form of German neumes drawn with a small nib on a four-line dry-point staff measuring 8 mm in height.¹⁵ The ruling of the staves in CCl. 1013 extends to the margins on each folio side, and the F- and C-lines are traced over within the ruled frame in red and yellow after Guidonian rules. Either of these coloured lines can appear as a fifth staff line between the dry-point lines when F or C occurs in a space. The distance between ruled staves is not uniform, but ranges only between 5 and 7 mm. Each of the four staff lines is provided with a letter-clef at the left-

¹³After her examination of this manuscript for the introduction of the Graz 807 facsimile publication, Dr. Maria Maiold suggested that there were perhaps two or three different hands. [Froger, in the letter from Dr. Maria Maiold dated 17 May 1973, p. 36*.]

¹⁴See below.

¹⁵For more on “Klosterneuburg” notation, see Chapter Five and the articles included by Michel Huglo in “Bilan de 50 années de recherches (1939-1989) sur les notations musicales de 850 à 1300,” *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990): pp. 224-259; also, Froger, p. 33*-35*.

hand margin; these letters are in the same ink as the neumes and are also placed at times within the notated lines in order to indicate a clef change. Custodes are not employed. Features of this notation include oblong noteheads, a slanted ductus, substantial caudae, no differentiation between virga and punctum, and quite circular liquescent neumes. Detailed descriptions of each type of neume, some of which are derived from Lotharingian forms, have been undertaken by both Janka Szendrei and Stefan Engels.¹⁶

CCl. 1013 is in rather poor condition: there are four lacunae owing to misbindings and lost leaves, as well as several damaged folios (ff. 1, 2, 3, 46, 47, 70, 94, 117, 137, 143, and 144, for example) which are, in some cases, nearly unreadable.¹⁷ Many smaller holes through the parchment leaves have been avoided (or even decorated!) by the scribe (for example, on ff. 8, 12, 13, 14, 27, 37, 106, and others); it appears that the materials for this volume were not of the highest quality. Even though the pricking is still visible at the edges of several folios, both trimming and patching (ff. 16, 28, 33, 49, 56, 106, 113, 122, 148, 152, 156) have resulted in some lost marginalia. This has had a particular impact on both the quire numeration and the differentiae, the latter of which are recorded throughout the manuscript in the margins,¹⁸ sometimes above the letters

¹⁶See Janka Szendrei, "Linienschriften des zwölften Jahrhunderts auf süddeutschem Gebiet," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990* (Budapest: Institute for Musicology, 1992), pp. 18-20, and Engels, pp. 40-41. See also Janka Szendrei, "Choralnotationen als Identitätsausdruck im Mittelalter," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1985): pp. 139-170.

¹⁷It should be said that the microfilm prepared by HMML is unfortunately quite dark. This, combined with the darkening of the parchment on some leaves, has caused the complete illegibility of several folios on the film. During my consultation of the original manuscripts at the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek, I took great care to record and confirm the contents of these damaged folios.

¹⁸Differentiae are placed in the left or right margins with the exception of one occurrence in the lower margin: for the last chant on f. 40^v, the differentia has been written below the chant rather than to the side in the darkened, seemingly worn lower left margin. Although the notation of this differentia is of a similar size and style to that of the remainder of the folio side, it appears, on close inspection, to have thicker caudae for the puncta and a more cursive stroke between neumes. The scribe who added this differentia (perhaps a short time into the use of the manuscript) may have chosen to avoid the section of the leaf that was beginning to show some wear from turning.

“euouae”¹⁹ (see Illustration 4). Several torn folios have been repaired by stitching (ff. 16, 30, 115, 159). Some worm-holes can be seen, generally on edges that have not been excessively trimmed. The folio edges are uneven with no evidence of colour.

Before the folios were numbered, the volume was bound out of order; the correct order is 1-22, lacuna,²⁰ 23-64, 72, 66-71, 65, 73-159, lacuna, 160-161, lacuna, 163, lacuna,²¹ 162, 164. A particular arrangement of hair and flesh sides is not obvious, nor is the original gathering structure,²² though some gathering signatures are extant.²³ The binding, which appears quite worn, is not the original. There are no chains, clasps, or ties on the cardboard covers. These are decorated with marbled paper in brown, black, and green, and the corners and spine are bound in brown leather with gold detail.²⁴ The stitching of five cords through the centre of the binding can be seen at the spine. The exterior measurements of the volume are 266 x 177 mm, with a thickness of 51 mm; the covers are 3 mm thick.

The first flyleaf and pastedown are of thick, unrefined, beige paper with chain lines but no visible watermark. The modern square library stamp of the “Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek” is on the front pastedown, along with several cataloguing details written

¹⁹The vowels “euouae” are those of the last six syllables, *seculorum amen*, of the lesser doxology (*Gloria patri*) which was appended to each recited psalm. The pitches provided above these vowels show the differentia, or psalm-tone ending, which was used with a particular antiphon.

²⁰Worm-bores confirm this lacuna: the tiny, continuous holes through the margins of ff. 23-27 are not present in f. 22. In addition, there is a stub at the spine between ff. 22 and 23.

²¹Based on the number of chants per side on the surrounding folios, this lacuna amounts to one leaf (*recto* and *verso*).

²²An examination near the spine of the modern binding has revealed eighteen gatherings with lengths varying from five to seventeen leaves. A relative consistency of eight leaves each was found in only six of the gatherings. The misbinding detailed above has obscured the original structure of the volume.

²³The gathering signatures appear in Roman numerals in the centres of the lower margins of certain versos. They include: “iiii” on f. 32^v, “v” on f. 40^v, “vi” on f. 48^v, “vii” on f. 56^v, “viii” on f. 64^v, “viiii” on f. 65^v, “xi” on f. 88^v, “xii” on f. 90^v (a later addition, presumably), “Xii” on f. 96^v, “xiii” on f. 104^v, “xiiii” on f. 112^v, “xv” on f. 120^v, “xvi” on f. 128^v, “xvii” on f. 136^v, “xviii” on f. 144^v, “xviiii” on f. 152^v.

²⁴The gold inscription on the spine reads “Liber choralis M.S. 1013.”

in blue ink by Hermann Pfeiffer in 1928.²⁵ Handwritten in pencil in the top centre of the recto side of the first flyleaf is “Liber choralis MS Cod. No. 1013.” Two parchment flyleaves measuring 238 x 104 mm and 258 x 122 mm follow the paper binding materials. These leaves, numbered as ff. 1 and 2, show evidence of glue on their edges which suggests that they were at one time used as pastedowns. They are in poor condition. Folio 1^r shows several lines in pencil of nearly readable handwritten numbers and letters. Twenty-four lines of old German text in cursive handwriting in brownish-black ink are visible on f. 1^v. Among some holes and damaged edges, a seventeenth-century library identification can be seen in black ink at the top of 2^r, “Can: Reg: Bibliothecae neuburg: inscriptus 10 Sept. ...” [remainder torn].

There are also flyleaves and a pastedown at the back of the volume. A parchment leaf, once numbered in black ink as f. 165 and later crossed out in blue ink, has fourteen lines of older, cursive German text written sideways from bottom to top. This leaf has small burn holes, as well as evidence of glue on the edges of the verso side. The thick paper pastedown, similar to the paper used at the opening of the volume, is stamped in black ink with the square “Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek” identification.

*CCI. 1013 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS*²⁶

Ff. 1^r-164^v: Winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* (First Sunday of Advent to Ascension)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Advent, beginning on f. 2^v; Nicholas, 9^v; Lucy, 13^f; *Lacuna* after 22^v; Christmas, 28^v; Stephen, 33^v; Epiphany, 53^f; Ferial Office, 61^v; Sebastian, 65^f; Agnes, 74^v; Conversion of Paul, 77^v; Purification of Mary, 80^v; Agatha, 84^f; Gregory, 87^v; Benedict, 90^v; Annunciation of Mary, 94^f; Septuagesima, 98^f; Ash Wednesday, 106^f; Palm Sunday, 128^f; Maundy Thursday, 135^f; Easter, 144^f; an

²⁵“1/2; F.164; 19/IV, 1928 H. Pfeiffer.”

²⁶The summary listings of “Manuscript Contents” which follow each antiphoner description do not include every Office or liturgical occasion found in each manuscript. Those Offices specified here are either major feasts (such as might start a liturgical season), rare occurrences, or are in some way unique to the manuscript. The selection of liturgical occasions is intended to provide a brief, yet representative, account of the Office liturgy as performed at Klosterneuburg. For the complete contents (by chant) of each of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, refer to the index files of manuscript contents in CANTUS format. These indices, which include chant incipits, Offices, genres, modes, the folio numbers on which the chants are found, as well as other information, are included on diskettes as Appendices I-VIII.

Easter play beginning with *Quem quaeritis in sepulcro*,²⁷ 145^r; *Lacuna* after 159^v; Invention of the Cross, 160^r; Alexander and his Companions, 161^r; John at the Latin Gate, 161^v; *Lacuna* after 161^v; Ascension, 162^r; *Lacuna* after 163^v

II. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1012*

RISM Siglum: A-KN 1012

CCI. 1012²⁸ displays features of text and musical notation similar to those of its complementary antiphoner, CCI. 1013.²⁹ The 152³⁰ parchment folios of CCI. 1012, which measure 247 x 164 mm, are approximately the same size as those of CCI. 1013. These include a principal writing-space of 195 x 132 mm, and are numbered in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos by the same hand as those of CCI. 1013. There are twelve lines per folio side for the majority of the volume;³¹ the text is Carolingian minuscule with a round aspect and moderately-spaced letters (see Illustration 5). The notation, a mixed form of German neumes on a four-line dry-point staff with the interpolation of coloured F- and C-lines, is consistent with that already described for CCI. 1013.

²⁷Brief details concerning the Easter plays included in CCI. 1013, 589, and 1018 are included in the appendices given by Norton and Carr, "New Sources for the *Visitatio Sepulchri*," pp. 86-89.

²⁸CCI. 1012 is listed in the handwritten library catalogue on page 537 of volume 6. It was filmed by HMML as Project *6006.

²⁹See Plates 3-5 at the end of this volume and the plate of CCI. 1012 ff. 33^v and 34^r in Froger, p. 44*.

³⁰The numbering of the folios is consistent (recto/verso) for the majority of this volume, with the exception of the last extant leaf: the number "153" has been added in pencil in different hand to the upper-left-hand corner of f. 152^v. This single instance of pagination rather than foliation has been disregarded in the description of manuscript contents, as well as in the accompanying index in CANTUS format.

³¹There are only ten lines per side in the fifth, seventh, ninth, and twelfth signatures. [Froger, p. 37*.]

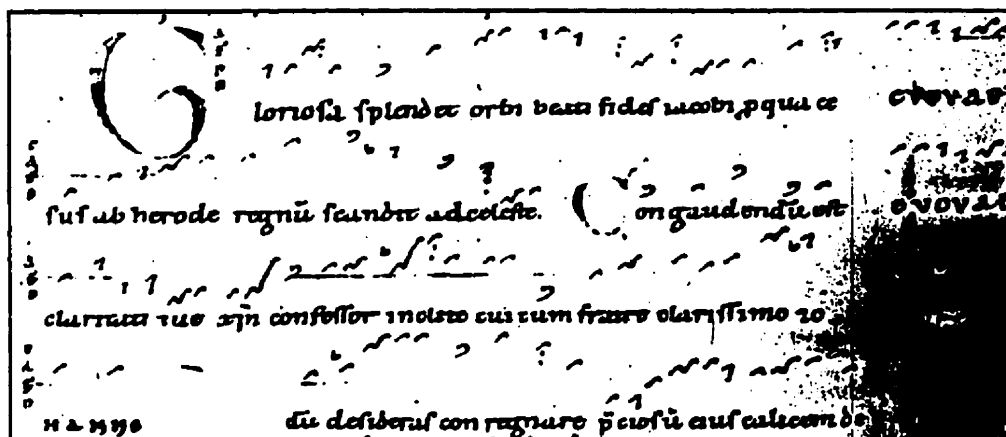


Illustration 5: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012, from f. 29^r

The horizontal ruling of the staves extends into the margin at the spine of the volume, and the height of the staff (10 mm) is uniform on each folio side. The distance between ruled staves varies between 5 and 6 mm, and the text averages 3 mm in height. Similar to CCl. 1013, black ink is used for the text, punctuation, marginalia, and neumes, and red ink for rubrics and larger initials. Several folios are heavily damaged, including the first, and the remainder of the volume is generally in poor condition; there are holes and tears in many places (for example, on ff. 27, 87, 98, 126, and 142).

A group of scribes contributed to CCl. 1012. At least seven different text hands are obvious; some are apparent for brief periods and others contribute to longer sections. The first scribe's letters are round in aspect with a rather wide spacing. The scribe beginning on f. 113^r writes with taller strokes and a narrower spacing (see Plate 3). The added material on ff. 151^v to 152^v has been copied by a later hand, more Gothic in style, with heavier strokes and a more angular aspect (see Plate 4). Brief appearances of varied hands occur, for example, on f. 17^v, where the text "doctor viiii" has been added by an uneven hand in dark ink. Beginning on f. 30^v, chants for the octave of Mary Magdalene have been added by several hands (see Plate 5). The first, *Quam pulchra es* has been copied with a round aspect, tall letters, and a wide nib. A similar hand, though with smaller letters or a smaller nib, has copied the antiphon *Gaude Dei genetrix virgo* at the top of f. 31^r. Yet another hand, with a wider nib and more angular aspect, has added the

Invitatory *Venerantes sacram beate* to the middle of f. 31^v. The same hand has added the memorial antiphon for Mary Magdalene, *Suavissime universorum domine*, on f. 32^v.

There are at least three notation hands, though collaboration of a larger number of scribes with similar techniques cannot be ruled out. In addition to the main music scribe, other hands can be seen on f. 30^v (see Plate 5), where use of a broader nib and shorter caudae on puncta are noticeable, on ff. 96^v and 97^{r-v}, where a thicker stroke with wider noteheads yet still long caudae can be seen, and on the last two leaves of the volume (ff. 151^v, 152^r and 152^v) where a later hand has added a portion of the feast for Catharine of Alexandria (November 25) under the German rubric in red ink “Von sand Katrein der hymnus” (see Plate 4). The notational style in this last section incorporates a more vertical *ductus* and squarer noteheads on four-line inked staves. Although the F- and C-lines remain coloured red and yellow here, these are the only lines provided with letter clefs. In contrast to the remainder of the volume, initials alternate red and blue throughout this section. Another change of hand was observed by Maria Mairoid in her examination of the earlier Klosterneuburg sources for the introduction to the Graz 807 facsimile publication. In a letter to Dom Jacques Froger, Mairoid indicated that a new scribe began in the middle of a signature, between ff. 84^v and 85^r.³² Mairoid concluded that CCl. 1012 was copied by at least two hands.³³

The binding of CCl. 1012 is contemporary with that of CCl. 1013. The cardboard covers are black and grey marbled paper with brown leather accents on the spine and corner-edging. The gold inscription “Liber choralis XVII M.S. 1012” appears on the spine. The exterior measurements of the volume are 253 x 182 mm with a thickness of 48 mm; the covers are each 4 mm thick. The folio edges are uneven, and show no evidence of colour. The physical arrangement of the parchment leaves appears to be conjugate, with hair sides or flesh sides facing one another. Five stitching cords can be seen in the centre of the binding at the spine. As far as can be determined without

³²Froger, in the letter from Maria Mairoid dated 17 May 1973, p. 36*.

³³Froger, p. 37*.

damaging the manuscript, there appear to be nineteen gatherings which vary in length from six to thirteen leaves.³⁴ There is no evidence of insertions or deletions within the main body of the manuscript. Extant gathering signatures appear as lower-case Roman numerals in the centres of the lower margins.³⁵

The front flyleaf and pastedown are paper with chain lines and a visible watermark near the spine which shows half a crown.³⁶ A different watermark (a barely-visible circular-shaped pattern) can be seen in the paper used for the back flyleaf and pastedown.³⁷ Cataloguing details in blue ink in a style similar to those found in CCI. 1013 are on the front pastedown,³⁸ and the Klosterneuburg library stamp in purple ink appears on the back leaf.

*CCI. 1012 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS*³⁹

Ff. 1^r-152^v: Summer *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* (beginning at Pentecost)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Pentecost, beginning on f. 1^r; John the Baptist, 5^v; John and Paul, 9^v; Peter and Paul, 10^v; Paul, 15^r; Margaret, 19^r; The Sending of the Apostles,⁴⁰ 22^r; Mary Magdalene, 22^r; James, 29^r; Peter's Chains, 32^r; Afra, 33^r; Laurence, 39^r; Tiburtius (commemoration), 42^v; Hippolytus (commemoration), 43^r; Assumption of Mary, 43^v; Augustine, 52^v; Beheading of John the Baptist, 58^r; Giles, 59^v; Nativity of Mary, 63^r; Exaltation of the Cross, 67^v; Lambert (commemoration), 69^r; Matthew, 69^r; Dedication of a Church, 74^r; Cosmas and Damian (commemoration), 78^r;

³⁴Seven of the gatherings contain six leaves each, and five contain eight leaves.

³⁵"xiii" appears at the bottom of f. 97^r, and "xviii" is on f. 137^r.

³⁶A match for this partial watermark in the standard catalogues has not been found. A complete watermark is required for any secure identification of the date of manufacture and the name of the paper-maker. Images of crowns appear in C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier*, 2nd ed. (Reprint New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966), items 4594-5088.

³⁷The visible portion of this watermark is too small to be identified.

³⁸"0/0 i F.152; 19/IV 1928 H. Pfeiffer."

³⁹For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix II.

⁴⁰The *Divisio Apostolorum* (July 15) commemorates the sending forth of the disciples, either the twelve (see Luke 9:1-2, Matthew 10, Mark 6:7-13), or the seventy-two (Luke 10:1-20).

Michael, 78^r; Dionysius (Denis), 82^v; Translation of Augustine, 83^v; 11,000 Virgins, 83^v; All Saints, 83^v; Martin, 86^v; Brice, 90^v; Othmar, 91^v; Cecilia, 92^v; Clement, 96^r; Andrew, 97^v; Common of Saints, 101^v; Conception of Mary, 117^v; Trinity, 122^r; Summer Histories, 124^v; Sundays after Pentecost, 143^v; Catharine, 151^v

III. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1010*

RISM Siglum: A-KN 1010

The twelfth-century antiphoner CCl. 1010⁴¹ contains the liturgical chants for the *pars hiemalis*, from the feast of Nicholas to Holy Saturday. The opening portion of this manuscript is presumed lost; chants for the first two Sundays of Advent are missing.⁴² This antiphoner dates from the same period as CCl. 1012 and CCl. 1013 and displays a similar notational style (see Illustration 6).⁴³

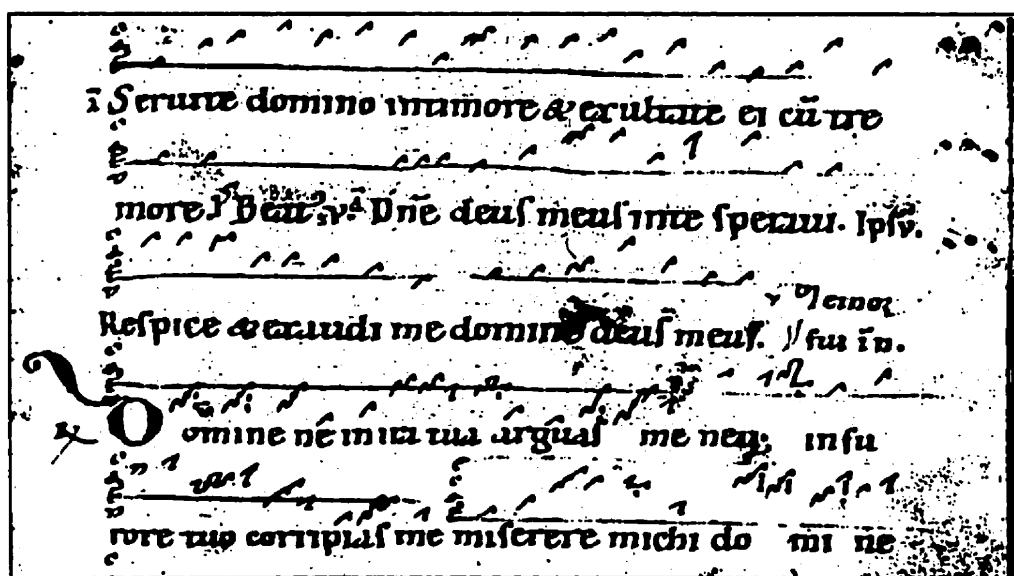


Illustration 6: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010, from f. 50^r*

⁴¹CCl. 1010 was included as manuscript *265 in CAO, and as “Klo 2” in studies by both LeRoux and Heisler. It is listed in the handwritten library catalogue on page 536 of volume 6. It was filmed by HMML as Project *5995.

⁴²See “Manuscript Contents” section below and Appendix III for more details.

⁴³See Plates 6 and 7 at the end of this volume and the plate of CCl. 1010 ff. 29^v and 30^r included in Froger, p. 43^o.

The 126 parchment folios of CCl. 1010 measure 238 x 167 mm, with a principal writing-space of 212 x 138 mm. The dimensions of the ruled frame on each folio vary throughout the volume. The numbering of the folios in the antiphoner proper and the two numbered flyleaves (ff. 127 and 128) is by a modern hand with arabic numerals in black ink in the upper right-hand corners of the recto sides, in a style similar to the other surviving Klosterneuburg antiphoners. A comparison of the varying widths of trimmed edges and losses of marginalia with the consistent placement of the folio numbers in the corners reveals that these folio numbers were added after the leaves were trimmed. The numbering of these leaves also occurred after they were bound in their present state; an analysis of the contents of the volume shows a misordering of several folios. The correct order following the present numbering is: ff. 1-8, 14, 10-13, 9, 15-111, 119, 113-118, 112, 120-126.

On ff. 1-7, there are twelve lines per side of text with musical notation on four-line dry-point staves in the intervening spaces. For the remainder of the volume (ff. 8-126), there are thirteen lines per side. The ruling of the dry-point lines extends into the binding at the spine; the alignment of the staves suggests that verso and recto were ruled with the same stroke. In a style similar to the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners, the F- and C-lines are red and yellow throughout the volume. The other staff lines are not coloured. As observed in other Klosterneuburg sources, the clefs consist of four small letters⁴⁴ which label each staff line at the left-hand side of each system. The height of each staff is a uniform 10 mm, but the distance between staves varies between 6 and 7 mm.

The text, which is approximately 3 mm in height, is Carolingian minuscule with a round aspect. There are no obvious changes of hand throughout the volume. Dark brown ink has been used for the text, punctuation and smaller initials; both brown and black inks have been used for marginalia and corrections (see, for example, the corrections on f. 49^r).

⁴⁴Occasionally, the staff lines are labelled with only three letters. See, for example, the clef system indicating just "F A C" on ff. 5^v, 6^r, and 9^v, (see Plate 6, text line 7) as well as other clef combinations on various leaves throughout the manuscript. These occurrences are quite rare, however.

shown on Plate 7). Rubrics are in red ink, as are larger initials. These initials generally measure 10 to 15 mm in height, with a width of 8 to 10 mm.

The notation, with its noticeably slanted ductus, puncta with substantial caudae, and generally fine strokes, is similar to that already described for the two other twelfth-century Klosterneuburg sources (CCI. 1012 and 1013). The neumes are in brownish-black ink, with a colour that varies throughout the source. There are no inked reference lines for the differentiae; these are placed in the margins *in campo aperto*. Some of the differentiae appear in darker ink than the neumes in the main body of a particular folio side (for example, the differentiae in the margins of f. 59^r). Despite the similarity in style of the neume forms, this change of ink suggests that these differentiae were a later addition.⁴⁵

The binding of CCI. 1010 is contemporary with that of the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners. The cardboard covers are decorated with dark and light brown marbled paper, with brown leather on the spine and corners. The gold inscription on the spine reads "Liber choralis XV M.S. 1010." There are no chains, clasps, or ties on the binding, and the exterior measurements of the volume are 250 x 180 mm with a thickness of 47 mm. The covers are each 3 mm thick.

There are fifteen apparent gatherings; these range in length from six to sixteen folios. Even though there is an obvious misbinding which occurred before the folios were numbered, there is no visible evidence remaining of any insertions or deletions. Although the binding is loose enough to see seven stitching cords in the inner margin, no stubs can be found between leaves. Modern arabic numerals written in pencil in the centres of the lower margins appear to be gathering signatures.⁴⁶ Pencil markings of "xx," "xxx," and "xxxx" also appear on the bottoms of ff. 9^r, 10^r, and 11^r respectively. However, the order of these leaves should rather be ff. 10 to 13, followed by f. 9, so these

⁴⁵See also the marginal entries of differentiae on ff. 97^v and 98^v; these are not lined up beside the antiphons they accompany, and, even more significantly, their neume forms appear closer in style to the notation found in CCI. 589, 1018, and 1015. Surely these differentiae were added at a later stage.

⁴⁶For example, "2" appears at the bottom of f. 8^r, "5" on 32^r, "11" on 80^r, "12" on f. 88^r, "13" on f. 96^r, "14" on f. 104^r, "15" on f. 119^r, and "16" on f. 121^r.

markings must have been made after these folios were misbound. An arrangement of conjugate leaves can be discerned, though it is difficult at times to tell the difference between the hair and flesh sides of the parchment. Scraping lines are visible on several folios. The folio edges have been neatly trimmed⁴⁷ and are of uniform size with yellow edges.

The front flyleaf is paper with visible chain lines and a centre watermark of what appears to be the arabic numeral “4” extending out from the spine on its side.⁴⁸ The front pastedown includes an inscription of cataloguing details written by H. Pfeiffer in 1928.⁴⁹ Another library inscription (this one from the seventeenth century) is visible on f. 1^r in light black ink in a cursive hand, “Can: Reg: Claustonwb. Bibliothecae inscriptus 18 Sept. 1656.”

There are two parchment flyleaves at the end of the volume (numbered as ff. 127 and 128) as well as one of paper. Many lines of German text in a small cursive script appear in a sideways orientation on the parchment flyleaves. The paper leaf extends to the cover and acts as a pastedown. The watermark in the centre of the paper flyleaf at the spine appears to be the top half of a crown, a shape similar to that seen in the front paper flyleaf of CCl. 1012. The second parchment flyleaf (f. 128^v) appears to have been a pastedown at one time, as shown by the evidence of glue around the outer three edges of its verso side.

Despite the neat appearance of the relatively modern binding, CCl. 1010 is generally in quite poor condition. Some folios are worn to the extent that the ink is nearly rubbed off, and many leaves are darkened. Worm-holes are visible through folios 1 to 5 in the lower right-hand corner.⁵⁰ Flaws or strains in the material occur in many places.

⁴⁷No guide holes are visible, perhaps as a result of this trimming.

⁴⁸A match for this partial watermark has not been found.

⁴⁹“1/3 i F.126; 18/IV 1928 H. Pfeiffer.”

⁵⁰These worm-holes are not in exact alignment but are close enough to suggest that these were adjacent folios which were damaged before they were bound in their present form.

For example, ff. 63 and 64 are patched at the bottom with old paper, there is a large hole through f. 53, stitching repairs and holes are visible on ff. 55, 56, 58, 59, and there is damage in other forms to ff. 9 to 15, 93, and 120, just to list a few occurrences. In addition, much marginalia has been lost through trimming, including indications of mode and some neumes of the differentiae.

*CCI. 1010 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS*⁵¹

Ff. 1^r-126^v: Winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* (Nicholas to Holy Saturday)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Nicholas, beginning on f. 1^r; Conception of Mary, 3^r; Lucy, 7^v; Third Sunday of Advent, 8^v; Christmas, 21^r; Stephen, 25^v; Epiphany, 42^v; Ferial Office, 50^r; Sebastian, 59^v; Agnes, 62^v; Conversion of Paul, 65^v; Purification of Mary, 68^v; Agatha, 72^r; Gregory, 75^r; Annunciation of Mary, 78^v; Benedict, 81^v; Septuagesima, 84^v; Ash Wednesday, 91^r; Palm Sunday, 109^v; Maundy Thursday, 115^r; Holy Saturday, 120^r; Invitatory Tones, 121^v; Funeral Office, 125^r

⁵¹For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix III.

CHAPTER 4

THE SURVIVING FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ANTIPHONERS AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

In addition to the twelfth-century sources described above, within the holdings of the Klosterneuburg library are also five manuscripts labelled as “antiphoners” which date from the fourteenth century. These complete antiphoners are identified with the shelf numbers CCl. 589, 1011, 1015, 1017, and 1018, and together with those from the twelfth century, present two complete yearly cycles of ecclesiastical chant for the daily Office.

Within the Klosterneuburg library holdings, there are also several antiphoners which date from the fifteenth century and later. Many of these younger books are partial manuscripts which contain either the chants for only a certain portion of the liturgical year, or just those for certain Offices, such as chants for Marian feasts. These antiphoners include, for example, CCl. 995 (fourteenth-fifteenth century; incomplete), 999 (fifteenth century; primarily a hymnary), 1002 (fifteenth century; begins with Advent, from the diocese of Salzburg?), 1005 (fifteenth century; fragmented), 1006 (fifteenth century; incomplete), 1007 (fifteenth century; compendium), 1009 (fifteenth century with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century additions; begins with Advent), 1016 (fifteenth century), 998 (1569, incomplete, from St. Florian) and the group of CCl. 65, 66, 67, and 68, dating from the sixteenth century. Owing both to their complete recording of the chants sung throughout the liturgical year as well as their span across two centuries, the eight sources in the older layer of extant Klosterneuburg antiphoners, those dating before the year 1400, have been selected for this manuscript and repertory study.

In a similar format to the twelfth-century antiphoners described above, each of the fourteenth-century volumes CCl. 589, 1011, 1015, 1017, and 1018 contains the chants for half of the liturgical year, either the *pars hiemalis* (winter) or the *pars aestiva* (summer). Like the twelfth-century books, the *Temporale* (usual liturgical occasions) and *Sanctorale* (saints' feasts) are intermingled in calendar order in these fourteenth-century antiphoners. The secular usage is also reflected in these service books, and none contains a tonary.

Again, two of the volumes, CCl. 1017 and 1018, have been recognized as

complementary antiphoners; these can be paired with their “partner” volumes to create a complete representation of the chants sung during the full year. Although it is probable that this later “set” of manuscripts were not conceived as a pair, since they are not formatted identically, CCl. 1017 and 1018 complement each other in their division of the liturgical year at Easter: CCl. 1017 contains the chants for the winter season beginning in the middle of the feast for Nicholas (December 6) and ending with Holy Saturday, and CCl. 1018 records those for the summer. CCl. 1017, which was copied in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, is presumed to be the oldest of the intermediate group of mostly fourteenth-century manuscripts now preserved at Klosterneuburg.

Of the remaining three antiphoners dating from this period, CCl. 589 presents the chants for the summer months, and CCl. 1011 and 1015 each preserve those for the winter.

1. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1017*
RISM Siglum: A-KN 1017

Each of the 184 parchment folios in the late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 1017¹ measures 265 x 187 mm, with a principal writing space of 209 x 147 mm. The folios have been numbered in black ink in the upper right-hand corners of the recto sides with a fine nib by the same hand as in the other surviving Klosterneuburg antiphoners. Although there is no folio numbered “24,” it is clear that nothing is missing between the folios numbered as “23” and “25.” This misfoliation has not been corrected, so the last leaf of the antiphoner proper carries the number “185.” Several folios were lost from this volume before the folios were numbered. Since the first extant folio of CCl. 1017 opens in the middle of a responsory for the second nocturn of Matins in the feast of Nicholas, it is obvious that chants from the First Vespers and the first portion of Matins for this feast, as well as the first two Sundays in Advent, are missing from the

¹This antiphoner was included in Hesbert's CAO survey as manuscript *269, and in LeRoux's as “Klo 3.” It is listed in the handwritten library catalogue on page 541 of volume 6, and was filmed by HMML as Project *6002.

beginning. In addition, a series of invitatory tones is incomplete at the end; after ten complete statements of the invitatory psalm 94, *Venite exsultemus*, an eleventh is begun on the recto side of the last extant folio (f. 185). However, this eleventh tone is left incomplete on the verso side after the words “*Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi huic,*” and thus lacks the last half of that verse, as well as the doxology. There is no evidence of insertions within CCl. 1017.

Each folio side in CCl. 1017 has eleven lines of text in a moderately-rounded Gothic script written in black ink with musical notation in the intervening spaces. The horizontal ruling of the five-line staves extends only to the edges of the writing space. In contrast to the dry-point ruling method observed in the twelfth-century sources, the staff lines in CCl. 1017 have been drawn in black ink with a fine nib, rather than etched by a stylus. Even so, in a style similar to that found in CCl. 1010, 1012 and 1013, the F- and C-lines have been traced in red and yellow following the (by this time, centuries-old) Guidonian system, but by a hand that is not always steady. The clef system is consistent with that used in the twelfth-century sources described above. The uniform spacing of the five lines in each staff suggests that these were drawn at once.² There are eleven staves on each folio side. The distance between these staves varies between 7 and 8 mm. The folio edges are uneven and show no trace of colour. Larger initials and rubrics are generally red, with the exception of the decorated initial found in CCl. 1017 on f. 174^v (red and brown, see Plate 8). Smaller initials are black or black with red highlights, and the marginalia, corrections, and neumes are written in brownish-black ink.

²The staves are uniformly 11 mm.

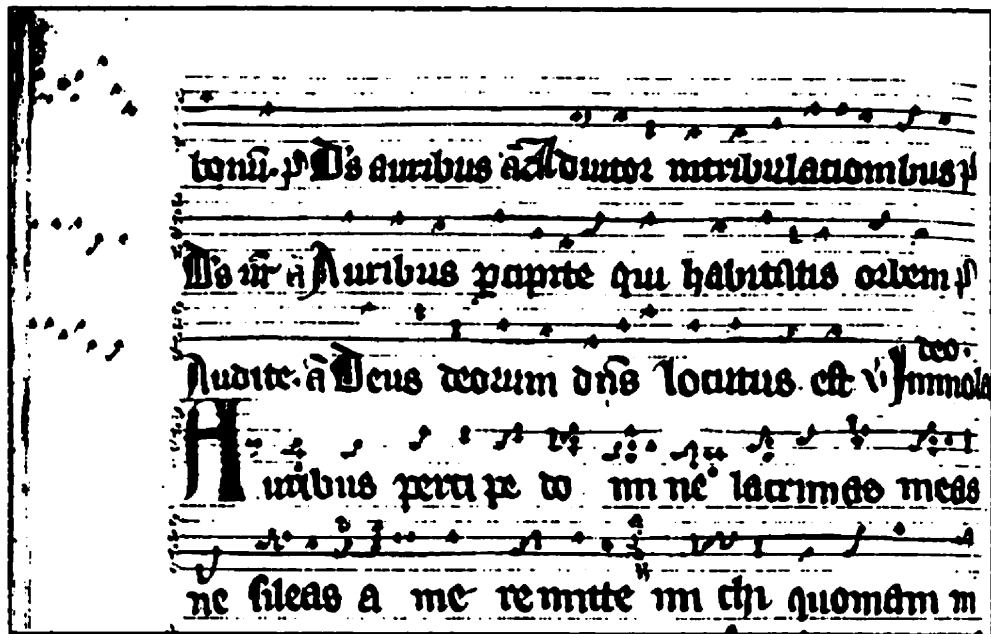


Illustration 7: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, from f. 73^v*

The notational style of the main music scribe appears similar to that used in the earlier antiphoners, but with squarer or “gothicized” neumes. Engels notes that the so-called “Klosterneuburg” notation seen in CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013 was used only from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, after which the scribes took over the then-pervasive Gothic notation.³ By the fourteenth century, the thickness of the neume-signs had evolved into the rhombus and square; definitive examples of this “gothicization” can be observed in the later-fourteenth and early-fifteenth-century antiphoners CCl. 1011 and 995.

At least two music scribes contributed to the production of CCl. 1017; one provided the neumes on folios 72^r, 72^v, and 73^r (see Illustration 8), and the main music scribe copied the remainder of the volume (see Illustration 7). In contrast to the squarer, “gothicized” noteheads in the majority of this manuscript, the neumes on 72^r, 72^v, and 73^r, which record the chants beginning in the middle of Matins for *Feria ii per annum* and ending mid-chant in Matins for *Feria iii*, are in a lighter-brown ink than those on the

³Engels, p. 49.

surrounding folios. They feature more oblong noteheads, a more slanted *ductus*, and longer caudae, and are similar in style to those in the twelfth-century sources described above.

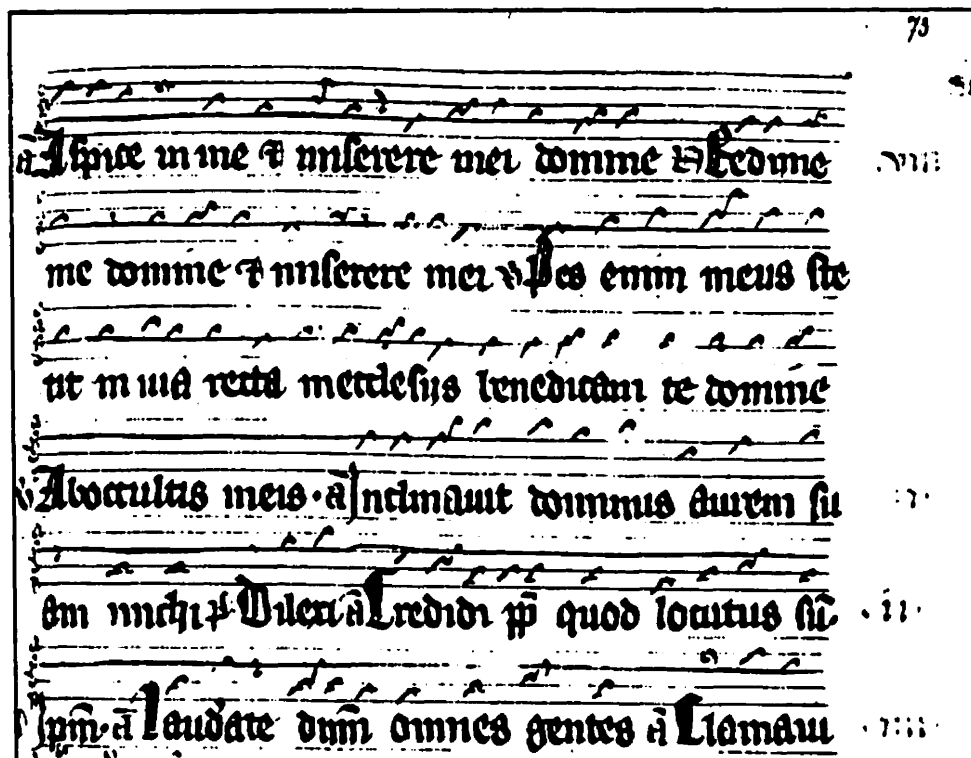


Illustration 8: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, from f. 73^r

A notational style similar to that found on ff. 72^r, 72^v, and 73^r of CCl. 1017 can also be seen in the gradual Graz 807, as well as in the antiphoners CCl. 1010, 1012, 1013, thought to have originated from the same scriptorium.⁴ The brief and sudden appearance of this striking change of hand suggests that both notational styles must have been current during the copying of this volume.⁵ Coinciding with this change of hand is a variation in the treatment of antiphon modal assignments. For these few folios, *differentiae* are not

⁴Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft," p. 59, and Engels, p. 45. See Plate 66 in Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der Einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, ed. by Werner Bachmann, Bd. III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Lfg. 4 (Leipzig: VEB, 1975), p. 193. See also the facsimiles provided by Froger, cited above.

⁵See Chapter Five for more on the notation in these manuscripts.

provided with the antiphons; instead, the psalm tone incipits are notated over the psalm textual cues (see Illustration 8). In contrast to the practice in the remainder of the volume, the modal assignments of the antiphons are indicated in the margins with lower-case Roman numerals.⁶

The present binding of CCl. 1017 is not original, but is contemporary with that of the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners. However, this binding, unlike that of the other volumes, is in very good condition. Indeed, the condition of the whole manuscript is generally good. The inks have a crisp appearance with rich colour, and the majority of parchment folios are intact. Exceptions include several slightly damaged leaves (ff. 35 and 168 have holes, for example) and the bottom right corner throughout the volume which appears to have been eaten by vermin. This damage, perhaps by mice, has resulted in an almost complete loss of the bottom margin for the first thirty-seven folios, but has had no effect on the main body of the manuscript. The cardboard covers are blue with dark blue and white marbled paper. Brown leather protects the spine and corners, and “Liber choralis XXII. M.S. 1017” is inscribed in gilt on the spine. The exterior dimensions of the volume are 278 x 205 mm, with a thickness of 66 mm. The covers are each 6 mm thick. The relatively modern binding has been tightly stitched at the spine, and no sewing is visible in the centre. The compactness of the spine has hindered the examination of the gathering structure; even so, there appear to be eighteen gatherings in the manuscript, with lengths ranging from six to fifteen folios. The leaves within these gatherings are conjugate, with hair sides and flesh sides placed together. Pfeiffer’s inscription⁷ can be seen on the front pastedown, which, along with the front flyleaf, is paper with chain lines but no visible watermark.

⁶Marginal indications of modal assignments in Roman numerals occur only on ff. 7^r, 9^r, 9^v, 72^r, and 73^r. Two of these assignments do not correspond to the finals and ranges of the chants they accompany: “Celebris dies” on f. 9^r is indicated as mode 6, but appears to be mode 8, and “O Maria clausa” on f. 9^v is indicated as mode 2 but appears to be mode 1. The entries on these folios are presumed to be later additions.

⁷“1/1; F. 185; 20/IV, 1928 H.Pfeiffer.”

CCI. 1017 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS⁸
 Ff. 1^r-185^v: Winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* (Nicholas to Holy Saturday)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Nicholas, beginning on f. 1^r; Lucy, 4^r; Conception of Mary, 5^v; Third Sunday of Advent, 11^v; Christmas, 30^r; Stephen, 36^r; Epiphany, 59^r; Ferial Office, 68^v; Sebastian, 80^v; Agnes, 84^v; Conversion of Paul, 88^v; Purification of Mary, 93^v; Agatha, 98^r; Gregory, 102^r; Benedict, 106^r; Annunciation of Mary, 111^r; Septuagesima, 115^r; Ash Wednesday, 126^r; Palm Sunday, 156^r; Maundy Thursday, 164^v; Holy Saturday, 171^v; Invitatory Tones, 174^v

ii. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1018*
 RISM Siglum: A-KN 1018

The 261 parchment folios in the fourteenth-century antiphoner proper of CCl. 1018⁹ are slightly smaller than those of CCl. 1017, with a folio size of 263 x 183 mm and a principal writing space of 211 x 132 mm. The style of folio-numbering is similar to that used for the antiphoners already described. The partially-damaged parchment leaf in a sideways orientation now numbered as “1,” presumably intended merely as a flyleaf, is a fragment from a twelfth-century gradual containing chants from *feria vi* of the Advent Ember days (see Plate 9). The dismantling and recycling of older manuscripts for binding materials is well known and often associated with reforms following the Council of Trent. It is not known why this gradual was deemed obsolete; even so, the notational style (four-letter clefs, mixed German neumes, slanted ductus, substantial caudae) identifies this folio as belonging to the same scriptorium as the twelfth-century manuscripts described above.¹⁰ The use of German rubrics, such as occurs at the top of f. 131^v, is infrequent in

⁸For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix IV.

⁹CCI. 1018 is listed in the handwritten library catalogue on page 542 of volume 6, and was filmed by HMML as Project ‘6001.

¹⁰The recto side of this leaf has ten lines and the verso side has nine lines of text written in Carolingian minuscule with musical notation in the intervening spaces. The text is approximately 2 mm in height, with a round aspect. The ruling of the four-line staves is dry-point with a red F-line. Guide holes are visible in the margins. The text and neumes are written in two different black inks, and the larger initials (the “R” on 1^r and the “P” on 1^v) and Mass rubrics are in red. The notation is in a style similar to that found in the other manuscript sources dating from the twelfth century said to be from Klosterneuburg

the Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation (see Illustration 9).¹¹

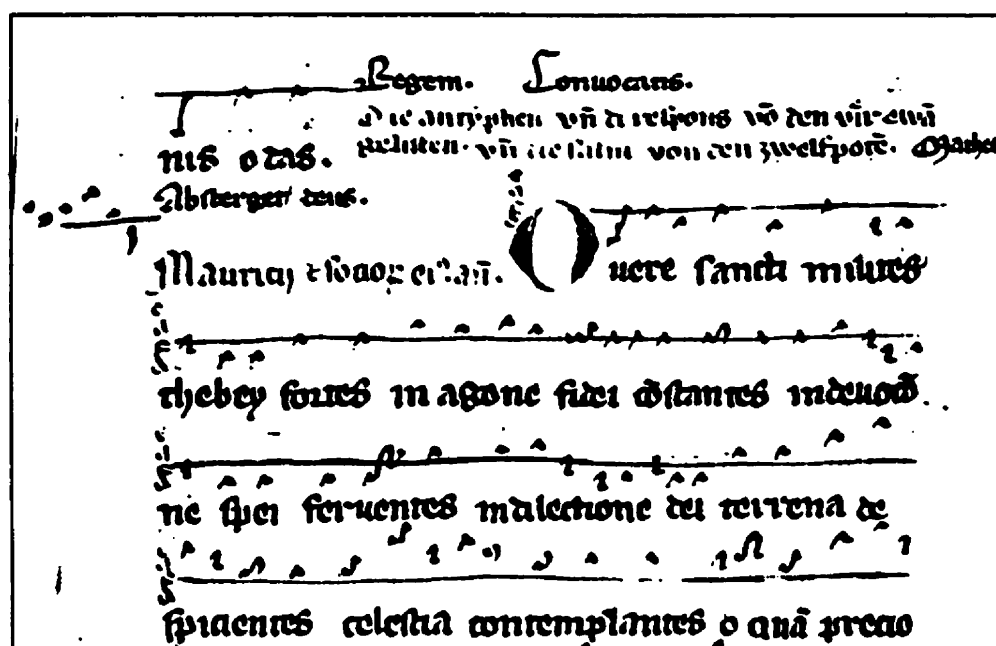


Illustration 9: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, from f. 131^r*

In a layout similar to its complementary antiphoner CCl. 1017, each folio side in CCl. 1018 has eleven lines of text in Gothic script with musical notation in the intervening spaces. In contrast to CCl. 1017, the inked staves in CCl. 1018 consist generally of four brown lines (plus one line as a guide for the text) drawn with a very fine nib. The F- and C- lines are coloured red and yellow. The horizontal ruling of the staves extends only to the width of the frame, and the height of each staff is uniform (9 mm) only towards the end of the volume; on earlier folios the staves range in height from 8 to 10 mm. The distance between ruled staves is not uniform; it varies between 6 and 8 mm.

At least four colours of ink appear throughout CCl. 1018. The Gothic script used for the copying of the text is bluish-black, as are punctuation marks and the gathering signatures. These lower-case Roman numerals appear in the centres of the lower margins

(cf. CCl. 1010, 1012, 1013, Graz 807).

¹¹This instruction appears at the top of f. 131^r: “Die antyphen un’ die respons von den vir ewangelisten - und die P[s]alm von den zwelfpoten.”

of certain versos.¹² Rubrics are red, and initials are generally red and black with the exception of the decorated initials on ff. 2^r, 2^v, and 43^r (all are red, blue, and black; see Plate 10). The characteristic four-letter clefs, some corrections, and the neumes are in a brownish-black ink which varies from dark to light throughout the manuscript.

Several scribal hands are evident in this volume. No change of text hand is apparent in the main body of the manuscript (ff. 2^r to 245^v); however, the style of initials varies markedly. It should also be noted that the style of initials and rubrics in CCl. 1018 is different than that found in CCl. 1017; these volumes, though complementary in their contents, were not copied by the same scribe or group of scribes.

In CCl. 1018, a different scribe copied the texts for the feast of Acacius (June 22) on folios 246^r to 249^v and 262^r in a more angular Gothic script with narrower spacing between the letters, in a blackish-brown ink (see Illustration 10). In this section, the style of the initials is also varied, with a more restricted use of red ink. This scribe has added narrow vertical lines (*striche*) between the different chants on each folio side; a division has also been indicated at the start of the *repetendum* within each Respond.

¹²The gathering numeration includes: "i" at the bottom of f. 9^v, "ii" on f. 15^v, "iii" on f. 23^v, "iiii" on f. 31^v, "v" on f. 39^v, "vi" on f. 47^v, "vii" on f. 55^v, "viii" on f. 63^v, "ix" on f. 71^v, "x" on f. 79^v, "xi" on f. 84^v, "xii" on f. 92^v, "xiii" on f. 100^v, "xiiii" on f. 108^v, "xv" on f. 116^v, "xvi" on f. 124^v, "xvii" on f. 132^v, "xviii" on f. 140^v, "xix" on f. 148^v, "xx" on f. 156^v, "xxi" on f. 164^v, "xxii" on f. 172^v, "xxiii" on f. 180^v, "xxiiii" on f. 188^v, "xxv" on f. 196^v, "xxvi" on f. 104^v, "xxvii" on f. 210^v, "xxviii" on f. 218^v, "xxix" on f. 226^v, "xxx" on f. 234^v, and "xxxi" on f. 242^v.

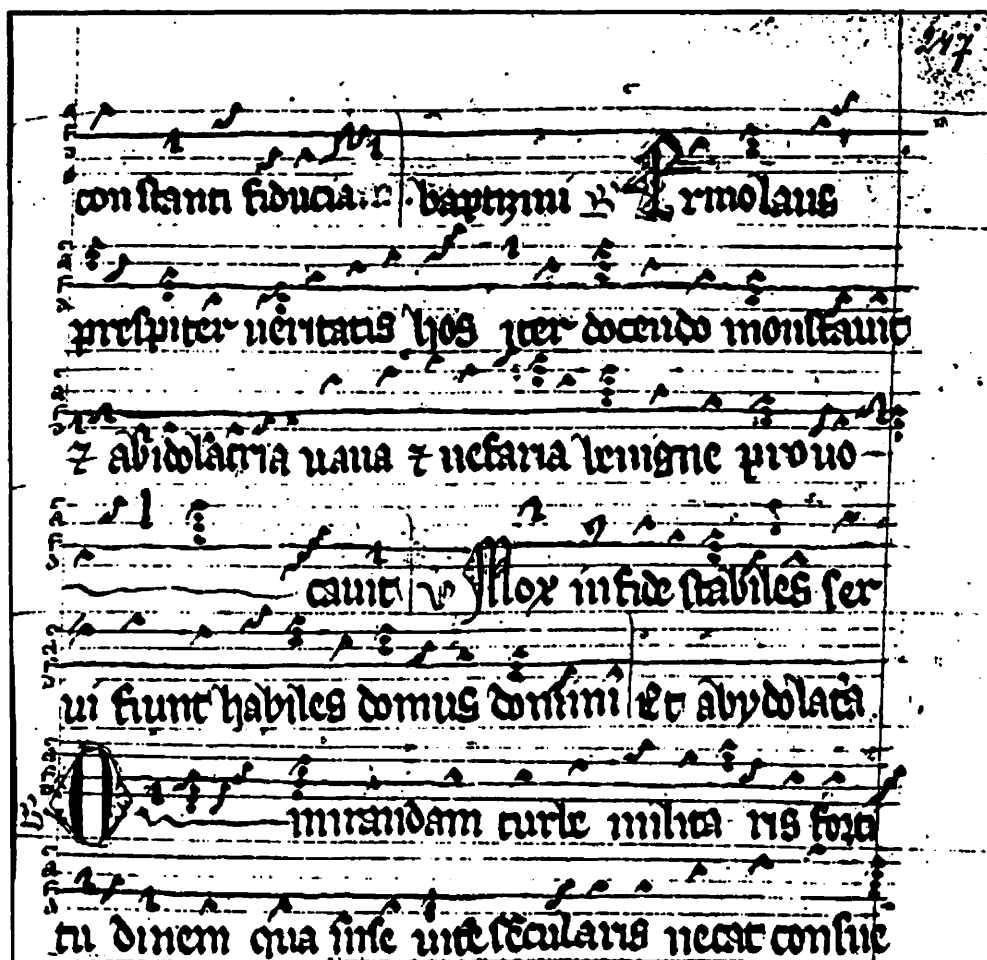


Illustration 10: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, from f. 247^r

A third scribe contributed to an insertion of invitatory tones just before the last folio of the manuscript; these leaves, now numbered as 250^r to 261^v, interrupt the chant series for Acacius. The text for the invitatory tones is written in black ink, in a Gothic script with an angular aspect and narrower spacing of the letters than in the previous hand. The initials for all verses are in red. The staves and clefs are in brown ink, but the style of neumes is similar to that seen in the rest of the volume. Towards the end of the insertion, ff. 261^r and 261^v contain several miscellaneous chants and include a troped *Benedicamus domino* which is incomplete (see Plate 11). There is a change in the notation hand for these chants: the neumes have been drawn with a more vertical ductus, smaller caudae, and they are generally smaller than those in the remainder of the volume

(particularly in the case of multiple-note neumes). This insertion is not clearly differentiated at the spine as a separate gathering; this section was added to CCl. 1018 prior to the present binding, and therefore also before the folios were numbered.¹³

The notational style used in the majority of this volume is similar to that found in other Klosterneuburg antiphoners dating from the same period. The features of a more “gothicized-Klosterneuburg” notation are evident, yet the square or rhombic shapes of the noteheads are not quite as angular in CCl. 1018 as they are in CCl. 1017. Other notational features include the four-letter clefs on each stave, the preservation of the coloured F- and C-lines, the lack of differentiation between punctum and virga, a slanted axis of notation, and the characteristic forms of the combined neumes.

A different notation hand has added the neumes for differentiae in the margins of ff. 171^v and 174^v. These noteheads, drawn with a small nib, are square rather than diamond-shaped with an extremely vertical axis of notation. Another hand has added the neumes for the single chant “Quinque prudentes virgines” on f. 192^v. These neumes are quite square with small lines on either side of each notehead – the puncta have the appearance of a slanted letter “H” (see Plate 12). The stroke is both thicker and heavier than that of the surrounding neumes, and the clef consists only of a “C” rather than the full four-line indications typical of the “Klosterneuburg” notational style.¹⁴

At least two other notation hands can be differentiated. These occur at the end of the manuscript in the places where changes in text hands occur. Although still rather thick in appearance, oblong noteheads and longer caudae characterize the neumes in the chants for the feast of Acacius (ff. 246^r to 249^v and 262^v). The neumes in the insertion of invitatory tones (folios 250^r to 261^v) return to a more rhombic appearance, closer to those found in the earlier portion of CCl. 1018 but with smaller noteheads, shorter caudae with

¹³Inside the front flyleaf of CCl. 1018 is another insertion of four loose paper pages containing hymns. Owing to the differences in writing material, size, script, inks, notation, ruling, clef-system, and other matters of manuscript production, these pages have not been included in the description of the antiphoner proper CCl. 1018.

¹⁴This is the same hand that has added the neumes to the same chant in CCl. 589, f. 129^v. This style of notation is also found in the fourteenth-century antiphoners *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek*, 29 and 30.

very fine lines, and a more vertical axis of notation – these are nearly identical to the neumes found in the main body of CCl. 1017.

The binding of CCl. 1018 is similar to that of the antiphoners described above and dates from the same period. Brown leather covers the corners and spine; the gilt inscription on the spine reads “Liber choralis XXIII M.S. 1018.” The cardboard covers, which measure 4 mm thick, are decorated in mottled green marbled paper. The exterior dimensions of the binding are 271 x 193 mm, with a thickness of 66 mm. Both the front and back flyleaves are of plain paper with no visible chain lines. No watermark can be seen on the back leaf, but there is a crest design on the front flyleaf near the opening.¹⁵ The front paper pastedown displays Pfeiffer’s inscription in blue ink,¹⁶ but no library stamp. A variation in thickness and quality of parchment leaves is noticeable throughout the volume, as is the clear arrangement of conjugate leaves (hair and flesh sides facing each other). There appear to be twenty-five gatherings of varying lengths, though most comprise eight leaves. The volume is bound so tightly at the spine that only two sewing cords are visible in the centre. The stub near the spine between ff. 9 and 10 is the edge of the front flyleaf and marks the end of the first gathering; that between ff. 83 and 84 is evidence of a missing folio that once contained chants in the middle of the feast of Mary Magdalene.

CCl. 1018 appears to have been well used; it is in fair condition. The binding is slightly damaged owing to a tear in the back cover near the spine of the volume. There are worm bores along the bottom edges and the lower outside margins of leaves throughout the entire volume. There are also some small holes in the centre of some folios (f. 61, for example), but not enough to result in lost material. As a result of heavy trimming, the folio edges are now uneven. This has not interfered with the main body of

¹⁵A match for this watermark in the standard catalogues has not yet been found. Images of crests appear in Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, items 842-1267 and 1338-2363. Crests are also shown in Gerhard Piccard, ed., *Wasserzeichen: Blatt, Blume, Baum*, Findbuch XII, Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1982), items 172-182, 237-392, 419-506, and 1658-1701.

¹⁶“1/1; F.IV - 262, 21/IV. 1928 H. Pfeiffer.”

music and text, but among lost marginal entries are some differentiae. Several holes on the opening and closing folios appear to be burn marks; one extends from f. 262 through to f. 258 from the back. There is also some damage on the opening folio of the insertion of invitatory tones (f. 250^r). In addition to the darkening of the parchment, there is a hole in the lower part of the folio as well as some marks which may be the result of water damage. As might be expected in manuscripts of this age, there are occasional stitching repairs (f. 101) and patches (f. 262, for example).

CCI. 1018 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS¹⁷

Ff. 2^r-262^v: Summer *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* (beginning at Easter)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Easter, beginning on f. 2^r; George, 30^v; Mark, 31^r; Philip and James, 31^v; Invention of the Cross, 33^r; Alexander and Companions (commemoration) 37^r; John at the Latin Gate, 37^r; Ascension, 37^v; Pentecost, 43^r; Trinity, 50^r; John the Baptist, 54^v; John and Paul, 59^r; Peter and Paul, 61^r; Paul, 68^r; The Sending of the Apostles, 73^v; Margaret, 73^v; Mary Magdalene, 78^r; *Lacuna*, after 83^v; Invention of Stephen (commemoration), 87^r; Peter's Chains, 88^r; Afra, 88^r; Laurence, 94^v; Tiburtius (commemoration), 99^v; Hippolytus, 100^r; Assumption of Mary, 100^v; Augustine, 110^v; Beheading of John the Baptist, 117^v; Sabina (commemoration), 117^v; Giles, 119^v; Nativity of Mary, 124^r; Exaltation of the Cross, 129^v; Lambert (commemoration), 131^r; Matthew, 131^r; Maurice, 131^v; Common of Evangelists, 132^v; Dedication of a Church, 137^r; Michael, 142^r; Dionysius (Denis), 147^v; Translation of Augustine, 149^r; Luke, 149^r; 11,000 Virgins, 149^r; All Saints, 149^r; Martin, 153^r; Brice, 158^r; Othmar, 159^r; Cecilia, 160^r; Clement, 164^r; Andrew, 166^r; Common of Saints, 171^r; Summer Histories, 193^r; Sundays after Pentecost, 222^r; Ursula, 234^r; ¹⁸Funeral Office, 239^v; Acacius, 246^r; Invitatory Tones, 250^r

¹⁷For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix V.

¹⁸This added Office of proper chants for Ursula (October 21) was presumably intended as a replacement for the cycle of chants borrowed from the Common of Virgins that is included in the main body of the manuscript at the position of the usual date for the feast of the 11,000 Virgins (October 21).

III. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 589*
 RISM Siglum: A-KN 589

The 159 parchment folios of the fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 589¹⁹ measure 286 x 214 mm, with a principal writing-space of 240 x 170 mm; this is approximately the size of the ruled frame. Unlike the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners, this manuscript was produced in folio format, not quarto. It therefore has a larger leaf size than the other manuscripts (and consequently, a lower library shelf number, since the manuscripts have been arranged at the library in order of size). CCl. 589 contains the chants used during the summer portion of the year beginning at Easter. The volume, which ends abruptly during a series of Invitatory tones, is nearly complete.

On each folio side, there are thirteen lines of Gothic text copied in brown ink which range in height from 4 to 5 mm. Musical notation similar in style to the other fourteenth-century Klosterneuburg antiphoners occurs on five-line staves in the intervening spaces (see Illustration 11). The staff lines are not dry-point, but rather are drawn with thin brown lines, and the F- and C-lines have been traced in red and yellow. The staves are ruled only to the width of the frame, leaving a margin in the centre at the spine. The height of each staff system is 12 mm, and the five lines within each staff are 3 mm apart; this uniformity suggests that these lines were drawn by a rastrum. The distance between ruled staves on each folio side ranges, however, between 6 and 9 mm, so the entire side cannot have been ruled in one stroke. The numbering of the folios is in black ink in a modern hand with arabic numerals in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos.

Five different inks were used in the copying of this manuscript. The text, punctuation, neumes, and four-letter clefs in the main body of the manuscript were all written in brown ink. However, the neumes and clefs appear darker than the text in the first half of the volume and lighter in the second half. These elements were presumably copied in different stages of production. The corrections and marginalia are in brown ink

¹⁹CCl. 589 is listed in the handwritten Klosterneuburg library catalogue on page 557, and was filmed by HMML as project #5566.

similar to that of the neumes; this is particularly visible on f. 41^r, for example, where the neumes and marginalia are in a lighter brown ink, and the text appears in a much darker hue. The larger initials, which range in height between 10 and 13 mm and have a width of approximately 10 mm, are generally in red. The smaller initials are in brown and red, or sometimes black and red. More highly-decorated larger initials, similar to those in CCl. 1018, occur on ff. 1^r and 1^v for Easter chants (see Illustration 11); these show designs around the upper-case “V” and “A” in red and blue. Larger, decorated initials also appear within the series of Invitatory tones on ff. 158^r, 158^v, and 159^r. Rubrics are in red ink; although most are abbreviated Latin, some of the rubrics are in German, such as “zu d’ an dn’ vesp” and “uber magnificat” on f. 19^v.²⁰ A thick, grey pencil has been used to number f. 159^v as “160” in the upper left-hand corner.

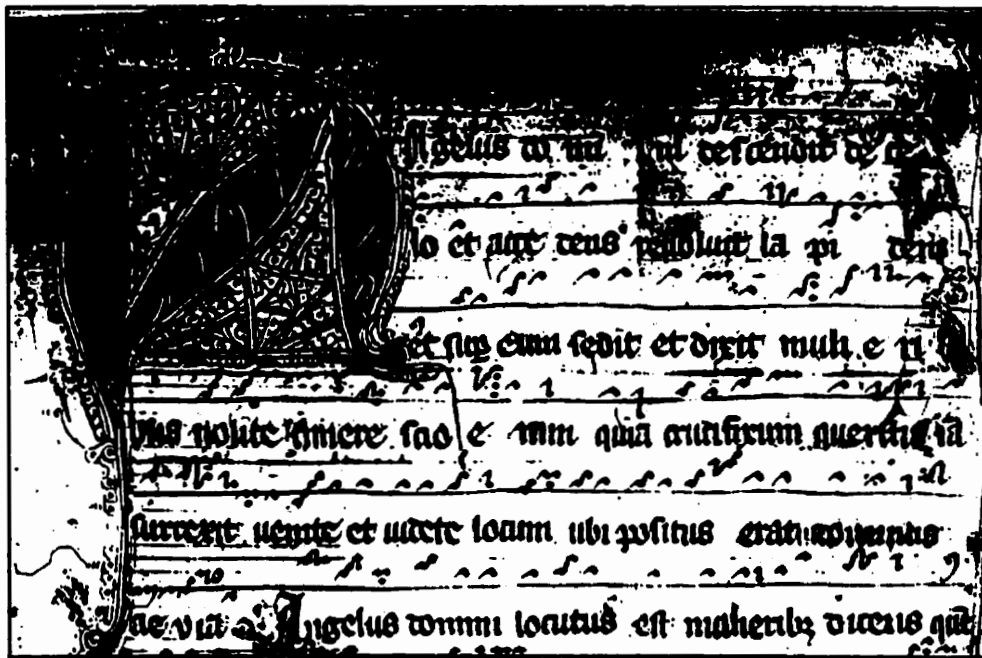


Illustration 11: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, from f. 1^v

The majority of the manuscript appears to have been copied by the same scribe, or by a group of similarly-trained scribes. Within the main body of the manuscript (ff. 1 to

²⁰Also in red, this instruction appears before the series of invitatory tones on f. 158^v: “In die — chind’ dreu chelbel und ein chue sint vier Rinder.”

157), Gothic text with little variance can be observed (see Plate 13). A change in text hand, which coincides with the start of the series of Invitatory tones, occurs on the second line of f. 158^r (see Plate 14). This hand continues to the verso side of the last extant folio, f. 159^v. The Gothic script on these final leaves was drawn with a finer nib, more-pointed serifs for the minim strokes, and a more narrowly-spaced script than that of the main body of the manuscript. The lower-case letters are approximately 4 mm high, and the initials for each verse range in height from 15 to 18 mm, with a width of approximately 10 mm.

For the majority of CCl. 589, the puncta have substantial caudae, a slightly-slanted axis of notation, and the familiar oblong noteheads (see Illustration 11 and Plate 13). This notation is similar to that found in CCl. 1015, 1018, and the second half of CCl. 1011. At the top of f. 40^r, however, a different hand has supplied the neumes for the single chant “Audistis enim conversationem” (see Plate 15). Here, the larger than usual neumes are rather crudely drawn with a round aspect and short thick strokes in a darker ink. The same hand has provided the neumes for the responsories (and their verses) “Saulus autem magis” and “Gratia dei sum id quod sum” on f. 40^v. Another change of hand occurs on f. 129^v in the neumes for the chant “Quinque prudentes virgines.” The neume forms are identical in appearance to the added neumes for the same chant on f. 192^v of CCl. 1018.

As seen in the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners, the differentiae have been drawn in the margins. However, in CCl. 589, the colouring of some of the F- and C-lines has extended to these marginal entries. Some of the differentiae appear to be later additions; for example, the small neumes on f. 16^v have been drawn with a finer nib in a lighter brown ink. On f. 39^r, the differentia appears in a darker, brownish-yellow ink, drawn with a wider nib and a ductus that is more vertical. Another example occurs on f. 120^v where the noteheads used in the differentia have a different shape (though it must be noted that the ink colour of these noteheads is the same as that of the neumes in the main body of the manuscript). Other marginalia in CCl. 589 include written mode-numbers in Roman numerals in a cursive hand in black ink, as found, for example, on ff. 50^v and 51^r.

Similar to the other antiphoners, the binding for CCl. 589 is not original. The

cardboard covers are decorated with beige, black, and rust-coloured marbled paper. Brown leather covers the corners and spine, and the inscription on the spine reads “Liber choralis XXV M.S. 589” amid ornate gilt designs. The leather around the spine has a small tear. There are no chains, clasps, or ties. The binding measures 300 x 234 mm with a thickness of 50 mm, and the covers are 4 mm thick. There are two front flyleaves, one of paper and the other of parchment. The paper flyleaf, which doubles as the front pastedown, has visible chain-lines and a watermark. The visible portion of the watermark is in the shape of a large written “J” cursively joined to what might be a lower-case “r” with a larger than usual loop in the second peak. The same paper is used for the back flyleaf; the same watermark is visible in the lower half of that page. The Klosterneuburg library stamp appears in purple ink on the front pastedown, along with Pfeiffer’s inscription in modern handwriting in blue ink.²¹ The parchment flyleaf has four short lines of nearly-legible Latin text in the upper right-hand section of the recto side; as might be expected from the binding materials, this parchment is not of high quality.

Most of the original gathering signatures are still visible in the centre of the lower margins at the end of each grouping of leaves; these reveal that there have been no insertions or deletions within the main body of the manuscript.²² There appear to be twenty gatherings with lengths varying from three to twelve leaves. Sewing of four cords is visible in the centre of the binding, as is a stub between ff. 10 and 11, which is merely the edge of the front flyleaf wrapped around the first complete gathering.

CCI. 589 is generally in very good condition, though it has obviously been used. The lower right-hand corners of the leaves are thin, weakened, and appear discoloured from frequent turnings. Even so, this volume is in better condition than the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners dating from this period and earlier. The materials, particularly the parchment, used in its production appear to have been of rather high

²¹2/1; F. 159; 25/II 1912 Hermann Pfeiffer.

²²The extant gathering signatures are: “i” on f. 10^v, “iii” on f. 30^v, “iiii” on f. 40^v, “v” on f. 50^v, “vi” on f. 60^v, “vii” on f. 70^v, “viii” on f. 80^v, “ix” on f. 90^v, “x” on f. 100^v, “xi” on f. 110^v, “xii” on f. 120^v, “xiii” on f. 130^v, “xiiii” on f. 140^v, and “xv” on f. 150^v.

quality as there is still no discolouration of hair or flesh sides. A specific arrangement of conjugate leaves is, therefore, not obvious. When compared with the other surviving antiphoners, there are fewer strains or flaws in the parchment. Following are the instances of damage: the first folio is missing its lower outside corner, there are small holes in ff. 37 and 45 and a hole in the lower margins of ff. 17 to 20, there is a tear and partial patch on f. 51 and other tears in ff. 43, 47, 76, 111, and 135, there are small patches on ff. 112 and 132, and stitching repairs have been made to ff. 44, 46, 109, 134, 145, 149, 150, and 155.

Although they have been trimmed and show no evidence of colour, the folio edges do not line up exactly; these must have been trimmed to a uniform size before being bound into the present volume. Guide-holes in the outer margins are visible only where the edges have not been excessively trimmed (for example, on ff. 1, 2, and 3). Some worm-bores can be seen in the outer margins but none interfere with the main body of the manuscript, and none are visible in the binding materials.

CCI. 589 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS²³

Ff. 1^r-158^v: Summer *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* (beginning at Easter)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Easter, beginning on f. 1^r; George, 16^v; Mark, 17^r; Philip and James, 17^r; Invention of the Cross, 18^r; Alexander and Companions (commemoration) 20^v; Gothard (commemoration), 20^v; John at the Latin Gate, 20^v; Ascension, 20^v; Pentecost, 24^r; Trinity, 28^r; John the Baptist, 30^v; John and Paul, 33^v; Peter and Paul, 34^v; Paul, 38^v; The Sending of the Apostles, 42^r; Corpus Christi, 42^r; Margaret, 45^v; Mary Magdalene, 48^r and 157^v; Invention of Stephen, 54^v; Afra, 58^r; Laurence, 62^v; Tiburtius (commemoration), 65^v; Hippolytus, 65^v; Assumption of Mary, 66^r; Augustine, 72^v; Beheading of John the Baptist, 77^r; Sabina (commemoration), 77^r; Giles, 78^r; Nativity of Mary, 81^r; Exaltation of the Cross, 84^r; Lambert (commemoration), 85^v; Matthew, 85^v; Maurice, 85^v; Common of Evangelists, 86^v; Dedication of a Church, 89^v; Michael, 92^v; Dionysius (Denis), 96^r; Translation of Augustine, 96^v; 11,000 Virgins, 96^v; All Saints, 99^v; Martin, 102^r; Brice, 105^r; Othmar, 105^v; Cecilia, 106^v; Clement, 109^r; Andrew, 110^r; Common of Apostles, 113^r; Catharine, 116^r; Common of Saints, 119^v; Summer Histories, 129^r; Sundays after Pentecost, 147^v; Funeral Office, 154^v; Invitatory Tones, 158^r

²³For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix VI.

IV. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1015*

RISM Siglum: A-KN 1015

The 194 parchment folios of the fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 1015²⁴ measure 256 x 180 mm with a principal writing-space of 220 x 137 mm. On each folio side, there are eleven lines of text with musical notation on four-line staves in the intervening spaces. In a style similar to CCl. 589, 1017 and, 1018, the ruling of the staves is not dry-point, but rather executed with very fine lines in brown ink. Neither the height of the staves nor the spacing between them is uniform; the height varies between 12 and 13 mm, and the distance between staves varies between 7 and 8 mm. As in the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners, the F- and C-lines are coloured red and yellow. One extra line appears between staves as a guide for the text. The ruling extends to the width of the frame, and guide holes are visible in the margins. The numbering of the folios is in a modern hand in black ink in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos, with the exception of the first folio. The leaf numbered as "1," now a parchment flyleaf, is not part of the antiphoner proper; rather, it appears to have been a former pastedown with cursive German text on the verso side. Probably owing to the rough texture on the recto side, this folio was numbered on the upper right-hand corner of the verso side.²⁵

The Gothic script, which measures approximately 4 mm in height, appears with a round aspect and has been written with a wide nib in brown ink for the first portion of the volume, and in black after f. 18^r (but the colour varies throughout the volume). The same ink is used for punctuation. The rubrics and larger initials, which measure approximately 17 x 13 mm, are in red ink, and the smaller initials are in red and black. At the beginning of the volume, the neumes and differentiae (drawn in the margins) are in a black ink with a bluish hue, but after f. 18^r brown ink is used. The same brown ink is used for the four-letter clefs typical of the notation in sources from Klosterneuburg. The other features of

²⁴CCl. 1015 was included in CAO as *268, and in LeRoux's study as "Klo 4." It is listed in volume six of the handwritten Klosterneuburg library catalogue on p. 540, and was filmed by HMML as project #5998.

²⁵See below for more details about f. 1.

notation are similar to those found in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts dating from this period: “gothicized” and squarer (or diamond-shaped) puncta are obvious, as are the slanted ductus and substantial caudae (see Illustration 12 and Plate 16).

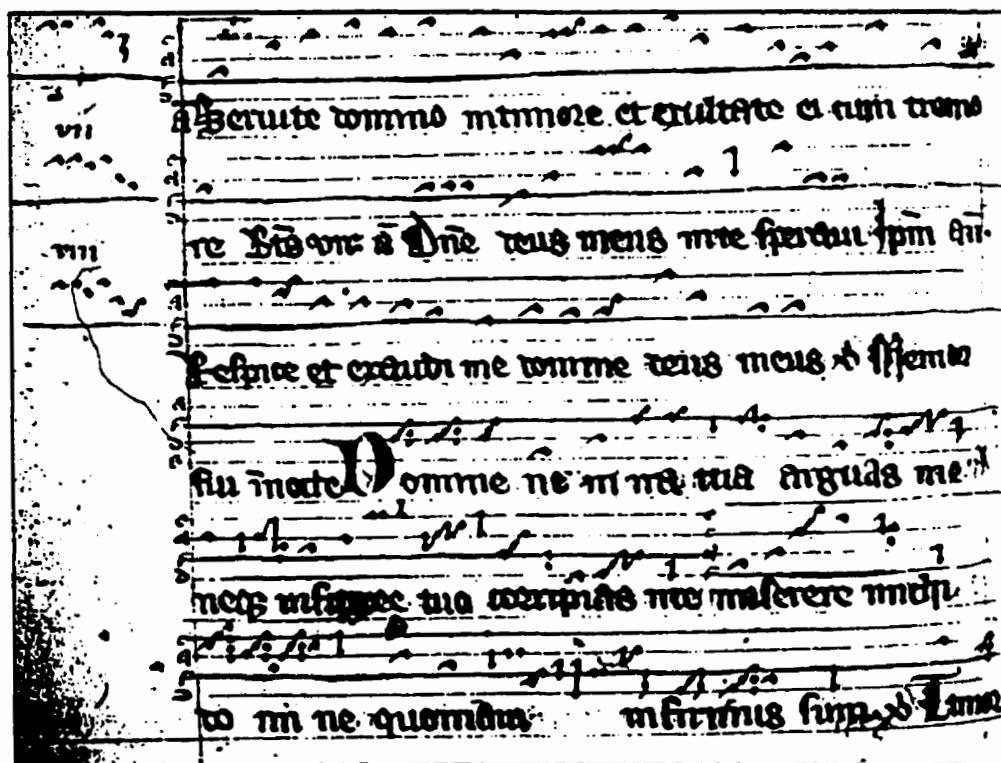


Illustration 12: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015, from f. 77^r*

There are at least nine text hands in addition to the main text scribe. Changes in hands occur in the added material at the end of the volume: on the fourth line of f. 191^r (a frightfully uneven script by an inexperienced hand, in brownish-black ink), on the second line of f. 192^r (Gothic script with pointed minim strokes, drawn with a wide nib in brownish-black ink; slightly larger strokes with a height of 5 mm; see Plate 17), on the seventh line of f. 192^r (similar to the previous hand, but with narrower strokes which measure approximately 3 mm in height), at the top of f. 192^v (in the same colour of ink as for the previous folio, but in a more cursive script like that seen in the uneven strokes of f. 191^v; initials are in red ink), at the bottom of f. 192^v (similar unkempt hand to that of the upper half of the page, but in black ink), the fourth line of f. 193^r (text is similar to

that on the previous side, but drawn in black ink with a heavier stroke; a portion of the text is crossed out with red ink), on the first line of f. 193^v (a Gothic script with angular minim strokes, but not carefully aligned on its horizontal axis; initials are a deep red ink), on the sixth line of f. 193^v (also a Gothic script, but drawn with a slightly wider nib; initials are in red ink, but more scarlet than those in the upper half of this folio side), on the third line of f. 194^r (German cursive script in a grey-brown ink, similar to the script seen on the front flyleaf, f. 1^v), on the fifth line of f. 194^r (an uncontrolled, more cursive script of varying sizes, in brown ink, similar to that seen on f. 191^v).

At least nine notation hands contributed to the production of CCl. 1015. The changes from the notation of the main scribe occur on the fifth line of f. 79^v (more cursive stroke, wider nib, less-elegant caudae), the second line of f. 192^r (along with the change in script comes a thicker neume shape, though the ductus and caudae appear similar to the notation of the first portion of the manuscript; see Plate 17), the seventh line of f. 192^r (a more vertical ductus with smaller, more oblong-shaped noteheads), f. 192^v at the top (elongated noteheads with undefined edges; not neatly aligned, and presumably drawn by an inexperienced hand), f. 192^v at the bottom (narrower, oblong noteheads with a severely slanted axis of notation, drawn by a hand that is not always steady; the C-line is not coloured yellow on this side or on f. 193^r), the seventh line of f. 193^r (more vertical ductus with extended caudae on smaller noteheads; the longer, yet curved, caudae give this neume hand a look of semi-circular or crescent-shaped puncta and loops of multi-note neumes), f. 193^v (much like the shape of the neumes in the main body of the manuscript, but drawn with a wider nib), the sixth line of f. 193^v (more oblong noteheads, but with a vertical axis of notation; liquescents have large, circular caudae). The occurrence of these added chants in uneven text and notational scripts has not been explained in the literature. These chants appear to have been copied at a later date (perhaps much later) by hands that were not practiced in this style of notation. Many possibilities exist for their inclusion in CCl. 1015, none of which can be proven. Perhaps empty parchment leaves remained at the end of a gathering after the initial copying of the manuscript; these leaves may have been used later to either record chants or to practice

notational skills. If these manuscripts originated at a “workshop-style” scriptorium, there must have been some process in place there to train new scribes, and sources of valuable parchment, however small, would surely not have been wasted. Even so, the scripts in this section of CCl. 1015 are so wildly uncontrolled that their origin in a medieval scriptorium is doubtful; could a curious would-be copyist from several centuries later have tried his hand at medieval notation? These miscellaneous parchment leaves could also have been loose pages which were added to the rest of the manuscript during binding.

The binding of CCl. 1015 is not original to the main body of the manuscript; rather, it is contemporary with the bindings already described for the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners. The cardboard covers are decorated with turquoise, brown, and teal marbled paper, and the spine and corners are protected with brown leather. The gilt inscription on the spine reads “Liber choralis XX M.S. 1015.” The exterior measurements of the volume are 268 x 198 mm, and the thickness is 59 mm. The covers are each 4 mm thick. A specific arrangement of hair and flesh sides is obvious throughout the manuscript. There are seventeen apparent gatherings with lengths varying from five to twenty-one leaves. There is no evidence of insertions or deletions. Five stitching cords can be seen in the centre of the binding.

There are two front flyleaves. The first is paper with chain lines and a portion of a visible watermark (three semi-circular patterns much like the upper half of a *fleur-de-lis* extending outwards from the middle of the spine).²⁶ The second is the aforementioned parchment leaf which is numbered on the verso side as folio “1.” Light black ink in the centre of the recto side is illegible. This side shows some evidence of glue on its edges; it may have been a pastedown in an earlier binding. The verso side of this parchment flyleaf shows twenty lines of cursive German script in a sideways orientation. The large numbers “9 7 2” are written in pencil in the upper half. Pfeiffer's inscription in blue ink

²⁶A match for this partial watermark has not been found in the standard reference catalogues. Examples of *fleurs-de-lis* appear in Briquet, *Les Filigranes* as items 6714-7303. *Fleurs-de-lis* watermarks can also be found in Gerhard Piccard, ed., *Wasserzeichen: Lilie*, Findbuch XIII, Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1983).

can be seen on the front paper pastedown.²⁷ The back flyleaf and pastedown are paper with chain lines and a sword-shaped watermark which is positioned directly in the centre of the page.²⁸

The condition of the main body of the manuscript is fairly good considering the age of the volume. The contents of each folio are clear and easy to read, and the inks have maintained their true colour. However, every folio in the volume is damaged near the binding in the lower margin; this portion of the manuscript may have been consumed by mice. The semi-circular-shaped, tattered, and darkened edges in the lower margin extend upwards into the volume, and up to 18 mm of parchment is missing at the furthest point. It appears that this damage occurred before the volume was rebound, as the flyleaves are complete. Stitching repairs can be seen on ff. 8, 31 (pink thread) on f. 115 (yellow thread) and there is some damage to the front cover near the bottom. Holes or tears that have not been repaired occur in ff. 31, 66, 97, 115, 120, and 122. Even so, there is next to no worm damage (only two or three small holes near the outside edge in the margin). It must be noted, however, that the folio edges have been trimmed to some extent, as they are not completely even and show no trace of colour, so there may have been more worm damage on the outer edges which is no longer evident.

CCI. 1015 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS²⁹

*Ff. 2^r-194^r: Winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale**

(First Sunday of Advent to Holy Saturday, with several additional Offices)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Advent, beginning on f. 2^r; Nicholas, 12^v; Lucy, 17^v; Conception of Mary, 19^r; Christmas, 40^v; Stephen, 46^r; Silvester, 63^r; Epiphany, 68^v; Ferial Office, 77^v; Sebastian, 89^r; Agnes, 93^r; Conversion of Paul, 97^r; Purification of Mary, 100^r; Agatha, 104^r; Gregory, 108^r; Benedict, 112^r; Annunciation of Mary, 116^v; Septuagesima, 120^v; Ash Wednesday, 130^r; Palm Sunday, 157^r; Maundy

²⁷1/1; F. 194; 19/IV. 1928 H. Pfeiffer.

²⁸A match for this watermark has not been found in the standard reference catalogues. Images of swords are included in Briquet, *Les Filigranes* as items 5102-5160.

²⁹For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix VII.

Thursday, 165^r; Holy Saturday, 173^r; Catharine, 175^v; Corpus Christi, 181^r; Funeral Office, 185^v

v. *KLOSTERNEUBURG, AUGUSTINER-CHORHERRENSTIFT — BIBLIOTHEK, 1011*

RISM Siglum: A-KN 1011

The 247 parchment folios of the fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 1011³⁰ are arranged in conjugate leaves which measure 246 x 173 mm, with a principal writing space of 221 x 138 mm. The numbering of the folios is in black ink in modern arabic numerals in the upper right-hand corners of the recto sides, in a style similar to the other Klosterneuburg manuscripts. For the first portion of the volume, there are eleven lines of text on each folio side, with musical notation on five-line staves in the intervening spaces. Beginning on ff. 159 (the gathering marked “xvii”) and continuing to the end of the volume, the folios have been ruled with only ten lines per side. Like the younger Klosterneuburg antiphoners already described, the ruling of the staves is not dry-point, but rather has been executed with thin brown lines. Neither the height of the staves nor the spacing between staves on each folio side is uniform; the height varies between 13 and 15 mm, and the distance between the ruled systems varies between 5 and 7 mm. One extra line appears between staves as a guide for the text. The ruling extends only to the width of the frame, and guide holes are visible in the outer margins. The F- and C-lines have been traced with red and yellow; these inks have retained their brightness in this manuscript.³¹

The general appearance of the text and neumes is also similar to that found in the

³⁰CCl. 1011 was included as manuscript #266 in CAO, and as “Klo 5” in LeRoux’s study. It is listed in the handwritten library catalogue on page 537 of volume 6. It was filmed by HMML as Project #5983.

³¹In this source, particularly, it is noticeable that these coloured lines do not cross over or through any initials, nor do they interrupt any neumes. It is possible, then, to speculate on the order for the production of this manuscript: First the staves were ruled, after which the text was copied, the neumes were drawn, and the initials were added. Only after these stages had been accomplished were the F- and C-lines traced with coloured inks. At some point during the process, the rubrics were entered in the main body of the manuscript, as indicated by the cues for these instructions which appear rather inconspicuously in the margins of the manuscript in brownish-black ink, written in a more cursive hand with an extremely fine nib.

later group of surviving Klosterneuburg antiphoners. The Gothic script, which measures approximately 4 mm in height, has been written with a moderately wide nib in black ink which fades to brown in some places. The same ink is used for punctuation. The rubrics are in red ink, as are the majority of larger initials (see Illustration 13 for an example of a lengthy instructional rubric). The more highly-decorated larger initials sometimes incorporate blue ink with red, such as occurs on f. 1^r. The smaller initials are in red and black.³² The neumes, clefs, and marginalia (including differentiae) are in brownish-black ink; the same ink is used for the four-letter clefs typical of the notation in sources from Klosterneuburg. The use of pencil has been observed only for the numbering “1011” on the inside of the front cardboard cover.

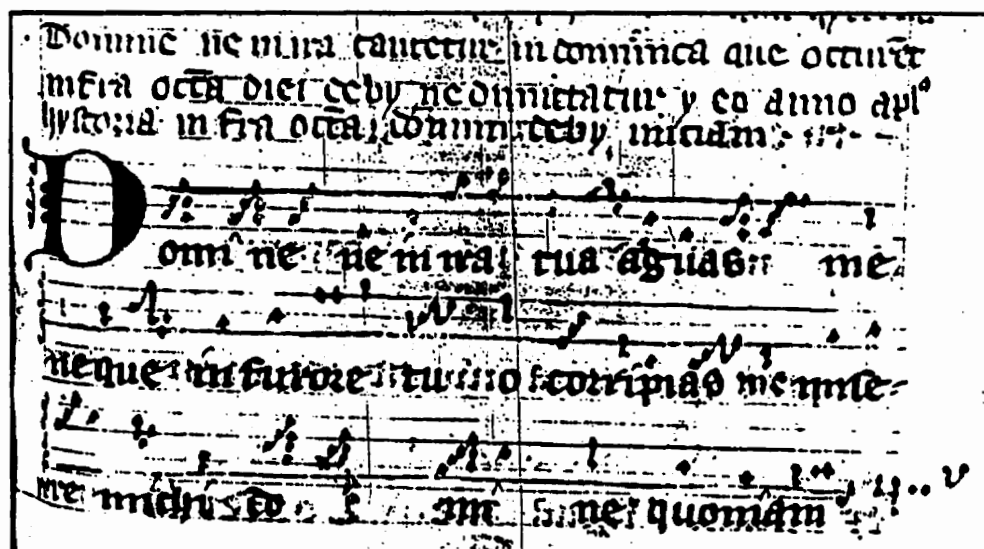


Illustration 13: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011, from f. 91^r*

The production of CCl. 1011 was clearly a collaborative effort of many scribes. The number of text hands in CCl. 1011 has not been determined owing to both the rapid frequency of scribal changes (detailed below) and the similarity of calligraphic styles in these multiple hands. The style of script used throughout the volume is generally similar

³²Different styles of initials can be seen every few folios; some instances of the more decorated initials appear on ff. 4^r, 19^v, 26^v, 41^r, 52^r, 61^r, 64^r, 100^r, 109^v, 110^r, 119^r, 120^r, 124^r, 130^r, 131^r, 139^v, 140^v, 141^r, 144^v, 145^r, 146^v, 148^v, 149^v, 154^r, 161^r, 162^v, 166^v, and 196^v.

in appearance to that found in the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners; for example, the lower-case letters feature Gothic minim strokes with rounded serif edges, and a generally round aspect with few angular components. Changes of hands are noticeable, therefore, by a narrower or wider spacing between the letters, a heightening or shortening of the minim stroke, the use of a wider or narrower pen nib, or by other such copying features.

The letters of the first hand are quite narrowly-spaced with an angular aspect and sharper edges than observed in the previously-described Klosterneuburg antiphoners. This script is used until the lower lines of f. 5^r. At this point, the text appears to have been copied with a wider nib, and the still Gothic letters are slightly wider in spacing; this gives them a rounder aspect. At least two hands copied the text on f. 7^r: a hand similar to the second text scribe provided the text on the first half of the side, and a third hand completed the remainder of the folio beginning at the chant *Leva Jerusalem*. This third text scribe continued to the top of f. 9^v, where a hand similar to the second scribe provided the text until the lower lines of f. 15^r (see Plate 18). The Gothic text of the fourth scribe has a rounder aspect than that seen so far in this volume. The minim strokes have more curved and even longer serifs as well as decorative, thin caudae which are appended to some of the lower-case letters (see, for example, the “f” at the top of f. 15^v). Subtle changes in scripts can be observed throughout the over 200 folios in the remainder of the volume. Some of the more obvious include: use of a wider nib on f. 17^r, a narrower stroke on f. 19^r, a wider spacing of letters on the lower line of 22^v, a return to the narrower spacing on 23^r, a more angular aspect and less elegant appearance owing to a lack of uniformity and horizontal alignment in the strokes on f. 24^r, wider spacing of letters in the middle of f. 40^v with a narrower, more angular script in the lower portion of the same folio, shorter strokes and a more elaborate lower-case “s” on f. 70^r, wider aspect on f. 70^v, narrower spacing on f. 90^{r-v}, narrower spacing in middle of f. 112^r, then a return to more moderate spacing in the lower half of 112^r, thicker minim strokes on f. 127^v, quite narrowly-spaced and smaller letters beginning in the middle of a chant at the word *reddir* in the top line of f. 150^r and continuing until f. 152^v (yet there is no change in the appearance of the ink compared with that on the surrounding folios). On f. 247^v, another

scribe has copied the last, added chants with a more angular aspect and quite sharply-pointed minims.

The style of notation appears to be fairly consistent within the main body of the first portion of the manuscript. This could conceivably be the work of either one scribe or a group of scribes trained in a similar production style. The notational style which appears in the first portion of the volume is typical of that found in the later Klosterneuburg manuscripts (more square or diamond-shaped noteheads, slanted ductus). Similar to those found in CCl. 1017, the caudae on the puncta in the first portion of CCl. 1015 are quite short and narrow; the pen-stroke given to these “tails” is not substantial in this source. A brief appearance of a different style occurs on the last line of f. 80^v and continues to the first four lines of f. 81^r. Here, the neumes have more substantial caudae and a noticeable diamond-shaped notehead with defined corners rather than the more rounded or oblong shape observed on the surrounding folios.

One of the more obvious changes in neume hands occurs on the bottom line of f. 133^v for the single responsory (and its verse) *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* (see Plate 19). This notation features a more vertical axis, angular strokes in the multiple neumes, and small noteheads which are more like the typical *Hufnagel* notation owing to the diamond-shaped puncta with long, nearly vertical caudae. This hand appears again on ff. 134^v to 135^r in lighter brown neume ink, and provides the notation for two responsories.

Another significant change in neume-hand begins on f. 229^r and lasts until near the end of the volume (see Plate 20); these neumes have more oblong-shaped noteheads, longer caudae, and appear much more like the notation of the earlier Klosterneuburg manuscripts (CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013; see Illustrations 4, 5, and 6 in the previous chapter) than those with the presumably later “Gothicized” neumes. The combination of these two distinct notational styles (“Gothicized Klosterneuburg” and “like twelfth-century Klosterneuburg”) seen in CCl. 1011 has been found elsewhere in the younger group of Klosterneuburg antiphoners, namely in CCl. 1017. There is an obvious connection between the introduction of this different style to the end of CCl. 1011 and its appearance in CCl. 1017 on ff. 72^r, 72^v, and 73^r (see Illustration 8); this provides further

evidence to support the notion that both notational styles were in use at the same time in the Klosterneuburg scriptorium. The colour of the neume ink in this portion of the volume is lighter brown, which may be merely the result of fading. Coincident with the introduction of a new text hand for the added chants on f. 247^v, a new notation hand has provided the neumes for these chants with a wider nib, a less-slanted ductus, and noteheads that are broader and more rectangular.

Until f. 30^v, the rubric hand appears close in style to the first text hand. On this side, however, a new hand has copied the text *In matutinis laudibus* (rather than just *Laudes* – i.e., a new style of rubric) in larger letters with wider spacing than previously observed. There are no other largely noticeable scribal changes in the rubrics, as most of these are provided throughout the volume in abbreviated forms of only a few letters.

The binding of CCl. 1011 is not original, but is contemporary with that of the other surviving Klosterneuburg antiphoners. The cardboard covers are decorated with marbled paper of light and dark brown with a green-black background, and brown leather covers the spine only. The plain inscription on the spine reads, “M. Liber Choralis XVI M.S. 1011.” The binding measures 245 x 186 mm, with a thickness of 69 mm. The covers are only 2 mm thick, and are worn, weakened, and flimsy to the extent that they have rounded away from the parchment folios. The folio edges are fairly even with no evidence of colour, but in contrast to the bindings of the other volumes, these leaves extend right to the edge of the cover, with no cardboard overlap. There are no chains, clasps, or ties, nor are there any pastedowns or flyleaves at either the front or back of the volume. On the inside of the front cover, Pfeiffer’s inscription in blue ink reads, “0/0; F.247, 19/IV, 1928. H. Pfeiffer.” The only other library identification is the inscription at the top of the first extant folio where “Bibliothecae Claustroneoburgensis sum inscriptus die 16 Sept. 1656” appears in extremely light brown ink.

The volume appears to contain twenty-two gatherings, which vary in length from

six to sixteen leaves.³³ An analysis of this structure is hampered somewhat by the tightness of the present binding; sewing is visible in the centre of the binding between only a few of the leaves of the volume. Some gathering signatures in lower-case Roman numerals in the lower margins remain extant despite some trimming of the leaves.³⁴ As CCl. 1011 is currently bound, there are two lacunae which existed before the folios were numbered. The first consists of one missing leaf after f. 93, which explains the lack of uniformity in the series of binding signatures (see note 34 of this chapter). Here, a portion of the end of Matins and the beginning of Lauds is missing from the ferial chants for Sunday. The second lacuna occurs after f. 143; only a stub remains at the centre of the binding. A rubric for Afra appears at the bottom of f. 143^v, but only two chants for the funeral Office appear on the next extant folio (f. 144^r) before the feast for the Conception of Mary begins on f. 144^v. Based on the contents and the incomplete chants at beginning and end, it appears that ff. 144-150 (Conception of Mary, some chants for Benedict) are an insertion into the main body of the manuscript.³⁵ In addition, several folios at the end of the volume were misbound: the correct order using the present numbering is ff. 242, 244, 243, 245, 246, 247.

In keeping with the state of the covers and binding, the condition of CCl. 1011 is fair. Many of the parchment folios contain holes around which has been written the text and neumes; this occurs, for example, on ff. 30, 34, 35, 49, 54, 55, 70, 105, 109, 119, 122, 164, 166, 172, 188, and 192. There is a tear in the upper margin of f. 118. and there

³³Folio 120 has a small cord tied through the top outside edge; this may have been added as a sort of marker for the mid-point of the volume. This folio, which occurs in the middle of the feast of the Purification of Mary is not a remarkable location, as it is not at the start of any liturgical season or occasion.

³⁴The visible gathering signatures include: “iiii” on f. 40^v, “vi” on f. 60^v, “vii” on f. 70^v, “viii” on f. 80^v, “ix” on f. 90^v, “x” on f. 99^v, “xi” on f. 109^v, “xii” on f. 119^v, “xiii” on f. 129^v, “xiiii” on f. 139^v, “xv” on f. 148^v, “xvi” on f. 158^v, “xvii” on f. 159^r (notice the change in format from numbering the centre of the last verso leaf to the left-hand margin of the first recto leaf), “xviii l’ sic xix” on f. 179^r, “xx” on f. 189^r, “xxii” on f. 209^r, “xxiii” on f. 219^r.

³⁵As there is no break in the numbering of the signatures around this apparent insertion, it is assumed that the signatures were numbered at some point after the chants for the Conception of Mary were added to CCl. 1011.

are stitching repairs on ff. 24, 66, 80, 93, 94, 96, 99, 108, and 163. The lower edges of the opening folios are rough and have a darker appearance than the others in the volume; the damage to these leaves is similar to that observed in CCl. 1015. Trimming has removed some of what appear to have been worm bores. These tiny holes are not generally found in the main body of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the trimming of several folios has also caused the loss of some marginalia and the last notes of some *differentiae*.

*CCI. 1011 SUMMARY of MANUSCRIPT CONTENTS*³⁶

Ff. 1^r-247^v: Winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*

(First Sunday of Advent to Holy Saturday, with several additional Offices)

Including, among other liturgical occasions: Advent, beginning on f. 1^r; Nicholas, 11^r; Lucy, 16^r; Christmas, 38^v; Stephen, 45^v; Epiphany, 78^r; Ferial Office, 90^v; *Lacuna*, after 93^v; Sebastian, 106^v; Agnes, 111^v; Conversion of Paul, 116^v and 151^r; Purification of Mary, 117^r; Agatha, 123^r; Gregory, 128^r; Annunciation of Mary, 132^v; Benedict, 138^v; *Lacuna*, after 143^v; Conception of Mary, 144^v; Septuagesima, 154^r; Ash Wednesday, 166^v; Palm Sunday, 204^v; Maundy Thursday, 216^r; Holy Saturday, 225^v; Catharine, 229^r; Corpus Christi, 235^r; Funeral Office, 240^v

³⁶For specific chants, refer to the index file of the manuscript contents in CANTUS format, included on diskette as Appendix VIII.

CHAPTER 5

“KLOSTERNEUBURG” NOTATION

Janka Szendrei writes, “The history of the 12th century musical script of the present-day Austria offers the most lucid examples of the separation of notations according to church establishments.”¹ Such appears to be the case for the many manuscripts and fragments generally believed to have originated in Klosterneuburg, including the eight antiphoners dating before 1400. These sources display great similarities and such unique notational characteristics, when compared to other chant notations from medieval western Europe, that the Klosterneuburg sources have been recognized as a unified group. For a number of decades, the term “Klosterneuburg notation” has been accepted as the common designation for the notational style found in sources now housed at Klosterneuburg, and scholars such as Dom Jacques Froger and Michel Huglo have adopted this term. For example, in the introduction to the facsimile of Graz 807, Froger supports the notion of a “notation of Klosterneuburg” that is unique to that monastery,² and in a 1990 bibliography of scholarship on chant notations, Michel Huglo distinguishes the “Notation de Klosterneubourg” from other Germanic notations.³

Despite the seeming acceptance of this terminology, however, there has recently been some debate in the literature concerning the origin of the so-called “Klosterneuburg” notational style, even though Stefan Engels comments that a notation of this type during that time from the area of southern-Germany is otherwise not represented.⁴ The

¹Janka Szendrei, “The Introduction of Staff Notation into Middle Europe,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1986): p. 317.

²Froger wrote, “... il existe bien une <<notation de Klosterneuburg>> à proprement parler, c'est-à-dire une variété de notation messine qui ne se rencontre, abstraction faite pour le moment de Graz 807, que dans ce monastère.” [Froger, p. 33*.]

³Michel Huglo, “Bilan de 50 années de recherches (1939-1989) sur les notations musicales de 850 à 1300,” *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990): pp. 241-242.

⁴“Eine Notation dieses Typs ist im damaligen süddeutschen Raum sonst nicht vertreten.” [Engels, p. 40.]

controversy surrounds the development of the “Klosterneuburgian” notational characteristics and the difficulties in explaining the rather odd dissemination of sources containing this notation. Such problems, however, appear to be typical in most studies of twelfth-century reformed notations, as Szendrei comments, “It is by no means easy to find one’s way in this extremely eventful period of the European history of notation which can be said to be revolutionary in many respects.”⁵ Regardless of the ongoing debate surrounding the status of Klosterneuburg as the originating scriptorium of the sources displaying this particular notation,⁶ the continuing use of the term “Klosterneuburg notation” will remain appropriate as a description of the place where the majority of the manuscripts which contain this notational style are now housed, at least until such time as an exact location for the originating scriptorium (whether it be Klosterneuburg or not) can be proven. For instance, Szendrei, an expert in chant notations, finds the term “Klosterneuburg notation” completely acceptable and in no way obsolete, in spite of recent proposals by other scholars to establish the provenance of some of the “Klosterneuburg” manuscript sources at another centre. These theories have simply not been convincing for her.⁷

Although it seems that as many different notations were current in western Europe as there were churches or monasteries, there are several types of notation that can be grouped together under the broader heading of “Germanic Notations.” The Germanic notational styles, particularly those used in the later Middle Ages, have long been recognized as distinct from the predominantly quadratic notations used in manuscripts

⁵Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 306.

⁶For more on this complicated matter, see Chapter Six.

⁷“Auf Grund des anhaltenden Klosterneuburger Gebrauchs dieser Notation halte ich diese Bezeichnung für annehmbar. Da die unlängst veröffentlichten Erörterungen von R. Flotzinger hinsichtlich der Herkunft des Manuskripts Graz 807 aus Passau St. Nikola nicht überzeugend sind, meine ich nach wie vor, daß der Begriff ‘Klosterneuburger Notation’ keineswegs obsolet geworden ist.” [Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” p. 18.]

from France, Italy, Spain, and England.⁸ The term “German neumes” encompasses a large number of slightly different forms of notation, all copied *in campo aperto* and generally found in earlier notated sources from the German-speaking orbit. “St. Gall neumes” are closely related, although there are many additional signs in St. Gall notation that are not found in German neumes. “Lorraine neumes,” also called “Laon notation” and formerly identified as “Messine neumes,” are thought to derive from notation found in manuscripts from Metz. Solange Corbin suggested the use of the term “Lorraine” to replace “Messine,” since “palaeographers now know that there was no early scriptorium in Metz.”⁹ Later Germanic notations on the staff have been labelled as merely “Gothic,” or provided with more specific designations such as “Ostlandisch”¹⁰ and “Hufnagelschrift.” “Hufnagelschrift,” translated as “hobnail-script,” is the most unusual and distinctive form of Gothic notation. Its name is owing to the shape of the virga which resembles a “hobnail.” The numerous styles of Germanic notations generally differ in the appearances of certain neume-forms, such as the virga (with or without episema), the pes (rounded or not), use of horizontal strokes (*puncta plana*) instead of points in the scandicus, and use of puncta rotunda in the climacus.¹¹ Szendrei believes that for the whole of Europe, “... the variety of notations prevailing in great abundance in the 12th century did not exist side by side in a state of variegated confusion but rather in a kind of order which coincided with the boundaries and the organization of the church

⁸According to John A. Emerson, “By the late tenth century, twelve to fifteen distinct families of musical notations had developed, each corresponding to a geographical zone in western Europe.” [John A. Emerson, s.v. “Plainchant,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 14, ed. by Stanley Sadie, (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 807.] These include such varied forms as square, Palaeo-Frankish, St. Gall, Old German, English, French, Breton, Lorraine (formerly identified as Messine), Aquitanian, Catalan, Visigothic, Beneventan, and North-central Italian.

⁹Solange Corbin, s.v. “Neumatic notations, IV, 4: Western Europe — Lorraine,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 13, ed. by Stanley Sadie, (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 137.

¹⁰Stefan Engels’s “Ostlandische Notation” and Gothic notation forms are closely related (and scarcely differentiated). [Engels, pp. 49-50.]

¹¹Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 305.

establishments making use of a given script.”¹²

At different times in German-speaking regions, the revolutionary staff notation of Guido of Arezzo (c. 995-1050) was introduced. Guido had taken the middle-Italian neume forms familiar to him and placed them onto coloured lines to show specific pitches. The obvious advantages of Guido’s staff in the written transmission of chant melodies prompted its adoption by scribes during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries in the majority of European liturgical centres. Although the introduction of the staff into most regions of central Europe (i.e., German-speaking areas) occurred later than in the west, owing to either a strong oral tradition, the conservative tendencies of the Germans, or other factors,¹³ German notators eventually did adopt the fundamental elements of Guido’s system. In following this notational revolution, however, the German scribes did not completely break the continuity of their notational tradition. They apparently refused to adopt the new square neume-forms used by their neighbours to the west; instead, German copyists independently modified their older neume-forms to represent specific pitches on the staff. In this way the ornamental neumes, such as the quilisma, were not lost in German sources as they were in western regions. Even so, their use in German sources is still questioned among modern scholars. Alexander Blachly writes, “It is equally possible that the retention of the neumatic shapes simply reflects a deep-seated conservatism on the part of the German singers: in other aspects, as well, German notation is conservative.”¹⁴

Since the earlier forms of Germanic notations were neumatic, without a staff, they were, therefore, of mnemonic function within a continuing oral tradition. This notation is not pitch-accurate as it provides only a guide for the direction of the melody (up or down)

¹²Szendrei, “Introduction,” pp. 305, 308.

¹³Some scholars have explained the reluctance to reform the notation with the notion that German neumatic signs were the least suitable for being placed on the staff. See, for example, Stäblein, *Schriftbild*, p. 57, and Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 306. This point has been disputed.

¹⁴Blachly, p. 94. The apparent “conservative nature” seen in the German chant and manuscript tradition will be discussed further in Chapter Twelve.

and the placement of the text with certain neumes. The specific intervallic movements within the chant melodies were, therefore, interpreted by the singers according to local traditions. This is an important point with respect to the so-called “Germanic Melodic Tradition.” Presumably, along with the retention of the neume shapes during the conversion to pitch-accurate staff notation, the centuries-old melodic traditions as sung according to local custom in the various liturgical centres were also maintained. Blachly writes, “all types of Germanic staff notation are used to preserve the Germanic dialect of pitches (only rarely the Romanic versions), whereas square notation is used almost exclusively for the Romanic dialect.”¹⁵ Blachly provides a rare example of the thirteenth-century gradual, *London, British Library, Add. 27921*, which is of German provenance notated in German neumes, but transmits the Romanic dialect. A similar case, though one that has been remedied with corrections to the pitches of the melodies, can be found in the palimpsest gradual believed to be from Klosterneuburg, Graz 807.¹⁶ If such a notational reform (i.e., staff notation) occurred independently of any controls over the chant melodies themselves, younger “German” manuscripts copied in staff notation should reflect the versions of the melodies as transmitted in the adiastematic neumes of the older sources. Unfortunately for modern research, the local melodic traditions as found in early neumatic sources are difficult to restore in pitch-accurate versions and even more onerous to prove if hypothetically reconstructed.

The adoption of the staff represented not only a break in the tradition of the written transmission of chant melodies, but also a change in the learning process. The impact of this change, however, would only have been experienced in monasteries and churches which had existed prior to the twelfth century. Many of the newer establishments were themselves part of the so-called “Gregorian” liturgical reform, and so would have adopted the new notation in their scriptoria as a matter of course. The introduction of the staff into chant notation has been recognized as one of the goals of the

¹⁵Blachly, p. 90.

¹⁶See Chapter One.

“Gregorian” reforms in the regions of southern Germany, Bavaria, and Austria. Facets of the church reform included the development of intellectual life, the promotion of the use of written records and lawfulness, the raising of the levels of schools, a rationalization of local customs (i.e., suppressing the Mozarabic rite in favour of the Roman, for example), and controlling and improving the liturgical singing tradition;¹⁷ Guidonian notation was favoured for the latter.

The staff notations introduced into the European scriptoria were susceptible to innovation, and local styles with varying degrees of uniqueness developed. In German-speaking regions, the earlier notational reforms occurred for the most part in the monasteries of the individual religious orders, such as the Carthusians, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and the Camaldolians in Italy.¹⁸ The notational styles of each of these monastic orders has a certain identity (special rubrics, for example), which is not found in sources from cathedral scriptoria. Taken further, a certain type of notation could be a representative feature of not only a monastery, but also of a diocese or other religious body. In a discussion of Hungarian notations, which also has relevance to the notations of other regions of Europe, Szendrei writes, “So in the 12th century a musical notation could become a token of identity for the establishments of the secular churches, that is bishoprics, chapters and parishes just as well.”¹⁹

Many of the diocesan organizations retained for some time the old neumatic notations, with the exception, of course, of the newly-founded or “reformed” houses, such as Klosterneuburg. This notational dialect, designated as “Klosterneuburg” notation, was modern and revolutionary in its own time, and can be viewed as a typical sign of the

¹⁷Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 308.

¹⁸“Die gregorianischen Reformen haben die Entwicklung der Schriftlichkeit im allgemeinen gefördert... Die neuen, von der gregorianischen Reformbewegung inspirierten Orden (Kamaldulenser, Zisterzienser, Prämonstratenser) haben die neue, guidonische Musikschrift kultiviert, und zu ihrer Verbreitung wesentlich beigetragen.” [Janka Szendrei, “Beobachtungen an der Notation des Zisterzienser-Antiphonars Cod. 1799** in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1985): p. 273, fn. 4.]

¹⁹Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 309.

reform of the Augustinian monasteries, since staff notation is not common in south-German or Austrian manuscripts as early as the twelfth century. Diocesan scriptoria (as opposed to monastic ones) did not generally adopt staff notation until at least the thirteenth century, and in many places, notators kept copying German neumatic script without a staff as late as the fourteenth century.²⁰ For example, Szendrei notes that some manuscripts from Passau which are fully readable (for melodic variants) date only from the end of the Middle Ages.²¹

“Klosterneuburg” notation is found in sources dating from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. It consists of a mixed form of southern German and Lorraine neumes on a staff of generally four lines, for which all are provided with letter-clefs. The use of these clefs is one of the most obvious and distinctive features of this notation.²²

The development of the so-called “Klosterneuburg” notational style has been traced by several scholars, notably Janka Szendrei and Stefan Engels. Even though St. Gall neumes predominated in much of Central Europe during the Middle Ages, it has been observed that various forms of “Lorraine” or “Laon” neumes (formerly identified as “Messine”) were occasionally adopted in preference.²³ Szendrei has specified that early staff notations in German-speaking regions owe much to the influence of Laon neumes, and several distinct (and sometimes hybrid) local styles, including that of Klosterneuburg, are evident in extant sources.²⁴ Both the relation of Klosterneuburg notation to Laon neumes and the apparent “uniqueness” of the notation in sources from Klosterneuburg were noted by Dom Jacques Froger in his introduction to the facsimile edition of Graz

²⁰Szendrei, “Introduction,” pp. 313-314.

²¹Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 314.

²²See the illustrations of portions of folios throughout the antiphoner descriptions in Chapters Three and Four and the plates of complete folios at the end of this volume.

²³Corbin, p. 133.

²⁴Janka Szendrei, “Choralnotationen in Mitteleuropa,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988): p. 437.

807.²⁵ The Solesmes school also identifies Klosterneuburg neumes as a variation of Laon forms.²⁶

In her enumeration of Laon features in “Klosterneuburg” notation, Szendrei includes the axis of notation which rises obliquely and descends vertically, the lack of differentiation between virga and punctum (both of which include a small stem to the left of the notehead), the form of the pes in which the higher note always turns to the right (see Plate 6, third text line, over “-pi-” of “concupitur”), and the cephalicus which resembles the Arabic number “9” (see Plate 6, eighth text line, over “con-” of “contra”). As for the pointed Klosterneuburg clivis (see Plate 6, third text line, over “ma-” of “marie”), it seems to Szendrei to derive rather from south-German than Laon neumes.²⁷ In a detailed description of the individual neume forms, Engels adds that the pes appears with an open, semi-circle base, the clivis employs a downward stroke with a rounded base, and the scandicus occurs in multiple forms.²⁸ Other neume-forms adopted from German neumatic notation rather than Laon include, for example, the strophici, pressus, pes quassus, oriscus, liquescences, and occasionally the virga.²⁹ The oddly-shaped “Klosterneuburg” quilisma has been remarked upon by a number of scholars.

The F- and C-lines of the staff are coloured red and yellow after Guidonian rules;

²⁵Froger emphatically restates his earlier comment, “Il existe donc bien une <<notation de Klosterneuburg>>, qui constitue une famille distincte parmi les notations du type <<messin>> dans les pays germaniques.” [Froger, p. 35*.]

²⁶“Notation messine de Klosterneuburg sur lignes à la pointe seche.” The Monks of Solesmes, *Le graduel romain*, vol. II, p. 53.

²⁷“*Die Klosterneuburger Notation* ... ist mit den lothringischen Notationen durch die Schriftrichtung (schräg aufsteigend und senkrecht abwärtssteigend), den Mangel an Differenzierung der syllabischen Grundneume (eine Abwandlung des Metzger Tractulus), die form des Pes (die zweite Note befindet sich immer rechts vom Stiel), den Scandicus und Climacus sowie durch den Cephalicus (der die Form einer arabischen Ziffer ‘neun’ hat) verbunden. Die ‘spitzige’ Klosterneuburger Clivis, die sich aus der Clivis der süddeutschen Neumenschrift unter dem Einfluß der Metzger Schreibweise lokal ausbildete, kann dagegen aus dem Zeichenbestand der klassischen Metzger Notationen nicht abgeleitet werden.” [Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” pp. 18-20.]

²⁸Engels, p. 40.

²⁹Szendrei, “Choralnotation als Identitätsausdruck,” p. 149.

these lines can also be added in-between if F or C falls in a space. It is interesting to find such strict compliance to Guido's system in sources dating from as late as the fourteenth century. Szendrei traces this tendency more to German rather than Lotharingian scriptoria.³⁰ There is no use of *custos* at the end of the line, and the *b rotundum* is generally in effect for entire lines, with a few exceptions.³¹

Despite the large number of sources which display "Klosterneuburg" notation, most of which reside in the Klosterneuburg library, Engels can only reliably prove that four codices were, in fact, written for Klosterneuburg: these are the fourteenth-century sources CCl. 999 (Hymnary), CCl. 1000 (Hymnary for the Frauenkloster), CCl. 995 (Processional), and CCl. 588 (Gradual-Sequentiary).³² The differences of opinion among scholars over the provenance of selected sources which display the notation identified as "Klosterneuburg" is owed primarily to the multiple occurrences of this notation in manuscript fragments from liturgical centres outside of Klosterneuburg. Scholars proposing an origin outside of Klosterneuburg believe that, since examples from other regions (primarily areas in southern Germany) show so-called "Klosterneuburg" features, this notational style cannot be tied exclusively to that monastery. Szendrei, for example, admits that the famous "Klosterneuburg" notation probably did not originate at Klosterneuburg.³³ Although the possibility exists that a scriptorium did not exist at all at Klosterneuburg but was located in another centre, it is probable that a scriptorium was first established somewhere else, and was later moved to Klosterneuburg. Such a theory has been put forward by both Engels and Flotzinger of a centralized scriptorium, perhaps begun at St. Nikola in Passau and later moved to Klosterneuburg, serving reformed Augustinian houses in the area of the Diocese of Passau. If this could be proven, it would

³⁰Szendrei, "Linienschriften," p. 20..

³¹Engels, p. 41.

³²Engels, p. 44.

³³Szendrei, "Choralnotation als Identitätsausdruck," p. 150.

explain both the survival of certain documents at Klosterneuburg and the dissemination in other areas of manuscript fragments displaying the so-called “Klosterneuburg” notational style, as described by several scholars including Stäblein,³⁴ Froger,³⁵ Engels,³⁶ and Szendrei.³⁷

The examples found to date of sources from outside the monastery of Klosterneuburg which display features of the so-called “Klosterneuburg notation” are:

- *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9921*, a twelfth-century compendium-type teaching manuscript from Ottobeuren, Benedictine use, with “Klosterneuburg” notation on ff. I and 54-57³⁸
- *Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 573*, a twelfth-century manuscript from St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, with “Klosterneuburg” notation ff. 19-25. These folios contain an Office for Udalricus following the monastic cursus.³⁹
- *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22025*, a twelfth-century antiphoner from Wessobrunn in the diocese of Augsburg, Benedictine use, with “Klosterneuburg” notation on the flyleaves⁴⁰
- *Wolfenbüttel 4641 (olim Gud. lat. 8° 334)*, an eleventh-century theoretical manuscript from Augsburg
- *Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek Cod. fragm. 53/1*
- *Augsburg, Ordinariatsbibliothek 15/a*
- a fragment from the Stiftsarchiv Reichersberg of an Antiphoner with sections of the Christmas Office and that for John the Evangelist⁴¹
- *Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. fragm. 53*
- the covering leaves of *Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a I 24*, a twelfth-century

³⁴Stäblein mentions merely that there are a number of fragments displaying this notation in Austrian and south-German libraries but does not identify particular manuscripts where a similar style of notation to that identified as “Klosterneuburg” is found. He writes, “... und eine Anzahl von Fragmenten österreichischer und süddeutscher Bibliotheken.” [Stäblein, MMMA I, p. 565.]

³⁵Froger, p. 34*.

³⁶Engels, “Die Notation,” pp. 43-44.

³⁷Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 315, fn. 35; Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” pp. 18 (fn. 8), 19, 21 (fn. 15), and 23.

³⁸See the facsimile of f. 54^v in Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” p. 19.

³⁹See the facsimile of f. 22^v in Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” p. 19.

⁴⁰See the facsimile in Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” p. 19.

⁴¹Engels, p. 43.

antiphoner

- *Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis LX*, the palimpsest antiphoner whose original notation, which dates from the twelfth century, was scraped off and replaced with Gothic notation.⁴² The appearance of the original notation is more like German neumes than the “Klosterneuburg” form, but there are similar elements, such as the pointed “Klosterneuburg” clivis and the cephalicus.⁴³

None of the above sources displays identical notation to that found in the three early antiphoners CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013, a fact recognized by Froger,⁴⁴ but there are striking similarities. For example, the four-letter clefs are distinctive, and some of the neume-forms have been identified as the mixed German-Lorraine type used in the Klosterneuburg sources. The characteristic clefs are also found in *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23037*, a twelfth-century noted breviary from Prüfening. However, this Benedictine manuscript was copied with German neumes rather than those of the “Klosterneuburg” type,⁴⁵ and so, is not included in the above list.

Many of the fragments listed above have been discussed in the literature, though questions concerning the provenance of these sources and their relationship to the extant sources with similar notation in the Klosterneuburg library have troubled scholars for many years. Szendrei writes, for example,

In Klosterneuburg a whole series of liturgical song books written in this reformed notation survive from the 12th century and this notation continued to predominate up to the end of the 14th century. Literature does not provide, however, any information on where the other contemporary remnants of the same notation originating not in Klosterneuburg were made.⁴⁶

These relics, which are fragments for the most part, are generally monastic sources (some

⁴²See the description of this source in Chapter Ten.

⁴³See the facsimile of f. 267^r in Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” p. 24, and the text on pp. 26-27.

⁴⁴“Si l’on compare ces 3 mss [Wolfenbüttel 464], Karlsruhe Aug. LX, and München 9921] à ceux de Klosterneuburg, on constate qu’aucun d’eux n’a tout à fait la même notation.” [Froger, p. 34*.]

⁴⁵See the facsimile of f. 240^r in Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” p. 23.

⁴⁶Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 315.

Benedictine) from the region of Augsburg's episcopate. No complete book displaying this notation is known outside of Klosterneuburg. As some of these examples are from theoretical tracts, at least these must have been prepared in scriptoria where music theory was cultivated on a high level. Szendrei, for instance, believes, "... that the notation called Klosterneuburgian evolved in a group of the Bavarian Benedictine monasteries much interested in music theory in the first half of the 12th century."⁴⁷ Szendrei suggests that the location of the original scriptorium may have been in Bavaria or present-day Switzerland rather than Austria,⁴⁸ but also confirms that this notation was used, at least for a time, at Klosterneuburg: "... it is established with certainty that this notation was applied in the monastery of the Augustine Canons of Klosterneuburg which, being considered as the chancellery of the ruling prince, was a cultural centre of particular importance in the 12th century."⁴⁹

Concerning the provenance of the sources containing this notation, it is certain that Graz 807 originated from an Augustinian monastery, probably within the Diocese of Passau. The art historian Eva Maria Buxbaum proposes Reichersberg, Ranshofen and Klosterneuburg as possibilities, based on relationships between the different styles of text, particularly in the initials.⁵⁰ Flotzinger believes that this manuscript, together with *Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, 13314* and CCl. 1010, 1012 and 1013 were copied at St. Nikola in Passau,⁵¹ but Szendrei does not find his arguments convincing.⁵² There may be some weight to Szendrei's criticism of this Passau theory, for Rudolf Wolfgang Schmidt made a comparison between the Klosterneuburg books and the missal.

⁴⁷Szendrei, "Introduction," p. 315.

⁴⁸Szendrei, "Introduction," p. 315.

⁴⁹Szendrei, "Introduction," pp. 314-315.

⁵⁰Eva Maria Buxbaum, "Neue Forschungsergebnisse zu einem musikhistorischen Schlüsselwerk aus der Romanik," in *Jahrbuch des oberösterreichischen Musealvereines* 137 (1992): p. 41.

⁵¹See Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft," pp. 57-80, and Chapter Six.

⁵²Szendrei, "Linienschriften," p. 18.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 23057, dated 1310 and certainly from St. Nikola in Passau, and found great differences.⁵³ Schmidt instead suggests that the Klosterneuburg sources have a closer connection to Reichersberg. Unfortunately, there are no manuscripts from this time-period preserved from Reichersberg with which to make a similar comparison.⁵⁴

Since “Klosterneuburg” notation is not a pure Laon form of notation, but rather a script that is derived from Lotharingian (i.e., Laon) neumes with some elements of German notation,⁵⁵ and since many of the southern German Benedictine monasteries retained their staffless neumatic notation later than the twelfth century, there remains the question of who the notational reformers actually were. Wolfgang Irtenkauf has hinted at the Hirsau congregation,⁵⁶ but Szendrei doubts this owing to the Einsiedeln-type of notation in many sources rather than that of Klosterneuburg.⁵⁷ One also wonders about the connection between the Bavarian Benedictines and the Klosterneuburgian Augustinians, and whether an international relationship was sustained owing either to their tendencies for modernization or, perhaps, the close political ties of the monastery with the Klosterneuburg ducal residence.

A new and convincing hypothesis is offered by Engels, which takes these difficulties into account. Although the idea is not new that there was a centralized scriptorium in the Diocese of Passau whose task it was to provide for all the newly-reformed monasteries new and specific manuscripts which corresponded to their respective local traditions, Engels links the Benedictine influences, the connection with

⁵³Rudolf Wolfgang Schmidt, “Die Frage nach der Herkunft des Cod. Vindob. palat. 13314 und die Problematik seines Sequenzrepertoires,” *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg N.F.* 12 (1983): p. 49.

⁵⁴Engels, p. 47.

⁵⁵“Die Schrift ist von der Lothringischen Notation abgeleitet, enthält aber auch Elemente der Deutschen Notation.” [Engels, p. 40.]

⁵⁶Wolfgang Irtenkauf, “Beiträge zur Einführung der Liniennotation im süd-west-deutschen Sprachraum um 1200,” *Acta Musicologica* XXXII (1960): pp. 33-39.

⁵⁷Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 316, fn. 36.

Passau, and the occurrences of fragments with “Klosterneuburg” notation in southern Germany all to Klosterneuburg through the eventful life of Hartmann von Brixen.⁵⁸

Hartmann was the first Provost of the monastery of St. Nikola in Passau. After working for a time as the court chaplain to Rudolf von Rheinfelden, he entered into the (soon-to-be) Benedictine monastery of St. Blasien in the Schwarzwald, where he became Provost. Later, he reformed the Benedictine monastery at Göttweig,⁵⁹ and for a time he was the Abbot of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, and then at St. Lambrecht in Steiermark. After that, he returned to St. Nikola for a time, became Provost in 1122 of the newly-ordered monastery of Augustinian canons at the cathedral in Salzburg, and in 1131 became Provost of Herrenheimsee before reforming Klosterneuburg in 1133. In 1140, he was named Bishop of Brixen.

In the course of his work and travels throughout southern Germany and Austria, Hartmann most certainly became familiar with staff notation in the reformed Benedictine monasteries. A comparison of the biography of Hartmann with the origin-places of the fragmentary manuscript sources listed above (i.e., those with the “Klosterneuburg” type of notation from outside of Klosterneuburg) shows much agreement. In addition, Hartmann would have been knowledgeable about German neume-forms, from which the “Klosterneuburg” mixed German-Lorraine notation is partly derived. Engels proposes that the location for this centralized scriptorium which produced manuscripts of differing chant traditions for use in monasteries in other areas could originally have been St. Nikola before the move to Klosterneuburg. He suggests the scriptorium stayed at Klosterneuburg even after Hartmann was named Bishop of Brixen.⁶⁰

Although Engels’s theory explains a great deal about both the style and development of “Klosterneuburg” notation and its possible originating scriptorium, this quandary is not completely solved. We are still left to wonder why, if Hartmann gained

⁵⁸Engels, p. 47.

⁵⁹Franz Karl Praßl, “Choralhandschriften österreichischer Augustinerchorherren im 12. Jahrhundert,” *Musicologica Austriaca* 14/15 (1996): p. 12.

⁶⁰Engels, p. 47.

some of his notational experience in the liturgical centres outside of Klosterneuburg where the fragments listed above now survive, why, indeed, are there only fragments? It seems unlikely that an earlier or even contemporary notation similar to the “Klosterneuburg” style developed at another centre and then petered out so quickly that there is little evidence remaining. If, on the other hand, Klosterneuburg was a central scriptorium empowered with the task of producing liturgical books for other monasteries, why are at least fragments showing this notation *not* found at all other reformed monasteries? Engels also raises the issue of the seven extant hymnaries in the Klosterneuburg library; these carry the shelf numbers CCl. 996, 1003, 1001, 1000, 997, 999, and 1004 and have been described by Stäblein.⁶¹ Engels asks, why were so many hymnaries copied for a single monastery, and, moreover, in different melodic traditions?⁶² Three of the hymnaries tend to follow the Romanic, or west-Frankish, version.⁶³ Even taking into account the nature of the double house at Klosterneuburg, this large number of manuscripts, some showing different traditions, suggests that the role of the originating scriptorium was that of a workshop to produce multiple copies of manuscripts. Why these books were not delivered (i.e., why they have remained at Klosterneuburg) is also a mystery.

Much of the earlier research on the form of German neumes identified as “Klosterneuburg” resulted from the publication of the facsimile of Graz 807 in the *Paléographie musicale* series. Many scholars who have dealt with the “Germanic Melodic Tradition,” including Smits van Waesberghe, Ebel, Sowa, Sidler, and Stäblein, have written on some aspect of Germanic notations in general. With the recent work of Szendrei and Engels, great research strides have been made into the field of the so-called “Klosterneuburg notation.” However, several scholars have commented on the state of

⁶¹Stäblein, *MMMA* 1, pp. 565-567.

⁶²“Warum aber sollten für ein einziges Kloster so viele Hymnare geschrieben worden sein, und noch dazu in verschiedenen melodischen Fassungen?” [Engels, p. 46.]

⁶³This will be discussed further in Chapter Eleven.

research into Germanic notations, the heading under which “Klosterneuburg notation” falls. In his 1993 handbook of western plainchant, David Hiley states, “Much work remains to be done on the regional varieties of Eastern notation. In particular, the situation in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland remains to be clarified.”⁶⁴ Several years earlier, and prior to many of her own publications on this subject, Szendrei wrote, “... it is very astonishing to realize how little research into the circumstances and the history of the southern German notational reform has been done.”⁶⁵ Even as recently as 1996, Engels has admitted that the study of this type of notation is far from concluded.⁶⁶

It is well understood, for example, that the adaptation of various German neume forms to the staff did not take place without alterations. However, within the mixed notations that resulted, Szendrei complains in her 1986 article that some of the neume forms had not yet been named.⁶⁷ Notational maps which have been constructed in several important studies on chant notation do not show changes in time along with geographical boundaries.⁶⁸ In addition, these maps usually end at the Vienna-Prague line. The article on neumatic notations in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, on the other hand, does not even include a map for the regions of present-day Germany, Austria, or areas further east.⁶⁹ Since there has been a great deal of debate in the last few decades over the issues of Germanic notations, the determination or confirmation of any “family” relationships among manuscripts from German-speaking lands, “im deutschen Sprachraum,” will be particularly important.

⁶⁴Hiley, p. 391.

⁶⁵Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 313

⁶⁶“Die Untersuchung dieser Schrift ist aber bei weitem noch nicht abgeschlossen.” [Engels, p. 48.]

⁶⁷Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 306.

⁶⁸See, for example, Dom Gregori M. Suñol, *Introducció a la Paleografia Musical Gregoriana* (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1925), and The Monks of Solesmes, *Le graduel romain*, vol. II.

⁶⁹Corbin, s.v. “Neumatic Notations, I-IV,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, cited above.

With respect to “Klosterneuburg” notation, the possibility of eastern influence is of great importance and must not be disregarded. Although Klosterneuburg and Vienna are within the eastern border of the region usually studied, a strong manuscript tradition was alive in regions further to the east of the political boundary. Although beyond the time-frame of this study, the war against the Turks and their siege of Vienna (and Klosterneuburg) in 1683 attests to the proximity of foreign peoples, and, thus, foreign influences. Several scholars have suggested that some of the manuscripts now attributed to Klosterneuburg were written by “out-of-town” copyists or foreign scribes, who brought with them their local chant and script traditions and, in turn, influenced the scribes at Klosterneuburg.⁷⁰ It is well known that the Augustinian canons at Klosterneuburg had many contacts in the later Middle Ages; it is certain that at least some of these “foreign” influences on the local scribes resulted in the mixed notational forms apparent in the extant manuscripts. According to Engels, the scribes from eastern parts of Europe were particularly influential, resulting in a mix of Gothic with Eastern-European notations; this is the source for Engels’s “Ostländische Notation.”⁷¹ Engels credits the eastern influence to an upturn in manuscript production in Bohemia during the second half of the fourteenth century, as well as to the many Catholic Bohemians (some of whom were monks) who fled to Austria through the Hussite wars.⁷² This event dates from a later period than the antiphoners under investigation here; even so, it may be helpful in determining the direction that “Klosterneuburg” notation took in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

THE NOTATION IN THE SURVIVING SOURCES

A comparison of the general attributes of the notation found in the eight extant antiphoners dating before 1400 in the Klosterneuburg library reveals three distinct

⁷⁰Engels, p. 49, and Lipphardt, “Studien zur Musikpflege,” p. 23.

⁷¹Engels, p. 49.

⁷²Engels, p. 50.

versions of “Klosterneuburg” notation. These styles each appear, at first glance, to correspond to subsequent temporal periods, like stages in an evolution from narrow, staffless, “accent” neumes to more typically “Gothic” figures. Numerous hands contributed to the production of these eight antiphoners. In the following summary of the three notational styles, changes in hands *using similar styles* are not of consequence and have not been noted. It is the mixing of the notational stages within individual manuscripts and the ensuing implications concerning the copying of these manuscripts and the environment of the originating scriptorium that are of primary importance here.

NOTATION “A”

In the older antiphoners, those dated to the twelfth century, the notation is comprised of the mixed form of German-Lorraine neumes described by Szendrei and Engels. The neumes found in CCl. 1010, 1012, and CCl. 1013 are typical of that identified as “Klosterneuburg” notation. These neumes have been drawn with a fine, narrow stroke, presumably with a small nib. The narrow, oblong-shaped noteheads of single neumes (without differentiation between puncta and virgae) resemble *puncta plana* as they are only marginally thicker than their preceding caudae (see Plates 1-7). The axis of notation is quite slanted upwards to the right for both single neumes and the ascending portion of multiple neume groupings. The neume groupings of descending pitch are drawn with a nearly vertical ductus. A rounded, upward, cursive stroke connects the caudae to their noteheads; often, a thin cauda is longer than the width of its adjoining punctum. Referring to the antiphoners CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013, Froger states that this early form of the notation is the most pure of those used at Klosterneuburg.⁷³

It is supposed by many scholars that CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013 were probably written in the same scriptorium, and perhaps by the same scribe who copied the gradual

⁷³“La forme la plus pure de la notation sur lignes pratiquée à Klosterneuburg est bien entendu celle que l’on trouve dans les mss les plus anciens...”. [Froger, p. 34*.]

Graz 807.⁷⁴ In her examination of the four sources Graz 807, CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013 for the introduction to the facsimile edition of Graz 807, Maria Mairoid formed this conclusion.⁷⁵ Pius Fank also examined these manuscripts for Dom Jacques Froger, and declared that Graz 807 was copied by the same scribe as CCl. 1012 and 1013.⁷⁶ According to Stäblein, the hymnary CCl. 1000 also contains the same notation as found in the antiphoners.⁷⁷

NOTATION "B"

An obviously related yet visibly different form of notation occurs in CCl. 589, 1015, 1018, 1011 in the second portion only, and 1010 in the marginal additions of *differentiae* on ff. 97^{r-v}, 98^{r-v}. This notation reveals more substantial, thicker noteheads than those of the "A" notational style (see Plates 10, 12-17, and 20). Long caudae still precede the neumes. The noteheads have also retained their curved top edges and round aspect, and are still oblong in appearance like those in the "A" group. The axis of notation still rises on an upwards slant to the right, and descends vertically. A thicker cursive stroke joins the pitches of multiple neume groupings, though the stroke is not as heavy as in the "C" notational style, described below.

NOTATION "C"

The third distinct form of "Klosterneuburg" notation can be seen in the first portion of CCl. 1011, the main body of CCl. 1017, and in the insertion of Invitatory Tones in CCl. 1018 (see Plates 18, 11, and Illustration 7). The noteheads in this "C" style, are square (rhombic, actually, owing to the slanted axis of notation) and have been

⁷⁴See the facsimile edition, cited above, as well as Plate 66 in Stäblein, *Schriftbild*, pp. 192-193. In the accompanying description, Stäblein demonstrates occurrences of the Germanic melodic tradition within the gradual.

⁷⁵Froger, in the letter from Maria Mairoid dated 17 May 1973, p. 38*.

⁷⁶Froger, in the letter from Pius Fank dated 19 May 1973, p. 38*.

⁷⁷Stäblein, MMMA 1, p. 565.

drawn with a thick nib. The caudae, on the other hand, are extremely thin, and are much shorter than in the notational styles labelled here as “A” and “B.” The angular stroke of the larger pen nib has resulted in a pointed tip for the puncta and a generally more-angular aspect than that of styles “A” or “B.” While the ascending axis of notation slants low, the “nearly-vertical” ductus of the descending pitches in multiple neume groupings of style “A” is here an absolute vertical drop; the pitches are clearly aligned on top of one another. Engels has stated that, during the fourteenth century, the thickness of the signs was cultivated to rhombus and square.⁷⁸ The Gothic tendencies expected in these later sources⁷⁹ are provided by a heavier pen stroke which gives a firm, unbroken inking.

It seems plausible to assume that these three notational styles follow one another chronologically as they progress from the shapes of German staffless neumes to Gothic notation; it is generally accepted that the then-common Gothic notation was adopted in scriptoria during the fourteenth century. This later style of notation certainly predominates in Klosterneuburg manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; its use is particularly obvious in manuscripts of the Chorfrauen, such as CCl. 1005 (a fifteenth-century processional with German rubrics), CCl. 961 (a fifteenth-century missal), and CCl. 973 (fifteenth-century varia, a compilation volume). This later notation is normally on four red lines with several clefs. Engels notes that exceptions do occur, as in CCl. 1005 where five black lines are used for the staff in the second part, with a letter-clef provided for each line.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ “Ab dem 14. Jh. werden die Verdickungen der Zeichen immer mehr zu Rhomben und Quadraten ausgebildet.” [Engels, p. 41.]

⁷⁹Hiley observes, “... from the thirteenth century, nearly all notations of the German Empire, i.e. much Lorraine territory, were affected by a change to what is known as ‘Gothic’ notation.” This was caused by the use of a thick, square-nibbed pen which favoured strict horizontals, diagonals, and verticals over curves and other delicate designs. [David Hiley, s.v. “Notation, III, 1: Western, plainchant,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol 13, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 347. See also Solange Corbin, *Die Neumen*, Palaeographie der Musik, Band I, Fasz.3 (Köln: Arno Volk Verlag, 1977) and Suñol, pp. 153-154 and 238-239.]

⁸⁰Engels, p. 49.

There are inconsistencies, however, in the “evolutionary” claim to these versions of “Klosterneuburg” notation: there is an unexpected intermingling of notational styles in some sources. The most interesting contradiction to a chronological arrangement of “Klosterneuburg” notational styles A, B, and C within the Klosterneuburg antiphoners dating before 1400, an occurrence that has not been explained in the literature to date, is the appearance in CCl. 1017 of both notations “A” and “C” side by side.⁸¹ The majority of the notation in CCl. 1017 appears stylistically similar to that found in manuscripts displaying style “C.” However, on ff. 72^v, 73^r, and 73^v, beginning mid-chant in a transfer of styles over unbroken text, the neumes appear like those of the “A” style, that of the supposedly older antiphoners. The scribal hand which copied the three folio sides in notational style “A” in CCl. 1017 was experienced and well practiced in that style of notation, unlike the scribes who copied miscellaneous chants at the end of CCl. 1015. That the secondary hand in CCl. 1017 appears similar to the notational style of the antiphoners and gradual dated a century earlier seems to be incongruous; it suggests that this manuscript was either copied during a transitional period in the scriptorium, or that two completely different styles of notation were cultivated around the same time and used interchangeably.

The occurrence in CCl. 1017 of notational style “A” brings into question the accuracy of dating the Klosterneuburg manuscript sources based on notational styles. Are the so-dated twelfth-century books as old as the founding of the monastery, or might they date from after the great fire in the early fourteenth century⁸² and merely preserve a more conservative notational style, the evidence of which appears on three folio sides of the later-dated antiphoner CCl. 1017? As tempting as it might be to suggest a later date for the antiphoners with “A”-style notation based on the occurrence of this same style in CCl. 1017, it should also be noted that the style of the text in CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013 is much different than that of CCl. 1017. The Carolingian minuscule in CCl. 1010, 1012,

⁸¹See the manuscript description in Chapter Four.

⁸²See note 13 of Chapter Six.

and 1013 is surely a feature to be dated earlier than the Gothic text found in CCl. 1017.

As might happen in any medieval scriptorium, it is not surprising that the occurrence of more than one scribal hand is not limited to CCl. 1017. Engels has observed the variety of hands which occurs in some of the manuscripts said to be from Klosterneuburg, and has suggested that there was no uniform tendency about the notation-school in the Klosterneuburg scriptorium.⁸³ Although Engels concludes that the antiphoners CCl. 589, 1010, 1012/1013, and 1017/1018 were not intended for Klosterneuburg owing to the fact that they do not contain the Ordinary chants of Klosterneuburg as documented since 1325 in the ordinals CCl. 1213 (dated to 1325 and copied for Deacon Perchtold⁸⁴) and CCl. 1014 (c. 1500),⁸⁵ Franz Karl Praßl argues that a lack of concordance among sources does not necessarily imply an origin outside of Klosterneuburg. Praßl believes that in the Klosterneuburg monastery, there were two notational traditions side-by-side: the men used staffless German neumes, and the women used a form of “Messine” notation on staff lines which really represented a mixed form between German and Laon neumes.⁸⁶ Taken one step further, if the Klosterneuburg scriptoria copied in different notational styles for each side of its house, one could suggest that the contents of the manuscripts for each side of the house could also have differed slightly. Presumably, if such a workshop served canonical houses within the entire Diocese of Passau, the copyists would have been familiar with numerous different local traditions and been capable of reproducing independent books. If Praßl’s theory of two

⁸³Engels, p. 39.

⁸⁴Stefan Engels, “Studien zur mittelalterlichen Liturgie im Stift Klosterneuburg,” *Heiliger Dienst* 3 (1996): p. 182.

⁸⁵“... sie sind aus diesem Grund nicht Klosterneuburg zuzuordnen.” [Engels, “Studien,” p. 187.] In another publication, Engels suggests, based on the liturgy contained in the antiphoners, that the “Klosterneuburg” antiphoners originate from an earlier time, likewise as the fragmented sources from outside Klosterneuburg originated. [Engels, “Die Notation,” p. 44.]

⁸⁶“Im Stift Klosterneuburg gab es nebeneinander zwei Notationstraditionen: die Chorherren verwendeten linienlose Deutsche Neumen, die Chorfrauen jedoch die ‘Metzer Notation’ auf Linien, die eigentlich einen Mischtypus zwischen Deutschen (z.B. Strophici) und Metzer (z.B. Unicus) Neumen darstellt.” [Praßl, p. 11.]

scriptoria (or at least two different but concurrent notational styles) at Klosterneuburg is accurate, it could explain the brief occurrences of appreciably different hands in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, such as the brief appearance of notational style “A” in the predominantly “C”-style CCl. 1017.

Admittedly, the differences between notational styles “B” and “C”, which both show Gothic tendencies, could be explained merely as the individual characteristics of certain scribes. There is no way to prove, for example, that the insertion of Invitatory Tones in CCl. 1018 in style “C” dates from a period later than the main body of the manuscript, copied in style “B,” or that the first and last portions of CCl. 1011, with their mixture of “Klosterneuburg” and Gothic notations, date from different times.⁸⁷ With respect to variants in copying, Engels makes an interesting observation about the rituale now known as CCl. 628 (168 parchment leaves, measuring 330 x 240 mm): based on two passages in the volume where the same melody has been written by different scribes, one can see that the use of neumes is not identical, but the same melody is expressed. This shows that the scribes did not follow a written model, but relied on hearing and memory to record the chants.⁸⁸ It appears that the characteristic most representative of the Klosterneuburg scriptorium was an open-mindedness and ready acceptance of new ideas.

⁸⁷Engels admits that the contents of CCl. 1011 cause difficulties in its placement within the chant tradition at Klosterneuburg. [Engels, “Die Notation,” p. 52.]

⁸⁸“Dies belegt einmal mehr, daß die Neumatoren in dieser Zeit meist nicht nach einer Vorlage gearbeitet haben, sondern nach dem Gehör bzw. dem Gedächtnis.” [Engels, “Die Notation,” p. 38.]

CHAPTER 6

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

I. THE PROVENANCE OF THE “KLOSTERNEUBURG” SOURCES

Although studies of the notation used in manuscripts to record chant melodies can often elucidate issues of manuscript provenance, there has been a lively exchange in recent scholarship concerning the places of origin, the intended applications, and the actual uses of the wide repertory of neumed chant-manuscripts both preserved in the library at Klosterneuburg or thought to have originated in that monastery. The provenance of selected manuscripts, including that of the eight earliest antiphoners has been debated at length in the literature. The great variety of opinions can be seen, for instance, in the theories put forward concerning the Gradual-Sequentiary-Sacramentary now in Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek as Codex 13314 (German neumes, 219 parchment folios, 187 x 130 mm). This manuscript has been placed by various scholars in Passau,¹ Seckau,² St. Florian,³ Reichersberg, and Suben, in addition to Klosterneuburg.⁴

In his engaging study of the so-called “Klosterneuburg” notational style, Stefan Engels admits that the surviving manuscripts provide a somewhat confusing picture for

¹An origin in the church of St. Nikola in Passau has been suggested by Flotzinger in the article, “Zu Herkunft,” pp. 57-80.

²Walther Lipphardt places this manuscript in Seckau in the article, “Musik in den Österreichischen Klöstern,” p. 55, but had located it both at Suben and Reichersberg in earlier publications. It is known that Klosterneuburg maintained close connections with Reichersberg, but liturgical manuscripts from the Middle Ages do not survive from there, so, unfortunately, no comparisons can be made between these two centres. See Engels, “Die Notation,” p. 35.

³Seckau or St. Florian were proposed in the *Analecta Hymnica*, as cited by Engels, “Die Notation,” p. 35.

⁴Klosterneuburg is the origin for this manuscript according to Schimdt, p. 55, and Franz Karl Praßl, “Psallat Ecclesia Mater. Studien zu Repertoire und Verwendung von Sequenzen in der Liturgie Österreichischer Augustinerchorherren vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert” (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Graz, 1987), pp. 257-259, and 357-363.

researchers.⁵ The oldest neumed manuscript which the library possesses is the so-called "Prayerbook" of Leopold, CCl. 987, dated to the eleventh century (i.e., prior to the establishment of the Klosterneuburg monastery). CCl. 987 has 204 parchment leaves measuring 270 x 200 mm and contains a psalter and the Office for the Dead whose chants have been notated with German neumes. The notation for the Office, in a style which corresponds to that found in eleventh-century manuscripts from southern or middle Germany, has added rhythmic signs similar to those found in the early notated sources from St. Gall and Einsiedeln. Although Engels admits that the origin of this manuscript is unclear,⁶ he supposes, on the basis of the old High-German dialect in the prayers of the last leaf, that Agnes brought this psalter with her into the marriage to Leopold III, since the dialect suggests that the book originated in the area around Hildesheim.⁷ In addition, the rhythmic indications in the notation, though not as numerous or wide-reaching as those in the Hartker antiphoner, for example, do not generally appear in manuscripts of lower Austria.⁸ The oldest neumed manuscript whose origin at Klosterneuburg has been securely placed is the Gradual-Sequentiary-Sacramentary CCl. 73 (204 parchment folios, measuring 380 x 275 mm), dating from the end of the thirteenth century. Engels has confirmed that the four music scribes who contributed to this volume also copied other manuscripts which are now housed at Klosterneuburg and believed to have originated there, including CCl. 40, CCl. 628, and another fragment.⁹

In his appraisal of the other extant Klosterneuburg manuscripts, Engels, following

⁵"Der Bestand der Stiftsbibliothek Klosterneuburg enthält ein breites Repertoire an Gesangshandschriften mit Neumen und Noten, das in seiner Vielfalt für den Forscher ein oft verwirrendes Bild ergibt." [Engels, "Die Notation," p. 33.]

⁶Engels, "Die Notation," p. 33.

⁷Engels, "Die Notation," p. 34.

⁸Engels, "Die Notation," p. 34.

⁹Engels, "Die Notation," p. 38.

Rudolf Flotzinger¹⁰ and Leo Schabes¹¹ (who cites Fischer¹²), speculates that no twelfth- or thirteenth-century neumed manuscripts from the men's convent at Klosterneuburg have been preserved owing to a catastrophic fire in the early fourteenth century.¹³ Both Engels and Flotzinger propose that all the surviving neumed manuscripts dating from this early period are from the neighbouring women's convent.¹⁴ This theory is owing, in part, to the instances of German rubrics contained in a number of the Klosterneuburg manuscripts. Earlier this century, it was thought that the inclusion of vernacular instructional texts in chant manuscripts demonstrated provenance in a women's convent.¹⁵ However, in consideration of the relatively poor state of Latin scholarship by the later Middle Ages, such a conclusion is uncertain. Concerning the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, it should be noted that the instances of German vernacular text are infrequent and placed among many other standard Latin rubrics.¹⁶ However, inscriptions in German can be found in some

¹⁰Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft," pp. 57-80.

¹¹Leo Schabes, *Alte Liturgische Gebräuche und Zeremonien an der Stiftskirche zu Klosterneuburg* (Klosterneuburg: Volksliturgisches Apostolat, 1930), p. 7.

¹²M. Fischer, *Merkwürdigere Schicksale des Stiftes und der Stadt Klosterneuburg*, vol. I, pp. 157-160, as cited by Schabes, p. 7.

¹³Varying dates are supplied in the literature for the fire which devastated the town and monastery of Klosterneuburg. The year is given as 1320 in Schabes, p. 7, Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft," p. 61, and Engels, "Die Notation," p. 34; 14 September 1322 is given by Ferdinand Hoßfeld in "Die Stadt im Wandel der Zeiten" included in *Klosterneuburg Stadt und Stift*, ed. by Ludwig, p. 12, as recorded in the "Kleinen Klosterneuburger Chronik" whose tradition does not extend earlier than the sixteenth century (see Černík, *Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift*, p. 17); 13 September 1330 is provided by Röhrig, p. 36, and by Černík, pp. 17-18. Černík provides the account listed in the Austrian *Annalen*: "1330 ... *Item eodem anno in primis vespere Exaltacionis sancte crucis [14 September] ecclesia Neumburgensis grave et intollerabile damnum est perpessa, eo quod ambo monasteria tam dominorum quam dominarum non proprio igne, sed per incendium aliunde, videlicet in civitate, exortum, in cinerem et favillam sunt redacta, temporibus domini Stephani, qui anno subsequenti claustrum desolatum laudabiliter reformavit.*"

¹⁴Engels, "Die Notation," p. 34, following the suggestion of Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft," p. 61.

¹⁵Eva Badura-Skoda remarks on the use of German instructions in chant books for women's houses in the article "Klosterneuburg," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol.7, ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958): col. 1245.

¹⁶German rubrics are found intermittently on the leaves of CCl. 589, 1012, 1015, and 1018. See the manuscript descriptions in Chapters Three and Four.

sources; these provide more convincing evidence of the possession of certain manuscripts by the women's convent. For example, based on the inscription "Das puech ist vnser lieben frawn gotes haws zw klosternewburgk vnd gehort yn das frawnkloster" on f. 1^v of CCl. 1000 (the Klosterneuburg hymnary dating from 1336 which is transcribed in vol. 1 of *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*), Bruno Stäblein assigns this manuscript to the women's house.¹⁷

Those following Engels and Flotzinger assume that the oldest liturgical manuscripts of the men's convent (i.e., those used at the monastery since its refounding by Leopold III) were burned in the fire; the surviving fourteenth-century manuscripts are presumably their replacements. It is known that Stephan of Sierndorf, the Provost from 1317 to 1335, commissioned certain works of art to be made following the fire, such as six additional plaques for the "Verdun altar."¹⁸ On the other hand, there are several manuscripts dated to the twelfth century, both with and without notation, that do survive at Klosterneuburg. Either these manuscripts were "out-of-town" at the time of the fire (this following Flotzinger's hypotheses on the origins of Graz 807¹⁹), they date from a later period despite their early features, or the fire did not completely ravage either the library or the location of these manuscripts at the time of the blaze, whether that was the sanctuary, another building, or in the cantor's hands. In his account of the survival of certain manuscripts, Engels surmises that the Klosterneuburg fire destroyed only the area of the library in the men's convent where the noted books were kept.²⁰ However, with this remark, Engels makes reference only to twelfth-century manuscripts without notation; his speculation does not adequately explain the survival of the three twelfth-

¹⁷Stäblein, *MMMA* 1, p. 565. In making this assignment, Stäblein also relies on the history of Klosterneuburg written early in this century by Albert Starzer. [Albert Starzer, *Geschichte der landesfürstlichen Stadt Klosterneuburg* (Klosterneuburg: 1900), pp. 388 ff.]

¹⁸*Convent of Klosterneuburg*, pp. 7, 29.

¹⁹Flotzinger, "Zu Herkunft," pp. 71-76.

²⁰"Auf der anderen Seite sind uns ja eine Anzahl von Klosterneuburger Codices aus dem 12. Jh., wenn auch ohne Notation, erhalten. Der Brand hätte dann nur die Bereiche der Bibliothek erfaßt, in denen die notierten Bücher aufbewahrt waren." [Engels, "Die Notation," p. 46.]

century antiphoners with notation, CCl. 1010, 1012, and 1013. Finally, one wonders what the extent was of the damage to the women's church resulting from this fire which, according to all accounts, devastated both the monastery and the town of Klosterneuburg. Were the chances of manuscript survival any higher at the women's church, St. Maria Magdalena, than at the men's church?

With respect to the survival at Klosterneuburg of only a few early sources, one wonders, too, what effect the resistance to an ever-strengthening and encircling Protestantism during the sixteenth century had on the library collection of, by then, "ancient" manuscripts. By 1528, Lutheranism in Austria (and the strongly political character it assumed there), was already so widespread that the Emperor was obliged to visit every monastery in the land.²¹ The results from this tour were astonishing: all but one Austrian monastery had succumbed, more or less, to "heretical thoughts." The single Austrian monastery which still held fully Catholic beliefs was Klosterneuburg under the leadership of Provost Georg II,²² in spite of the fact that the town of Klosterneuburg was already at that time considerably Protestant.²³ However, another imperial visit in the year 1563 showed a decline in the number of Klosterneuburg monks to only seven; the economy of the monastery was "katastrophal."²⁴ Floridus Röhrig observes that by the mid-sixteenth century, both the monastery and the town of Klosterneuburg had almost completely been overtaken by Protestantism:²⁵ the nearby parish of St. Martin was purely Lutheran, complete with married clergymen, and the Klosterneuburg women's convent.

²¹Röhrig, p. 59.

²²Černik, *Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift*, p. 34.

²³"Die Stadt Klosterneuburg was damals gewiß schon weitgehend protestantisch ...". [Röhrig, p. 59.]

²⁴Röhrig, p. 62.

²⁵"Klosterneuburg war fast ganz zum Protestantismus übergegangen." [Röhrig, p. 62.]

which had numbered thirty-two sisters in 1322,²⁶ was closed in 1568 upon the death on 20 March of its last nun, Apollonia Khatzler.²⁷ A restoration of Catholicism began only in 1577 with the appointment of a new Provost by the Emperor; he removed from the monastery the monks with Lutheran leanings and sought to strengthen the Catholic beliefs in the others. An eventual renewal of the men's convent occurred during the years following the Counter-Reformation, but one can speculate on the effect that fifty years of religious instability could have had on the Latin chant tradition as contained in early manuscripts.

It is generally believed that the women's convent and its church, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, were founded at about the same time as the men's convent. Schabes suggests that the church of St. Maria Magdalena was probably as old as that of the men's convent, and was often the destination of processions.²⁸ Hartmann Zeibig writes that the canonesses of the women's cloister followed Agnes,²⁹ and Ferdinand Schönsteiner confirms that Agnes contributed financially to the establishment of the women's convent. Schönsteiner suggests a date of founding between 1133 and 1136 while Margrave

²⁶Gelegentlich einer Visitation durch Bischof Albert von Passau 1322 wurde ein numerus clausus von 32 Schwestern festgesetzt. In der Reformationszeit verfiel das Kanonissenhaus und ging im Jahre 1568 ein. Die letzte Chorfrau war Apollonia Katzler. Die Klosterkirche St. Maria Magdalena wurde 1722 exekriert und zu profanen Zwecken verwendet." [Ferdinand Schönsteiner, *Die kirchlichen Freiheitsbriefe des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg, vol. VII (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1915), p. 70.]

²⁷Černík, *Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift*, p. 36.

²⁸"In Verbindung mit dem oben erwähnten Konvent der regulierten Chorfrauen stand die Kirche der hl. Maria Magdalena, die wahrscheinlich eben so alt ist wie die Stiftskirche und oft das Ziel von Prozessionen war." [Schabes, p. 36.]

²⁹"Aber schon in J. 1114, u. z. am 12. Juni, wurde auf dem von dem Grafen von Kling eingelösten Grunde der Grundstein zu der noch bestehenden Stiftskirche gelegt, u. z. durch den Propst Otto, da Leopold denselben zu legen in christlicher Demuth sich standhaft weigerte. Zugleich begann der Bau des Fürstenhofs und des Frauenklosters, als dessen Stifterin der Tradition nach Agnes erscheint." [Zeibig, p. XVIII.]

Leopold III was still alive.³⁰ Unfortunately, neither the precise year of the founding nor the date of consecration for the women's church is known. With respect to such details, the dates of church dedications compared to the placement of these feasts in surviving manuscripts, as they would have been celebrated annually on the anniversary, provide valuable indications concerning manuscript provenance. The feast for the Dedication of the Church falls appropriately in CCl. 1012, 1018 and 589 (those manuscripts that record the chants for the summer) for the church of the men's convent "Maria Geburt" (the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary), which was dedicated on September 29, 1136. The chants for the Dedication of the church occur in those manuscripts between the Offices for Maurice (September 22) and Michael (September 29). However, it must be noted that in CCl. 1012, a single chant to commemorate Cosmas and Damian (September 26 or 27) occurs *after* the chants for the Dedication. This single commemoration could be out of place, or it could have been intended for the octave or during the octave of their feast day. However, the correct position of this chant cannot be discounted: perhaps the dedication of the women's church "St. Maria Magdalena" fell shortly before that of the men's church.³¹ If this were the case, these manuscripts could conceivably have belonged to the women's convent. Too little is known about the Klosterneuburg women's church, and it appears that neither of the two churches' dedicatees provides any clarity to the matter of reconstructing the uses of these manuscripts within the Klosterneuburg monastery with respect to their placements of the chants for the Dedication Offices. For instance, though in the same month, the consecration of the men's church, which was named in honour of the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, does not coincide with the date for the feast of the

^{30a}Als der selige Hartmannus im Jahre 1133 die regulierten Chorherren zu Klosterneuburg eingeführt hatte, betrieb er, dem Zuge der Zeit entsprechend, auch die Gründung eines Frauenstiftes, zu dessen Finanzierung die Markgräfin Agnes beigetragen haben dürfte. Die Gründung fällt noch in die Lebenszeit des Markgrafen Leopold des Heiligen, also in die Zeitspanne 1133-1136." [Schönsteiner, p. 70.]

³¹Froger briefly raises this point, and comments that CCl. 1012 was, perhaps, destined for the women's convent in the same manner as were a number of hymnaries. [Froger, p. 33*.] The seven hymnaries which belonged for a time to the women's house are described by Stäblein in MMMA I, pp. 565-567.

Nativity of Mary, which occurs in the Roman calendar on September 8. In addition, although the date of consecration of the women's church, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, remains unknown, the chants for the Dedication of the church as found in the extant manuscripts, do not suggest a date near her feast, which is celebrated on July 22.

It complicates matters further that the gradual Graz 807, which is believed to be from Klosterneuburg, records the feast for the Dedication of the church between the Purification of Mary (February 2) and the feast for Agatha (February 5). Although the provenance for this gradual has not unequivocally been proven, the occurrence of a different Dedication date than that of any of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners raises many questions, some of which have already been pondered in other studies. For instance, one wonders if the Dedication date in February might actually be that of the women's church. If this were the case, the gradual may have been copied at the Klosterneuburg scriptorium for use in that half of the house. Other speculations include: 1) the gradual could have been prepared for a different house but retained for some reason at either side of the Klosterneuburg monastery, 2) the Klosterneuburg antiphoners with German rubrics may have been initially prepared for the men's convent and then transferred to the women's side, with the vernacular text being a later addition, 3) the Dedication dates for the men's and women's churches at Klosterneuburg may have been identical; this would have allowed for either side to make appropriate use of the antiphoners, but not the gradual, 4) the antiphoners could have been intended for another house whose Dedication date coincided (within a few days) with that of Klosterneuburg's, 5) perhaps the gradual was not associated at all with Klosterneuburg.³² Unfortunately, the possibilities are numerous and the substantiated data are scarce.

If indeed these manuscripts were written by, written for, or used by the nuns in the neighbouring women's convent, it is assumed that they became the property of the surviving men's convent in the latter half of the sixteenth century, after the closure of the women's house in 1568. Inscriptions on the opening folios of several of the antiphoners

³²See Flotzinger's conclusions on the provenance of Graz 807 being the church of St. Nikola in Passau, in "Zu Herkunft," pp. 57-80.

provide some possible evidence of such a transfer. For example, “Can: Reg: Claustronwb. Bibliothecae inscriptus 18 Sept. 1656” is inscribed in the upper margin of f. 1^r of the twelfth-century antiphoner CCl. 1010. Other manuscripts are inscribed with similar dates. The writing of these inscriptions suggests either a reorganization or recataloguing of existing materials in the monastery library in that year, or it might provide evidence that these manuscripts were new acquisitions at that time. In any case, the argument that these manuscripts were taken over from the women’s convent would be more convincing if the difference between the dates of the closing of the women’s convent and the inscriptions in the manuscripts were less than eighty years.

II. THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE SURVIVING ANTIPHONERS DATING BEFORE 1400

Detailed analyses of both contents and styles of production have revealed some interesting relationships among the eight extant Klosterneuburg antiphoners dating from before 1400. With respect to this research, it is generally accepted among scholars that it is unrealistic, nearly impossible in fact, to create stemmata of extant medieval chant manuscripts. Even between sources with identical appearances and contents, an uncertain number of intermediary steps are always a possibility in the production of manuscript copies. Therefore, although surprising similarities exist among some of the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation, it is not the intent here to provide a complete stemma of these sources. Rather, some of the more interesting features observed during manuscript comparisons will be detailed, and some possible associations between certain antiphoners in this group will be noted.

The most striking feature among the Klosterneuburg antiphoners which record the chants for the *pars hiemalis* (i.e., CCl. 1010, 1011, 1013, 1015, and 1017) is a certain uniqueness in the contents of CCl. 1013, as opposed to a relative uniformity in the other four antiphoners. Aside from small textual variants such as the replacement of “*orbem*” (CCl. 1010, 1011, 1015, 1017) with “*terra*” (CCl. 1013) in the antiphon sung on Tuesdays during the year, *Auribus percipite qui habitatis orbem* (CAO 1533), CCl. 1013 presents

several liturgical items not found in the other four antiphoners. For example, of the several tropes included in these manuscripts, CCl. 1013 is the only antiphoner to record the Epiphany prosa *Quem non prevalent*.³³ As well, the version of the Easter drama in CCl. 1013 differs markedly from that found in the other Klosterneuburg Easter feasts.

THE EASTER DRAMA: THE *VISITATIO SEPULCHRI*

The majority of liturgical dramatic works surviving from the Middle Ages is concerned with the visit of the Marys (either two or three are specified) to the empty tomb on Easter morning and the declaration by the Angel (or the Angels) of the Resurrection. William Smoldon labelled these items as “music-dramas,” since all the texts were sung and many of the rubricated instructions include details for costuming, props, and actions. He wrote, “In the best of the music-dramas there were conscious artists at work, highly equipped technically, and exercising their art with a grace and sophistication which is even to this day remarkable.”³⁴

It is generally believed that the presentation of the drama known as the *Visitatio sepulchri* (The Visitation of the Tomb) began in the mid-to-late tenth century as an unofficial item, troped into the regular Easter liturgy. The first written versions of the texts are only a few sentences in length; these items were probably not dramatized. In the earliest sources, the *Visitatio* is found as a preface to the Introit of the Easter Mass. The *Visitatio* took on a more dramatic form when the texts were transferred to the Office; the usual placement of the *Visitatio sepulchri* drama, as seen in three of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, is between the last responsory of Easter Matins and the concluding hymn *Te deum laudamus*.

Smoldon noted that liturgical dramas of all types flourished through the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, but that they were generally in decline by the fourteenth

³³See Chapter Seven.

³⁴William L. Smoldon, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, ed. by Cynthia Bourgeault (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 9.

century with the exception of the *Visitatio* play;³⁵ this drama continued in monasteries, cathedrals, and even larger town churches in varying degrees of elaborateness. He wrote, “These plays continued to be performed, it would seem, until well into the sixteenth century, mostly in Germanic regions.” These performances were halted by the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) against extra-liturgical items.

For many years, the mainstay of research into liturgical dramas has been Karl Young’s two-volume work, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*.³⁶ Although this is a literary study, Young often indicates in footnote references whether or not notation is provided in the manuscripts surveyed. Included within Young’s chronological portrayal of the development of the *Visitatio sepulchri* drama are the seven texts from Klosterneuburg sources first published by Hermann Pfeiffer³⁷ in 1908.³⁸ Since the early twentieth century, owing in part to the preliminary research of Hermann Pfeiffer, the monastery of Klosterneuburg has been recognized for its multiple extant manuscript sources which preserve the *Visitatio sepulchri*. Further researches by Walther Lipphardt³⁹

³⁵Smoldon, p. 12.

³⁶Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933).

³⁷Hermann Pfeiffer, “Klosterneuburger Osterfeier und Osterspiel,” *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* 1 (1908): pp. 1-56.

³⁸See, for example, Young, pp. 317-18, where he gives the similar versions preserved in CCl. 1021 (Klosterneuburg Benedictionale, c.1350, ff. 60^v-61^r) and CCl. 629 (Klosterneuburg Benedictionale, c.1330, ff. 103^v-105^r) as found in Pfeiffer, pp. 17-19. On pp. 329-30, Young records the texts found in CCl. 1213 (Klosterneuburg Breviary, 1325, ff. 83^r-83^v) as found in Pfeiffer, pp. 17-19, and the similar version found in CCl. 635 (Klosterneuburg Ordinale, fourteenth century, ff. 57^v-58^r). The German vernacular hymn *Christ ist erstanden* is contained in this version after the *Te deum laudamus*. See Chapter Twelve for more details on the use of this hymn. The text of CCl. 574 (Klosterneuburg Miscellanea, thirteenth century, ff. 142^v-144^r) as found in Pfeiffer, pp. 27-40, is included by Young on pp. 421-32, and that of CCl. 1193 (Klosterneuburg Breviary, fifteenth century, ff. 240^v-241^r) as recorded by Pfeiffer on pp. 17-19 can be found in Young on pp. 633-34. The texts of CCl. 61 (Klosterneuburg Breviary, fifteenth century, ff. 193^r-193^v) and CCl. 590 (Klosterneuburg breviary, fifteenth century, ff. 300^v-301^r), edited by Pfeiffer on pp. 17-19, are included by Young on pp. 640-641. Also included by Young on p. 639 is the text of *Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 180* (Klosterneuburg Breviary, 1570, ff. 33^v-34^r).

³⁹Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1975-1990).

and more recent work by Michael Norton and Amelia Carr⁴⁰ have firmly established the *Visitatio sepulchri* as a significant element in the Klosterneuburg Easter tradition. By the time of Lipphardt's research in the late 1970s, the number of known manuscript sources for the *Visitatio sepulchri* had grown to eighteen. Through the work of Michael Norton and Amelia Carr during the last decade, fourteen more manuscripts have been uncovered; this brings the total to thirty-two surviving sources of the *Visitatio sepulchri* written for or preserved at Klosterneuburg. According to Norton and Carr, twelve of these sources reflect the usage of Klosterneuburg, while the others follow the usages of nearby liturgical centres, including Passau, Salzburg, and St. Florian.⁴¹

Three of the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation record the chants for Easter (CCI. 589, 1013, and 1018), and all three of these manuscripts contain a short liturgical drama near the end of Easter Matins. Listed below are the full texts of these chants, their reference numbers if included in *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* (CAO), their apparent genres (either antiphons [A], verses [V], or "miscellaneous" [M]), their locations in the manuscripts, the rubrics provided for the chants, and their apparent modes (for antiphons only). Modes for verses and chants in the "miscellaneous" category have not been determined; this follows CANTUS indexing policies regarding troped and other chants which do not appear to fit appropriately within the eight-mode system.⁴² An asterisk (*) following a chant text indicates that the chant is provided in incipit only; this symbol in the mode column (for CCI. 1013 only) indicates that the chant is not provided with notation.

⁴⁰Michael L. Norton, and Amelia J. Carr, "New Sources for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* at Klosterneuburg," *The Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 15 (1992): pp. 83-90.

⁴¹Norton and Carr, p. 84.

⁴²For more information on the indexing policies of CANTUS, refer either to any of the published indices (the Klosterneuburg volume is cited above) or to the website (also cited above).

CCI. 1013

FOLIO	CHANT TEXT	RUBRIC IN MS	CAO	OFFICE	GENRE	MODE
145 ^r	Et dicebant ad invicem quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti alleluia alleluia	<i>Vers'</i>	2697	X	A	8 G1
145 ^r	Quem quaeritis in sepulcro o Christocolae	<i>v'</i>	8455	M	M	
145 ^r	Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum o caelicolae	<i>v'</i>	8455a	M	V	
145 ^r	Non est hic surrexit sicut praedixerat ite nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulcro	<i>v'</i>	8455b	M	V	*
145 ^r	Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus alleluia alleluia	<i>A'</i>	5352	X	A	5 A1
145 ^v	Et recordatae sunt verborum ejus et regressae a monumento nuntiaverunt haec omnia illis undecim et ceteris omnibus alleluia	<i>A'</i>	2717	X	A	8 G1
145 ^v	Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus praecedet vos in Galilaeam alleluia ibi eum videbitis alleluia alleluia alleluia	<i>A'</i>	5081	X	A	1 G1
145 ^v	Te deum laudamus*	[none]	–	M	M	*
Lauds follows immediately in the manuscript.						

CCl. 589

FOLIO	CHANT TEXT	RUBRIC IN MS	CAO	GENRE
2 ^r	Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata dominum querentes in monumento	<i>Ad sepulchrum</i>	–	M
2 ^r	Quis revolvat nobis ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum	<i>Mulieres</i>	–	M
2 ^r	Quem quaeritis o tremulae mulieres in hoc tumulo gementes	<i>Angelus</i>	–	M
2 ^r	Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus	<i>Mulieres</i>	–	M
2 ^r	Non est hic quem quaeritis sed cito euntes nuntiate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jesus	<i>Angelus</i>	–	M
2 ^r	Ad monumentum venimus gementes angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jesus	<i>Mulieres</i>	–	M
2 ^r	Currebant duo simul*	[none]	–	M
2 ^r	Cernitis o socii ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum	<i>Petrus et Johannes</i>	–	M
2 ^v	Surrexit enim*	<i>Chorus</i>	–	M
2 ^v	Dicant nunc Judaei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem quare non servabant Petram justitiae aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes alleluia alleluia	<i>Cantores</i>	–	M
2 ^v	Te deum laudamus*	[none]	–	M
Lauds follows immediately in the manuscript.				

CCI. 1018

FOLIO	CHANT TEXT	RUBRIC IN MS	CAO	GENRE
3 ^v	Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata dominum querentes in monumento	<i>Ad sepulchrum</i>	–	M
3 ^v	Quis revolvat nobis ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum	<i>Mulieres</i>	–	M
3 ^v	Quem quaeritis o tremulae mulieres in hoc tumulo gementes	<i>Angelus</i>	–	M
3 ^v	Non est hic quem quaeritis sed cito euntes nuntiate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jesus	<i>Angelus</i>	–	M
4 ^r	Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus	<i>Mulieres</i>	–	M
4 ^r	Ad monumentum venimus gementes angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jesus	<i>Mulieres</i>	–	M
4 ^r	Currebant duo simul*	[none]	–	M
4 ^r	Cernitis o socii ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum	<i>Petrus et Johannes</i>	–	M
4 ^r	Surrexit enim*	<i>Chorus</i>	–	M
4 ^r	Dicant nunc Judaei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdidit regem ad lapidis positionem quare non servabant Petram justitiae aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes alleluia alleluia	<i>Cantores</i>	–	M
4 ^v	Te deum laudamus*	[none]	–	M
Lauds follows immediately in the manuscript.				

Of the six chants provided for this drama in the twelfth-century source CCl. 1013 on ff. 145^r - 145^v, five are different from those contained in the two fourteenth-century sources CCl. 589 and 1018. The hymn *Te deum laudamus*, which appears at the end of

all three versions of the play, is the only common feature. The occurrence of the *Visitatio* drama in CCl. 1013 is an important feature; Walther Lipphardt writes that CCl. 1013 appears to be the first pitch-accurate manuscript in the west to preserve this form of the Easter drama.⁴³ It is invaluable to have these dramas complete with notation in both CCl. 1013 as well as in the antiphoners dating from the fourteenth century, since other sources for this liturgical item are often missals, breviaries, and ordinals; these books may be supplied with only partially written-out verses, or may have no musical notation at all.

Although the texts, music, and rubrics of the Easter dramas contained in the fourteenth-century sources CCl. 589 and 1018 are much different than that of CCl. 1013, they are nearly identical to each other; this parallelism between CCl. 589 and 1018 reinforces a close relationship found between these two later manuscripts. The drama begins with the text *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria*, and is found in CCl. 589 on ff. 2^r - 2^v, and in CCl. 1018 on ff. 3^v - 4^v. The rubrics indicate both the “stage directions” and the characters in the play; for example, *ad sepulchrum* (at the tomb), *Mulieres* (the women), *Angelus* (the angel), *Petrus et Johannes* (Peter and John), *Chorus* (the choir), and *Cantores* (the cantors). The two manuscripts diverge in only one place: the positions of the chants *Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum* and *Non est hic quem quaeritis* are reversed. In CCl. 589, the characters alternate regularly between “the women” and “the angel” for the five chants beginning with *Quis revolvat nobis ab ostio*. However, as a result of the reversal of these chants, the order of singers in CCl. 1018 is: 1) the women, 2) the angel, 3) the angel, 4) the women, 5) the women. In this presentation, the regular alternation between the different roles is disturbed; the order of chants in CCl. 589, with its regular alternations of characters, matches more closely the texts found in Young, such as that of the fifteenth-century Breviary from St. Florian, now housed in the Stiftsbibliothek as manuscript XI.435.2^o, f. 226^v.⁴⁴

⁴³... Aber wie gerade die Form der lothringischen *Visitatio* in ms. 1013 zeigt, scheint sie als erste diastematische Handschrift aus dem Westen importiert zu sein.” [Lipphardt, “Studien zur Musikpflege.” pp. 23-24.]

⁴⁴Young, p. 339.

Concerning the differences in texts between CCl. 1013 and CCl. 589/1018, Walther Lipphardt suggests that the use of texts including Mary Magdalene in the fourteenth-century versions of the drama may have been adopted because Mary Magdalene was the patron saint of the women's church at Klosterneuburg.⁴⁵ Although biblical references to the Easter story make clear reference to the presence of Mary Magdalene at the tomb (see Matthew 28:1, Mark 16:1, Luke 24:10, and John 20:1, for example), the specific inclusion of this patron saint in the Easter liturgical drama supports the argument that these antiphoners were used in the women's side of the monastery.

Both of the fourteenth-century presentations end with the antiphon *Dicant nunc Judaei* which is common to the Klosterneuburg use.⁴⁶ The German hymn *Christ ist erstanden*, which is found in many sources from Klosterneuburg (primarily breviaries), does not occur in either of these antiphoners. Neither the concluding antiphon *Dicant nunc Judaei* nor the vernacular hymn *Christ ist erstanden* appears in the earlier manuscript CCl. 1013.

The occurrence of a different Easter play is not the only unique feature of CCl. 1013 when it is compared against the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners dating before 1400. Another interesting divergence occurs in the chants presented for Sunday Lauds during the ferial week.⁴⁷ CCl. 1013 contains a full set of chants for Lauds on Sunday, beginning with the first antiphon *Indutus est Dominus fortitudine et praecinxit se virtute*

⁴⁵“Ein entscheidendes Argument für die Entstehung des Magdalenenspiels in Klosterneuburg habe ich außerdem damals übersehen. Die hl. Maria Magdalena war Patronin der Chorfrauen-Stiftskirche von Klosterneuburg. Da mag es den weltlichen und geistlichen Auftraggebern besonders im Sinn gelegen haben, die Rolle der Patronin in der Ostergeschichte durch ein prächtiges Spiel zu feiern, das selbst die berühmten westlichen Vorbilder der Magdalenenspiele in den Schatten stellte.” [Lipphardt, “Studien zur Musikpflege,” p. 24.]

⁴⁶Norton and Carr, p. 84.

⁴⁷The so-called “ferial” chants were sung not on feast days as their name implies, but rather on regular weekdays throughout the year whenever no other liturgical occasion took precedence. It will be remembered that Sundays were always considered “feasts” – even so, the “dominical” chants *per annum* have been included here in the “ferial” series, along with those for the other weekdays. These ferial chants (both with prose and *Alleluia* texts) occur in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts after those for the Sundays after Epiphany.

alleluia alleluia alleluia (not in CAO) on f. 64^r and continuing with *Gloria et honor et benedictio sedenti super thronum viventi in saecula saeculorum* (CAO 2944), *Deus misereator nostri et benedicat nobis illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri* (not in CAO), *Benedictio et claritas et sapientia et gratiarum actio honor virtus et fortitudo Deo nostro in saecula saeculorum amen* (CAO 1710), *Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est* (CAO 4796), and ending with the antiphon to accompany the Benedictus canticle on f. 64^v, a fourth-mode melody set to the word *Alleluia* repeated eight times.

In the other twelfth-century source preserving the *pars hiemalis*, CCl. 1010, the Office for Lauds on Sundays throughout the year is expected on f. 52^r, but only the Benedictus antiphon is included. This single chant for Lauds consists of the fourth-mode melody found in CCl. 1013, also for the Benedictus, with eight repetitions of the word *Alleluia*. The first five Lauds antiphons are not found in the fourteenth-century sources CCl. 1015 or CCl. 1017 either; in CCl. 1015, only the same fourth-mode Benedictus antiphon set to the word *Alleluia* repeated eight times occurs for that canticle on f. 80^r, and in CCl. 1017, the same melody but with one *Alleluia* missing (i.e., there are seven repetitions of the word *Alleluia* with four untexted neumes added in the right-hand margin) appears on f. 70^v.

Although the expected number of antiphons with psalms or canticles (i.e., a full Office of five pairs, in addition to the Benedictus canticle with its antiphon) was presumably performed in the Offices of Sunday Lauds throughout the year, the absence of specified antiphon texts causes one to wonder which chants were selected by the cantor to be sung with the Lauds psalms and canticles.⁴⁸ If a correlation between antiphon and psalm or canticle texts was desired (where psalm and antiphon texts would share common words or phrases), a mere borrowing of the antiphon texts from the Office of Second Vespers or from those antiphons specified for the Day Hours would prove incompatible,

⁴⁸These included Psalms 50, 92, 62, 66, the canticle of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace (Daniel 3:52-57), and Psalms 148, 149, and 150. See Chapter Eight for the complete sequential cursus followed at Klosterneuburg.

since the antiphon texts for those Offices are specific to the psalms indicated for those positions. For example, the antiphon text *Sede a dextris meis dixit Dominus Domino meo* (CAO 4853), indicated as the first in the Office of Second Vespers for Sundays *per annum* (CCl. 1013, f. 72^v), is taken from the first verse of the psalm which it accompanies, number 109. Likewise, the text for the second antiphon for the Office of Second Vespers, *Fidelia omnia mandata ejus confirmata in saeculum saeculi* (CAO 2865), shares common elements with the eighth verse of its psalm, number 110. With respect to the textual sources of the antiphons provided for Sunday Lauds in CCl. 1013, however, such expected textual correlations between antiphon and psalm cannot be found in either the Gallican or the Roman psalter.

Curiously, although the first antiphon of Lauds in CCl. 1013, *Indutus est Dominus*, is indicated by a textual cue to be sung with Psalm 50, *Miserere mei Deus*, the text of this first antiphon appears to derive from the first verse of the second psalm for Sunday Lauds, Psalm 92, *Dominus regnavit decore indutus est indutus est Dominus fortitudine et praecinxit se etenim firmavit orbem terrae qui non commovebitur*. It should be noted that Psalm 92 is not actually specified with a textual cue after the second antiphon of Sunday Lauds in CCl. 1013; this lack of psalm indication is a scribal feature that is out of keeping with the format for the remainder of the ferial week, since the entire ferial psalm cursus (with, of course, the exception of Psalm 92) is indicated clearly in CCl. 1013 with its accompanying antiphons. Despite this presumably casual scribal error, other usages demonstrate the placement of Psalm 92 in the Office of Sunday Lauds *per annum*.⁴⁹

More evidence can be found which separates CCl. 1013 from the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners. Some variances in both melodic versions and liturgical ordering which occur between the twelfth-century sources CCl. 1013 and CCl. 1010 have

⁴⁹See, for example, Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 52; Hiley, p. 21; and The Staff of the Liturgical Press and Leonard J. Doyle, ed., *The Hours of the Divine Office in English and Latin*, vol. 1 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1963), p. 177.

led Stefan Engels to assume that these two manuscripts were intended for different places.⁵⁰ For instance, the Funeral Office is included in CCl. 1010, but not in either of the manuscript pair CCl. 1013 and 1012. As well, the so-called *versus in triduo sacro* which occur after Lauds on Maundy Thursday in CCl. 1010 on f. 117^r and in CCl. 1013 on f. 138^r have different presentations in both the number of verses included and the use of the *Kyrie eleison* and *Domine miserere* refrains.

CCl. 1013 as compared with the fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 1017 shows several divergences as well. Again, the liturgical contents of the volumes are similar (both record the chants for the *pars hiemalis*) but do not agree entirely. For instance, on f. 17^r of CCl. 1013, one of the responsories for the third Sunday of Advent, *Ecce radix Jesse ascendet in salutem populorum ipsum gentes deprecabuntur et erit nomen ejus gloriosum* (CAO 6606), has two verses: *Dabit ei dominus sedem David patris ejus et regnabit in domo Jacob in aeternum* (CAO 6606b) and *Deus a Libano veniet et sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso* (CAO 6606a). CCl. 1017 has only the second of these verses (CAO 6606a). Such occurrences in CCl. 1013 of two verses for some responsories provide an excellent opportunity for scholars to compare how verse tones were abbreviated or expanded to accommodate texts of different lengths. (This will, perhaps, be taken up in a further study.) There is also a different series of chants provided in CCl. 1013 and 1017 for the weekdays after the fourth Sunday of Advent; see in particular the abbreviated chant incipits for Saturday, included in CCl. 1013 on f. 26^r and in CCl. 1017 on f. 26^v. Between these sources, different modes (and differentiae in the case of antiphons) have been assigned to numerous chants, including those with CAO numbers 4392, 6821, 7162, 5379 and 2395.

Despite the lack of concordance between CCl. 1013 and the other antiphoners with respect to certain chant contents, similarities can be found between sections of CCl. 1013 and the fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 1011. The contents of the first portion of CCl. 1011 are decidedly more similar to CCl. 1013 than they are to the fourteenth-

⁵⁰Engels, "Die Notation," p. 45.

century CCl. 1015, even though the appearance of text and neumes is closer to the latter. For example, the long, instructional text before the ferial week, found on f. 91^r of CCl. 1011, is nearly identical to that in CCl. 1013 on f. 62^r. This text does not occur in CCl. 1010, 1015, or 1017.

However, CCl. 1011 is not an exact copy of CCl. 1013, as there are inconsistencies of varying degrees between the sources. A small scribal departure occurs, for example, on f. 97^r of CCl. 1011 where the rubric reads “ad ix.” In the older CCl. 1013, the rubric is given as “ad viiii.” This same scribal adjustment is found in CCl. 589 and CCl. 1018, both said to date from the fourteenth century; in CCl. 589 on f. 42^r, the indication is written “ix,” but in the corresponding place in CCl. 1018 (f. 73^v), the rubric is “viiii.”

Another difference from CCl. 1013 occurs in CCl. 1011 on f. 87^v where a second layer of words has been written over the end of an antiphon. The first layer gives the text, *Te qui in spiritu et igne purificans humana contagia deum tremore sanctifica me salvator.* (The source of the underlined portion has not been determined.) The second layer provides the standard text for the last portion of the chant (after *deum*), *et redemptorem omnes glorificamus*. This added layer matches the texts in CCl. 1015, 1013, 1010, and CAO. The text of CCl. 1017 varies by only one word from the texts in CCl. 1015, 1013 and 1010; *ac* is used instead of *et* before *redemptorem*. As well, on f. 100^v of CCl. 1011, the responsory *Adjutor meus tibi psallam* occurs with the repetendum *Deus meus*. The same chant in CCl. 1013 occurs on f. 68^r, but with no indication for a repetendum. Unfortunately, the repetendum text *Deus meus* in CCl. 1011, a text which is supposed to cue the start of the partial repeat of the “respond” section after performance of the responsory verse, does not actually occur in the chant and must, therefore, be a scribal error. A comparison with the other *pars hiemalis* sources suggests an origin for this error: this responsory chant also occurs in CCl. 1015, 1017, and 1010 with repetenda of *deus*, *quia*, and *deus meus*, respectively. Twelfth-century CCl. 1010 provides the same incorrect repetendum text as found in fourteenth-century CCl. 1011! It may be, then, that some portions of CCl. 1011 were copied from either CCl. 1013 or a common exemplar,

and details which were missing in that model were taken from CCl. 1010 (or its exemplar, if this repetendum error is older than CCl. 1010).

The Office of Sunday Lauds *per annum* presents an even more interesting case in the fourteenth-century source CCl. 1011. Remnants of the last three antiphons of the expected five for Sunday Lauds can be found on the recto side of the folio numbered as “94.” The text of the first chant on this folio is incomplete, and there is an obvious lacuna with a probable length of only one folio preceding this leaf. The text which appears at the top of f. 94^r is the end of the third antiphon for Sunday Lauds, beginning *Deus misereator nostri* (not in CAO), as found in the twelfth-century antiphoner CCl. 1013. This chant is followed by the fourth and fifth antiphons as recorded in CCl. 1013, with texts beginning *Benedictio et claritas* (CAO 1710), and *Sanctus sanctus sanctus* (CAO 4796). None of these chants is notated.

Although a number of explanations is possible for the current state of CCl. 1011, it appears that during the copying of these texts, the Office of Lauds for the Sundays throughout the year was initially entered in a manner similar to that found in CCl. 1013, but was soon deemed unnecessary (so soon, in fact, that the neumes were not even added). Perhaps in an attempt to “edit-out” the unused antiphon texts, the leaf prior to that presently numbered as “94” was removed. One wonders how the presumably-unneeded antiphon texts initially made their way into CCl. 1011, while the other fourteenth-century sources, CCl. 1015 and 1017, were copied with only the antiphon for the Benedictus canticle. Is the evidence of two chant traditions preserved in these antiphoners, one with a full set of Lauds antiphons for Sunday, and the other with only the Benedictus antiphon specified? If so, CCl. 1011 may have been transferred to the other usage shortly after copying began.

More evidence of a mix of traditions in CCl. 1011 can be observed in the inclusion of two antiphons for the Benedictus canticle. In addition to the fourth-mode *Alleluia* chant found in the other Klosterneuburg antiphoners (detailed above), the unnotated antiphon text *Erexit nobis Dominus cornu alleluia in domo David pueri sui*

alleluia sicut locutus [est] alleluia alleluia (CAO 2666) is included on f. 94^r in a position which suggests that it was to be an alternate to the *Alleluia Benedictus* antiphon. (No rubrics are specified for either chant.) Of the five presentations of Sunday Lauds contained in the antiphoners under investigation, this occurrence of *Erexit nobis* in CCl. 1011 is unique. Based on the formats of the Offices of Sunday Lauds *per annum*, therefore, CCl. 1013 and CCl. 1011, though dated two centuries apart and showing influences of varied traditions, have at least some elements in common.

A close examination of the fourteenth-century sources CCl. 1011 and CCl. 1015 reveals another interesting relationship. The layouts and notation are similar between these sources, yet there are many subtle differences between them. Most of these variants, however, are contained in the first portions of the volumes, for, in an interesting correspondence, the latter portion of CCl. 1011 matches nearly exactly with that of CCl. 1015. Even more notable is the fact that this uniformity of contents in the second half of the volume coincides with the similarity of notational styles between these two manuscripts.

Points of departure from CCl. 1015 in the first portion of CCl. 1011 include, for example, a different antiphon for the beginning of the Office of Second Vespers on the third Sunday of Advent: in CCl. 1011 on f. 21^v, the chant *Ite dicite Joanni caeci vident et surdi audiunt claudi curantur leprosi mundantur* (CAO 3459) occurs in this position, while in CCl. 1015 on f. 27^v, *Tu es qui venturus es an alium expectamus dicite Joanni quae vidistis ad lumen redeunt caeci mortui resurgunt pauperes evangelizantur alleluia* (CAO 5209) is provided. There is no commemoration for Silvester in CCl. 1011, but one is included in CCl. 1015 on f. 63^f. Modal assignment differs between the two sources for some chants. For example, the antiphon *Spiritus Domini super me evangelizare pauperibus misit me* (CAO 4999) used during the last week of Advent has the same melody ending on D in both sources, but is assigned a first mode differentia (A-A-AG-GF-GA-G) in CCl. 1011 (f. 31^v), and a second mode differentia (F-F-F-CD-D) in CCl. 1015 (f. 35^v). The antiphon *Beata Agatha ingressa carcerem expandit manus suas ad*

Deum et dixit Domine qui me fecisti vincere tormenta carnificum jube me Domine ad tuam misericordiam pervenire (CAO 1558) is indicated as mode 8 in CCl. 1011 on f. 128^r, and as mode 7 in CCl. 1015 on f. 108^r. In addition, the ordering of the responsories is different in the feasts of the Annunciation (CCl. 1011 on ff. 132^v-138^r, and CCl. 1015 on ff. 116^v-120^v), and the chants for the Sundays after Epiphany in CCl. 1011 on ff. 88^v-90^v are divided in a manner closer to that given for CCl. 1017 on ff. 66^v-68^r than in CCl. 1015. In the latter source, on ff. 75^v-77^v, many antiphons occur after one another in series; none of these antiphons is assigned by rubrics to any particular Sunday, an organizational format which is found in the other two manuscripts. Other differences between these manuscripts include more versicles specified in CCl. 1011 than in CCl. 1015, and numerous instances of different repetenda in CCl. 1011 compared with those indicated in CCl. 1015. For example, repetenda cues differ for the responsories with CAO numbers 6128, 7719, 6789, 7224, 6469, and 7505, among others. There are also many variants of repetenda between CCl. 1015 and CCl. 1013.

However, CCl. 1011 and 1015 are indeed related, perhaps through a common (either unidentified or lost) exemplar. For example, on f. 68^r of CCl. 1011, the responsory *Confirmatum est cor virginis in quo divina mysteria angelo narrante concepit te formam prae filiis hominum castis concepit visceribus et benedicta in aeternum deum nobis protulit et hominem* (CAO 6314) for the sixth day of (i.e., fifth day after) Christmas shows an obvious correction. The text from the middle of the chant, *te formam prae filiis hominum castis concepit*, does not appear in the main body of this folio side, but has been added in the lower margin. The text for the same chant in CCl. 1015 has an identical scribal error on f. 62^v, but there is no sign of any correction to the manuscript at this position. The presentation of this chant text in the other three antiphoners (CCl. 1010, 1013, 1017) is as expected; there are no omissions or corrections. Since this responsory text contains an obvious scribal error which is common to both CCl. 1011 and CCl. 1015, it can be demonstrated that there is, indeed, a close relationship between these two sources.

Several other scribal errors occur in CCl. 1011. For example, on f. 184^v during

Matins for the third Sunday in Lent, the verse text *Attollens autem Joseph oculos vidit Benjamin stantem commota sunt [omnia] viscera ejus super fratre suo* (CAO 6999a) has been corrected with the addition of the word *omnia* in the left-hand margin. The same omission was made in CCl. 1015 on f. 142^v, but again, has not been corrected. Later in the same feast, the texts of both verse (CAO 6479a) and respond (CAO 7146) beginning *Merito haec patimur* were conflated during the copying of both manuscripts. This has been corrected in CCl. 1011 by the addition of another chant in the lower margin of f. 184^v; no change has been entered into CCl. 1015.

CCl. 1011 and 1015 also share the sole occurrences among the Klosterneuburg antiphoners of a different melody for the same chant text. This occurs for the invitatory antiphon *Christus natus est nobis venite adoremus* (CAO 1055), which is sung on the fifth day of Christmas (the fourth day after Christmas). It is found with a fourth-mode melody in all Klosterneuburg sources (even for the other occurrences of this chant text in CCl. 1011 and 1015!) except for the two corresponding occurrences in CCl. 1015 on f. 60^v and CCl. 1011 on f. 65^r. In contrast to the fourth-mode melodic version, the notation provided for *Christus natus est nobis* in CCl. 1011 and 1015 for the fifth day of Christmas reveals a sixth-mode chant with a narrow range and a more syllabic character.

Although there is not much in common between the winter antiphoner CCl. 1015 and the manuscript CCl. 1018 which records chants for the summer, the large initial “E” on f. 2^r of CCl. 1015 is in a style like that found at the end of the insertion of invitatory tones in CCl. 1018, on f. 261^r. Since the initials vary so markedly among the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, the similarity in the decorative designs within the darker left-hand edge of the letter is striking here. Unfortunately, this observation does not provide any proof of a copying order for these sources, since the insertion into CCl. 1018 could have been made at any time before it was bound into its present format.



Illustration 14:
CCI. 1015, from f. 2'



Illustration 15:
CCI. 1018, from f. 261'

Along with the differences between CCl. 1015 and CCl. 1017 listed above, there are many instances of different *repetenda*, as well as several cases of conflicting modal assignments, such as for the chants with CAO numbers 6444, 1197, 2328, 4316, and 1558, among others. In the corresponding places where double *repetenda* are provided in CCl. 1017, only a single cue word is given in CCl. 1015. Several chant series are also recorded in different orders between CCl. 1015 and 1017. For instance, two of the Vespers antiphons for the feast of the Conception of Mary, found in CCl. 1017 on f.5^v and beginning with the text *Adesto jam supplicibus tuis* and *Audi virgo glorifica post*, are in a reversed order in CCl. 1015 on f. 19^v.

Even so, there is evidence in these sources of some closer association, perhaps that of a common exemplar, or at least, a common manuscript tradition. For example, in CCl. 1017, at the top of f. 3^r, the *repetendum* was originally copied as *Salvandos*. This is the text found in CCl. 1015 on f. 16^r. However, in CCl. 1017, this *repetendum* was later changed to “nam” (for *Namque*) by a clever erasure of the beginning and ending. No change has been made to CCl. 1015. Although the main body of text and music in CCl. 1017 has not generally been altered, many of the cues indicating *repetenda* have been erased in CCl. 1017.⁵¹ This suggests either that the liturgy underwent some alteration, or that the usage of the manuscript changed.

Another interesting scribal feature which suggests an even closer relationship

⁵¹Erasures of *repetenda* in CCl. 1017 occur on ff. 1^r, 12^r (in two places), 18^r, 42^r, 44^r, 47^v, 53^v, 60^r, 62^r, 69^r, 96^r, 104^r, 112^v, 124^v, 140^v, 144^v, 145^r, 152^r, 156^v, 169^r, 169^v, 170^v, and 171^r (in two places).

between CCl. 1015 and CCl. 1017 occurs in CCl. 1017 in the corresponding location to f. 115^r of CCl. 1015. In CCl. 1015, there is a sizable hole in the last line of the recto side of f. 115; the scribe has written around this hole with the responsory text *Fratribus illuxit Benedictus quae via duxit usque polum surgens et multa lampade fulgens* (not in CAO). In CCl. 1017 on f. 109^v, the text scribe has left ample space between syllables, a distance which is approximately the same size as the hole that was avoided by the scribe of CCl. 1015. Since both of these chants are unnotated, it is not known whether the text scribe of CCl. 1017 spaced out his syllables because he was anticipating a melismatic passage, or if he was merely copying as precisely as possible from his model source. As well, the word *Maria* is missing in both CCl. 1015 and 1017 from the Annunciation chant, *Salve nobilis virga Jesse salve flos campi Maria ex te ortum est lilium convallium* (CAO 7564). Marginal additions on f. 116^v of CCl. 1015 and f. 111^r of CCl. 1017 have corrected this error.

The fourteenth-century antiphoner CCl. 1017 is not particularly close in its relationship to the twelfth-century source CCl. 1010. For example, over twenty-five repetenda of CCl. 1010 are different than those indicated in CCl. 1017. In CCl. 1010, fewer psalm cues and lesser doxologies (*Gloria patri*) are indicated among the notated chants than in CCl. 1017, though these liturgical items were most certainly sung. As well, the intended usages of the abbreviated chants provided for the Saturday in the fourth week of Advent are much clearer in CCl. 1010 (f. 19^v) than in CCl. 1017 (f. 26^v). It seems either that CCl. 1017 was copied from a more confusing source, or that some adjustments were made to the series between the copying of these two sources.

With respect to the antiphoners which record the chants for the *pars aestiva*, CCl. 1012 and CCl. 1018 have a comparable number of variances between them as do those manuscripts transmitting the *pars hiemalis*, detailed above. Different orders of chants in series between those presented in CCl. 1012 and those of CCl. 1018 occur in the Matins responsories for Paul (CCl. 1012 f. 16^v, CCl. 1018 f. 70^r), in the feast of the Octave of John the Baptist (CCl. 1012 f. 19^r, CCl. 1018 f. 73^v), and in some of the chants for Mary Magdalene. Some of the chants for the latter feast are presented for the Octave in CCl.

1012 (f. 31^v) but are added at the end of the manuscript after the Funeral Office in CCl. 1018 (f. 244^v). Other discrepancies, which are too numerous to detail, include various usages of different chants in certain positions, more or fewer chants specified in series, and rubrics marked inconsistently. CCl. 1012 includes a very small number of rubrics, and more than twenty rubric indications are incorrect in CCl. 1018 (i.e., “R” given for an antiphon, or “An” for a hymn, etc.). In these sources, too, are several instances of differing mode and differentia assignment for identical chants; this occurs, for example, for the chants with CAO numbers 4096, 4434, 2428, 1474, 2732, 2167, and 1850.

Only one scribal inconsistency in the twelfth-century source CCl. 1012 leads to any speculation on the copying of these books. In CCl. 1012, the hymn *O sancta mundi* (not in CAO) is entered twice during the feast of the Nativity of Mary (ff. 63^r and 67^r). On f. 63^r, the initial “O” has not been drawn in the space left before the word “sancta.” In the corresponding place in CCl. 1018 on f. 124^r, only the text *Sancta mundi domina* appears, with no space before that first word. This appearance without the initial “O” is similar to the present, rather than the intended, state of CCl. 1012.

Regardless of any speculation on which sources may share in a closely-related manuscript tradition, it is certain, owing to the placement of the feast of the Trinity in CCl. 1012, that CCl. 1012 was copied before CCl. 1018 and CCl. 589. In the position where Trinity is expected (i.e., on the first Sunday after Pentecost), CCl. 1012 gives only chants for the Octave of Pentecost; a more complete and partially-rhymed Trinity Office with proper chants (ff. 122^r-124^r) is not found until the end of the manuscript, where it was obviously added at a later date. This placement in CCl. 1012 is not consistent with that found in the later manuscripts, where the proper chants for Trinity occur after those for Pentecost in their expected liturgical position.

CCl. 589 is nearly identical to CCl. 1018, and there are numerous examples of an intimate relationship between these manuscripts. For example, in both manuscripts CCl. 589 (on f. 37^v) and CCl. 1018 (f. 65^v), the responsory beginning *Quem dicunt homines esse* (CAO 7467) is marked with the rubric for “antiphon.” This responsory is indicated correctly in CCl. 1012 on f. 13^v. As well, difficulties in rationalizing the order of the

abbreviated chants for the ferial days in the Easter season, with respect to maintaining the correct order of the psalms as given by incipit, exist in both CCl. 589 (f. 11^v) and CCl. 1018 (f. 20^v). It seems that at some point, the exemplar for these manuscripts was copied incorrectly and the order of the chants was confused.

There is good evidence that CCl. 589 and CCl. 1018 were either copied from a common source or from each other, as indicated by the corrections made to the responsory *Audi domine hymnum et* (CAO 6139). In both CCl. 589 (f. 130^v) and CCl. 1018 (194^v) the word *tui* was omitted during the initial copying, and was added later as a correction. In another instance of miscopying, the first word of the chant beginning *Significavit dominus Petro* (CAO 4947) on f. 38^r of CCl. 589 has been copied as *Magnificavit*. Although a misinterpretation of the initial “M” can be explained in a number of ways, this error can, perhaps, be traced to the narrow, vertical appearance of the initial “S” provided for this chant on f. 67^r of CCl. 1018; this “S” is quite different than the other two “beehive” style “S”-initials given on this folio side. An additional instance of misspelling suggests that the text scribe was copying CCl. 589 without an understanding of the meanings of the text: on f. 96^v, the first word appears as *Celigunt* but should read *Eligunt*.

Despite their similarities, several scribal corrections suggest that the manuscripts CCl. 589 and 1018 had different usages, either by different people or in other locations. For instance, in the Vespers Magnificat antiphon for Dionysius, *Adest namque beati Dionysii sacratissima dies in qua triumphans agonem explevit et coronam victoriae accipere meruit de manu Domini* (CAO 1264), the word *agonem* is crossed out and its neumes erased in CCl. 589 (f. 96^r), but there has been no change made to the corresponding chant in CCl. 1018 on f. 147^v. In another instance of manuscript editing, two words in CCl. 1018 on f. 151^v in the verse for All Saints *Gaudete et exsultate quoniam merces vestra multa est in caelo* (CAO 6175b) have been crossed out and replaced with an alternate text which corresponds more closely with the verse text identified as CAO 6175a; the original text in CCl. 589 on f. 101^r remains unchanged. As well, the antiphon beginning *Serve bone et fidelis* on f. 127^r of CCl. 589 contains an

uncorrected error in the word *dicit* instead of *intra* in the middle of the text. At first glance, this error appears to have been corrected at the corresponding location in CCl. 1018, as *dicit* is crossed out and *intra* entered above on the second line of f. 188^r. However, this case is more complicated, since the chant text in CCl. 1018 is actually a conflation of two similar antiphons, *Euge serve bone et fidelis quia in pauca fuisti fidelis supra multa te constituam dicit Dominus* (CAO 2732) and *Serve bone et fidelis quia in pauca fuisti fidelis super multa te constituam intra in gaudium Domini Dei tui* (CAO 4872). Both of these antiphons (albeit with the uncorrected error in 4872) occur in series on f. 127^r of CCl. 589. If CCl. 589 had been copied directly from CCl. 1018, another source would have been needed to restore these two individual chants. In order to have preserved the *dicit* text error, however, reference to CCl. 1018 would have had to have been made before the correction to *intra* had been accomplished. As this seems rather unlikely, it is more probable that both CCl. 589 and CCl. 1018 were copied from a common exemplar which contained the *dicit* textual error.

The more distant relationship of a common exemplar, rather than copying from each other, might explain the instances of different modal assignments between CCl. 589 and 1018 for such chants as *Vox turturis* (not in CAO), *Aperuit Augustinum* (not in CAO), and these in CAO 6213, 1271, 6263z, 1488, 5059, 2907, 4264, and 2746. There are also several series of chants that are not entirely identical; some chant series are not in the same order, and some have more or fewer chants. Compare, for example, the orders of responsories for Matins on the Saturdays of Pentecost in CCl. 589 on f. 28^r [*Spiritus sanctus* (CAO 7693), *Loquebantur* (CAO) 7101, and *Ultimo festivitatis* (CAO 7805)] with f. 49^v of CCl. 1018 [*Spiritus sanctus* (CAO 7693), *Ultimo festivitatis* (CAO 7805), and *Loquebantur* (CAO) 7101]. These manuscripts are clearly not precise duplicates, as the rubric near the bottom of f. 85^v in CCl. 589 is in Latin, while in CCl. 1018 on f. 131^v, the corresponding rubric is in German. In addition, contrary to its appearance in CCl. 589 on f. 96^r, the chant beginning *Hi sancti viri a beati Dionysii* (CAO 3042) in CCl. 1018 on f. 148^r has a second word of *sunt* instead of *sancti*. Admittedly, these words often appear similar in Gothic script, particularly when *sancti* is partially abbreviated.

The conjecture that CCl. 589 was copied either later than or from CCl. 1018, rather than the other way around, is based on more than merely the appearances of the notation in the two volumes; several feasts which were introduced into the liturgy during the later Middle Ages are included in CCl. 589 but are not found in CCl. 1018. For instance, the Office for Corpus Christi⁵² occurs in CCl. 589 on ff. 42^r-45^r in a position and style which reflect that its inclusion in this volume was planned (i.e., not a later addition). The Office of proper chants for Ursula, which was added at the end of CCl. 1018 on ff. 234^r-239^r, occurs in its expected place following calendar order within the leaves of CCl. 589, on ff. 96^v-99^v. The rubric assigned to this feast in CCl. 589 does not mention "Ursula," but rather, as found in CCl. 1018, "XI milium virginum," of which Ursula was one.⁵³ The Office for Catherine of Alexandria also appears in CCl. 589, but on ff. 116^r-119^r, in the middle of the *commune*, separated from the rest of the *Sanctorale*. This Office was not included in either CCl. 1012 or CCl. 1018, and its placement in CCl. 589 suggests that it was added to the plan of the manuscript after copying began.

Although styles of textual script vary, the dotting of the letter "i" is consistently used or not used in each of the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners; this small feature may provide some evidence concerning relationships between manuscripts; it indicates either a similar time-period for their copying, or the production by the same group of scribes. Lower-case letter "i" is dotted consistently throughout CCl. 589 and CCl. 1011. There are also occurrences of dotted "i" in CCl. 1018, but they are sporadic throughout the manuscript. The other fourteenth-century antiphoners under examination show no evidence of a dotted letter "i." The "dots" used in CCl. 589 and CCl. 1011 are nearly identical in appearance; their semi-circular thin strokes (similar to an upside-down U) have the same thickness and colour as the brown staff lines, and are used throughout both

⁵²The Feast of Corpus Christi was first introduced in Liège in 1246, and prescribed for the whole church by Pope Urban IV in 1264.

⁵³David Hugh Farmer relates the account of how the number of virgins came to be so large. He explains, "In the 10th century their number became fixed at 11,000, probably through the wrong expansion of an abbreviated text which read 'XI MV' into 'undecim milia virgines' (= 11,000 virgins) instead of 'undecim martyres virgines' (= eleven virgin-martyrs)." [David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 473.]

manuscripts. The occasional “dots” in CCl. 1018 are also thin lines, but their shape resembles an *aigu* accent; it is a straight, short line that angles up to the right.

In summary, none of the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation appears to have been directly copied from another in its entirety. Several casual scribal errors have been preserved in some manuscripts, and close relationships between some of the sources can be demonstrated. Although there are subtle differences between them, CCl. 1015 and CCl. 1017 show some resemblances. A closer relationship can be seen between CCl. 1015 and at least the last portion of CCl. 1011, particularly where these sections share the same notational style. There are numerous differences between CCl. 1010, CCl. 1013, and CCl. 1017, but the repetendum error connects CCl. 1010 with at least the first portion of CCl. 1011. In general, CCl. 1015 appears to be closer in content, rubrics, liturgical ordering, etc. to CCl. 1013 than it is to CCl. 1017. There is also a relationship between the twelfth-century source CCl. 1010 and CCl. 1015 and 1017 from the fourteenth-century, but this appears to have been more indirect, perhaps through several intermediary stages or through distantly-related exemplars.

Even though the layout, notation, and general appearance of CCl. 1013 are consistent with manuscript sources from Klosterneuburg, its departures from what is known of the traditions at the monastery have caused some scholars to question the origin and the uses of CCl. 1013. See, for example, in the table of sources at the end of the Norton and Carr’s article on the Easter drama where CCl. 1013 is identified as a twelfth-century antiphoner from “?Klosterneuburg.”⁵⁴ The differences found between CCl. 1013 and the other antiphoners could be owing to the spread of these volumes across two centuries. It is possible, however, that these Klosterneuburg manuscripts, which appear to contain two slightly different traditions, may reflect the liturgies of each side of the Klosterneuburg house, one for the men and the other for the women. The general uniqueness of CCl. 1013 among the other seven antiphoners of similar style, appearance,

⁵⁴Norton and Carr, p. 87.

and contents which are thought by most to be from Klosterneuburg, coupled with the suggestion that CCl. 1013 may reflect a slightly different liturgy as used in the other half of the convent (either the men's or the women's side), could provide an alternate explanation for the lack of complete agreement between the antiphoners and the ordinals. It is possible, too, in consideration of the fact that the ordinal CCl. 1213 was used until the sixteenth century as shown by the numerous later entries in the calendar,⁵⁵ that the liturgy contained in the antiphoners represents that of an earlier time than the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century ordinals. A Klosterneuburg provenance for these antiphoners (including CCl. 1013) should, therefore, not be lightly dismissed. Useful for comparison are the transcribed Kalendars of Passau, Salzburg, and Klosterneuburg which Alois Haidinger has included as "Anhang I" in the first volume of his Klosterneuburg library catalogue.⁵⁶

With respect to those sources transmitting the *pars aestiva*, CCl. 589 and 1018 are nearly identical both in contents and layout, but were probably not copied directly from each other. It is more likely that CCl. 589 was copied at a later date, owing both to the consistent dotting of the letter "i," in a manner similar to that found in CCl. 1011, and the inclusion of certain feasts which were adopted into the liturgy at a later date and are not represented in CCl. 1018. Beyond the obvious similarities in contents, there is very little connection between CCl. 589/1018 and the twelfth-century antiphoner CCl. 1012.

⁵⁵Engels, "Die Notation," p. 39.

⁵⁶Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften*, Part 1, pp. 221-224.

CHAPTER 7

TROPES IN THE KLOSTERNEUBURG LITURGY

The repertory of the Divine Office which survives from the Augustinian double monastery in Klosterneuburg includes numerous chants set to poetic texts which are certain to be later additions to the yearly liturgy than the main body of ecclesiastical chant. These items of liturgical poetry supplemented and decorated the chants of the liturgy, and include the famous so-called “Klosterneuburg” Easter play, rhymed Offices for such feasts as the Conception of Mary, Benedict, and Ursula and her 11,000 virgin martyrs, some hymns, and several tropes.¹ Although these liturgical items vary greatly in sources from the later Middle Ages, the tropes are of particular importance as they provide insight concerning local traditions and manuscript affiliations, both among the Klosterneuburg antiphoners themselves and with respect to other extant European chant books. These later additions to the liturgy, which became common by the eleventh century, were new musical forms with poetic texts. Many of these tropes are musically unrelated to the chants they accompany – they were a new liturgical art form which functioned within the focused celebrations of a special feast day. This practice of melodic troping extended and enhanced the existing chants of the liturgy without jeopardizing the integrity of the original melodies. As Margot Fassler observes, “These later chants were changes begotten by change, yet they changed the original texts and music not by removing them or altering them, but rather by surrounding them.”² Many scholars have commented on the independent viability of “original and free” composition in these melodic and textual tropes, and it is in this respect that these works approach “spiritual songs.”

¹The *Visitatio*, though frequently regarded as a trope, will not be considered here since I have dealt with it earlier in this volume (see Chapter Six).

²Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), p. 29.

It has often been recognized that the “Carolingian Renaissance” was followed by a flourishing of creative activity which extended to matters liturgical. Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, it became common on important feast days to embellish existing Gregorian chants with new melodies, or melismas. Dom Anselm Hughes stated in one of the first studies of tropes, that of *Anglo-French Sequelae* (1934),

The Carolingian revival of the Imperial dignity was followed by much activity in liturgical directions, and among such was the new practice of adding another melody, known by the name of “Jubilus” or “Sequela,” to the existing Gregorian Alleluia which followed the Gradual in the Mass.”³

It is generally understood that the incorporation of troped texts to the liturgy, many of which display rhyme and rhythm, began as syllabically-set additions to the pitches of appended melismas.

Although, in the matter of terminology, modern scholars are no more consistent than the scribes of the Middle Ages, it is customary to label as a “sequence” the texted *jubilus*-melisma sung on the final syllable of the Mass Alleluia.⁴ Within the larger category of “trope,” the sequence is paralleled in the Offices by the “prosa.” The prosa is associated with the elaborate *responsoria prolixa* (the Great Responsories) which are generally sung between lessons in the nocturns of Matins. Although the term “prosa” is used widely in medieval books, it is potentially confusing owing to its translation “prose,” whereas many “prosaē” (at least the later-medieval texts) are poetic. Some modern scholars prefer to further categorize as “prosulae” (meaning “little prosaē”) those Office responsory tropes which are intimately connected with the pitches of a pre-existing melisma as distinct from the later tropes which display the clearer verse structure of the sequence. Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler comment, “What is more, in the medieval sources there is not only a degree of inconsistency in the classes to which individual items

³Dom Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelae: Edited from the Papers of the Late Dr. Henry Marriott Bannister* (Burnham: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1934), p. 1.

⁴Scholars generally agree that the genre-defining characteristics of the sequence are syllabic text-settings and couplet structures which consist of pairs of isosyllabic lines sharing the same melody. The texts of early sequences are often in paired lines of unequal prose, whereas those of later sequences (i.e., those of the “second epoch”) appear more frequently in regular, rhymed verse.

are assigned, there is an inconsistency about the criteria for establishing classes altogether: “versus,” which simply means “a collection of lines,” and may be assigned to various styles and functions; “laudes,” which speaks to a kind of function or tone; “prosa” or “prosula,” which suggest certain morphological characteristics.”⁵ In a discussion of early medieval tropes, Fassler admits,

It is difficult to decide what to call these pieces today Throughout the Middle Ages the use of these terms was variable, and the modern confusion over the proper use of ‘prosa’ (or ‘prose’) on the one hand, and ‘sequentia’ (or ‘sequence’) on the other merely reflects the medieval state of things.⁶

David Hiley notes the variations in nomenclature in a discussion of the *versus* in early Aquitanian manuscripts; he writes, “Most of the pieces are called *versus* in the manuscript, others *ritmus*, *carmen*, *planctus* ..., *hymnus* ..., and one *prosa*”⁷

This variable state of terminology can be seen clearly in the trope repertory of the Klosterneuburg Office manuscripts. The manner of identifying chants in the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners copied before 1400 for the same Augustinian house, presumably in the same scriptorium, is remarkable; in some cases, decidedly different rubrics are assigned to similar chants, and in other cases, identical rubrics are given for different types of chants. For example, the seventeen instances of *proslae* are identified in the manuscripts in the following ways: one is identified as “versus,” another by “vs.” for seven there is the single letter “v,” and eight are provided with no rubric. For the eleven occurrences of the three *prosa*e, one is labelled “prosa,” two are identified as “versus,” four are given the letter “v,” and four more have no rubric. (See summary table below.)

⁵Ritva Jacobsson, and Leo Treitler, “Tropes and the Concept of Genre,” in *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences In Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Corpus Troporum (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), p. 63.

⁶Fassler, p. 41.

⁷Hiley, p. 239.

In total, the Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation here provide seventeen examples of four separate *prosulae*, eleven examples of three *prosaes*, and eight examples of three other chants which are of similar appearance but are not associated with a responsory, at least not where they have been copied; these are focus of the current study. The multiple examples of these chants provide a basis for comparison of the identification given to these chants by the medieval scribes, as well as an opportunity to examine the liturgical function of these tropes within their particular feasts.

SUMMARY OF THE TROPES⁸ IN THE KLOSTERNEUBURG ANTIPHONERS

TEXT INCIPIT	IN MSS:	H = <i>hiemalis</i> A = <i>aestiva</i>	RUBRIC IN SOURCE:
PROSULAE			
<i>Ante tempus parenti congenite</i>	CCI. 1010 CCI. 1013 CCI. 1015 CCI. 1017	H H H H	(no rubric) "vs" "v" "v"
<i>Facture plasmator et conditor</i>	CCI. 1010 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1013 CCI. 1015 CCI. 1017	H H H H H	"v" (no rubric) ? (no rubric) (no rubric)
<i>Quem ethera et terra atque</i>	CCI. 1010 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1013 CCI. 1015 CCI. 1017	H H H H H	"v" "v" "v" (no rubric) "v"
<i>Sancte Nicole reatus</i>	CCI. 1010 CCI. 1015 CCI. 1017	H H H	"versus" (no rubric) (no rubric)

⁸Owing to the poetic nature of these later-medieval tropes, the spellings of the sources have been retained.

PROSAE			
<i>Eterne virgo memorie quem</i>	CCI. 589 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1015	A H H	(no rubric) "v" (no rubric)
<i>O Christe virginum gloria</i>	CCI. 589 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1015	A H H	"prosa" "v" (no rubric)
<i>Stella maris O Maria</i>	CCI. 1010 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1012 CCI. 1015 CCI. 1017	H H A H H	"versus" (no rubric) "versus" "v" "v"
OTHER			
<i>O panis vite veneranda</i>	CCI. 589 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1015	A H H	"A" "v" "v"
<i>Quem non prevalent propria</i>	CCI. 1013	H	"vss"
<i>Virginei floris nomen</i>	CCI. 589 CCI. 1011 CCI. 1012 CCI. 1015	A H A H	(no rubric) (no rubric) (no rubric) (no rubric)

I. *QUEM NON PREVALENT*

Although most of the troped texts listed above occur more than once in the corpus of the Klosterneuburg Office manuscripts owing to the survival of several volumes containing a similar liturgy, the poetic chant *Quem non prevalent propria* is found in only one of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners. Of the five of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners that record the chants for the *pars hiemalis*, this chant occurs only in the twelfth-century source CCl. 1013, and its appearance in other sources is rare (see below). In its Klosterneuburg source, *Quem non prevalent* displays rather unusual features of position and rubrication, and it is evident that these difficulties have interfered with the proper

identification of this chant in some scholarly studies.⁹ A textual and melodic analysis reveals that *Quem non prevalent* falls into the category of responsory tropes, and, like other items of liturgical poetry in the Office manuscripts, this chant displays a striking contrast in style to that of the surrounding Gregorian prose chants. Poetic tropes such as *Quem non prevalent* exhibit clear features of what some have described as “medieval ecclesiastical song.”

Quem non prevalent was copied on ff. 56^v and 57^r (beginning on the last line of f. 56^v) and occurs in the middle of the Office of Second Vespers in the feast of Epiphany (January 6).



Illustration 16: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013, ff. 56^v-57^r*

⁹For instance, the occurrence of this chant is not included by Lisa Fagin Davis in her forthcoming book *The Gottschalk Antiphony: Music and Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Lambach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, at press — to appear c. January 2000), where Chapter Five is devoted to “*Quem non Praealent*’ and the Importance of Epiphany at Lambach.” After the completion of my manuscript index of CCI. 1013, I informed Lisa Davis of this trope in the Klosterneuburg source, and she reciprocated by sending me a draft copy of the relevant chapter in her book.

The text of *Quem non prevalent* comprises thirteen verses, of which the first twelve are paired both textually and melodically in double stanzas to create six couplets and one final verse.

FULL TEXT OF *QUEM NON PREVALENT*

- 1a Quem non prevalent propria magnitudine
 1b Celi terre atque maria amphisepere
 2a De virgineo natus utero ponitur in presepio
 2b Ut propheticus sermo nuntiat stant simul bos et asinus
 3a Ex oritur stella lucida prebitura domino obsequia
 3b Quam balaam ex judaica orituram dixerat prosapia
 4a Hec magorum oculos fulguranti lumine prestrinxit providos
 4b Atque ipsos previa Christi ad cunabula perduxit vilia
 5a Illum exiguis adorant obsitum pannulis
 5b Afferentes regia aurum thus et mirram munera
 6a Ista sed tamen mysticis non carent munera figuris
 6b Aurum ut regi thus deo et magno offerunt sacerdoti
 7 Atque mirram in sepulturam

The text shows clear associations with the Epiphany feast, as verses 2a to 5b provide details concerning the humble birth of Jesus, the journey of the Magi, and the gifts which they brought for the infant King. According to Gunilla Iversen, this content follows a compositional structure typical of Aquitanian sequences of the transitional type, where the central part normally develops the theme of the actual feast.¹⁰ Commentary on the Epiphany feast surrounds the details of the story: in verses 2b and 3b, the fulfillment of the prophecy of Christ's birth is announced, and in the last two verses, the foretelling of the events of Good Friday is suggested in a symbolic portrayal of the gifts brought by the Magi. Gold was brought for Jesus the King, frankincense for Jesus as a great priest, and myrrh for his burial. There appears to be no regular pattern of textual accents in *Quem non prevalent*, this suggests either that the text dates from a relatively early stage in the introduction of poetry to the liturgy (perhaps the tenth or eleventh century), or

¹⁰Gunilla Iversen, "*Supera agalmata*: Angels and the celestial hierarchy in sequences and tropes. Examples from Moissac," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, edited by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1996), p. 101.

simply, that textual accent was not of primary concern in the composition of this text.

Although it is clear that *Quem non prevalent* is a chant with poetic text for Epiphany, its identification as a responsory trope is problematic, for it is the hymn incipit for *Hostis* rather than a responsory chant which precedes *Quem non prevalent* on f. 56^v.

CCL. 1013:

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
56 ^v	Tecum principium*	Second Vespers	Antiphon	1
56 ^v	In columbe*	Second Vespers	Responsory	
56 ^v	Hostis*	Second Vespers	Hymn	
56 ^v	Quem non prevalent propria	Second Vespers		
57 ^v	Reges Tharsis et insule*	Second Vespers	versicle	
57 ^v	Tribus miraculis ornatum diem	Second Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat

The only rubrics given to identify this chant are the rather generic abbreviations for *versus* before each of the verses (“vss” before verse 1a, and a lower-case “v” before each of the others). The chants which follow *Quem non prevalent* are those which are usually found near the close of Vespers: a versicle (*Reges Tharsis et insule*) and the Magnificat antiphon (*Tribus miraculis ornatum*). The chants in this Office, with the exception of the Magnificat antiphon and *Quem non prevalent* itself, are given only as incipits; of these abbreviated cues, only the hymn incipit is provided with notation. The questions arise, with what chant was *Quem non prevalent* to be sung (if any), and where does its performance fit in the feast of Epiphany?

The answer appears to lie in the responsory incipit copied before the hymn *Hostis* on the line above *Quem non prevalent*. The ornate *responsoria prolixa* are usually associated with Matins, but a single responsory is also sung in the Office of Second Vespers. Although the abbreviated incipit in the feast of Second Vespers does not occur directly before *Quem non prevalent*, it is reasonable to assume that this responsory, *In columbe specie spiritus*, was intended to be its “host” responsory by scribes who, as a matter of course, did not recopy a chant which was given completely on an earlier folio. *In columbe* is written out completely on the previous folio (55^v) and is included for Epiphany as the third responsory in the third nocturn of Matins. The absence of a

directly-neighbouring “host” chant would have presented no difficulty for the medieval cantors, as early tropes were regularly copied, without cues, in separate sections of antiphoners or in entirely separate volumes. Melodic analysis of the responsory *In columbe* reveals a second-mode chant with a standard verse-tone followed by the *repetendum*, a verbal cue for the partial repeat of the Respond. This standard ternary structure may have incorporated the lesser doxology, *Gloria patri*, as a second verse in performance, and might also have incorporated a troped prosa before the final *repetendum*.

It is interesting to observe that, in the cathedral practice, the final chant of the last nocturn of Matins (the position of the complete entry of *In columbe*) is the one most often provided with embellishments. This initial placement of *In columbe* suggests that the trope *Quem non prevalent* may have been intended for Matins — an Office much more musically-important than Second Vespers — and that it was simply copied in the wrong place. On the other hand, ff. 56^v and 57^r do not end any physical section or gathering within the manuscript (that is, where addenda might be placed), and there is no apparent change in hand or format in either the text or music of *Quem non prevalent*. It also must be noted that the responsory *In columbe* is found in CCl. 1013 four more times as an abbreviated incipit during the week after Epiphany.¹¹ The text *Quem non prevalent* does not occur with any of these citations. It would appear, therefore, that the inclusion of this chant was fully intended for Second Vespers of Epiphany in CCl. 1013. One is left to wonder why it is the only one of the five Klosterneuburg antiphoners which record the feast of Epiphany to include this trope.

The confirmation of the genre of this chant involves not only its position relative to other chants, but also its stylistic features. The setting for *Quem non prevalent* is almost completely syllabic; this is a distinguishing feature of sequences and prosae. The

¹¹These occurrences are as follows: on f. 58^v as the third Matins responsory for the fifth day of Epiphany (January 10), on f. 59^r as the third Matins responsory for the seventh day of Epiphany (January 12), in the Octave of Epiphany (January 13) on f. 59^r as the responsory in First Vespers, and on f. 59^v in the same position as on Epiphany (January 6), namely as the third responsory in the third nocturn of Matins.

only exceptions occur near the end of the chant, with the intrusion of a three-note neume near the beginning of verse 5a and a two-note liquescent neume in the middle of verse 5b over the word *regia*. Pitch sources for troped texts, especially those which are set one note per syllable, can sometimes be traced to lengthy melismatic sections near the ends of the Respond portions of the responsories which the tropes accompany. Although there are no lengthy melismatic passages which might have served as a source for the pitches of *Quem non prevalent*, the appropriateness of its poetic text to the feast of Epiphany, the textual and melodic pairing of double stanzas, the clear D-mode (at least in the opening verses), as well as the proximity to the Vespers responsory incipit, support the conclusion that *Quem non prevalent* is a prosa to be sung with the responsory *In columbe specie spiritus*.

Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift - Bibliothek, 1013, ff. 56^v - 57^r

Quem non pre - va - lent pro - pri - a mag - ni - tu - di - ne

Ce - li ter - re at - que ma - ri - a am - phi - se - pe - re

De vir - gi - ne - o na - tus u - te - ro po - ni - tur in pre - se - pi - o

Ut pro - phe - ti - cus ser - mo nun - ti - at stant si - mul bos et a - si - nus

Ex o - ri - tur stel - la lu - ci - da pre - bi - tu - ra do - mi - no ob - se - qui - a

Quam Ba - la - am ex Ju - da - i - ca o - ri - tu - ram di - xe - rat pro - sa - pi - a

Hec ma - go - rum o - cu - los ful - gur - an - ti lu - mi - ne pre - strin - xit pro - vi - dos

At - que ip - sos pre - vi - a Chri - sti ad cu - na - bu - la per du - xit vi - li - a

Il - lum ex - i - gu - is a - do - rant ob - si - tum pan - nu - lis

Af - fe - ren - tes re - gi - a au - rum thus et mirr - am mu - ne - ra

Is - ta sed ta - men my - sti - cis non ca - rent mu - ne - ra fi - gu - ris

Au - rum ut re - gi thus De - o et ma - gno of - fe - runt sa - cer - do - ti

At - que mirr - am in se - pul - tu - ram

The first verse (1a) of *Quem non prevalent*, containing thirteen syllables, and the second (1b) of fourteen syllables have end assonance on the words *magnitudine* and *amphisepere*. Assonance is typical of west-Frankish pieces from the so-called “first epoch” of sequence composition. The first two verses of *Quem non prevalent* can each be divided into two phrases of 8 + 5 and 9 + 5 syllables. Whether or not by design, the first phrases of each verse have two-syllable end-rhyme between the words *propria* and *maria*.

Melodic considerations generally mirror the parallelism observed in the text of *Quem non prevalent*. In each of the first four paired verses, the text breaks into two

phrases between repeated pitches. This occurs, for example, in verse 1a between the repeated Gs over the last syllable of *propria* and the first of *magnitudine*, and in verse 1b between *maria* and *amphisepere*. Verse 1b is the only one of the paired verses in *Quem non prevalent* that does not repeat the pitches of its counterpart. Although the verses do not begin with like pitches, however, melodic similarity can be seen between 1a and 1b through their last nine syllables.

Although the next two verses do not share any obvious rhyme or assonance, they each have eighteen syllables divided into phrases of 10 + 8. The first verse of this pair (2a) displays so-called “leonine” rhyme from its mid-point to its end, between the words *utero* and *presepio*. The exact agreement of pitches between verses 2a and 2b is consistent with the remainder of the paired verses in *Quem non prevalent*. In addition, verses 2a and 2b share with the first two verses the same approach to the cadence; this five-note cadential pattern recurs a third higher at the ends of verses 5a and 5b.

Verses 3a and 3b each have twenty syllables divided into phrases of 9 + 11. These lines display both end-rhyme of two syllables between the words *obsequia* and *prosapia* as well as assonance at the ends of the first phrases. The first five pitches of verses 3a and 3b are identical to those at the beginning of verse 1b.

Verses 4a and 4b also contain twenty syllables each; these verses are divided into phrases of 7 + 13 syllables. There is no end-rhyme or end-assonance between these, but both display a “leonine” assonance.

“Leonine” assonance is also a feature of verses 5a and 5b. Verse 5a has fifteen syllables divided into phrases of 6 + 9, with assonance between *exiguus* and *pannulis*, and verse 5b has sixteen syllables divided into phrases of 7 + 9, with assonance between *regia* and *munera*. With the exception of the liquescent neumes (marked as white noteheads on the transcription), the pitches for these verses are also nearly identical. However, the text-setting does not coincide with the melodic pattern established in the previous four pairs of verses. Here, the division into phrases, which has been determined by textual assonance, does not occur between repeated pitches, yet there are repeated Cs in the melody just three syllables later.

Verses 6a and 6b decrease in regularity from those which precede them. A phrase structure of 8 + 9 and 8 + 10 syllables can be imposed on these two verses if the “leonine” assonance in verse 6a between the words *mysticis* and *figuris* is accepted. Verse 6b offers no features of rhyme or assonance in the text to guide an analysis of phrase structure. Verses 6a and 6b reach a climax with the use of the highest pitches in the piece. Indeed, the melody of *Quem non prevalent* extends through a large range; the first three verses tend to remain moderately low (within an octave above C), while the fourth to sixth verses do not extend below F, but reach to A a tenth above. Richard Crocker notes that differentiation of phrases through range is one of the important features of the “festal” type of earlier sequences.¹²

The last verse (7) of *Quem non prevalent* deviates from the regular parallelism of the previous twelve lines — there is no texted repetition of this nine-syllable phrase. The result is an odd number of verses in this otherwise fairly symmetrical text. Irregularity such as this is characteristic of early sequence texts. A melismatic passage which twice repeats the pitches of this short verse occurs after the last word of the chant, *sepulturam*. The melisma was presumably sung on the final syllable.

As Victoria Goncharova observed in her analysis of the prosa *Adest Praeclara Cunctis* for Mary Magdalene,

The degree of freedom with which *Adest praeclara* regards the conventions of strict parallelism and syllabic word-setting, and its frequent departures from the presumed model, suggest that this sequence may be a product of an earlier, rather than a later stage in the “first epoch” of sequence composition.¹³

This observation follows Crocker’s analyses of early sequences, as well as those of several other chant scholars. The apparent decrease in structural regularity towards the

¹²Richard Crocker, “The Sequence,” in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. by Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch (Bern: Francke, 1973), p. 291.

¹³Victoria Goncharova, “The Prose *Adest Praeclara Cunctis* for St. Mary Magdalene in Manuscript Lat. Q.V.I.51 of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library, St. Petersburg,” in *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Janka Szendrei and David Hiley (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), p. 69.

end of *Quem non prevalent* affirms the eleventh-century dating of several manuscript sources which contain this chant, as listed in the *Analecta Hymnica*.¹⁴

Since *Quem non prevalent* was not copied into the later Klosterneuburg sources, one might assume that this early sequence fell out of favour after a relatively short period of time. Its scarcity of appearance in other medieval chant manuscripts supports this conjecture. A search for this trope in the CANTUS database, which currently holds complete indices of the chants contained in fifty-seven Gregorian chant antiphoners and breviaries comprising a total of over 200,000 individual chants, reveals only one match; it occurs in the fragments commonly known as “the Gottschalk antiphoner.”¹⁵ This source has been dated to the late-twelfth century, and was copied by the prolific scribe Gottschalk of Lambach for Lambach Abbey in Austria. The manuscript was dismantled in the late-fifteenth century and the folio fragments were dispersed for various uses, including binding materials such as flyleaves and pastedowns. At present, there are only thirty-one known surviving folios which are housed in six different locations around the world.¹⁶ *Quem non prevalent* occurs on the verso side of the second folio in the third quire.

¹⁴G.M. Dreves, *Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters*. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 5, (Leipzig: 1889. Reprint Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1961), p. 10.

¹⁵The index is available on the CANTUS website. The CANTUS index of the “Gottschalk antiphoner” presents as closely as possible the manuscript order of the original source. Rather than folio numbers, each fragment has been assigned a position within the extant quire, if known.

¹⁶New Haven (Connecticut), Yale University - Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library [US-NHub], 481.51.1 to 481.51.17; St. Paul-im-Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Frag. 54/8, 1-2; Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach - Bibliothek [A-LA], Ink. II/1/i, 1-4; Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach - Bibliothek, Ink. I/95, 1-4 (flyleaves); Lambach, Benediktiner-Stift Lambach - Bibliothek, Ink. II/36, 1-2 (pastedowns); Cambridge, Massachusetts, Houghton Library (Graphic Arts), Pf MS Typ 704, 5-6; Bagdastein, Private Collection (no siglum); St. Louis, Public Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Grolier #44

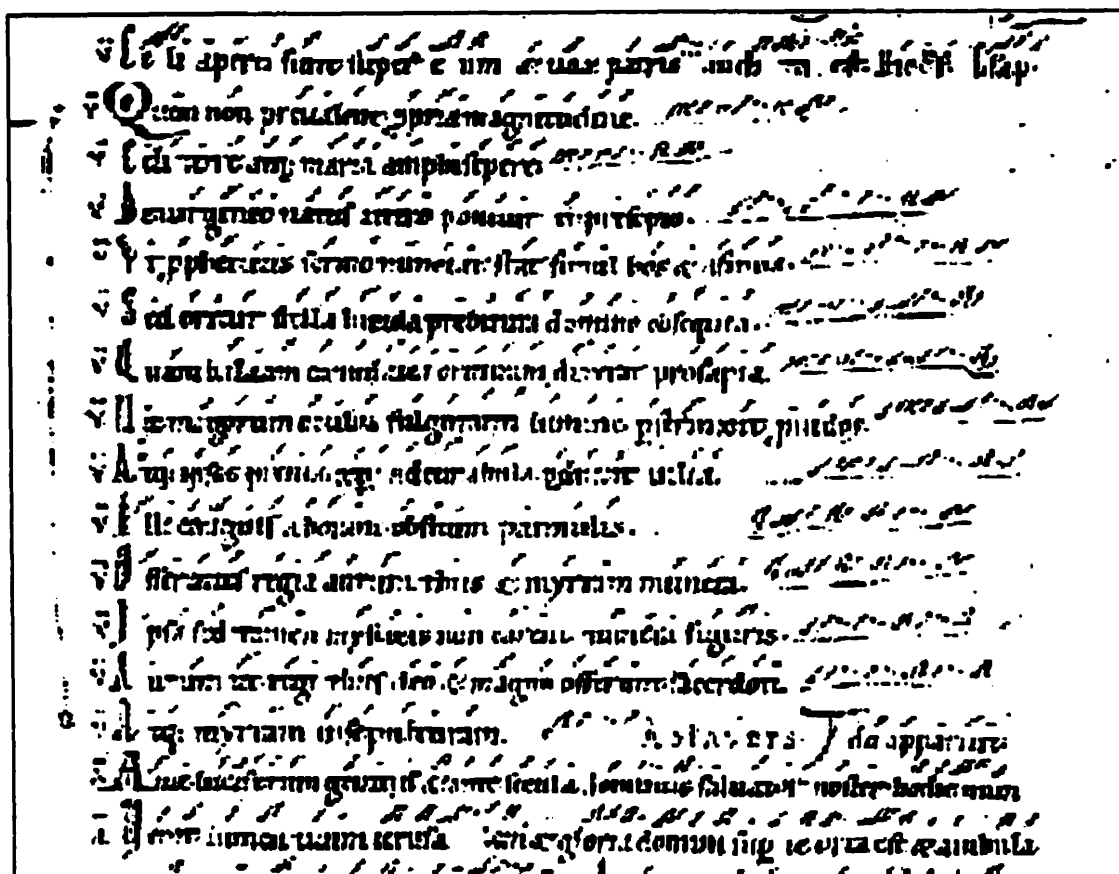


Illustration 17: Leaf from the "Gottschalk" Antiphoner — Yale University, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 481.51.3

"GOTTSCHALK" ANTIPHONER

FOLIO ¹⁷	INCIPIIT	OFFICE	GENRE	POSITION
32 ^v	In columbe specie spiritus	Matins	Responsory	3.4
32 ^v	Celi aperti sunt super eum	Matins	Verse	01
32 ^v	Quem non prevalent propria	Matins	Prosa	
32 ^v	Ante luciferum genitum et	Lauds	Antiphon	1

In contrast to the version of this trope found in CCl. 1013, each of the texted verses of *Quem non prevalent* in the "Gottschalk" fragments is followed by a melismatic repetition. The performance of such melismatic counterparts is generally thought to have been the role of the choir in response to a soloist who sang the text. Lisa Fagin Davis

¹⁷These folio indications are based on the CANTUS index. See note 15 of this chapter for more details.

writes, “Because the syllabic and neumatic melodies are slightly different, verse and melisma could not have been sung simultaneously.”¹⁸

Helma Hofmann-Brandt included *Quem non prevalent* in her dissertation on responsory tropes.¹⁹ The text (# 539) appears again with only one manuscript source. It is interesting to note, however, that although Hofmann-Brandt includes CCl. 1013 among her manuscript sources for this study, this is *not* the source manuscript listed for *Quem non prevalent*. Perhaps the uncommon placement of this trope was the cause of the oversight. The single source given by Hofmann-Brandt is another from a German-speaking area of Europe: the manuscript now known as *Prague, Metropolitankapitel St. Veit (knihovna kapitulini), P. VI. 1.*²⁰ Hofmann-Brandt identifies the trope as “Indeed, a ‘borrowed’ sequence.”²¹

“Diese Sequenz” is also the terminology used in Volume 5 of the *Analecta Hymnica* in describing the text *Quem non prevalent*.²² Six manuscript sources are listed along with a standardized spelling and a description of the textual variants between sources. These include an eleventh-century proser from the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee, just south of Munich, now *London, British Library, Cod. Add. 19768 (Pars II)*;²³ an eleventh-century passionale, also from Tegernsee, now *Munich, Bayerische*

¹⁸Lisa Fagin Davis, in Chapter Five of draft copy: *The Gottschalk Antiphonary*, pages unnumbered.

¹⁹Helma Hofmann-Brandt, “Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Officiums,” 2 parts (Inaugural-Dissertation der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1971), p. 108.

²⁰This antiphoner from Prague has been dated to 1363, and contains chants from Advent to Easter. The text *Quem non prevalent* occurs on ff. 226^r to 228^v, and is associated, again, with the responsory *In columbe specie spiritus*. [Hofmann-Brandt, p. 108.]

²¹“... wohl eine ausgeliehene Sequenz.” Also, in addition to citations of Coussemaker and Chevlier, Hofmann-Brandt lists this chant as incipit #577 in P. Rado, *Répertoire*. (Hofmann-Brandt, p. 108.)

²²Dreves, incipit #22271, p. 10.

²³This source is included in RISM Series B, Volume V¹, pp. 152-154. The sequence occurs in unheightened neumes on ff. 70-71.

Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 18955; an early twelfth-century troper from the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, now *Munich, Clm. 14845*;²⁴ an eleventh-century manuscript written in German notation, now *Leiden, Gronov. Cod. 70*, and a fifteenth-century hymnbook from the cathedral of Zagreb, *Cod. LXIII 1*. Owing to the provenance of the manuscript sources, many of which originated in German-speaking areas of Europe, G.M. Dreves speculates that this text was composed in the area of southern Germany.

The basically-interchangeable term “prosa” is used by Ulysse Chevalier in his *Repertorium hymnologicum* (1892-1921) to describe *Quem non prevalent*.²⁵ Chevalier lists five other sources for this text, all of which are printed anthologies of verse dating from the mid-sixteenth to the nineteenth century.²⁶ A single manuscript source, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 11383*, was added in the *Addenda et corrigenda* volume.²⁷

The association of this text with Epiphany reaches beyond its use as a sequence and as a sequence adapted for use as a responsory trope. *Quem non prevalent* is also found in a dramatic context within Magi plays. William Smoldon wrote that the text of this ancient sequence appears in the scene in Herod’s court “in a balanced, apparently rhythmic setting which has plainly nothing to do with the original one and may represent a version unique to this drama.”²⁸ The incorporation of at least portions of this sequence text into the Magi drama is found in sources such as the eleventh-century manuscript

²⁴This source is included in RISM Series B, Volume V¹, pp. 79-81.

²⁵Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum: Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l’église latine*, vol. II (Louvain: Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1897), incipit #16303, p. 401.

²⁶Clichtoveus, *Elucidator ecclesiast.* (1558), p. 22h; *Hymni Ecclesiae e breviariis Romano* (Sarisburyensi, Eboracensi: 1838), p. 30; Neale, *Sequentiae ex Missalibus* (1852), p. 262; Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, vol. V (1841-56), p. 180; Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen* (1873), p. 41.

²⁷Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, vol. 5 (Brussels: Societé des Bollandistes, 1921), p. 328.

²⁸Smoldon, p.7.

*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 16819, ff. 49^r - 49^v from Compiègne,²⁹ Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H. 304,³⁰ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 289 (olim C. 153),³¹ as well as in new musical settings like the *Officium Stellae* found in the so-called “Fleury Playbook,” a twelfth-century manuscript from the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire now in *Orléans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Cod. 201 (olim 178), pp. 205-214* – a portion of this source, including the trope *Quem non prevalent* was transcribed in Edmond de Coussemaker’s *Drames Liturgiques*.³²*

II. *VIRGINEI FLORIS NOMEN AND O PANIS VITE VENERANDA*

Two other chants in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners whose genres remain something of a mystery both occur after the Magnificat antiphons in Vespers of their respective feasts. Neither is included in Hofmann-Brandt’s listing of responsory tropes, Chevalier’s *Repertorium hymnologicum*, or Andrew Hughes’ *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices* (1994).³³ However, both texts display features of accent, assonance, and rhyme, and both are copied in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners in a manner which suggests that their poetic structure was considered significant, such as might occur in the copying of a troped poetic text.

Virginei floris nomen appears at the end of the feast for Catharine of Alexandria (November 25). In the corpus of Klosterneuburg Office antiphoners dated before 1400, there are four occurrences of this chant. These include the twelfth-century manuscript CCl. 1012 on f. 152^v where the chant is written in a hand later than the main body of the

²⁹Smoldon, p. 130.

³⁰Young, vol. 2, p. 71.

³¹Young, vol. 2, p. 61.

³²E. de Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age: A Facsimile of the 1860 Rennes Edition* (Rennes: H. Vatar, 1860. Facsimile Reprint New York: Broude Brothers, 1964), pp. 153-154 and pp. 163-164. The reference of *Quem non* in this manuscript is included by Dreves, incipit #22271, p. 10, and Smoldon, p. 210. See also, Young, p. 446.

³³Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for electronic research; Texts* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994).

manuscript, and these dated to the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, CCl. 589 on ff. 116^r - 116^v, CCl. 1011 on ff. 229^v - 230^r, and CCl. 1015 on ff. 176^r - 176^v.

CCL. 1012

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
152 ^r	Jam Christi thalamum scandit	Vespers	Antiphon	5
152 ^r	Surge virgo	Vespers	Responsory	
152 ^r	Inclita sancte virginis	Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
152 ^v	Virginei floris nomen	Compline	Antiphon?	Nunc dimittis
152 ^v	Adoremus virginum regem in	Matins	Invitatory	

CCL. 589

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
116 ^r	Jam Christi thalamum scandit	Vespers	Antiphon	5
116 ^r	Surge virgo	Vespers	Responsory	
116 ^r	Inclita sancte virginis	Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
116 ^r	Virginei floris nomen	Compline	Antiphon?	Nunc dimittis
116 ^v	Adoremus virginum regem in	Matins	Invitatory	

CCL. 1011

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
229 ^v	Jam Christi thalamum scandit	Vespers	Antiphon	5
229 ^v	Inclita sancte virginis	Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
229 ^v	Virginei floris cunctis	Compline	Antiphon?	Nunc dimittis
230 ^r	Adoremus virginum regem in	Matins	Invitatory	

CCL. 1015

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
175 ^v	Jam Christi thalamum scandit	Vespers	Antiphon	5
176 ^r	Inclita sancte virginis	Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
176 ^r	Virginei floris nomen	Compline	Antiphon?	Nunc dimittis
176 ^v	Adoremus virginum regem in	Matins	Invitatory	

The text is comprised of eight verses, each of which has been copied in CCl. 1011 and CCl. 1015 with a capital letter at the beginning. Although the neighbouring chants to *Virginei floris nomen* are also poetic, since they are all part of this later-medieval rhymed Office for Catharine, the poetic structure of the other chants in this Office is not emphasized in this striking way. The plan of the text is roughly as follows: verses 1 - 4

proclaim the revered prominence of Catharine among the saints, and the last four verses reveal that her divine conscientiousness will extend to the faithful if they pray to God through her.

FULL TEXT OF *VIRGINEI FLORIS NOMEN*

- 1 Virginei floris nomen admirabile
- 2 Martyrii decus cunctis venerabile
- 3 Admiremur veneremur in virgine Katherina
- 4 Que laudatur adoratur meritis in monte Syna
- 5 Huius quidem apud nos magna est religio
- 6 Sed pro nobis eius sit iugis intercessio
- 7 In cuius preconio benedicamus patri supremo
- 8 Eiusque nato unigenito pneumatique domino

There are no rubrics for *Virginei floris nomen* which might indicate the intended genre or usage in any of the Klosterneuburg sources. The rubric “A” which appears before the word *Admiremur* in both CCl. 1011 and CCl. 1015 is presumably in error in both manuscripts; these sources, though probably not copied from each other, are similar in many respects and seem to have been copied from the same model.

The setting of *Virginei floris nomen* is generally syllabic with occasional neumatic tendencies. There is obvious textual pairing of the eight lines, both in common syllable counts (2 lines of 13 syllables, 2 of 16, 2 of 14, 2 of 17), as well as in the use of end-rhyme of three syllables for the first pair, end-rhyme of one syllable for the second and third pairs, and end-assonance for the last pair. In addition, within each pair, there is internal assonance half-way through each phrase. For example, *floris* and *decus* in the first two lines, *veneremur* and *adoratur* in the next two lines, and so on. Even so, these internal rhymes do not always correspond with the musical setting.

Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift - Bibliothek, 589, ff. 116^r - 116^v

Vir - gi - ne - i flo - ris no - men ad - mi - ra - bi - le
 Mar - ty - ri - i de - cus cun - ctis ve - ne - ra - bi - le
 Ad - mi - re - mur ve - ne - re - mur in vir - gi - ne Ka - the - ri - na
 Quae lau - da - tur a - do - ra - tur me - ri - tis in mon - te Si - na
 Hu - jus qui - dem a - pud nos ma - gna est re - li - gi - o
 Sed pro no - bis e - jus sit ju - gis in - ter - ces - si - o
 In cu - jus pre - co - ni - o be - ne - di - ca - mus pa - tri su - pre - mo
 E - jus - que na - to u - ni - ge - ni - to pneu - ma - ti - que do - mi - no

Although present in some respects, the pairing of lines is not as obvious when considering features of the musical setting of this text. Lines one and two, for example, begin a fifth apart, but maintain the same general shape for the first half of each line. In the second half of line two, the pitches fall to match the E-D-E of the first line; the melodies are then identical to the ends of these lines. As well, the use of single or multiple neume-forms is consistent between lines one and two, even though the pitch levels are different at the beginnings of the lines.

The discrepancies of pitch observed in lines one and two are echoed in a similar comparison of lines three and four. In this case, line three begins an upward ascent by

thirds and remains at a higher pitch level than the fourth line until the word *virgine*. At the corresponding location in line four, at the word *meritis*, the pitches become identical and remain nearly so for the second halves of the lines.

Lines six and seven, on the other hand, are identical both in pitch level and in the appearance of neume forms. This “regular” setting appears rather out of place alongside the other lines in this chant, particularly beside the last two, where any similarity of pitch or use of common neume forms is difficult to see. The final word of the chant, *domino*, reaches a climax in its setting to a striking nearly-scalar ascent followed by a eight-note *climacus*.

The features of this chant are as follows: it is copied after the Magnificat, it has a generally syllabic setting, it has obvious poetic features, and it displays melodic similarities between paired lines. To what genre does this chant belong? No corresponding incipit can be found in any of the standard sources listed above; neither is it found in the *Analecta Hymnica* or the CANTUS database. Matters are further complicated by the presentation in two other Klosterneuburg sources, CCl. 1012 and CCl. 589. In these, there is no obvious division of the text into poetic verses; neither rubrics nor capital letters. This, however, is the only major difference between the four readings.

Without rubrication (and even sometimes with), it is difficult to differentiate between the various genres of chants with poetic texts, and to determine the intended liturgical uses of specific chants. *Virginei floris nomen* displays features common to sequences, prosae, antiphons, hymns, *versus*, processional chants, and others. If the text for *Virginei floris nomen* were not specific to Catharine, it might even be a substitute for the Marian Compline antiphon for the season before Advent, *Salve Regina mater*, sung at the close of Compline. Assignment as a hymn can be ruled out based on the melodic structure of the piece. As Fassler states, “Unlike hymns, which have the same music for each successive strophe, late sequence melodies change with each successive strophe.”³⁴ *Virginei floris nomen*, therefore, appears closer to sequence than hymn. Perhaps, as was

³⁴Fassler, p. 73.

seen in the case of *Quem non prevalent*, this text is an appended prosa intended to be sung with a responsory which has been copied elsewhere in the manuscript. This chant, however, has been placed consistently without a “host” responsory in the four manuscript sources, and there are no rubrics indicating performance practice or abbreviated chant incipits anywhere in the vicinity of *Virginei floris nomen*.

This chant may have been part of a liturgical procession. Antiphons, hymns, or other special pieces were sung during processions, which led to a special altar in a church, to a chapel outside a church, or to another significant location. *Virginei floris nomen* may, too, be a monophonic *conductus*. Although usually found in polyphonic settings, *conductus* are generally considered to be newly-composed sacred songs in Latin verse. As the Latin suggests, these chants accompanied or “guided” movement of someone or something, as might occur in a procession. Janet Knapp writes, “Conductus are associated, in one or more of the Offices, with the readings for Matins and the Mass, the medieval drama, the dismissal following second Vespers, and with the festive meal at the close of the day.”³⁵ These pieces can be either syllabic or melismatic, and the musical setting often reinforces the characteristic repeated structures of the poetry. The *versus* as a genre, new in the eleventh century, cannot be completely discounted either. Rhyme, accentual scansion in the text, and clearly-defined phrases are features of *Virginei floris nomen* that bring its appearance closer to the *versus*. Even so, these are the so-called “distinguishing features” of many of the later-medieval poetic musical genres.

The most obvious genre, and that which would be nearly unquestionable if the verse structure were not emphasized in CCl. 1011 and CCl. 1015, is that of antiphon. The placement of this chant suggests that it might be either an alternate *Magnificat* antiphon or the antiphon in Compline for the *Nunc dimittis*. Although not particularly common in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts, proper Compline antiphons do appear for some feasts. A comparison with the *Magnificat* antiphon *Inclita sancte virginis*, which precedes *Virginei floris nomen*, reveals a musical setting and form somewhat similar to

³⁵Janet Knapp, s.v. “Conductus,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol.3, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1980), p. 651.

the chant in question. Although not as regular in occurrence, features of assonance, rhyme, and textual accent are present. As well, some of the paired lines show some degree of melodic repetition. The pitches deviate approximately to the same extent as those in *Virginei floris nomen*. Although features of other poetic genres are present in *Virginei floris nomen*, it appears that this chant may be merely a later-medieval antiphon typical of those in rhymed Offices; even so, the scribal emphasis placed on the poetic scheme of *Virginei floris nomen* – the cause of the striking change in appearance among the other chants of the same Office – remains unexplained.

A case nearly identical to that just described occurs for the chant *O panis vite veneranda* in the feast of Corpus Christi. There are three examples in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts: CCl. 589 on f. 45^r, CCl. 1011 on ff. 240^r - 240^v, and CCl. 1015 on f. 185^v. There is no change in hand for this chant in any of the sources.

CCL. 589

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
45 ^r	Ego sum panis vivus qui de	Lauds	Antiphon	Benedictus
45 ^r	O sacrum convivium in quo	Second Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
45 ^r	O panis vite veneranda	Compline	Antiphon	Nunc dimittis

CCL. 1011

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
240 ^r	Ego sum panis vivus qui de	Lauds	Antiphon	Benedictus
240 ^r	Ad sacrum convivium in quo	Second Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
240 ^r	O panis vite veneranda	Compline	Antiphon	Nunc dimittis

CCL. 1015

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
185 ^r	Ego sum panis vivus qui de	Lauds	Antiphon	Benedictus
185 ^r	Ad sacrum convivium in quo	Second Vespers	Antiphon	Magnificat
185 ^v	O panis vite veneranda	Compline	Antiphon	Nunc dimittis

O panis vite is placed in all three sources after the Magnificat antiphon of second Vespers, and its four-line text has features of accent, assonance, and rhyme. In CCl. 1011 and CCl. 1015, both upper-case letters and the rubric “v” define each poetic verse. This

striking change in the manner of copying sets *O panis vite* apart from its neighbouring chants in the same way as happened with *Virginei floris nomen*.

FULL TEXT OF *O PANIS VITE VENERANDA*

- 1 O panis vite veneranda refectio rite
- 2 Ens caro sincera verbum patris hostia vera
- 3 Nosmet inherere tibi fac deus ac homo vere
- 4 Atque tui Jesus pie nos ale corporis esu Alleluia

The text, with its invocations of “the bread of life” and “genuine flesh,” is appropriate to the feast of Corpus Christi. Each of the four lines displays “leonine” rhyme only. Based on this internal rhyme, each line can be divided into two phrases: the first of 5 + 10 syllables, the second of 6 + 9, the third of 6 + 8, and the fourth of 6 + 10, with an additional *alleluia*. The text-setting is one of the only differences between this chant and *Virginei floris nomen* in terms of determining genre; *O panis vite* is generally neumatic, and tends towards melismatic.

Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift - Bibliothek, 1011, ff. 240^r - 240^v

O pa - nis vi - te ve - ner - an - da re - fe - cti - o vi - te

Mens ca - ro sin - ce - ra ver - bum pa - tris ho - sti - a ve - ra

Nos - met in - he - re - re ti - bi fac de - us ac ho - mo ve - re

At - que tu - i Je - su pi - e nos a - le cor - po - ris e - su

Al - le - lu - ia

Again, owing to the scribal emphasis on poetic structure, a genre other than those standard for the Office is suggested. *O panis vite* could be any of conductus, hymn, versus, processional, or another poetic genre for reasons similar to those given above for *Virginei floris nomen*. The text is appropriate to the feast, so an alternate to the Marian antiphon is unlikely. That it is an isolated prosa intended to be sung elsewhere with a responsory seems doubtful.

The solution to this quandary appears to be found in the third example of this chant in the Klosterneuburg sources, in CCl. 589. In this instance only, a differentia appears in the margin: this chant is an antiphon, or at least, was used as an antiphon when CCl. 589 was copied. This conclusion is confirmed both by the entry in *Analecta Hymnica*, which shows this text as the Compline antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis*,³⁶ and by the single occurrence in the CANTUS database in the fourteenth-century manuscript *Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 611*. In this source, *O panis vite* occurs as the antiphon for the third nocturn of Matins. It is interesting, however, that although *O panis vite* has been assigned a differentia and therefore acts as the antiphon for the third nocturn of Matins, another antiphon, *Homo quidam*, has been entered in abbreviated form as an alternate for that position.

EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK, 611

<u>FOLIO</u>	<u>INCIPIIT</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>GENRE</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
121v	Accept Jesus calicem	Matins	Responsory	2.4
122r	Memoria memor ero et tabescet	Matins	Verse	01
122r	Gloria patri et filio et	Matins	Verse	02
122r	<i>O panis vite veneranda</i>	Matins	Antiphon	3.
122r	Homo quidam	Matins	Antiphon	3. (alternate)
122r	Educas panem de terra	Mains	versicle	3.

The confirmation in two sources of *O panis vite* as an antiphon, not only in the Compline position but also in Matins, gives weight to the assignment of *Virginei floris nomen* as the antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis*. Although the chants share the textual and

³⁶Dreves, vol. 5, p. 22.

melodic features of tropes and liturgical songs, these latter two examples appear to be merely two of the usual antiphons sung in the Office Hours.

Concerning the “new” works of eleventh-century Frankish composers, Richard Crocker writes, “... their works seem to reveal a strength of individual conception, a sense of purpose equal to the task of giving new impetus to Western music.”³⁷ It has often been observed that this repertory of “new” music was, for the most part, a product of artistic impulses rather than liturgical ones. The apparent disassociation from “host” chants of monophonic chants with poetic texts supports the suggestions, made by several scholars, that texts and music initially conceived as tropes to existing chants may have been recognized as independent entities, or “spiritual songs.” The separation in the manuscript of *Quem non prevalent* from its “host” responsory causes it to appear much more as an independent song than the other responsory tropes in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners. It is not unreasonable to suppose that *Quem non prevalent* might have been sung alone. The scribal emphasis on the poetic nature of *Virginei floris nomen* and *O panis vite veneranda* points also to the “song-like” features of these chants. Indeed, the inscription in a late tenth-century manuscript containing mostly tropes from the monastery church of Prüm (now Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9448*) reads “codicem cantus modulamine plenum” – full of beautiful song.³⁸

³⁷Crocker, p. 269.

³⁸Ritva Jonsson, “The Liturgical Function of the Tropes,” in *Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a symposium organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm, June 1-3, 1981*, ed. by Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1983), p. 99.

CHAPTER 8

ANTIPHONS AND THE APPLICATION OF DIFFERENTIAE IN MEDIEVAL PSALMODY: A CASE STUDY OF CCL. 1017 AND 1018

From the earliest days of Christian gatherings, the recitation of psalm texts has held great importance, both as a principal scriptural source for prayer and worship, and as a thread linking the new cult of Christianity with the ancient traditions of Judaism. The formulaic “tones” of the eight ecclesiastical modes to which psalm texts were chanted in the so-called “Gregorian” or “Frankish-Roman” rite regularly operated with varied endings, called *differentiae* in Latin. The selections and applications of these “differences” by the medieval cantors have been accounted for in various ways by many modern scholars. However, whether based on modal theories or melodic movements between psalm-tones and their associated antiphons, these explanations are often insufficient. Although psalmodic recitation formulae appear in some of the earliest notated chant sources, tracing the history of early psalmody is a difficult task owing to a lack of specific information concerning the primarily oral tradition of the Gregorian chant repertory before the ninth century. An examination of the applications of *differentiae* in psalm-tones and the relationships of these *differentiae* to antiphon melodies in two of the fourteenth-century Klosterneuburg antiphoners, CCL. 1017 and 1018, may begin to clarify the problematic assumptions concerning the practical applications of these psalm-tone terminations.

In medieval Christian worship, the centuries-old oral tradition of psalmody formed the basis for the daily Hours of the Office.

THE USUAL DAILY HOURS OF THE OFFICE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

OFFICE	FROM LATIN	TIME OF SERVICE	ALSO KNOWN AS
Matins	<i>matutinum</i>	before sunrise	The Night Office
Lauds	<i>laudes</i> (“praises”)	at sunrise	

Prime	<i>ad primam horam</i>	at 6:00 a.m., first hour of Roman day	The Little Hours
Terce	<i>ad tertiam horam</i>	at 9:00 a.m., third hour of Roman day	
Sext	<i>ad sextam horam</i>	at 12:00 p.m., sixth hour of Roman day	
None	<i>ad nonam horam</i>	at 3:00 p.m., ninth hour of Roman day	
Vespers	<i>ad vesperam</i>	at sunset	
Compline	<i>completorium</i>	before retiring	

Although they comprise the fundamental elements of the Offices, chanted psalm texts are by no means restricted to these services; they are also found in the Mass in such pieces as the Introit and Communion. It must be remembered, though, that just as the re-enactment of the Last Supper is the significant moment in the Mass, it is the singing of the psalms that is central to the Office.

EARLY PSALMODY

Owing to a lack of musical notation, or more accurately, the persistence of a strong oral tradition for nearly a millennium, the history of Christian psalmody is incomplete before the ninth century. The evidence for psalm recitation in the early church is found in written documents of varying types, such as Biblical passages, liturgical treatises, letters, and accounts by witnesses to a foreign tradition such as might be written during a pilgrimage. Many of the early accounts specify prayer at several times of the day¹ or even “constantly” (I Thessalonians 1:2, and 5:17),² though it is unclear

¹The Vulgate text of Acts of the Apostles 2:46 reads, *cotidie quoque perdurantes unanimitate in templo et frangentes circa domos panem sumebant cibum cum exultatione et simplicitate cordis* (“And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart” [translation from the King James’ Version]). The *Didache*, dating from the middle of the first century, specifies the praying of the Lord’s Prayer “Our Father” three times a day. [Taft, p. 13.] Also from the first century is a letter by Clement of Rome to the Corinthians

whether the latter is intended as an actual period of heartfelt prayer or merely a proposed state of mind. The use of psalm texts in group prayer or worship, rather than in private devotion, is detailed by the third century Roman author of the *Apostolic Tradition*. Although this document survives only in disjointed fragments, and has been pieced together from manuscripts dating across several centuries, the writer specifies the saying of psalms in several different contexts. For example, a description of an evening worship service includes the reciting of psalms after some introductory material praising God and giving thanks for the day. The text reads:

They shall rise, then, after supper and pray; and the boys and the virgins shall say psalms. And then the deacon, when he receives the mixed cup of the offering, shall say a psalm from those in which “Alleluia” is written, and then, if the priest so directs, again from the same psalms. And after the bishop has offered the cup, he shall say the whole of a psalm which applies to the cup, with “Alleluia,” all joining in. When they recite psalms, all shall say, “Alleluia,” which means, “We praise him who is God; glory and praise to him who created every age through his word alone.” And when the psalm is finished, he shall give thanks over the cup and distribute the fragments to all the faithful.³

Although the author writes that the psalms shall be “said,” it is generally accepted that these poetic texts were recited (sung continuously to a tone) or sung, as was the practice of the ancient world in the execution of texts with elevated language. The word itself, “psalm,” is derived from the Greek “psalmos” (ψαλμός) meaning “a song to the harp.”⁴

which includes the direction for praying “at set times” (*kata kairous tetagmenous*). [Taft, pp. 13-14.] Other witnesses of early Christianity, including Clement of Alexandria (North African, d. ca. 215), Origen (North African, d. ca. 254), Tertullian (North African, d. after 220), Cyprian (North African, d. ca. 258), and the writer of the *Apostolic Tradition* (Roman, ca. 215) specify in varying degrees of detail the multiple times daily when Christians pray, or ought to pray.

³The Vulgate text of 1 Thessalonians 1:2 reads, *gratias agimus Deo semper pro omnibus vobis memoriam facientes in orationibus nostris SINE INTERMISSIONE* (emphasis mine – “without interruption”). 1 Thess. 5:17 commands, *sine intermissione orate* (“Pray without ceasing”).

³Taft, p. 27.

⁴It must be remembered, however, that interpretations of ancient texts can be waylaid, in our modern view, by a lack of imprecise terminology. For example, the distinction between “hymn” and “psalm” is unclear in some writings, as psalms are sometimes identified as “hymns of praise;” it is

Numerous other accounts from the Eastern church were written in the centuries following the Edict of Milan, issued in 313 C.E. by the recently-converted Emperor Constantine. This act extended toleration to the hitherto persecuted Christians. Details concerning the monastic communities of the western church are contained in several documents which survive from the years following the so-called “Barbarian” invasions of the Goths and the Germanic tribes in the fifth century. Of these, the *Ordo Monasterii* is perhaps the oldest, providing the first detailed account of the western monastic cursus.⁵ This text dates from late-fourth-century Northern Africa, and is therefore presumed to be contemporary with the writings of Augustine; the importance of the *Ordo Monasterii* lies in its use as a model by several authors for their own writings of monastic “Rules.”

These extant writings from various regions and traditions within the western church provide increasingly detailed accounts of both the elements of Christian worship and the allocation of these elements throughout daily services. In the Middle Ages, the 150 psalms of the psalter were divided between the Hours in a repeating cycle, with a specified number of psalms being performed at each service. According to the various “Rules” and liturgical traditions or “rites,” such as the Ambrosian (Milanese), Gallican, Mozarabic, and others, the psalter was recited over varying periods which lasted from several days to a number of weeks. Local practices within cathedrals and monasteries determined the period over which the psalter was spread, as well as the distribution of the psalms throughout the Offices.

Benedict, one of the most influential figures in the history of the western church, wrote in his *Regula* (c. 530) that, “Our spiritual fathers performed with determination in one day what we now take a whole week to do.”⁶ The ecclesiastical historian Robert Taft questions Benedict’s statement as he comments, “But I know of no early evidence to

particularly helpful in the study of early psalmody if the writer has specified the author of the poetic texts as “David,” or provided a textual incipit to clarify the source as a Biblical psalm.

⁵Taft, p. 94.

⁶*The Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. by Anthony C. Meisel and M.L. del Mastro (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 68.

support Benedict's assertion that, apart from the occasional *agrypinia* or all-night vigil, it was usual to do the entire psalter *every single day*.⁷ Even so, the Irish monastic cursus, as recorded by Columban (ca. 543-615) in his *Regula monachorum*, incorporates a great number of psalms especially during the longer winter nights; this "rule" approaches Benedict's presumed ancient ideal. Columban specifies that the first two night Offices had twelve psalms each, and Matins had thirty-six psalms on winter weekdays, a number which was decreased to twenty-four in the summer. The Matins psalms on Saturdays and Sundays totalled seventy-five in the winter, and thirty-six in the summer.⁸ According to Columban's monastic rule, therefore, monks were required to recite ninety-nine psalms on weekend nights during the winter, in addition to the nine psalms assigned to the three day Offices, a total of 108 psalms per day on winter Saturdays and Sundays.

In Benedict's own guidelines, a less extreme approach was taken in which the complete psalter was chanted only once a week. Benedict does warn, however, that "... monks who in a week's time sing less than the full psalter with the customary canticles betray extreme indolence and lack of devotion in their service."⁹

The use of this Benedictine, monastic cursus of the Gregorian rite was widespread throughout western monasteries. In the secular (also "Roman" or cathedral) cursus, used by cathedral clergy, the psalms were also distributed over a single week. Yet, even though the period of psalm distribution in the secular cursus is the same as that for the monastic (i.e., 150 psalms over one week), the specific assignment of psalms to each Office is different. For instance, four psalms plus antiphons are recited at monastic Vespers, but five are sung at the cathedral Office. Although in the monastic cursus the psalms are assigned generally in sequence (i.e., numerical order), psalms or sections of psalms were often chosen for particular Offices in the cathedral liturgy because of the suitability of their texts. For example, Ps. 133 is used regularly at Compline, since the

⁷Taft, p. 115.

⁸Taft, p. 114.

⁹T. Fry, ed., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981), p. 215.

text refers to the appropriate time of day: “Behold, bless ye the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord, which by night stand in the house of the Lord.” In addition to these ritual differences in psalm allocation, specific usages in the Gregorian liturgy had been developed by the later Middle Ages to accommodate the psalm recitation for three types of liturgical occasions: those of the *Temporale* (the feasts of the Lord throughout the church year, such as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, including the seasons of Advent, Lent, etc.), those of the *Sanctorale* (saints’ feasts of varying classes and types), and the ferial or weekly cycle (chants to be used on ordinary days when no other feast takes precedence).

PSALMODY AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

The Klosterneuburg liturgy, hailing from a monastery of uncloistered Augustinian canons founded in the twelfth century, follows the secular cursus. Unnotated textual incipits for the psalms, merely cues to a particular text in the psalter, occur in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts, for the most part, following the antiphons with which they are to be sung. Although the psalm texts are used many times throughout a year, they are usually accompanied by different antiphons. The majority of antiphons in the Office are sung with the liturgical cycles of psalms and canticles.¹⁰ Antiphons are generally specific to their liturgical purpose, whether that be a common ferial day or a particular feast. Owing to their “proper” nature, antiphons often number in the thousands for a complete year. This is certainly the case in CCl. 1013 and 1012 which together record all the feasts of one yearly liturgical cycle; of their 5054 chants, 2304 are antiphons. The proportion of antiphons is nearly the same in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts dated two centuries later which also record the sung liturgy for a full year: of the 5041 chants in CCl. 1017 and 1018, 2281 are antiphons.

With reference to the textual psalm cues which follow the notated ferial antiphons (i.e., the antiphons sung on ordinary days, when no occasion of the *Temporale* or *Sanctorale* displaced the regular weekly cycle), the sequential psalm cursus used at

¹⁰Canticles are biblical passages of a poetic nature and are usually recited in the same manner as the psalms.

Klosterneuburg can be reconstructed. In contrast to CCl. 1013, which provides nearly every psalm incipit for the ferial cycle, the other four antiphoners which record the ferial Office do not provide complete psalm cues after the antiphon texts. However, the order and usage of the psalms throughout the ferial cycle could have been ascertained from the liturgical psalter; it is fairly standard among cathedral or “secular” sources. Despite some missing cues, the psalm indications in the antiphoners from Klosterneuburg are complete enough, with reference only to these manuscripts, to confirm the Klosterneuburg psalm cycle.

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 150 PSALMS AT KLOSTERNEUBURG:
THE SEQUENTIAL CURSUS
(as reconstructed by textual cues in the antiphoners
CCl. 1010, 1011, 1013, 1015 and 1017)**

	MATINS	LAUDS	DAY HOURS	SECOND VESPERS
SUNDAY	94 ¹¹	50	118	109
	1,2,3,5,6	(92) ¹²	118	110
	7,8,9,10	62,66	118	111
	11,12,13,14	canticle	118	112
	15	148,149,150		113
	16			
	17			
	18			
	19			
	20			

¹¹Psalm 94, *Venite exsultemus Domino*, has a special function as the psalm which is recited with the Invitatory Antiphon. This psalm is sung to different set of tones than those of the eight-mode system for ordinary use.

¹²Psalm 92 is not actually specified in any of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners listed above. However, its use in this position is highly likely. The other psalm numbers which are missing from this list are recited regularly as “ordinary” items of certain Offices and can be accounted for in Benedict’s *Regula*.

MONDAY	94 26,27 28,29 30,31 32,33 34,35 36,37	50 5 62,66 canticle 148,149,150	118 118 118 118	114 115 116 119 120
TUESDAY	94 38,39 40,41 43,44 45,46 47,48 49,51	50 42 62,66 canticle 148,149,150		121 122 123 124 125
WEDNESDAY	94 52,54 55,56 57,58 59,60 61,63 65,67	50 64 62,66 canticle 148,149,150		126 127 128 129 130
THURSDAY	94 68,69 70,71 72,73 74,75 76,77 78,79	50 89 62,66 canticle 148,149,150		131 132 134 135 136
FRIDAY	94 80,81 82,83 84,85 86,87 88,93 95,96	50 142 62,66 canticle 148,149,150		137 138 139 140 141

SATURDAY	94	50		143
	97,98	91		144
	99,100	62.66		145
	101,102	canticle		146
	103,104	148,149,150		147
	105,106			
	107,108			

Those psalms listed in the preceding table on a single line separated by commas are grouped together and sung to a single antiphon. Any of the 150 psalms of the psalter not accounted for in the above table (i.e., not specified in any of the five Klosterneuburg antiphoners listed above) are those texts which were not included in the sequential cursus because they were sung as a matter of course in other parts of the Office. Terence Bailey writes, "The Psalms missing in the Roman ferial cursus are those that Benedict said were 'reserved for various offices.'"¹³ Psalms for many of the Day Hours and for Compline, for example, are not specified in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts, nor are their accompanying antiphons. It was usual for the antiphons of Compline to be grouped together by season in manuscripts; these were common items that would have been repeated frequently throughout the year, so the correct usage was known without need of a textual reference at this location in the manuscript. (One would assume that the entire ferial Office and the psalter were well known "by heart" among the clerics — memorization of the psalter was required in monasteries — so the references made to the psalm cycle within the antiphoners may have been merely archival.) Along with the lengthy Psalm 118 which is split into as many as twenty-two octanaria and sung during the Day Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, Psalms 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 53 and 117 are also spread among the Offices of Prime throughout the week.¹⁴ The Office of Compline regularly employs Psalms 4, 30, 90,¹⁵ and 133 grouped under a single antiphon.

¹³Terence Bailey, *Antiphon and Psalm in the Ambrosian Office* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1994), p. 185. Benedict specifies these psalms in Chapter 18 of his *Regula*.

¹⁴Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 234.

¹⁵The *Nunc Dimittis* canticle takes the place of Psalm 90 during Easter week. [Hiley, p. 30.]

The major canticles, which are intoned throughout the year to mostly proper antiphons whose texts refer to the readings of the day, are those of the New Testament. These include the canticle of the Blessed Virgin Mary from Luke 1: 46-55, beginning *Magnificat anima mea Dominum* sung near the end of Vespers, the canticle of Zachary from Luke 1: 68-79, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* sung near the end of Lauds, and the canticle of Simeon for Compline with text from Luke 2: 29-32, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine*. The texts of the lesser canticles, referred to in the above table as the fourth recited text for Lauds each day, are taken from the Old Testament. These include the canticles of:

- † The Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, from Daniel 3: 52-57, *Benedictus es Domine Deus patrem* (the second part starting at verse 57 begins *Benedicite omnia opera*) for Sunday¹⁶
- † Isaias, from Isaiah 12: 1-6, *Confitebor tibi Domine* for Monday
- † Ezechias, from Isaiah 38: 10-20, *Ego dixi in dimidio dierum* for Tuesday
- † Anna, from I Samuel 2: 1-10, *Exsultavit cor meum in Domino* for Wednesday
- † Moses, from Exodus 15: 1-18, *Cantemus Domino gloriose* for Thursday
- † Habakkuk, from Habakkuk 3: 2-19, *Domine audivi auditum tuum* for Friday
- † Moses, from Deuteronomy 32: 1-43, *Audite caeli quae loquor* for Saturday

PSALM-TONES

The melodies, or “tones,” which eventually became standard in the recitation of psalm texts for the Gregorian Offices follow a basic plan comprising several formulaic elements. The reciting tone (also called *tenor* or *tuba*) is inflected at its beginning (intonation, *initium* or *intonatio*) for the first verse of the psalm, its midpoint (mediant or *mediatio*), and its final cadence (*terminatio*). This ending is identified with the terms

¹⁶This is the only one of the seven Old Testament canticles that is not cited by name in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners. Although the canticle of the Three Boys (*tres pueri*) is a standard text for this position in Sunday Lauds, it is unfortunate that there is only one complete listing of Lauds antiphons (in CCl. 1013) for which a specific citation could have been made. It is often the case that a missing entry in one of the five Klosterneuburg manuscripts referenced here will be entered into another, thereby allowing confirmation of the liturgical traditions at this monastery.

differentia, *distinctio*, and *diffinitio*,¹⁷ and is the most variable element of the psalm-tone formula. These psalm-tones have the fundamentally practical purpose of conveying the psalm text. They are adapted and repeated for every verse of the psalm, as well as for the lesser doxology (*Gloria patri*) which, through ancient practices, has traditionally been added to the end of each of the psalms.

In the Klosterneuburg sources, psalm-tone formulae are rarely written out fully in manuscripts. Indications for psalms in service books are normally just brief textual incipits written after the antiphons, as full psalm texts were available in psalters. Since the only varying pitches of the psalm-tones within each mode are in the *differentiae*, psalm cues are generally accompanied only by a short pattern of neumes representing the correct ending to be used in the performance of the psalm-tone. In many antiphoners, the *differentiae* are found notated over the letters E-U-O-U-A-E, which is the conventional abbreviation for *seculorum amen*. These six syllables comprise the final words of the *Gloria patri* doxology, and so, are recited at the final cadence of every psalm recitation. In some manuscripts, the pitches for only two syllables of the formula are provided over the word *Amen* with the assumption that these neumes were distinctive enough for the singers to determine the proper performance of the psalm-tone and its cadence.

Within the eight-mode system, which, since the eighth century has governed the classification of Gregorian chant, there is one psalm-tone formula for each mode, although, of course, with varied endings. These tones, as applied in this modal system, are dependent on the modal classification of the antiphons to determine many of their characteristics; the most obvious is the reciting note. The tendency of the later-medieval cantors was to recite a fifth above the final of the antiphon in authentic modes and a third above in plagal modes.

Although recitation on the note B in the third mode was acceptable at the time of the earliest surviving writings on psalmody, such as in the early tenth-century didactic

¹⁷Around the year 1000, *diffinitio* (*definitio*) meant “ending;” c. 1320 it is recorded with the meaning “to come to an end.” [R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 136.]

text, the *Commemoratio Brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis*,¹⁸ this reciting note was replaced by C in later sources of the Gregorian rite.¹⁹ This received general agreement by the time of the twelfth-century treatise *De musica* of John of Afflighem, where recitation on the note B is avoided.²⁰ The association of this treatise with the area around St. Gall (i.e., a region of German influence) seems significant, since the avoidance of B (the lower pitch of the semitone step) recalls the features of the so-called “Germanic chant dialect.” However, owing to both the substitution of this tone in regions extending all over Europe, as well as the appearance of B rather than C in early sources from all regions, including Germanic ones, Maria-Elisabeth Heisler refutes any direct connection between the east-Frankish melodic tradition and the recitation on C instead of B.²¹

In the modal system in use during the later Middle Ages, then, there were only four reciting notes available for psalms (A, C, D, or F). This resulted in common characteristics and some duplication within the eight psalm-tones. In the *Commemoratio Brevis*, the author writes that, “the sixth mode is like the first, and the last like the second.”²² This overlap can still be found in modern books of reconstructed chant, such as the *Liber Usualis*, where the sixth tone is identical to the first until the last few notes, those of the *differentiae*.²³

MODAL DETERMINATION

The irregularities in the system of psalm-tones can be better understood when it is

¹⁸See the example on pp. 48–49 of Terence Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis de Tonis et Psalmis Modulandis: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979).

¹⁹It should be noted that recitation on B was retained in Milan.

²⁰John, “On Music (*De musica*),” in Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, p. 118.

²¹“Ein direkter Zusammenhang zwischen Rezitationstonverschiebung von h nach c und dem ‘germanischen Choraldialekt’ (sic) besteht nicht.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 57.] For more on the recitation in the third psalm-tone, see Heisler’s summary of previous research and commentary on pp. 54–57.

²²“Tonus sextus imitatur primum et secundum nouissimus.” [Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis*, pp. 74–75.]

²³The Monks of Solesmes, eds., *The liber usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée, 1963), pp. 112–117.

remembered that the eight-mode system was imposed on an existing repertoire of chant at the Frankish court. Michel Huglo states that, “When, in the late eighth century, the eight Gregorian psalm-tones were adopted for the singing of the ... Offices, it was found difficult to fit them to the Psalter antiphons ... there the psalm-tones had to be imposed on the antiphons indiscriminately, and they are at times at odds with them.”²⁴ The suppression of the Gallican liturgy in Frankish lands and its replacement by the Roman liturgy occurred after 753 through the determination of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (742-766) and the *Schola Cantorum Mettensis* (Schola Cantorum of Metz) which he founded. Chrodegang was influential in the development of “Gregorian” chant, and his *Regula Canonicorum* was followed in all Frankish cathedrals for the Office Hours. This rule is largely based on the Benedictine guidelines, and was approved by the Council of Aachen in 816.²⁵

Since the choices of psalm-tone formulae were based on the modes of the antiphons, any difficulties in identifying those modes made the resulting psalm-tone determinations problematic. The often-troublesome task of modal determination encountered by the early medieval cantors is alluded to in the *Commemoratio Brevis*, where Terence Bailey observes that there are a good number of what he terms “special tones — the remnants, evidently, of an earlier practice,” tones which do not follow the standard recitation patterns.²⁶ The author of the *Commemoratio Brevis* writes, “In addition to these [standard] psalm intonations, which are suitable in most instances for the modes mentioned above, there are others which may be used.”²⁷ These “special tones,” which are usually identified by the chants which they accompany (i.e., not specifically by modal number), were applied to antiphons whose musical characteristics

²⁴Michel Huglo, s.v. “Antiphon,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 1, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 477.

²⁵Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Der Karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), p. 1.

²⁶Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis*, p. 16.

²⁷“Extra has quoque ad plerosque desupradictis tonis et aliae psalmodum modulationes aptantur ...” [Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis*, pp. 50-51.]

made modal attribution problematic. This accounts for several irregularities that survive in the psalm-tone formulae which disobey the rules of “Gregorian” psalmody.²⁸

DIFFERENTIAE

A variety of cadences was available for most psalm-tones. This was, however, by no means a standard arrangement, as medieval sources regularly differ on the number of differentiae they provide for each tone. The author of the *Commemoratio Brevis* states, “Furthermore, because of the diversity of the antiphons associated with the psalms, the verse endings of nearly all of the eight [regular] melodies are variable.”²⁹ Although there can be great diversity in the treatment of differentiae between sources from different liturgical centres, there is a similarity in the appearances and applications of these formulae throughout the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation here. For the majority of antiphons, the psalm intonations are indicated by neumes which were to be sung with the six syllables of *saeculorum amen*; these patterns are marginal additions to these antiphoners, and are accompanied by no text or letters. In these service books, the notation of the differentiae does not generally correspond to the staves of the main body of chants, even if F-lines (coloured or not) appear, as they rarely do, in the margins. Even so, the neumes of each pattern are heightened so that the correct melodic shape of the differentia can be identified. Since all performers were familiar with the psalm-tone formulae and the various differentiae for each mode, these brief melodic outlines would

²⁸Even so, there appears to have been a misunderstanding in modern chant researches concerning the tone commonly identified as the *tonus peregrinus* (“wandering” or “alien” tone). An example of this psalm-tone, which is applied only to a small number of antiphons, is included in the *Commemoratio Brevis* as one of its “special” tones [p. 55]. However, the psalm verse used in this example is so short that there is no noticeable repetition of the standard reciting note in the second half of the psalm verse. This has resulted in what appears to be a misreading of the psalm-tone formula; many modern scholars, including the monks of Solesmes, have been led to believe that the *tonus peregrinus* has a different reciting note for each half of the psalm verse, yet this is not necessarily the case. The point is moot with respect to this study, however, as there are no occurrences of the so-called *tonus peregrinus* in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners.

²⁹“Preterea pro diuersitate antiphonarum quae psalmis adiunguntur, per omnes pene octo tonorum melodias finis uersuum uariatur, quarum diuersitatum in primo tono hae formae sunt” [Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis*, pp. 56-57.]

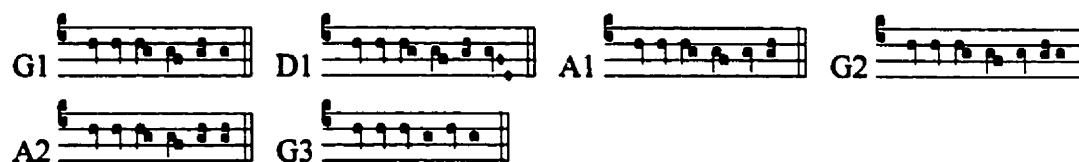
have been sufficient for the identification of the cadential formulae.

In a seemingly isolated occurrence in CCl. 1017, the method of indicating the correct psalm intonation is not by differentia patterns, but rather by the initia of the psalm-tones combined with Roman numerals which provide mode numbers placed in the margins. This alteration of technique coincides on ff. 72^r - 73^v with the striking change of notation hand to what appears to be an older neume style. Ironically, such a system using Roman numerals instead of differentiae to distinguish mode and psalm-tone formulae seems to be a later form of identification.

The following is a composite listing of all the differentiae encountered in the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners under investigation. As can be seen, the variety of cadences used in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners includes six differentiae for the seventh and first modes, four each for modes III, IV, and VIII, two for mode V, and one each for modes II and VI. There are, therefore, twenty-eight possible variations of the psalm-tone. Of the twenty-eight differentiae, twenty-three occur in all of the manuscripts.³⁰ These differentiae are identified by both a letter and a number; the letter indicates the pitch on which the formula ends, and an arbitrary number distinguishes formulas that end on the same pitch within a single mode.

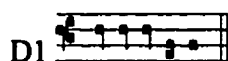
DIFFERENTIAE USED IN THE KLOSTERNEUBURG ANTIPHONERS

MODE I

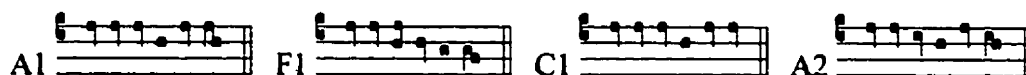


³⁰The exceptions include: Mode III C1 is found only in CCl. 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, and 1017; Mode III A2 occurs only in CCl. 589, 1011, 1012, 1015, and 1018; Mode IV A1 occurs in CCl. 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1015, and 1017; Mode VII C3 is found only in CCl. 589, 1010, 1012, 1013, 1017, and 1018; and Mode VII B2 occurs only in CCl. 589, 1012, 1017, and 1018.

MODE II



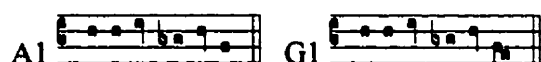
MODE III



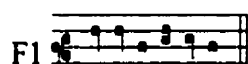
MODE IV



MODE V



MODE VI



MODE VII

MODE VIII³¹

This Klosterneuburg practice can be compared both to the ninth-century tonary from Metz now known as *Metz, Stadtbibliothek, 351 (olim 869)* which has eleven

³¹Although the square notation used to represent these pitches does not reflect the appearance of the Klosterneuburg manuscripts, I have chosen this “Meinrad” chant-notation font over modern noteheads on a five-line staff in order to more closely represent the neume groupings without having to resort to modern slurs or manual spacing of the pitches.

different differentiae for mode I, 1 for mode II,³² seven for mode III, ten for mode IV, three for mode V, two for mode VI, thirteen (!) for mode VII, and seven for mode VIII,³³ as well as to the modern chant book, the *Liber Usualis*, which lists ten possible endings for mode I, five each for modes III, IV, and VII, three endings for mode VIII, and one each for modes II, V, VI, and the *peregrinus* tone. Around the year 900, Regino of Prüm complained that there were too many *divisiones* (differentiae), and he consequently reduced their number in his own tonary.³⁴ In a comparison of “Gregorian” to “Old Roman” sources, Thomas Connolly observes that the surviving Old Roman antiphoners far exceed the Gregorian books in the number and variety of their endings, with more than twenty, for example, for both the first and eighth tones.³⁵ On the other hand, the Cistercians reduced the number in their books to only one differentia for each mode.

It is clear, then, that medieval practice was not uniform in the performance of psalm-tone cadences. Along with the diversity in numbers and types of differentiae, some sources indicate that attention was paid to the accentuation of the text being sung, while others show these cadential formulae being applied cursorily.³⁶ This creates an even wider divergence among local practices. The question is raised then, why are there so many differentiae? Some scholars have speculated that a proportional distribution of

³²Two differentiae are provided for mode II, but the pitches are generally the same — one of the versions has a significative letter over the last neume. [Lipphardt, *Der Karolingische Tonar*, p. 32.]

³³The antiphons associated with each of these differentiae are listed in Lipphardt as follows: mode I on pp. 21-32, mode II on pp. 32-33, mode III on pp. 33-36, mode IV on pp. 36-40, mode V on pp. 40-41, mode VI on pp. 41-42, mode VII on pp. 42-49, and mode VIII on pp. 49-60.

³⁴Thomas Connolly, s.v. “Psalm,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 15 (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 328. See, for example, the comparisons made by Lipphardt between the number of differentiae per mode in the Metz tonary (*Metz, Stadtbibliothek, 351*) and those specified by Regino and Aurelian. [Lipphardt, *Der Karolingische Tonar*, pp. 222, 227, 231, 235, 236, and 241.]

³⁵Connolly, p. 329.

³⁶An ACCENTUAL CADENCE involves the careful placement of the last accented textual syllable on a particular note in the differentia. Accents normally correspond to pitches in a chant that are higher than those of neighbouring syllables. A CURSIVE CADENCE is the simple mechanical application of text to notes without any concern for a correspondence of the text with the melody.

the differentiae throughout the modes may have governed their numbers, with the modes containing the fewest number of antiphons (usually the fifth and sixth) having the smallest number of differentiae, and the mode with the most antiphons (usually the first) having the most differentiae. The theory that these endings may have multiplied in proportion to demand cannot, however, find support in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts. A division of the antiphons by mode in CCl. 1017 and 1018 reveals that the largest number of antiphons are in the eighth mode, with the fewest in fifth mode.

CCl. 1017 and 1018 ANTIPHONS BY MODE ³⁷		
	NUMBER OF ANTIPHONS	ANTIPHONS WITH DIFFERENTIAE INDICATED
Mode I	433	383
Mode II	138	100
Mode III	110	101
Mode IV	262	226
Mode V	70	53
Mode VI	117	82
Mode VII	280	244
Mode VIII	507	433

The most differentiae occur not in mode VIII, but in modes VII, I, III, and IV, while a single differentia is found in modes II and VI. The Klosterneuburg manuscripts, therefore, do not offer proportional modal distribution in their differentia assignment.³⁸

³⁷A small discrepancy between the total of these figures and the number of antiphons listed earlier is owing to those antiphons whose mode could not be determined as a result of either a lack of notation or indecipherable pitch content.

³⁸It must be noted, however, that interpretations may vary in the number of actual differentiae used in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts, since there are several differentiae patterns which contain only slight differences from other differentiae of the same mode. For example, B1 and B2 in the seventh mode differ only slightly. Although their independent labelling has been maintained owing to repeated use of those

This null result provides some evidence that these formulae existed before the artificial imposition of modes on “Gregorian” chant, since such a measurement based in the newer (i.e., modal) system reveals nothing. With respect to the use of differentiae, one wonders, too, why the scribes diligently copied the differentia patterns for modes which have only a single differentia (modes II and VI). The mode number would have been determined by the range of the melody and the *finalis*, and as there is only one cadence, there would have been nothing from which to distinguish the single differentia. Such a force of scribal habit to continue copying unnecessary information suggests that the differentiae were in place long before the imposed modal system.

THE RELATIONSHIP TO ANTIPHONS

In their studies of differentiae, scholars have attempted not only to explain how these endings developed in number, but also, how they came to be associated with particular antiphons within each mode. Most scholars agree that, at least by the later Middle Ages, the performance of psalm-tones and their antiphons consisted of the antiphon, followed by all verses of the psalm, framed by a repeat of the antiphon. In earlier practices, there is clear evidence that at least some psalm performances involved a repetition of the antiphon between each verse of the psalm; this procedure is mentioned by the author of the *Commemoratio Brevis* (c.900); he writes, “The repetitions of the antiphons which occur between the verses should be at the same speed as the psalms ...”³⁹ This leisurely practice was curtailed in the following centuries.

In any case, the psalm-tones and antiphons were performed successively, which has led many scholars to the conclusion that these cadential patterns must have been chosen based on the opening note or notes of the antiphon. Walter Frere, who made a pioneering study of the *Sarum Antiphoner*, states, “... the proper tone-endings are

particular patterns, these slight differences may be a result of casual or accentual variances. In any case, taking these similarities into account still does not by any means create a proportional distribution of the differentiae in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts.

³⁹“Repetitio antiphonarum quae in fine uersuum inter captandum fit eadem qua psalmus celeritate percurrat ...”[Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis*, pp. 106-107.]

prescribed for the different antiphons, according to their openings, so that (1) the antiphon cue when sung at the beginning will suggest the tone-ending, and (2) when the antiphon is sung at the close, the ending will lead easily up to it."⁴⁰ In other words, to prevent an awkward transition from the psalm-tone to the repeat of the antiphon, the ending of the psalm-tone is thought to have been adjusted to correspond in some way with the opening figure of the antiphon. The "smooth transition" implied here from the differentia to the antiphon need not be a unison note with the opening of the antiphon, since the *Alia musica*, a tenth-century treatise, refers to the transition not through a unison link but by a "suitable interval."⁴¹ It is interesting to note that both Willi Apel and Peter Wagner have declared that this "smooth transition" theory is irrefutable proof that the original purpose of the antiphon was to punctuate the psalm verses as a refrain, and not just frame the entire psalm. They say that the antiphon must have been repeated between each verse of the psalm, since the differentiae would only be necessary with the last verse of the doxology, but they are found with each verse of the psalm.⁴²

Since the psalm-tone not only preceded the repeat of the antiphon, but also followed the initial performance of it, it may seem odd that there are no variations or

⁴⁰Walter Howard Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburense, with a Dissertation and Analytical Index*, Vol. I (Westmead: Gregg Press, 1966), p. 65.

⁴¹Connolly, p. 328. See, for example, the explanations of the eight modes in sections IV to XXI of the *Alia musica*, where the author uses the term *differentia* to denote the varied endings of the tones and *locum* for the beginning notes of the *noeane* formulas. He writes concerning the first mode, "*Concluditurque hujus tropi forma intra integrum diapente: et singulae chordae singulas retinent differentias, et prima differentia duo habet loca, secunda tria, tertia unum, quarta unum, quinta duo. Unde constat, ut hic tropus quinque habeat differentias, et novem loca in nocturnis.*" This is translated as, "The form of this scale is confined within the complete fifth, and single tones sustain single *differentiae*, and the first *differentia* has two *loca*, the second three, the third one, the fourth one, the fifth two. Whence it stands that this scalic pattern has five *differentiae* and nine *loca* in the Evening Service." [Translation from Edmund Brooks Heard, "*Alia musica: A Chapter in the History of Medieval Music Theory*" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1966), pp. 147-148. See also, Jacques Chailley, *Alia Musica (Traité de musique du IX^e siècle): Édition critique commentée avec une introduction sur l'origine de la nomenclature modale pseudo-grecque au Moyen-Age* (Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1965), pp. 183-196.]

⁴²Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (London: Burns & Oates, 1958), p. 188; see also Peter Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, part I, trans. by Agnes Orme and E.G.P. Wyatt (London: Plainsong & Medieval Music Society, 1901), p. 130.

elaborations for the intonation formulae such as there are for the cadences. In an attempt to parallel the concern for a smooth transition at the end of the psalm-tone, Huglo states, that “composers of antiphons regularly adopted intonation formulae in the psalms designed to follow the final note of the antiphon melody.”⁴³ This may indeed be true, since all antiphons of each mode are required to end on the final of that mode. With the assurance of identical antiphon endings, the standard intonation formulae may have been developed with a smooth transition from antiphon to psalm-tone in mind.

However, since antiphons begin on almost any note, even within a single mode, and the differentiae patterns appear to end on almost any note in various sources, there seems to be no easily recognizable way to determine the assignment of differentiae in terms of opening or closing notes, whether it be to modes, or to antiphons. Even more perplexing is the fact that within each mode, there are often several differentiae which end on the same note. In addition, if the transition between chants was of great concern, why is there such variety in the “acceptable” interval differences? For example, within the first four chants of CCl.1017 which use the G2 differentia in mode VIII, there are already three different intervallic distances between differentia and antiphon opening. The differentia ends on G, and the antiphons with texts beginning *Tu es qui venturus es an* (CAO 5209), *Beatam me dicent omnes* (CAO 1574), *Ponam in Sion salutem et in* (CAO 4302), and *Missus est Gabriel angelus ad* (CAO 3794) start on the pitches F, G, F, and E, respectively. There are just as many intervals found in the uses of the D1 differentia in mode I, and similar unexplained varieties of transitional intervals occur throughout many of the other modes and their differentiae.

A more detailed examination of several eighth mode antiphons of CCl. 1017, which are divided between four differentiae, reveals several interesting features. The first antiphons to use the differentiae G1 and G2 begin on varying notes from G down to D, and do not appear at first glance to have many similarities, neither between, nor within their differentiae groupings. However, the eighth mode antiphons with the C1 differentia

⁴³Huglo, s.v. “Antiphon,” in *The New Grove Dictionary*, p. 472.

all begin on C, and do appear to have some common melodic characteristics. This is especially obvious in the identical opening incipit of the antiphons *Dum uenerit filius hominis* (CAO 2476) on f. 21^r and *Beatus es et bene tibi erit* (CAO 1623) on f. 84^r.

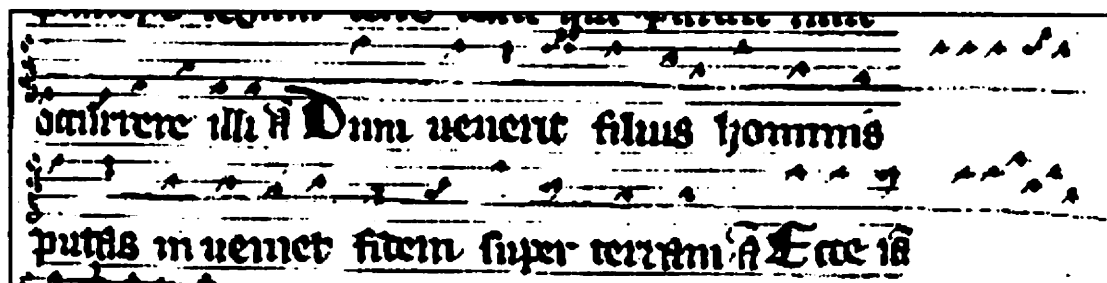


Illustration 18: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, from f. 21^r

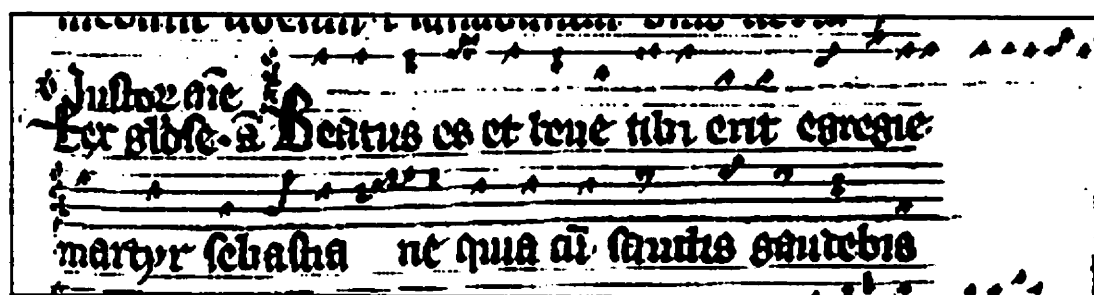


Illustration 19: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, from f. 84^r

However, the most important notice should be taken when examining the mode VIII antiphons employing psalm-tones with the differentia A1, since, as well as exhibiting some similar melodic tendencies, all antiphons grouped under this differentia begin on the note C, which, unique to these eighth-mode antiphons, is not the last note of the differentia pattern. Antiphons using the three other eighth-mode differentiae, although not totally uniform, do tend to begin on the same pitch on which their differentiae end. With respect to the “smooth transition” theory, it is vital, therefore, not to assume at first glance that there is a direct relationship between differentiae and the opening pitches of antiphons; the uniformity of the A1 antiphons suggests otherwise. It is unfortunate, therefore, that this theory concerning the purpose of differentiae has held so much scholarly attention, since it appears, at least in the antiphons of CCl. 1017 and 1018 that a

“smooth transition” was not a priority to the medieval clergy.

A more systematic and comprehensible approach to differentia assignment may be found in an organization of antiphons similar to that found in tonaries, where antiphons within a mode are divided into groups, and each group is assigned to a particular ending. Connolly writes, “Since most antiphons are based on melody-types and can be classified to some degree by incipit, such sub-grouping does produce a satisfying conjunction of psalm and antiphon.”⁴⁴ In looking at the antiphons in melodic “families” according to the differentiae which they employ, it is evident immediately in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts that there is some kind of connection between the antiphons and the cadential assignment of their accompanying psalm-tones.

Similar characteristics among antiphons which employ the same psalm-tone termination have already been observed in the earlier discussion concerning antiphons of mode VIII. Relationships of this type can also be found in the differentiae groupings of other modes. For example, the first mode antiphons using the A2 differentia generally begin with a leap of a fifth from D to A. As well, within all of these melodies, there is a predominance of the ascending interval A to C. Different characteristics are found in the first mode antiphons which are associated with the G3 ending. These chants generally begin on F or G and have mostly stepwise motion. An interesting case of centonization⁴⁵ within this differentia grouping can be found in the antiphons *Apertis thesauris suis* (CAO 1447) in CCl. 1017 on f. 62' and *Dominus quidem Jesus postquam* (CAO 2419) in CCl.1018 on f. 42', where an identical ten-note musical formula occurs in both chants. Compare the neumes at *suis obtulerunt* in the first example with those at *eis ascendit* in the second:

⁴⁴Connolly, p. 328.

⁴⁵*Centonization*, from the Latin word *cento* meaning “patchwork,” describes the compositional method of combining existing melodic units into a new chant. *Centonization* occurs largely in repertories where material is transmitted orally.

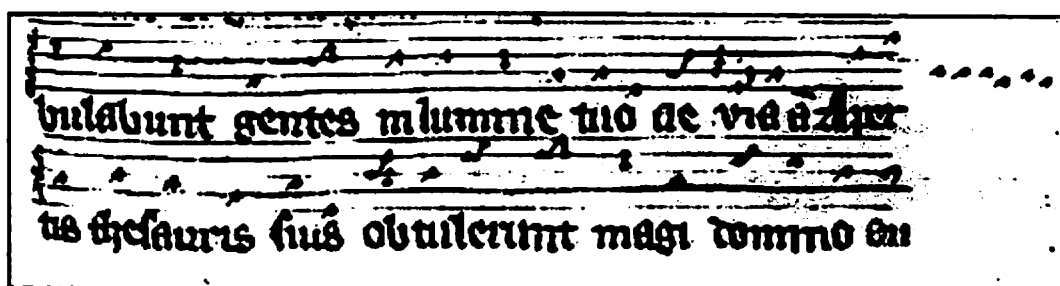


Illustration 20: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, from f. 62'*

A manuscript page from Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Bibliothek, 1018, folio 42. It features two staves of musical notation in square neumes on a four-line red staff. The Latin text is written in a Gothic script below the staves. The text reads: "Deo s m. modum regis. an. de via. posuit in a. Sabbato. an. Dominus quidem ihesus. post qm locutus est eis ac tendit in caelum et sedet adexteris dei de via."

Illustration 21: *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, from f. 42'*

Many other similarities are evident in mode I antiphon "families," such as the large leaps near the antiphon openings characteristic of the D1 "family," and the repetition of three notes ascending, such as D-E-F, or F-G-A in the G1 "family."

Melodic similarities are fundamental to antiphons, as seen in Frere's introduction to the *Sarum Antiphoner*, where he has compiled a thorough analysis of the antiphon melodies of each mode as recorded in the existing manuscripts of the Sarum rite. Similar melodic tendencies, as observed in selected groups of antiphons, can be explained by the methods used to construct these chants, since composers often borrowed elements of their compositions from pre-existing models. As a result of the familiarity with a large body of chant which is necessary in an oral tradition, sometimes melodic figures which are associated with a particular word or phrase are borrowed into chants. An instance of this

type of borrowing can be found in CCl. 1017 on f. 25^v, where the similarity is between the antiphons *De Sion veniet dominus* (CAO 2120) and *De Sion veniet qui regnaturus* (CAO 2121); these two chant melodies are identical for the first six syllables of each text.

Regardless, however, of these superficial melodic borrowings, Frere is able to identify numerous melodic groupings as well as representative melodies within each of the ecclesiastical modes in his analysis of the antiphons of the Sarum rite. In comparing the Klosterneuburg antiphon groupings to those of Frere's highly detailed, in-depth study, it appears that characteristic "family" groupings are working behind the differentia assignments, but that there must also be sub-groupings within several of these "families" to account for the varying melodic types (perhaps an indication of a decaying tradition) which are evident in several of the differentiae categories. For example, the lack of apparent similarity between the eighth-mode antiphons which use G1 and G2 can be explained if these two families are comprised of several of what Frere terms "themes." However, Frere warns, "... it is a difficult and delicate matter to decide the precise degree of resemblance that shall be required: and it is not possible to keep a uniform standard."⁴⁶

A suggestion of the tendency to associate similar melodic formulae is found in the *Commemoratio Brevis*. The author cautions his readers, "... certain antiphons not belonging to the same mode have such similar beginnings that to continue one with the melody of the other would seem quite natural; special attention must be paid to the ending of each chant, where the indication of its mode appears most clearly."⁴⁷ It is interesting to observe, that even though similar characteristics may be apparent in a chant, characteristics which suggest a "family" grouping, the author of this tenth-century treatise instructs his readers to determine the mode in the accepted (i.e., imposed) manner: by the final note of the chant. Just shortly before the *Commemoratio*, Regino of Prüm had recommended to his readers, "with respect to mode, the knowledgeable singer should

⁴⁶Frere, p. 76.

⁴⁷"Hoc uero admonendum quia quaedam non eiusdem toni antiphonae indiscretam ineriorum similitudinem habent, ut in sequentiis cui melo quaeque aptanda sit uideatur, et maxime cuiusque cantus attendatur finis in quo cuiusque toni proprietates euidentius claret uerbi causa" [Bailey, ed., *Commemoratio Brevis*, pp. 98-99.]

always diligently take heed of the beginnings of antiphons, introits, and communions, rather than of their ends.”⁴⁸

It appears, then, that the antiphons of the yearly liturgical cycle originally had an organization quite different from the eight-mode scheme imposed in the eighth century at the court of Charlemagne. The earlier tradition, however, was overpowered by the theorizing zeal of the Frankish musical scholars, and its original modality has been forgotten. Although the search for the motives governing differentiae distribution among antiphons may not reveal much at first glance, the task should begin with an investigation of the melodic-type groupings of antiphons, regardless of the theories that a “smooth transition” from psalm to antiphon was favoured.

David Hiley summarized in his *Handbook of Western Plainchant*, “... if antiphons are to take the same tone and differentia, it is sufficient for their opening and their final to be similar: what happens in between is another matter.”⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the issue is not this simple, since the internal melodic characteristics of the antiphons (at least those of the earlier Middle Ages) suggest not the mode, but rather the choice of differentiae. If the psalm-tones found in extant notated manuscripts actually existed before the imposition of modes on chant, it may have been these melodic traits that governed a “family” grouping of antiphons, each of which employed a particular differentia pattern. If this were the case, then Frere's comment that the opening of the antiphon suggests the tone-ending, may indeed be accurate, since the opening incipit combined with the internal structure of the antiphon would have been enough to give the singer the characteristics of the antiphon family, which, in turn would have told him the ending to use for the psalm-tone. If the imposition of the eight modes interfered with such a system organized by families of melodies, the assignment of the modes to antiphons could have been accomplished by grouping several families together. The differentiae would have remained with their

⁴⁸“Illud autem summopere prudens cantor observare debet, ut semper magis principium antiphonae, introitus vel communionis attendat in toni sonoritate, quam finem.” Regino of Prüm, in Gerbert, ed., *Scriptores*, vol. 1, p. 231b. See also Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998), p. 227.

⁴⁹Hiley, p. 89.

antiphons, but the roles of these patterns would have been altered, since, especially after the introduction of notation into the performance of the liturgy, the differentiae became a visual means of identifying the modes of the antiphons, in addition to their earlier role of reflecting the characteristic melodic groupings of these chants.

CHAPTER 9

RESPONSORIAL CHANTS IN THE OFFICE

Although no direct musical evidence survives from the earliest centuries of Christian worship, scholars agree that music, specifically singing, was an important part of any ceremony, and that by the sixth century at least, some of this singing was performed responsorially in the Daily Hours of the Divine Office in both eastern and western liturgies. Later examples of this ancient performing tradition are found as the various types of responsorial chants in extant medieval antiphoners, such as those from Klosterneuburg. Examinations of both the structures and usages of later-medieval responsories, in particular the work of Walter Howard Frere and René-Jean Hesbert, have revealed much about melodic “family” relationships and manuscript affinities. Before the results of these researches, with regard to the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, are presented, an explanation of the forms of responsorial chant sung in the later-medieval Office will be undertaken.

TYPES OF RESPONSORIAL CHANT

The shortest of the responsorial chants in the western church is the versicle.¹ These brief texts, often with only a few words, were intoned by a soloist using a simple melodic formula, and were followed by an equally short choral response. They were sung either in series or singly at several places during the Office Hours, as illustrated in the use of the versicle *Benedicamus Domino*, with response *Deo gratias*; this versicle alerted all to the close of each service.²

Responsorial singing was also involved in the *responsoria brevia*; these are relatively short chants, as their name implies. This group of chants has a small melodic repertory, since single responsories were used for entire seasons of the year. The simple,

¹“Versicle” is derived from the Latin word *versiculus* meaning “small verse.”

²See Chapter Eight for a listing of the Daily Hours.

chiefly syllabic style of the main body of *responsoria brevia* accommodated easy adaptation to a variety of psalm texts, thereby allowing chants sharing identical melodies to reflect appropriate textual passages for the day. There are only three main melodies: one for Advent, one for Paschal Time, and one for the remaining part of the year. However, as David Hiley observes, some sources have more florid versions of the usual simple melodies, newly-composed phrases, or melodies adapted from the so-called “Great Responsories.”³ The simplicity of the “usual” melodies has encouraged speculation that a very old tradition lies behind these chants, a history much older than the first notated manuscripts.⁴ Supporting this claim is the observation that these short responsories have no obvious connection with any eight-mode system,⁵ and therefore must predate the imposition of modality on the chant repertory sung in Frankish lands, a modification of the existing method of melodic classification which occurred in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The more musically-involved type of responsorial Office chant has been given the name *responsoria prolixa*; these chants are commonly known as “Great Responsories.” These are elaborate chants, as indicated by the Latin word *prolixus*, meaning wide and long. Their complexity suggests that they may not always have had the form in which they appear in the earliest notated manuscripts; they may have evolved from a simpler chant. This group is by far the most important in responsorial singing, as indicated by the impressive numbers of surviving chants. 634 of these so-called “Great Responsories” are included in the earliest-notated Frankish antiphoner copied by the monk Hartker of St. Gall around the year 1000.⁶ This number increased to over 1000 in later antiphoners. For

³Hiley, p. 85.

⁴Hiley, p. 86.

⁵For example, in the CANTUS indexing format, these short responsories are assigned a modal indication of “r” (recitation formula) rather than a modal number of 1 to 8.

⁶Dom Jacques Froger, ed., *Antiphonaire de l'Office Monastique, transcrit par Hartker, MSS Saint-Gall 390-391 (980-1011)*, Paléographie musicale, 2nd series, vol. 1 (Berne: Herbert Lang & Cie SA, 1970), pp. 75*-84*.

example, the twelfth-century paired antiphoners CCl. 1013 and 1012 include 1095 of these chants, while those from the fourteenth century, CCl. 1017 and 1018, record 1122.

There are two distinct parts of responsories in the written tradition; the group sang the Respond [R] and the soloist intoned the Verse [V]. The usual forms of both *responsoria prolixa* and *responsoria brevia* include these two elements followed by a partial repetition of the Respond sung by the choir, called the *repetendum* [r]. The latter repeat creates a ternary structure within the chants [R - V - r]. It is curious that the refrain [R] is sung first, since a “respond” is usually thought to be an “answer.” (The Latin word *responsum*, from which *responsorium* is derived, means “an answer.”) However, this structure may have been an abbreviation of a more elaborate practice where the Respond [R] was sung first by the soloist and then repeated, or “answered,” by the group.

The repetendum [r] is usually the second half of the Respond [R], and is indicated in manuscripts either by a special marking at the start of the repeat, or by the first word of the repeat placed after the verse as a cue. Such repetendum “cue” words, which indicate the place from which to repeat the Respond section, can be seen throughout the Klosterneuburg antiphoners. See, for example, the third line of Illustration 4 (CCl. 1013, f. 63^v): the cue “Dns” [*Dominus*], which occurs after the verse portion of the responsory, indicates that the repetendum should start on that word in the first line of the Respond. In the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, rubrics for repetenda occur after almost every responsory. Neumes notated over a repetendum are necessary in only a few places in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners to differentiate between more than one occurrence of the repetendum cue word within the Respond text; this occurs, for example, in CCl. 1017 on f. 72^r.

THE USAGE OF RESPONSORIES

Both short and long responsories have the function of musical postludes to lessons. The *responsoria brevia* follow short lessons which are known as *capitula* or chapters, and generally comprise no more than a single verse of scripture. Chapters with short responsories are found regularly in the Offices of the Little Hours, namely Prime,

Terce, Sext, and None. The much larger repertory of the *responsoria prolixa* was sung primarily during the night Office of Matins, although these elaborate chants are also found in some Vespers Offices. In general, these ornate chants were sung after lengthy sections of scripture, the *lectiones* or lessons. As a result of their close association, the number of lessons in each nocturn, combined with the number of nocturns in each Office, determined how many responsories were sung. Inconsistencies in the number or usage of responsories in surviving liturgical manuscripts, therefore, are owing to local practices and differences between secular and monastic services.

MUSICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Although it is the text of responsories that carries their liturgical importance, as the text usually reflects the readings of the day, studies of the music in later notated responsories have been undertaken by many scholars. The pioneer in this field was Walter Howard Frere, who analysed the responsories used in the Sarum rite and included his findings in a detailed introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Sarum Antiphoner*.⁷ Frere identified and labelled recurring musical figures within the phrases of the responsories and grouped these chants within each of the eight modes by comparing the melodic motion of the opening phrases, which he labelled as “O.” Similar opening phrases were labelled with the same superscript letter (“O^a,” for example). For the remaining phrases of the chants, Frere found similarities among them and labelled them according to their last notes, such as D¹, D², and so on. In this manner, Frere established up to ten groups of “typical” melodies for each mode. This assembly of information was a monumental task, and is still considered an exemplary work. Frere stated, “Anatomy may be a dull proceeding, and formulas may be repellent: but, as in mathematics and in chemistry they reveal the secrets, so it is here.”⁸

What becomes clear through Frere’s work is that many of these melodies are

⁷Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburense*, cited above.

⁸Frere, p. 58.

composed using basic formulae in the process known as “centonization.”⁹ Frere cautions in his dissertation, that although it may appear that the composition of responsories was a very mechanical affair, a mere combination of “certain clichés,” this was not the case at all. Great skill was involved in artistically adjusting each grouping of neumes to the words of the chant.¹⁰ Even so, there are some melodies in each of the modes, “which owe little or nothing to existing formulas, but are freely composed for the words.”¹¹

THE ORDERING OF RESPONSORIES

Even though responsories are usually proper to a specific feast or day, there was a certain amount of reuse within weeks or seasons. For those parts of the year where nine responsories were sung on Sunday and three on each weekday, as found in secular Matins, the responsories were normally distributed in sets of three throughout the week following that Sunday or feast. Hughes notes that the last responsory of the last Sunday nocturn may be replaced by an alternative during the ferial cycle. This responsory was usually included immediately after the others, as if it were a tenth responsory, but it was sung in place of the ninth during the week:¹²

Sunday	abc	def	ghi	[j ferial]
Monday	abc			
Tuesday		def		
Wednesday			ghj	
Thursday	abc			
Friday		def		
Saturday			ghj	

A tenth responsory in the series for Sundays (i.e., “j”) frequently occurs in the Klosterneuburg sources. Although its usage either on the Sunday or throughout the week

⁹The term “Centonization” is derived from the Latin word *cento* meaning “patchwork,” and refers to a method of composition where pre-existing musical units are brought together in a new form.

¹⁰Frere, p. 8.

¹¹Frere, p. 5. Frere refers not to a type of word-painting, but rather to the accentuation of syllables in the text.

¹²Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 63.

is not entirely certain as there are no rubrics specifying its status as either “alternate” or part of the regular series, this tenth responsory has been generally considered as an extra chant, owing to the standard cathedral practice of three lessons per nocturn. In the manuscript inventory listings in CANTUS format, included as Appendices I-VIII on diskette, therefore, this tenth responsory has been numbered with a position of “10” rather than a “nocturn-position” number as is provided for the first nine responsories in the series, such as “1.1” for the first responsory in the first nocturn, or “2.3” for the third responsory in the second nocturn. (In other words, the “nocturn-position” of “3.4” has not been employed in the Klosterneuburg antiphoner indices since it suggests a usage other than that described above.)

Despite these general principles, Hiley recognizes that the order in which the responsories were assigned to nocturns varies greatly among the sources that survive. He admits, however, that this appears to have been a benefit to some fields of research, since relationships between sources can be detected by comparing the order of responsories.¹³

THE ANALYSIS OF CHANT SERIES AS A TOOL FOR DETERMINING AFFILIATION: THE EVIDENCE PROVIDED BY HESBERT IN *CORPUS ANTIPHONALIUM OFFICII*

The usefulness of chant series in comparative analysis has been definitively proven by René-Jean Hesbert in the six-volume Gregorian chant reference work, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* (CAO). In addition to editing four volumes of transcribed chant texts, Hesbert undertook the monumental task of recording hundreds of series of responsory chants in order to determine manuscript affinities, and ultimately, the rather old-fashioned notion of a chant “archetype.” Regardless of the fatigued “archetype” theory, several of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners were included in Hesbert’s initial research, and the results of the “family” groupings among manuscripts support an association of these Klosterneuburg manuscripts with other sources from regions of German influence.

¹³Hiley, 70.

CORPUS ANTIPHONALIUM OFFICII

The first four volumes of CAO present the full, edited texts of twelve early antiphoners; six of these manuscripts follow the monastic cursus in their presentation and ordering of chants, and the other six follow the secular cursus. In volumes five and six, Hesbert's objective was the reconstruction of a chant archetype¹⁴ based on occurrences of chants in surviving manuscripts, in order to create a standard edition of the "Antiphonale Officii." Such a goal of determining the "Ur-form" of western liturgical chant either with respect to texts, music, or usage of particular chants within series is now an outdated concept and no longer of prime importance in chant research. It should be noted, however, that although there has been much criticism of this "archetype" theory from modern scholars, Hesbert's reputation has remained untarnished.

Despite its few divergences into somewhat "old-fashioned" research approaches, the importance of CAO as a resource for chant study cannot be overestimated. Research into surviving antiphoners, the books which record the chants sung during the Daily Offices, has been a more recent interest of chant scholars than studies of graduals, the books which preserve the music of the Mass. Although manuscripts of antiphoners appear no more or less confusing than do other medieval liturgical books, detailed research into the antiphoner and its history has posed special problems and complexities for the researcher. For example, as recently as 1975, in his *Introduction aux sources du Moyen Age*, Cyrille Vogel abandoned a demonstration of the transmission of the antiphoner and stated, "At present, given the complexity of the situation, it would be impossible to provide a description of the *status quaestionis* on the history of the Liturgy

¹⁴Hesbert (as did other scholars of his day) sought to reconstruct the most ancient, most authentic and the purest stage of chant in the Roman tradition. Modern chant researchers generally acknowledge that this concept is unattainable. Hartmut Möller, for example, criticizes Hesbert's approach. Hartmut Möller writes, "... the obvious problems of Hesbert's archetype calculations lay in the approach he adopted; that is to say, office configurations simply cannot be statistically compared, either by Hesbert's 'distance formula' or by any other differentiating procedure." [Hartmut Möller, "Research on the Antiphoner – Problems and Perspectives," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Society* 10 (1987): p. 1.] For the most part, scholars agree that all forms and sources of chant, "corrupted" or not, are valuable items for study. Each has its merits, whether it be for a study of texts, melodies, transmission of repertoires, local traditions, veneration of saints, etc.

of the Hours and its various components in the Middle Ages.”¹⁵

It was not until the momentous and now standard reference source, CAO, that examinations into the Office repertory became feasible modes of investigation. Harmut Möller writes, “... with the completion in 1979 of the six-volume *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* (=CAO) of René-Jean Hesbert, the foundations have been laid for all future historical research on the origins of the Roman office hours.”¹⁶ Möller lists several reviews of CAO, and writes, “Among the various views, reviews and analyses of CAO so far, unanimity has prevailed as to the significance of the volumes as an indispensable tool and collection of data.”¹⁷

RESPONSORY SERIES

The by-product of the chant “archetype” research, contained in the first portion of the fifth volume of CAO, involves the comparison of series of responsories for the Sundays in Advent. Before work on CAO began, Hesbert initially compared the Advent responsory series of twenty-five manuscripts.¹⁸ This work proved successful, and Hesbert undertook the study of 800 sources, primarily antiphoners and breviaries, to find affinities between certain groups of manuscripts.

For each of the 800 sources¹⁹ (of which there are five Klosterneuburg antiphoners), Hesbert recorded both the number and the ordering of the responsory texts chanted during Matins Offices for each of the four Sundays during Advent. These data

¹⁵Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen with assistance of John K. Brooks-Leonard [Translation of *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (Spoleto, 1975)] (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986), p. 363.

¹⁶Möller, p. 1.

¹⁷Möller, p. 2.

¹⁸René-Jean Hesbert, “Les séries de répons des dimanches de l’aveug,” *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 39 (1958): pp. 299-326.

¹⁹Of the 800 sources, 149 (19%) are antiphoners and 623 (79%) are breviaries. 100 manuscripts are dated before the year 1200, and the other 700 are later sources.

are presented in long lists at the beginning of the volume five. In order to determine manuscript relationships, Hesbert compared each series, manuscript by manuscript, for each of the four Sundays. Comparison was made in three stages, or “classifications.” In the first stage, the usage of particular chant texts was determined and matches (either identical or partial) were identified. In the second stage, more detailed comparisons were made through a study of the relationships within a particular series: chants in a series were grouped in pairs or “couples” and their ordering with respect to one another in the series was the focus of the study. This “coupling” of chants reveals some affinities that might not otherwise be recognized. For example, an order of five chants labelled A,B,C,D,E compared with A,C,D,E,B initially appears unrelated, as the positioning of each item (as first, second, third, etc.) does not coincide. However, although the positioning is off by one place, the order of C,D,E in the second case is matched in the first. A comparison of matches by pairs, (i.e., A-B, B-C, C-D, D-E for the first case, and A-C, C-D, D-E, E-B in the second) shows a relationship of two out of four matches. In this way, Hesbert identified groups of manuscripts which share common items, as well as isolated unique sources or unique usages of certain responsory texts. The statistical analysis used in the third stage to calculate the coefficient of the agreements and disagreements further isolated manuscript sources into particular groupings, yet this rather complicated stage of research was aimed at narrowing down sources which represent as closely as possible a chant archetype. This avenue of investigation will not be pursued here.

THE PLACE OF KLOSTERNEUBURG ACCORDING TO CAO

The data collected for Hesbert’s Advent responsory study and the results of the first stages of his research are valuable with respect to the placement of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners within the whole body of western-European Gregorian chant. Since Hesbert’s work is limited to Advent chants, only five of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners (i.e., those which record the chants of the *pars hiemalis*) have been included in the study. These have been assigned the following numbers:

- 265 *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010*
 266 *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011*
 267 *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013*
 268 *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015*
 269 *Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017*

One of the obvious advantages of studying Advent chants in Office antiphoners is their usual placement directly at or near the beginning of manuscripts, since Advent is the first season of the liturgical year. As medieval books were all copied by hand, each volume is unique and specific contents sung throughout the year are sometimes difficult to locate within the leaves. (The aim of the CANTUS manuscript indexing project is to create “tables of contents” for antiphoners to facilitate more effective research into primary sources.) Unfortunately, the disadvantage of studying Advent chants also concerns their placement in manuscripts, since damage to extant sources and lacunae of any number of folios occur most often at beginnings and endings. Such has occurred, for instance in CCl. 1010 and 1017; these manuscripts are missing the opening folios which at one time contained the chants for the first two Sundays of Advent. Owing to this lacuna with respect to the Klosterneuburg data, a summary of Hesbert’s results for only the third and fourth Sundays of Advent will be presented here.

In the first stage of research, compared with other chant series for the third Sunday of Advent, Hesbert found identical chant series between CCl. 1010, 1013, 1017 and seven other manuscript sources²⁰ including:

CAO MANUSCRIPT NAME AND IDENTIFICATION

- 221 *Donaueschingen, 315* (breviary from Passau, dated 1489)
 333 *Munich, Clm. 5306* (breviary from ?Freising, dated 1458)
 334 *Munich, Clm. 5349* (fifteenth-century breviary from Salzburg)
 336 *Munich, Clm. 5694* (fifteenth-century breviary from ?Augsburg)
 442 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a. lat. 404* (fifteenth-century breviary from Passau)
 532 *Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, HB.I.52* (fourteenth-century breviary from Bischofszell)

²⁰See group “h” in Hesbert, CAO, vol. 5, p. 105.

587 *Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 1717* (twelfth- or thirteenth-century breviary of uncertain provenance)

The Klosterneuburg antiphoners CCl. 1010, 1013 and 1017 and the manuscript sources listed above, all from regions of German influence, share the same usage and ordering of these ten responsories:

<u>TEXTUAL INCIPIT:</u>	<u>CAO NUMBER</u> ²¹
Ecce apparebit dominus super	6578
Bethleem civitas dei summi ex	6254
Qui venturus est veniet et	7485
Suscipe verbum virgo Maria	7744
Aegypte noli flere quia	6056
Prope est ut veniat tempus	7438
Descendet dominus sicut	6408
Docebit nos dominus vias suas	6481
Ecce radix Jesse ascendet in	6606
Veni domine et noli tardare	7824

The chant series for the Klosterneuburg antiphoners CCl. 1011 and 1015 differs by only one chant from that listed for CCl. 1010, 1013, and 1017: the first nine responsories are the same, but there is no tenth in the series. The chants in CCl. 1011 and 1015 for the third Sunday of Advent were found by Hesbert in an identical ordering²² in the following sources:

<u>CAO</u>	<u>MANUSCRIPT NAME AND IDENTIFICATION</u>
118	<i>Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek, 2^o 461</i> (fourteenth-century breviary from Freising)
141	<i>Berlin, theol. lat. fol. 4^o 841</i> (fifteenth-century breviary from Hildesheim)
146	<i>Besançon, 67</i> (fourteenth-century breviary from Besançon)
195	<i>Cividale, XCI</i> (twelfth-century breviary from ?Cividale)
196	<i>Cividale, XCIII</i> (twelfth-century breviary from Aquileia)
206	<i>Copenhagen, Bib. Royale, Ny kgl. S. 137 4^o</i> (fourteenth-century breviary from Bavaria)
335	<i>Munich, Clm. 5689</i> (breviary from Bavaria, dated 1421)
338	<i>Munich, Clm. 8813</i> (fifteenth-century breviary from Freising)

²¹These four-digit identification numbers have been used throughout this Klosterneuburg repertory study. The CAO has been drawn upon for full textual transcriptions in the course of the current project.

²²See group "e" in Hesbert, CAO, vol. 5, p. 105.

- 339 *Munich, Clm. 16141* (thirteenth- or fourteenth-century antiphoner from St. Nikola in Passau)
 412 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1272* (fifteenth-century breviary from Sées)
 428 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 13243* (fifteenth-century breviary from Sées)
 478 *Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 672* (breviary from Besançon, dated 1452)
 492 *Rouen, Y. 166* (fifteenth-century breviary from Sées)

In the comparison of responsory texts for the fourth Sunday of Advent, the Klosterneuburg sources CCl. 1010, 1013 and 1017 were found to share identical series with only each other²³ for the following series of eight chants:

<u>TEXTUAL INCIPIT:</u>	<u>CAO NUMBER</u>
Canite tuba in Sion vocate	6265
Non auferetur sceptrum de	7224
Me oportet minui illum autem	7137
Ecce jam veniet plenitudo	6596
Virgo Israel revertere in	7903
Juravi dicit dominus ut ultra	7045
Non discedimus a te	7227
Intuemini quantus sit iste	6983

CCl. 1011 has a ninth chant (*Vicesima quarta die decimi* — CAO 7886) added into the series at the second position; this manuscript shares this chant series of nine responsories with 100 other sources.²⁴ CCl. 1015 is listed by Hesbert in a grouping along with forty other manuscripts²⁵ which, he indicates, share nine responsories in a different ordering. However, the series in CCl. 1015 for the fourth Sunday in Advent is actually identical to that found in CCl. 1010, 1013, and 1017. The manuscript CCl. 1015, numbered as 268 in CAO, should, in fact, be a fourth in the group “bb” along with CCl. 1010, 1013 and 1017. These four Klosterneuburg manuscripts share the series of only eight responsories, listed above.

The association of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners with other sources mainly of

²³See group “bb” in Hesbert, CAO, vol. 5, p. 128.

²⁴See group “a” in Hesbert, CAO, vol. 5, p. 128.

²⁵See group “b” in Hesbert, CAO, vol. 5, p. 128.

Germanic provenance is important in the placement of the Klosterneuburg repertory within the German orbit. That some chant series match those of sources from other regions of western Europe provides evidence that various regional forms of chant are descended from a unified tradition, and confirms that the imposition of Gregorian chant on northern lands was successful to some degree. It should also be remembered that usages can be local to the level of arch-diocese, diocese, monastery or cathedral; the lack of agreement between sources, therefore, does not necessarily denote any large geographical or regional division. The results of Hesbert's work combined with series comparisons taken with another set of readings (i.e., from another liturgical season or usage, such as the Sundays in Lent, or the chants of the *commune*) would most likely reveal even more distinct manuscript affinities and clarify the associations among sources listed by Hesbert in the larger groupings, which represent more common usages for the Advent chants.

CHAPTER 10

THE REGION OF GERMAN INFLUENCE AND THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES CONSULTED FOR THE COMPARISON OF MELODIC CHANT DIALECTS

The preliminary results of Hesbert's study of Advent responsory series, detailed in Chapter Nine, place the Klosterneuburg antiphoners within the German orbit with respect to manuscript affiliations. A German association is not surprising, since the monastery of Klosterneuburg lies within a political territory ruled by German kings since before medieval times, as well as in a German-speaking area then and now. The question raised now concerns the extent to which the Germanic influence extended to the chant melodies as sung at Klosterneuburg and recorded in the extant antiphoners. Do these books contain the east-Frankish dialect?

The previous research of Wagner, Heisler and others on the east-Frankish melodic tradition has suggested that medieval chant manuscripts from regions of a Germanic influence share common melodic characteristics. Although the chant melodies are similar in sources from across western Europe, the versions recorded in east-Frankish sources differ in consistent ways from those sources originating from west-Frankish regions, such as modern England, France, Spain, and Italy.

In order to determine if the Klosterneuburg antiphoners exhibit the so-called east-Frankish melodic characteristics, I have examined the melodic tradition as found in the series of ferial antiphons contained in the five Klosterneuburg antiphoners which record the *pars hiemalis* (CCI. 1010, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017), and compared these chants with those found in twenty other antiphoners. The results are included in Chapter Eleven.

THE REGION OF GERMAN INFLUENCE

Before results concerning regional divisions within the Gregorian chant repertory can be drawn from melodic comparisons, it is necessary to resolve which manuscript sources are considered as belonging to each geographical area or regional group. The identification of an east-Frankish chant tradition implores the question, where exactly is this area? Are features of this tradition characteristic of chants from German-speaking

lands of Europe? From which cities, towns, or monasteries might one expect to find this German chant tradition? Moreover, once the geographical boundaries of this area are established, is there any evidence in the manuscripts from within this region of a common tradition that is indeed distinct from neighbouring geographical areas? Since previous research has suggested that the east-Frankish tradition does exist, one wonders if this phenomenon is consistent throughout a region of German influence, or if such a divergence in chant traditions is based in some element other than a geographically-, linguistically-, or culturally-defined area.

DETERMINING THE BORDERS

The location of precise geographical borders for each linguistic or cultural region of Europe would be extremely useful in determining if the so-called Germanic dialect has a geographical centre in a linguistic or cultural zone or if the tradition does indeed exist but has some other associative feature. Presumably, if there is indeed a Germanic chant dialect, it should become obvious to which tradition each manuscript belongs during the analyses of manuscript contents.

In establishing regional boundaries, several distinctions must be observed; these include locating self-contained political units, recognizing ecclesiastical boundaries (i.e., archdioceses), identifying bilingual areas (presumably belonging in some regard to the ethnic and cultural traditions of more than one area), noting areas of different common and court languages, and for this particular study, granting importance to geographical areas of common styles of music notation.

Hendrik van der Werf details some of the difficulties in defining geographical regions for the medieval period. He writes,

The presently existing borders between the European countries were not yet in effect at the time under consideration. Accordingly, the terms used now to indicate countries and nationalities are rather inappropriate for the first millennium of our era. Even language borders have shifted here and there, especially in what is now France, where several independent languages have virtually disappeared, and where the majority of the population now speaks a language which, as little as a few centuries ago,

was the native language of a minority in that area.¹

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

The definition of “German-speaking” itself is somewhat abstruse. Owing to the flexible nature of language groups in general, the boundaries of the German speech area are vague and incorporate much overlap with neighbouring areas. Germanic languages of the Indo-European language family are often divided into three groups: 1. *West Germanic*, including English, Frisian, German, Dutch, and Flemish; 2. *North Germanic*, including Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, Faeroese, and Norwegian; 3. *East Germanic*, now extinct, comprising the languages of the Vandals, Burgundians, and a few other tribes. Of all of these “*Indogermanische Sprachen*,” only those of the *West Germanic* family play a role in the present study. During the Middle Ages, this family was comprised of at least twenty-two spoken dialects, several of which appeared in written German during the later Middle Ages. These dialects have been grouped regionally as *Mittelniederländisch* (*Limburgisch, Brabantisch, Flämisch, Holländisch, Friesisch*) used in the Netherlands, *Mittelniederdeutsch* (*Nordniederdeutsch, Ostniederdeutsch, Westfälisch, Ostfälisch, Elbostfälisch, and Koloniales Niederdeutsch*) found in northern Germany, and *Mittelhochdeutsch* (*Bairisch, Alemannisch, Ostfränkisch, Rheinfränkisch, Mittelfränkisch, Moselfränkisch, Ripuraisch, Thüringisch, Obersächsisch, Schlesisch, Schwabisch*) used in Southern Germany, Austria, and parts of modern-day Switzerland.² The relative “standardization” of modern High German during the sixteenth-century was primarily a result of the wide circulation throughout the German speech area of Martin Luther’s translation of the Bible. Luther used a Middle German dialect from which standard modern High German developed. This study will consider as “German” all areas where the above-mentioned dialects were spoken.

¹van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 2, fn. 1.

²Werner König, *DTV-Atlas zur deutschen Sprache: Tafeln und Texte*, vol. 3025 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1978), p. 76.

PROPOSED BOUNDARIES OF THE "REGION OF GERMAN INFLUENCE"

Based on the limits proposed by historical linguists, those imposed by the church, regulated by political entities, or influenced culturally, these geographical boundaries have been determined for the purposes of this study of chant traditions. The region of "German influence" extends roughly from modern-day Holland and Belgium in the north-west, to Vienna and Graz in the south-east, and from Verden and Hamburg in the north as far south as northern Italy. Those manuscripts from well within the defined area have been identified securely as "German." Those on the periphery have been considered with care as "bordering" or "transitional" sources. In some cases, more specific boundaries have clarified these sources as either "German" or outside of the defined area.

To the WEST:

The border lies approximately at the modern political division of France and Germany. In the south-west region, the boundary follows the Rhine to include such places as Basel, Strasbourg, and Koblenz; further north, this area near the archdiocese of Cologne³ extends as far west as Metz and Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) to encompass the Saar lands, Trier and Cologne. The westernmost points in the south-west are Basel and Bern; Fribourg has been considered French-speaking.

To the SOUTH:

The places in question are Sion (Sitten) on the Rhône, which is perhaps too far south, and centres in northern Italy (including such areas as Chiavenna, Ivrea, Bergamo, Cividale, Moggio, and Udine), where evidence of German influence across the Alps is suspected. These centres are considered as "bordering" a region of "German influence."

To the NORTH:

For purposes of this study, Scandinavian lands will not be considered as German. Even though the languages used in these places belong to a Germanic family, their

³F. C. Streit, *Catholic World Atlas*, 2nd ed. (New York: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1929), map 9.

relationships to the speech dialects of central Europe are too distant.⁴ Therefore, centres only as far north-east as Hamburg, Verden, and Bremen will be admitted into the designated area. To the north-west are the Low Countries, where "... the problem of linguistic boundaries is so complex that it has thus far received a number of quite different solutions. Jan Goossens, in particular, has shown that it is impossible to establish a genuine linguistic boundary between the Netherlandic and German speech areas."⁵ These areas will be admitted as "German," then, owing to the use there of dialects from the *West Germanic* family. It is generally agreed that areas to the north of Brussels are primarily German-speaking. Therefore, such centres as Amsterdam and Utrecht, but not further south than Maastricht (i.e., not Liège), will be considered in the "German" region. In Brussels and Leuven, French was adopted by the nobility and the bourgeoisie during the later Middle Ages, but the common people continued to speak in Germanic dialects.⁶

To the EAST:

During the Middle Ages, German dialects were spoken in lands as far south-east as Vienna as well as in areas further north-east towards Breslau (Wrocław, Poland). However, German-speaking areas around 1400 did not include the modern region of Czechoslovakia.⁷ Sources from these eastern regions (i.e., modern Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia) have been excluded from the present study based partly on notational styles and partly on cultural distinctions. Janka Szendrei has written that although German neumatic notation was used in Prague until the twelfth century, staff

⁴Even so, Alexander Blachly writes that similar variants to those commonly identified as "German" are found in sources from Scandinavia. [Blachly, p. 88.] As well, the 1923 dissertation (cited earlier) by Erik Abrahamsen (a student of Peter Wagner) identified some Germanic elements in Danish books. These results have not been intentionally neglected — access to primary sources from Scandinavian lands is the difficulty here.

⁵J. Goossens, *Wat zijn Nederlandse Dialecten?* (1968), as cited in A. Weijnen, ed., *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1975), p. 53.

⁶Philippe Rossillon, et al, *Atlas de la Langue Française* (Paris: Bordas, 1995), p. 54.

⁷König, p. 74.

notation was applied in the territory of Poland only by the reformed monasteries at a time when the entire stock of codices was rewritten. Szendrei remarks that sources from Prague are in purely Messine script with no German elements, and the notation in other regions became specifically Czech.⁸ After Prague became an archbishopric in 1344 out of the jurisdiction of Mainz, Olomouc (Olmütz) became a dependent; therefore Czech notation was also used there.⁹ On cultural grounds, Czechs rather than Germans occupied the regions of Bohemia and Moravia, Poles lived in Western Galicia, Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia, Slovenes were south-east of the Alps, Italians and Ladins were south of Tyrol, Serbians and Croats occupied the regions of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, Romanians were in Transylvania, and the Magyars were centred in Hungary.

This region generally agrees with the boundaries set out by scholars in fields of both chant and linguistics. For example, Werner König provides a geographical border between Germanic and Romance languages with regard to the regional alterations in the word for “wine press.”¹⁰ His border extends eastward from the Dutch coast through Brussels, and then turns south at a point midway between Brussels and Cologne. This line continues south through Bern and extends slightly beyond the Rhône before turning east to just south of Chur in the Alps. The boundary continues to the east just north of the Italian Alps and turns south at the border of modern Italy to reach the Adriatic Sea. The “German-speaking” areas lie to the north and east of this line.

Jürgen Eichhoff conducts a similar study on the use of either “nach Hause,” “zu Hause,” or “heim” for the English “[going] home.” His display of German speech

⁸Szendrei, “Introduction,” p. 312.

⁹Even so, the question of Czech or Bohemian influence on centres in eastern Austria is intriguing. Stefan Engels briefly mentions this eastern “invasion” [Eindringen] in order to explain the appearance of several “Ostländisch” neume forms in manuscripts written in Klosterneuburg. He refers to the influx of Bohemian Catholics, among them monks, who fled as a result of the Hussite wars in the early fifteenth century and settled in Austria and in the scriptoria there. “Es liegt nahe, daß viele böhmische Katholiken, auch Mönche, durch die Hussitenkriege von Böhmen nach Österreich geflohen waren und Spuren ihrer Tätigkeit in den dortigen Skriptorien hinterlassen haben.” [Engels, “Die Notation,” p. 50.]

¹⁰König, p. 70.

dialects provides distinctions between geographical regions within Germany only, but shows the extent to which the German language, in whatever dialect, is spoken in Europe.¹¹ The most westerly cities of German-speakers included in his results are Aachen, Prüm, Trier, and Saarburg. The southern-most centres are the Swiss towns of Zermatt, Visp, and Brig in the west, Bozen (Boizano) in the Italian Alps, and the Austrian towns of Hermagor and Villach in the east. Eichhoff's eastern edge extends only to the present German and Austrian borders. The regions of modern Poland and Czechoslovakia are not represented.

“Les pays germaniques” as identified by René-Jean Hesbert in CAO generally follow the Rhine as their western border, with Verden in the north and the regions of Bohemia and Austria in the east. Even so, Hesbert is careful to qualify this description and extend his “German” area in several places owing to manuscripts from outside the central German block which share common elements to those within it.¹² These sources include about a dozen Swedish manuscripts, some sources from as far west as Compiègne and Tours (thereby encompassing Metz, Langres, and Dijon), and several from just north of the Italian peninsula from such places as Monza, Brescia, Verona, and Venice.

This region also concurs for the most part with that proposed by Bruno Stäblein. Although Stäblein mentions that extensive research is still outstanding,¹³ he separates the “east” and “west” chant traditions by referring to linguistic borders to the west and the south. In his view, the eastern borders are more difficult to determine, as a mix of traditions occurs in northern Italy, the slavic regions, and the former Patriarch of Aquileia.¹⁴

David Hiley's *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* offers both an ecclesiastical map

¹¹Jürgen Eichhoff, *Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprachen*, 2 vols. (Bern and Munich: A. Francke, 1977), map 28.

¹²Hesbert, CAO, vol. 6, p. 115.

¹³“... (eingehendere Untersuchungen stehen noch aus) ...”. [Stäblein, MGG 3, col. 274.]

¹⁴“Mischgebiet ist das ital.-slowenische Grenzgebiet Friaul mit dem alten Patriarchat Aquileia und seinem ital., deutschen und slowenischen Klerus.” [Stäblein, MGG 3, col. 274.]

of Germany and one of France (Map IX.1.3 and Map IX.1.4); these show the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and monasteries that were active during the Middle Ages.¹⁵ Though not expressly identified as “German centres,” the German map includes the place-names of Gorze (west of Metz), Prüm, Stavelot, and Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), and those as far north-west as Liège, Ghent, and Utrecht. The southern limit appears to be just beyond Einsiedeln, Engelberg, and Sion (though Sion also appears on the map of France). Quedlinberg, Prague, and Vienna round out the eastern edge. Swedish lands are not included on Hiley’s German map – the place furthest to the north is the bishopric of Minden.

With respect to her analysis of graphical variants (i.e., the differences in appearances of neume forms within certain melodic idioms), Heisler concludes that a determination of boundaries based on a geographical point of view is not possible.¹⁶ Although there appears to be a tendency towards a division of “east” and “west” in the use of these forms, a wide transitional zone exists.¹⁷ Heisler’s conclusions, however, will have no effect on the boundaries proposed in the present study, as she later states that there is no connection between melodic and graphic variants.¹⁸ The present research deals with variants of precise pitches with melodic phrases, not variants of neume forms in sources which transmit chants in adiastematic notations.

While Heisler agrees that there is a recognizable separation between “east” and “west,” she appears unwilling to propose exactly where these regions might be. Rather, she yields to the difficulties associated with local traditions and transitional groups, and determines that these cannot be regionally defined through geographical, linguistic or

¹⁵Hiley, pp. 567-568.

¹⁶“Eine Begrenzung der graphischen Varianten unter geographischen Gesichtspunkten ist offensichtlich nicht möglich.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 73.]

¹⁷“Zwar zeichnen sich Tendenzen ab, die auf eine ungefähre Unterteilung Ost — West deuten, eine breite Übergangszone bleibt aber bestehen.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 73.]

¹⁸“Zwischen den melodischen und graphischen Varianten besteht kein Zusammenhang.” [Heisler, 1986 p. 83.]

political boundaries.¹⁹

The difficulties encountered by Heisler are not to be simply dismissed. Various anomalies will surely be uncovered in the following melodic study (in Chapter Eleven), such as a possible connection between Germanic sources and those from England, and the occurrence of a Romanic tradition in German sources of the various monastic orders (those of Premonstratensians, for example). The Romanic dialect as well as a mix of traditions has been previously found in varying degrees in sources which originated in regions of Germanic influence but were used by the monastic orders of Cistercians, Premonstratensians, the Franciscans, and the "Neisser Kreuzträger."²⁰

Even so, owing to the premises in previous research of geographical or regional divisions of the so-named east and west chant traditions, it is necessary in the present work to propose regional boundaries, if merely to confirm or deny a regional association of manuscripts which exhibit either of these melodic traditions. The assignment of particular sources to a geographical region of east, west, or bordering must be made before the level of consistency of certain melodic tendencies in a group of manuscripts separated regionally can be determined. Such categories coincide with the determinations of Huglo, who has separated western-European chant manuscripts into four groupings: i) Eastern, ii) Transitional, iii) Western, and iv) Manuscripts of religious orders.²¹

The present-day German-speaking lands (i.e., Germany, Austria, and much of Switzerland) were, at one time, Imperial provinces of the Roman Empire. By the sixth century, a portion of this region was part of the Frankish Kingdom, which extended from

¹⁹"Örtliche Abweichungen und Übergangsgruppen können aber nicht durch geographische, sprachliche oder politische Grenzen eingegrenzt werden." [Heisler, 1986, p. 89.]

²⁰Neisse (Nysa) is in Poland, west of Krakow. See Heisler, p. 43. For information, including maps, on the founding of the Cistercians, and the expansions of the Premonstratensian, Franciscan, and Dominican orders, see Hubert Jedin, Kenneth Scott Latourette, Jochen Martin, eds., *Atlas d'histoire de l'Église: les églises chrétiennes hier et aujourd'hui* (Belgium: Brepols, 1990), pp. 39* - 43*.

²¹Huglo, s.v. "Antiphoner," in *The New Grove Dictionary*, p. 484.

the coast of the English Channel to east of Worms, and south about as far as Metz.²² Over the next two centuries, the kingdom was enlarged and covered much of present-day Europe. The Treaties of Verdun (August, 843) and Mersen (870) resulted in the formal partitioning of the Frankish Carolingian Empire among the three surviving sons of Louis I the Pious. According to this treaty, the lands east of the Rhine (identified as *Francia Orientalis*) were given to Louis the German. Portions of modern Belgium, the Netherlands, western Germany, eastern France, Switzerland, and much of Italy were referred to as *Francia Media* and were possessed by Lothair I. Charles II the Bald received *Francia Occidentalis*, the remainder of modern France. Louis the German's area included Cologne in the north, down to Geneva in the south, and the lands east of the Rhine. Not included were Liège, Verdun, Lyon, Vienne, Laon, Reims, etc.

After Lothair's death, Lorraine (part of *Francia Media*) belonged alternately to the western and eastern Frankish kingdoms until 925, when it became part of the eastern kingdom, then ruled by Germans. For more than a thousand years, Lorraine and the neighbouring Saarland have been areas of linguistic variety with frequently shifting political and linguistic borders. French and German place-names, languages, and cultures are intermingled in the area between Metz, Nancy, and Lunéville (on the Mosel) and Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, and Sarrebourg (on the Saar). As expected, areas to the west are predominantly francophone, and those to the east are German-speaking. However, the use of a German dialect in the predominantly francophone areas extended further west in the Middle Ages than it does in modern times. Therefore, manuscripts from these regions have been considered as originating in regions of German influence.

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The majority of sources consulted in this study originated or were used in Germanic regions in western Europe during the Middle Ages. Selected sources originating from other parts of Europe have been included for comparative purposes.

²²Rossillon, p. 12.

Although the acquisition of a representative selection of sources has been sought here, László Dobszay reminds his readers, “The survival of sources depends entirely on chance, their distribution in time and place is unequal, while the number of liturgical communities was enormously high in medieval Europe.”²³ He continues, “... the sporadic survival of the early sources represents an additional problem. We cannot place the surviving source in its original context.”²⁴ These difficulties are faced by all scholars of medieval chant; similar problems are faced by researchers in many other fields. Although there is no remedy, it is the awareness of these hazards in selecting sources for consultation that is of primary importance. Both despite and in spite of the survival of certain sources, the study of the antiphoner in its various regional forms continues

The criteria used in selecting the sources for the research on the melodic tradition detailed in Chapter Eleven involves four restrictions. Firstly, the only type of service books consulted consists of those labelled or identified as “Antiphoners.” These books contain the antiphons and responsories for the choir Office. Although the importance and value of noted breviaries must not be dismissed, the focus of this investigation is with the Office as it was chanted in the choir daily, not as it was recited in private devotions where a breviary might have been used. It is acknowledged that the term “breviarium” has been used in different contexts; c. 1300 it meant merely an abridged edition,²⁵ presumably that of the choir Office. Breviaries often include, however, the full texts of lessons and prayers; their identification as “abridged” or “shortened” works is curious. In the case of breviaries which record the chants for the choir, it is presumed that the same tradition is reflected in those manuscripts as presented in the antiphoners from a liturgical centre.

Secondly, for purposes of this study, the year 1400 has been designated as the *terminus* owing to the central position within this research of the corpus of complete

²³Dobszay, *CAO-ECE: I/A Salzburg (Temporale)*, p. 14.

²⁴Dobszay, *CAO-ECE: I/A Salzburg (Temporale)*, p. 15.

²⁵R.E. Latham, s.v. “breviarium,” in the *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 56.

Klosterneuburg antiphoners.²⁶ The eight Klosterneuburg sources central to this study predate the establishment of the Archdiocese of Vienna (1469) to which Klosterneuburg belonged, and therefore reflect the liturgy sung at the monastery before the administrative change in archiepiscopal sees. The year 1400 also predates the printing of religious books. Once this became common, local usage was superseded by that of the diocese where the book was printed. A study of regional chant traditions, either in chant series or melodic usages, becomes moot unless specific manuscript sources reflecting local customs can be determined.

Thirdly, only sources which include the series of ferial chants can be admitted for comparison. These chants are usually recorded in manuscripts between those for Epiphany and Septuagesima. Since some antiphoners present the chants of only a portion of the liturgical year (such as might occur in a division into two or more volumes of *Temporale*, *Sanctorale*, winter, or summer seasons), not all extant and available sources contain the ferial cursus.

Lastly, since the exact intervallic distances between pitches are necessary in order to distinguish the melodic patterns and their possible variations in different manuscripts, only sources copied with pitch-accurate notation can be considered. The value of the many early sources whose chants are recorded with non-diastematic notation or staffless neumes is recognized. Although these sources can be analyzed with respect to many

²⁶The main corpus of surviving medieval antiphoners from this monastery (CCI. 589, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1018) dates from the fourteenth century and earlier. Several fifteenth-century manuscripts have been preserved at Klosterneuburg, but many of these are either incomplete or were designed to include only certain Offices. These sources include: CCI. 995 (a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century incomplete antiphoner, 72 folios), CCI. 1002 (a fifteenth-century antiphoner, 202 folios), CCI. 1005 (a fifteenth-century antiphoner, 136 folios), CCI. 1006 (a fifteenth-century antiphoner, 92 folios), CCI. 1007 (a fifteenth-century compendium, 32 folios), portions of CCI. 1009 (a fifteenth-century antiphoner with seventeenth-century additions, 109 folios), and CCI. 1016 (a fifteenth-century antiphoner, 96 folios). For purposes of this repertory study of the Klosterneuburg Office, the eight earlier sources have been given preference owing both to their complete representations of the chants sung during the entire liturgical year, as well as to their age which places these manuscripts closer to the twelfth-century founding of the monastery. Later Klosterneuburg antiphoners, including those dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (CCI. 998 and portions of CCI. 1009), cannot be deemed to accurately reflect the chant usage during the Middle Ages, and therefore have not been included in this comparative study. The contents of later Klosterneuburg sources must be considered with caution, as the liturgical tradition was broken for a time when the monastery underwent a period of Protestant influence. (See Chapter Six.)

other elements, including textual variants, usages of chants within a series, notational or graphical features, and so on, their melodies cannot be reconstructed precisely enough for this comparative research. In the creation of this source-list, no distinction has been drawn between manuscripts reflecting the cathedral (secular) or monastic practice. With these principles in place, twenty-five sources have been selected for this study. The sources are listed in the table below and described fully later in this chapter.

FERIAL ANTIPHON MELODIC STUDY: SOURCES CONSULTED

SIGLUM	BRIEF MANUSCRIPT NAME
Aach	Aachen 20
Barn	Barnwell (Cambridge)
Bud1	Budapest 118
cam1	Lucca 601
Col1	Cologne 1137 (Köln)
Gra2	Graz 273
Gra6	Graz 29
Gra7	Graz 28
Kas1	Kassel 124
Kas2	Kassel 129
Klo1	Klosterneuburg 1013
Klo2	Klosterneuburg 1010
Klo3	Klosterneuburg 1017

SIGLUM	BRIEF MANUSCRIPT NAME
Klo4	Klosterneuburg 1015
Klo5	Klosterneuburg 1011
MaF2	Paris lat.12044
Ober	Trier 607
Penp	Penpont (Aberystwyth)
Pre2	Munich 17010
Tri1	Trier 480
Utr1	Utrecht 406
Vie3	Vienna 1799 (Wien)
Vor1	Vorau 287
Worc	Worcester F.160
Zwie	Karlsruhe LX

The sigla assigned in this table are case-sensitive four-character codes consisting of letters and numbers. These codes represent particular individual manuscripts. The sigla are based, in part, on the three- and four-character manuscript identifiers of LeRoux, which were adopted, in part, by Heisler. These sigla are in the style of those used in *Le*

graduel romain,²⁷ but all the sources listed above are antiphoners, not graduals. In order to maintain consistency in the field lengths of these sigla, a four-digit label has been adopted rather than a direct borrowing of LeRoux's sigla; his codes have varying lengths and incorporate intervening spaces. Manuscripts which were not consulted by LeRoux have been assigned new codes based on either their present location or some aspect of their provenance, if known. The numbering system for manuscripts used by Hesbert, which involved a rather arbitrary assignment of a three-digit number to each manuscript source, has been avoided, since letter codes can reveal at least primary information concerning a source (i.e., its present location) without reference to an external listing. It must be stressed, in addition, that as Hesbert's four-digit numbers used to identify Office chants in CAO have been used in this study, it has been prudent to limit the use of numbers in other identifiers. RISM sigla have not been adopted into the analysis charts nor the prose results owing to their varying lengths and inclusion of both punctuation and spaces. The value of RISM codes as unique identifiers of the locations of manuscripts is noted however, and these sigla have been employed elsewhere in this research.

SOURCES FROM REGIONS OF GERMAN INFLUENCE

AAC1 *Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Domarchiv, 20*

RISM: D-AAm 20

13th-century antiphoner; from Aachen (modern Germany, just east of the western border)

The surviving manuscripts from Aachen²⁸ provide a record of the chants sung at one of the western-most centres of the east-Frankish realm. Aachen 20, a thirteenth-century antiphoner from the cathedral of Aachen, belonged to the canon Francon (d.

²⁷The Monks of Solesmes, *Le graduel romain*, cited above.

²⁸The city of Aachen (Ger.) or Aix-la-Chapelle (Fr.) began as a spa town, famous since Roman times for its warm, sulphur springs (Roman name: Aquis Granum). During the Middle Ages, Aachen was the northern capital for Charlemagne's vast empire. The cathedral was first built during this time, and later rebuilt in the tenth century. Aachen became a free imperial city in c.1250, but its German connection remained strong as it was the coronation city of German kings until 1531. In 1792, Aachen came under French rule. It is presently within Germany at the convergence of the Netherlandish and Belgian borders.

1318),²⁹ and was included by Hesbert in CAO vol. 5 as source #101. It has also been used by David Hiley to provide melodic examples in his survey book, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*.³⁰ The contents reveal the secular cursus. Aachen 20 also includes a tonary at the beginning of the volume on pp. 1 - 2.³¹

GRA7 *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 28 (olim 38/7 P)*

RISM: A-Gu 28

later-14th-century antiphoner and hymnary; 292 parchment folios; "gothicized" German neumes on a four-line staff; from Neuburg (modern Germany)

This Cistercian antiphoner from Neuburg³² dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. Its 292 parchment folios, which measure approximately 450 x 310 mm with a principal writing-space of 355 x 223 mm, are bound in folio format. Their contents reflect the monastic cursus and record a nearly complete representation of the chants sung throughout the year; this manuscript includes two (!) ferial Offices (ff. 35^v - 45^r and ff. 101^v - 105^v). Graz 28 also contains a hymnary (ff. 271^r - 292^v) and a tonary.³³ These latter items follow an index of feasts (f. 1^r), the *Temporale* (ff. 1^r - 124^r), *Sanctorale* (ff. 124^r - 225^v), *commune*, Office for the Dead, and other chants (ff. 226^r - 270^v).

There are two sets of folio numbers in Graz 28: both are in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos in arabic numerals. The numerals furthest to the upper right-hand corner appear older in style and have been drawn with a wider nib. The current numbering, nearer to the principal writing-space, is smaller and was drawn with a fine nib.

²⁹Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison* (Paris: Heugel, 1971), p. 420.

³⁰Hiley, pp. 87, 91-93.

³¹This tonary is described briefly by Huglo in *Les Tonaires*, p. 420.

³²*Graz 28* was filmed by HMML as project #26,063. It is listed in the library catalogue: Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1942; Wien: Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1956; Wien: Georg Prachner Verlag, 1967), p. 11.

³³Huglo, *Les Tonaires*, p. 362. The tonary has been placed just prior to the hymnary. Huglo lists the tonary as beginning on f. 303^v yet there are only 292 folios in this manuscript. The confusion has resulted from the two sets of modern folio numbering throughout the volume.

Thirteen lines of text in narrowly-spaced Gothic or “Black Letter”³⁴ script appear on each folio side, with musical notation in the intervening spaces. Some of the larger initials are decorated with red and blue, and miniatures occur on folios 1^r, 19^v, 29^r, 77^r, 89^r, 106^v, 144^v, 163^r, 187^v, and 192^r. “Gothicized” German neumes with oblong-shaped noteheads are used throughout the manuscript on four-line staves (with an extra line ruled for the text) with F- or C-clefs. The axis of notation is moderately slanted; however, for the compact forms of the multiple-pitch neumes, the strokes appear more vertical with an angular aspect. The use of custos is inconsistently observed throughout the volume.



Illustration 22: *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 28, from f. 35^r*

The present binding is of white leather with tooling and some decoration. The folio edges have been trimmed to some extent, but there does not appear to be much loss of material. Marginal entries are rare; these include, for the most part, textual additions in an eighteenth-century hand, such as those found on ff. 243^{r-v}.

GRA6 *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29 (olim 38/8 f)*

RISM: A-Gu 29

14th-century antiphoner; 382 parchment folios; quadratic staff notation; from St. Lambrecht (Steiermark, modern Austria)

The fourteenth-century manuscripts *Graz 29*³⁵ and *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek,*

³⁴Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London: The British Library, 1990), pp. 82-83.

³⁵*Graz 29* was filmed by HMML as project *26,075. It is included in the library catalogue: Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, p. 11. Because of the occurrence of polyphony within these chant manuscripts, physical descriptions of *Graz 29* and *30* and a detailed listing of their polyphonic

30 together preserve the Office chants following the monastic cursus sung at the Benedictine monastery of St. Lambrecht. Graz 29 records the chants sung during the winter months and Graz 30 provides those for the summer.

Graz 29 contains 382 parchment folios, each of which measures 435 x 305 mm with a principal writing space of 305 x 210 mm. Two sets of folio numbers with values that do not coincide survive on the leaves of this manuscript: Roman numerals (some of which have been partially trimmed) are in the centres of the upper margins of the rectos, and the current set of arabic numerals in a more modern hand is in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos.

Graz 29 contains the chants of the Winter *Temporale* on ff. 1^v - 199^r. Unusual items included in this manuscript are tones for the Lamentations of Jeremiah³⁶ (f. 168^v) and the often-discussed polyphonic hymn settings³⁷ (f. 187^r). The Winter *Sanctorale* begins on f. 199^v and is followed by the Common of Saints (ff. 308^v - 352^v), the Office of the Dead (ff. 352^v - 363^r), fully written-out Invitatory Tones (ff. 363^v - 376^v), a tonary (ff. 377^r - 379^v), as well as more polyphonic hymn settings and other added material at the end of the volume.

There are ten lines per folio side of Gothic text³⁸ with a moderately-angular aspect. The initials are generally in red, and several are decorated. Some initials have detailed illuminations, such as the Immaculate Conception (f. 2^r), the birth of Christ (f. 38^v), the baptism of Christ (f. 56^r), the martyrdom of John the Evangelist (f. 229^v), and

contents are included in Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320 - 1400)*, series B, vol. IV² (München: G. Henle, 1969), pp. 327-333. Heisler included Graz 29 (identified with the shelf number 38/8 f) in her dissertation research; she assigned this source the siglum "Lam." This manuscript has also been indexed by CANTUS; see the CANTUS "About" file for more information.

³⁶Charles Downey and Keith Glaeske. "The Music and Text of the Lamentations: A Comparison of Cambrai XVI C 4 and Graz 29," *Medieval Perspectives* 10 (1995): pp. 86-100.

³⁷There is a great amount of polyphony surviving from the monastery of St. Lambrecht. Approximately sixty hymns, conductus, responsory verses and doxologies have been indexed in the RISM volume cited above.

³⁸In the RISM description, the script is labelled "semi-Gothic." [Reaney, p. 327.]

the Annunciation (f. 300^r). Square notation on red four-line staves appears above the lines of text. The noteheads have small lines extending vertically from each corner (like an upper-case “H”). The axis of notation is vertical for both single neumes and ligatures. The *caudae* are thin but of substantial length.



Illustration 23: *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29, from f. 66^v*

Differentiae have been indicated in the margins using a two-letter system (a vowel for the mode and a consonant for the ending). This manner of indicating the psalm-tone terminations can be found in other sources originating in Switzerland and some regions of Germany and Austria. Some differentiae in Graz 29 have been notated on the staff instead of, or in addition to, tonary letters (for example, on ff. 65^v, 149^r, 253^v, 268^r, 285^r, and 344^v).

This manuscript may have been copied by a “Fredericus dictus Rosula”³⁹ who died in 1347.⁴⁰ A change of hand from that of the main body of the manuscript is apparent on ff. 199^r - 204^v. These folios are perhaps a later insertion, as they are out of liturgical order, are positioned directly before the *Sanctorale* section of the manuscript (beginning with the Office for Andrew, November 30, on f. 205^v), and contain, primarily, a complete Office for St. Agnes (January 21). It is conceivable that the group of folios

³⁹Kern, p. 11.

⁴⁰Flotzinger, *Musik in der Steiermark*, p. 113.

which precedes this presumed insertion (i.e., ff. 187^r - 198^v which contain some polyphonic hymn settings) may also have been added to the manuscript between the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* sections at a later date.

The leaves of Graz 29 are bound in folio format and are covered in a brown leather binding with some tooling and thick rope bands around the spine. The binding may date from the sixteenth century. The opening flyleaf and f. 1^r contain Latin chant incipits in a cursive script. The other binding materials are unremarkable.

GRA2 *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 273 (olim 39/3 f)*

RISM: A-Gu 273

13th-century antiphoner; 247 parchment folios; Carthusian square notation; from Seitz

The antiphoner Graz 273⁴¹ dates from the thirteenth century and records the chants of the monastic cursus as sung at the Carthusian monastery of Seitz. An inscription on f. 247^v reads, "Antiphonarium hoc est ecclesiae S. Johannis Bapt. in Seyez." The chants of the *Temporale* are recorded on ff. 1^r - 173^r, and those of the *Sanctorale* continue from 173^v - 201^r. The *commune*, Church Dedication, and Offices for the Blessed Virgin and Mary Magdalene are included near the end of the volume. The manuscript is incomplete in its presentation of the chants of the church year owing to a lacuna of eleven leaves which are missing from the beginning.

There are at least two layers of folio numbers; both are arabic and both have been placed in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos. The smaller numbers, which are in a modern hand, are more consistent throughout the volume than the thickly drawn numerals. The smaller numbers also show the correct folio numbering at the beginning of the volume (in its present condition), whereas the older numerals indicate the lacuna of eleven leaves.

Each of the 247 parchment folios measures approximately 280 x 190 mm, with a principal writing-space of 235 x 150 mm. Per folio side, there are eleven lines of Gothic

⁴¹This source was filmed by HMML as project #26,190. It is included in the library catalogue: Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, p. 149.

text with a moderately round aspect and square notation⁴² on four-line⁴³ dry-point staves in the intervening spaces. None of the dry-point lines has been inked; C- and/or F-clefs appear at the left-hand edge of each system. Noticeable is the use of more numerous *b* and *h* signs than in other sources dating from this period.

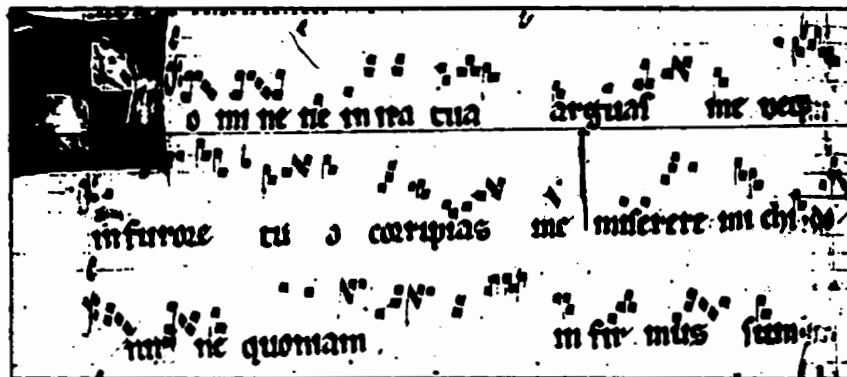


Illustration 24: *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 273, from f. 39^v*

The initials are coloured in blue and red, and several are highly-decorated. A square hole through f. 246 attests to the artistry of whatever miniature or decoration once adorned the “C” of “Credo” on its verso side. The leaves of this manuscript have been bound in folio format. The present binding is in brown leather and dates from the seventeenth century. The flyleaves are plain.

Although Carthusian houses tended to remain small with respect to their monastic populations, this volume appears nonetheless to have been well used, even in later centuries. For example, the titles of some of the more important feasts have been written in the upper margins in Latin in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century cursive script. Also, there are arabic numbers scattered throughout the main body of the manuscript which serve as cues to the folios where other chants might be found. Although the text is clearly readable and the leaves appear to be in good condition, some patching and stitching reveal that the volume has sustained some damage over the centuries.

⁴²See the square notation typical in sources of this order on the plate of a Carthusian Diurnal included in Hiley, pp. 432-433.

⁴³Most systems include an additional line for the ruling of the text.

ZWIE *Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek – Musikabteilung, Aug. LX*

RISM: D-KA Aug. LX

late-12th-century antiphoner; 276 parchment folios; Gothic neumes on a four-line staff; from Zwiefalten (modern Germany, just north of St. Gall, Switzerland)

Dated to the late twelfth century, the provenance of the well-known antiphoner now identified as Karlsruhe Aug. LX⁴⁴ has, until the last few decades, been debated among scholars. At various times, the manuscript's origins have been placed at Petershausen, Reichenau, Hirsau, and Zwiefalten. It has recently been confirmed through scribal hand comparisons that this antiphoner originated in Zwiefalten, and was taken from there to the abbey of Reichenau early in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

The organization of the chants in this Benedictine manuscript reveals the monastic cursus. Its 276 parchment folios, measuring approximately 334 x 230 mm with a principal writing-space of 260 x 180 mm, contain the chants for a complete liturgical year (ff. 2^v - 156^v, winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*; ff. 157^r - 206^v, summer *Sanctorale*, ff. 206^v - 276^r, *commune*, summer histories, ferial Office, and some other feasts).

The format per folio side consists of fourteen lines of text in twelfth-century rounded Carolingian minuscule, with musical notation in the intervening spaces.⁴⁶ In addition to the attention devoted to the numerous decorated initials containing figures, both the script and notation of Karlsruhe, Aug. LX have been carefully studied, since this

⁴⁴This manuscript was included by Hesbert in CAO vol. 5 as "636, in LeRoux's study as "Rei," and in Heisler's dissertation as "Rei 2." Cataloguing details can be found in the library catalogue: Alfred Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, vol. VII: Die Reichenauer Handschriften (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), p. 148. Karlsruhe Aug. LX is also mentioned several times by Huglo in *Les Tonaires*, on pp. 243, 255, and 398.

⁴⁵See the introduction to the published CANTUS volume by Harmut Möller: Charles Downey, Joseph P. Metzinger, Lila Collamore, Keith Falconer, and Richard Rice. *The Zwiefalten Antiphoner: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. LX*, Printouts from an Index in Machine-Readable Form: A CANTUS Index, Musicological Studies, no. LV/5 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996), pp. vii and viii. The index for Karlsruhe Aug. LX is also available in electronic format on the CANTUS website.

⁴⁶See the published colour facsimile: *Antiphonarium: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 60, Farbmikrofiche-Edition*, with an Introduction by Hartmut Möller, *Codices illuminati medii aevi*, 37, (Munich: Helga Lengsfelder, 1995).

manuscript was copied by six different hands and in seven notational styles spanning five centuries.⁴⁷ The notation has drawn much interest owing to a musical palimpsest: in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the original musical notation on a four-line staff (copied c. 1165-1175) was erased and almost completely rewritten in a Gothic style.⁴⁸ The present notation is nearly as heavy in appearance as “Hufnagelschrift.” (This name is owing to the resemblance of the virga to a nail of a horseshoe.) The virgae and multiple-pitch neumes display a vertical ductus, substantial vertical caudae, and rhombic noteheads. The puncta are diamond-shaped. The four-line staves are labelled with F- and C-clefs, and, following Guidonian rules, the F- and C-lines are coloured red and yellow.

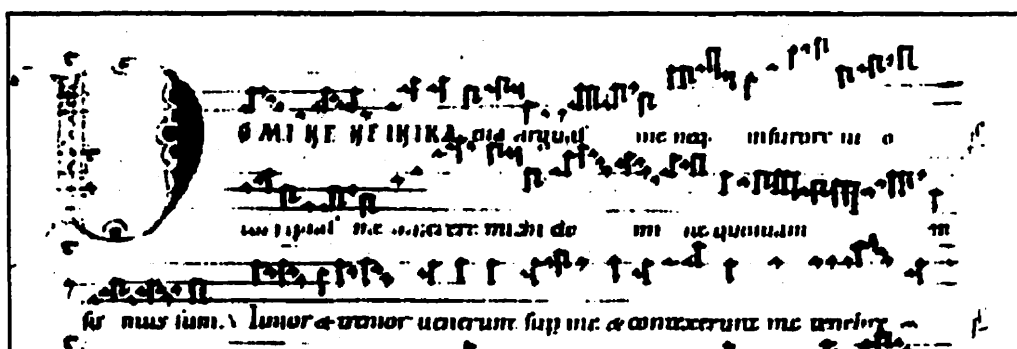


Illustration 25: *Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek – Musikabteilung, Aug. LX, from f. 37'*

Four sets of folio numbering survive; Roman numerals appear only on the first twenty-three leaves, and three series of arabic numerals are found throughout the volume. The current set is the more recent of the arabic sets, located in the centre of the lower margin. The sixteenth-century leather binding shows signs of heavy use.⁴⁹

Instead of being fully written out, the differentiae and antiphon modes in

⁴⁷The major reference source for the study of this manuscript is still Karl Hain, “Ein musikalischer Palimpsest” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Freiburg, Switzerland, 1925). For details on the variety of scribal hands, see in particular pp. 21-29 and 30-69. See also Möller’s introduction to the published *CANTUS* volume, pp. ix-xii and xvi-xx.

⁴⁸Huglo, s.v. “Antiphoner,” in *The New Grove*, p. 484; also Möller, p. vii.

⁴⁹Möller, p. ix.

Karlsruhe, Aug. LX are indicated by the two-letter system used in Graz 29. Other associations of Karlsruhe, Aug. LX with “German” sources have been determined through comparisons of its contents; it appears that this manuscript was involved with the Hirsau reform in the eleventh century, as it is closely related to sources from Rheinau and other houses founded by Hirsau.⁵⁰

KAS1 *Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek des Stadt Kassel, Theol.*
 2° 124 *RISM: D-Kl Theol. 2° 124*

13th-14th-century antiphoner; 378 folios; staff notation; from Fritzlar (modern Germany)

The antiphoner now housed in the Kassel Landesbibliothek as Theol. 2° 124 dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century⁵¹ and was used at the church of St. Peter in Fritzlar, a town just south-west of Kassel. The ordering and number of the chants contained within this volume follow the secular cursus.

For the majority of the 378 parchment folios, there are eleven lines of Gothic text per side with musical notation on five-line staves with F- and C-clefs in the intervening spaces. The heavily-drawn Gothic neumes which appear on these staves are of the later-German type commonly referred to as “Hufnagel.” The folios have been numbered in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos in modern arabic numerals.

Wide margins on each folio side have allowed both for an occasional extra staff line, as well as running titles in the upper margins of rectos; these titles provide continuing indications of the liturgical occasion for the chants contained on each leaf.

⁵⁰Hesbert, CAO, vol. 6, p. 342. See also Möller, pp. xx-xxix.

⁵¹This manuscript was included in CAO vol. 5 as #181. LeRoux assigned it the siglum “Kas 1,” and Heisler incorporated it in her study as “Fri.”



Illustration 26: *Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek des Stadt Kassel, Theol. 2° 124, from f. 58v*

KAS2 *Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek des Stadt Kassel, Theol. 2° 129*
RISM: D-Kl Theol. 2° 129

14th-century antiphoner; 306 folios; staff notation; from Fritzlar (modern Germany)

The 306 parchment folios of Kassel 129⁵² contain the chants following the secular cursus as sung at St. Peter in Fritzlar, the same church where Kassel 124 was used. On each folio side, there are ten lines of Gothic text with thickly-drawn neumes of the “Hufnagel” type on five-line staves with F- and C-clefs in the intervening spaces. Some of the initials, such as the “V” on f. 1^r are decorated; however, the majority of the manuscript is unadorned. Roman numerals once numbered the folios in the centres of the upper margins, but unfortunately, trimming has resulted in the loss of many of these indications.

⁵²*Kassel 129* was included in CAO vol. 5 as source #182, and by LeRoux as “Kas 2.”

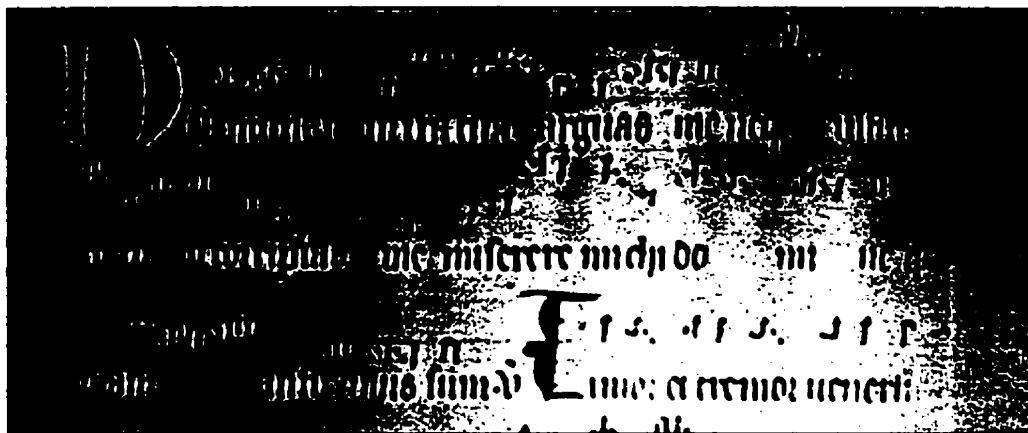


Illustration 27: *Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek des Stadt Kassel, Theol. 2° 129, from f. 2'*

COL1 *Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 1137 RISM: D-KNd 1137*
14th-century antiphoner; 111 folios; staff notation; provenance uncertain

This late-thirteenth- or fourteenth-century monastic antiphoner⁵³ is identified with the title “Antiphonarium Romanum vel Coloniense” and, based on its contents, may be a Benedictine source. Cologne 1137 has 111 parchment folios which measure 315 x 210 mm. These folios have been numbered in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos, and contain the chants for the winter months only; this book must have been part of a two-volume antiphoner set. The *Temporale* (ff. 1^r - 70^r) and *Sanctorale* (ff. 70^r - 89^r) are separated, and the *commune sanctorum* occurs at the end of the volume (ff. 89^v - 111^v).

There are twelve to fourteen lines per side of narrowly-spaced Gothic text, with musical notation on four-line staves with F- and C-clefs in the intervening spaces. There is also a line for the ruling of the text. The German Gothic notation is the type commonly referred to as “Hufnagelschrift.” The axis of notation is vertical, and the neumes have been drawn with a heavy stroke. The title of the volume and some library details occur on the flyleaves, and the front pastedown has a dark diamond-shaped stamp in the centre. This volume appears to have been well used, since the leaves are quite worn and there is

⁵³Cologne 1137 was filmed in 1994 by HMML as project #47,940.

some damage visible throughout the manuscript.

An interesting feature of this source is the evidence of a palimpsest: on several folios (such as f. 46^r, for example), the chants have been written over a previous layer of text. This earlier layer was copied lengthwise (i.e., the other way) across the folio side and appears to have been partially scraped off. The original layer is Latin text only, without musical notation, in Carolingian minuscule with a round aspect. (See Illustration 28 below – in particular, vertically along the right-hand margin.)



Illustration 28: Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 1137, from f. 46^r

PRE2 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 17010

D-Mbs Clm. 17010

14th-century antiphoner; 263 parchment folios; staff notation; from Schäftlarn
(Premonstratensian)

Clm. 17010 is a fourteenth-century Premonstratensian antiphoner⁵⁴ from

⁵⁴Clm. 17010 was included in CAO vol. 5 as #341. LeRoux assigned this source the siglum “pre 2,” and Heisler followed this with a siglum of “Pre 2.”

Schäftlarn. The 263 parchment folios of this manuscript are numbered in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos with modern arabic numerals. Each folio side has thirteen lines of Gothic text with a rounded aspect, and musical notation on four-line staves with F- and C-clefs in the intervening spaces. The notation consists of square neumes with a slightly-slanted ductus and small caudae on the puncta. The initials are not highly-decorated. Several hands are apparent throughout the volume.

The contents follow the secular cursus and record the chants for a complete liturgical year. Unfortunately, several of the opening folios have been damaged, and other leaves have “blackened,” particularly in the outside margins. There is evidence of wear in several stitched repairs to the parchment leaves.

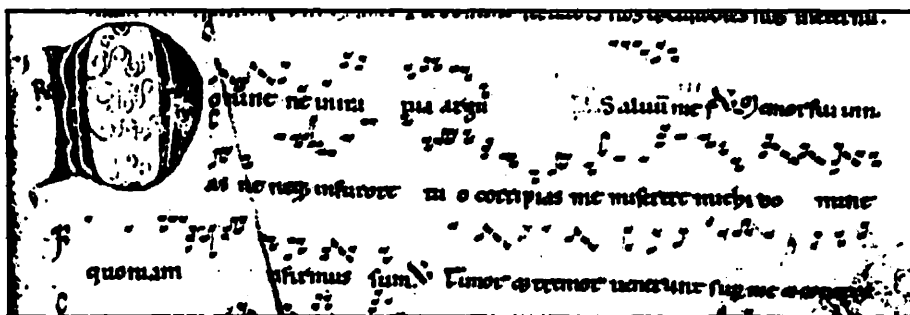


Illustration 29: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 17010, from f. 31'

TR11 Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 480

RISM: D-TRb 480

14th-century antiphoner; 630 parchment pages; “gothicized” German neumes on a four-line staff; from Trier (modern Germany)⁵⁵

This fourteenth-century antiphoner⁵⁶ from Trier Cathedral records the chants for a complete liturgical year. Each of its 630 parchment pages measures approximately 309

⁵⁵Trier (Fr. Treves) rests on the foundations of an ancient Roman settlement, *Augusta Treverorum*. It was established as an episcopal see in the fourth century and an archiepiscopal see in 815. Its Romanesque cathedral embodies part of a fourth-century basilica.

⁵⁶This manuscript was filmed by HMML as project #40,262, and was included in CAO as #546. See the library catalogue entry: Peter Siffrin and Richard Laufner, *Die Liturgischen Handschriften in Bistumsarchiv Trier* (Trier: Bistumsarchiv Trier, 1969), p. 162.

mm x 224 mm. Numeration has been done in at least two stages. At the beginning of the volume, the pages have been numbered on the rectos and versos with rather large arabic numerals in the centres of the upper margins. These are in a lighter ink than the main text, and are in a modern hand. After p. 375, the numbering continues in the upper right-hand corners of rectos and in the upper left-hand corners of versos.

There are fourteen lines of narrowly-spaced Gothic minuscule per page, with musical notation on four-line staves in the intervening spaces. The initials are in red and blue, and several are decorated; see, in particular, those at the start of sections of the liturgical calendar, such as the “B” of *Benedictus* on p. 80 at the start of the Office for the first Sunday after the octave of Epiphany. Either an F- or a C-clef appears at the left-hand margin of each system, and the F-lines are coloured. The notation, though drawn with a heavy stroke, is not yet “Hufnagelschrift” but rather a “gothicized” form of German neumes, similar in appearance to the notation found in other manuscripts originating from areas of Germanic influence and dating from this period. The slant of the substantial caudae on the puncta give each of these neumes the appearance of an inverted “V.” The axis of notation is nearly vertical, however, for the multiple-note neumes.

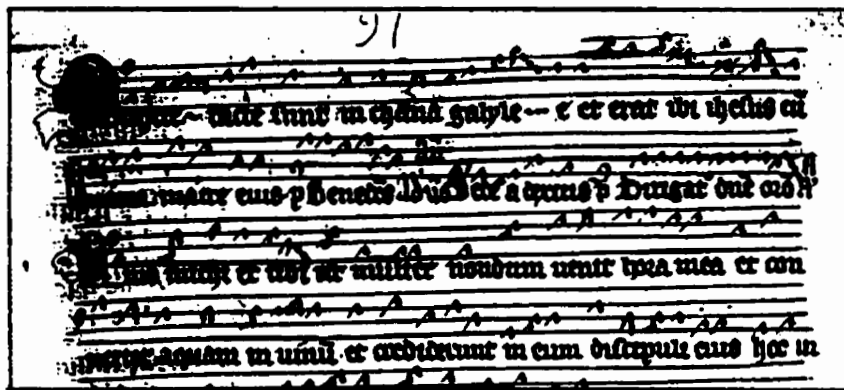


Illustration 30: *Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 480*, from p. 97

The binding, which dates from 1662,⁵⁷ is wood covered in decorated, white, pig-leather. The flyleaves are plain. The manuscript appears to have been well used, owing

⁵⁷Siffrin and Laufner, p. 162.

to its darkened lower margins and worn upper-outside corners.

The contents follow the secular cursus. The *Temporale* (pp. 1-288) and *Sanctorale* (pp. 289-580) are separated. The *Sanctorale* includes the usual feasts in addition to Offices for such saints as Barbara (p. 295), Eucharico (p. 318), Maximino (p. 399), Leonardo (p. 497), and Anna (p. 460). Invitatory tones and some hymns appear on the last pages of the manuscript.

There are some interesting features of this manuscript. In many cases, the differentiae which appear over the letters “euouae” within the main body of the manuscript are not notated on the correct lines or spaces of the staff. In the absence of labelled clef changes at these points, one wonders if the transmission of merely the shape of the six-note pattern, rather than the exact pitches, was enough of an identifier to determine the correct mode and psalm-tone ending for each antiphon. Concerning notational conventions, even though there are obvious forms of multiple-note neumes, there are several occurrences of two puncta for a single syllable (on “do” of *dominus* on the fifth line of p. 83, for example). This may point to a transitional feature in the notation or transmission of the chant. Other questions concerning chant transmission and the adoption of the eight-mode system arise within an examination of the ferial antiphon series, where there are a number of chants with finals on C which have been assigned the common eighth mode differentia C-C-B-C-A-G. Many examples of this “transposed” or “ancient” mode and differentia combination can also be found in Utrecht 406.

OBER *Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 607*

RISM: D-TRb 607

14th-century antiphoner; 548 pages; German neumes (almost Hufnagel) on a five-line staff; from Pfarramt Oberwesel (west of Mainz, on the Rhine, modern Germany)

This fourteenth-century antiphoner⁵⁸ from the parish of Oberwesel records the

⁵⁸This source was filmed by HMML as project #40,350. It is included in the library catalogue: Siffrin and Laufner, p. 245.

Office chants for a nearly complete liturgical year.⁵⁹ The presentation follows the secular *cursus*. The 548 parchment pages,⁶⁰ which measure approximately 320 x 240 mm, contain four sets of numbering. The first fourteen pages have only Roman numerals in the upper right-hand corners of their *rectos*. Another set of numbering begins with “1” on the fifteenth leaf in a modern hand in arabic numerals. These numbers appear in the upper right-hand corners of the *rectos*, and the upper left-hand corners of the *versos*. Another of the sets, which assigns numbers by page, appears in arabic numerals in the lower outside corners (the lower right-hand corners of the *rectos*, and the lower left-hand corners of the *versos*).⁶¹ A fourth set, in an older hand, identifies the leaves by folio arrangement; arabic numerals appear in the centres of the upper margins of the *rectos*.

Each page of Trier 607 contains eleven lines of narrowly-spaced Gothic minuscule text. The text in the main body of the manuscript has been provided by a single scribe;⁶² other hands are visible on ff. 1 - 14, and f. 247. The titles in the upper margins which identify the important feasts are in a later cursive handwriting, perhaps dating from the seventeenth century. The initials are blue and red. German neumes drawn with a vertical ductus and a thick stroke, almost as heavy as “Hufnagelschrift,”⁶³ appear between the lines of text on five-line staves with F- and C-clefs. Liquescent neumes are clearly indicated; their shape resembles a small shepherd's crook or a lower-case “p.” The differentiae are included on the staves within the main body of the manuscript.

⁵⁹A lacuna accounts for some of the missing material; although the numbering by page is consecutive throughout the source, there is an obvious gap in the earlier folio numbering from the leaf identified as f. 94' to that numbered as f. 107'.

⁶⁰Page 547 is paper.

⁶¹This set in the lower outside corners appears to be the most complete; it is this numeration that has been followed.

⁶²Siffrin and Laufner, p. 245.

⁶³Although the caudae are substantial, the noteheads on the puncta are not as diamond-shaped as can be seen in other examples of “Hufnagel” notation. In addition, the multiple-note neumes have a rounder aspect than in some “Hufnagel” examples.

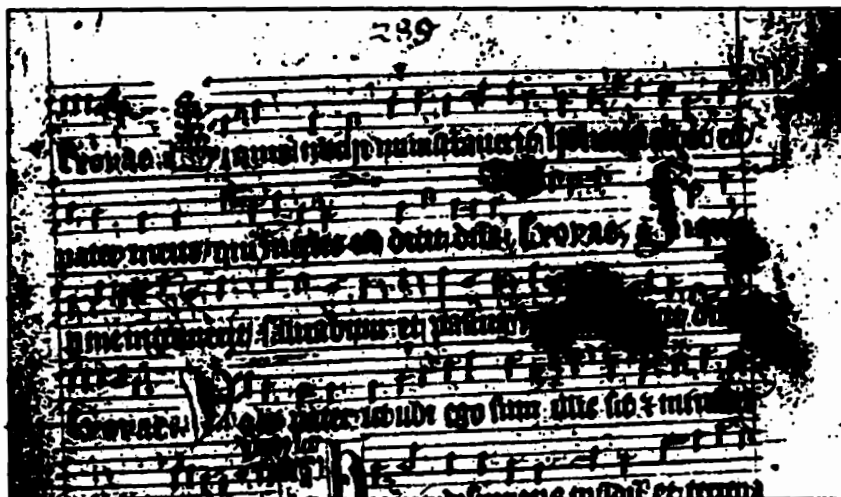


Illustration 31: *Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 607, from p. 507*

Trier 607 is presently in a wooden binding with a white pigskin covering. Two of the original clasps are missing. The manuscript appears to have been well used and it is slightly damaged. Particularly worn are the dark, lower-outside corners of the pages.

UTR1 *Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 406 (olim 3.J.7)*

RISM: NL-Uu 406

12th-century antiphoner; 256 parchment folios; Dutch neumes (mixed form) on a four-line staff; from Utrecht (modern Netherlands)

This manuscript from St. Mary's Church, Utrecht contains 256 parchment folios⁶⁴ in its present form. The original layer (ff. 5^r - 135^r and 152^r - 233^r) dates from the twelfth century; insertions and appendages dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries are contained in ff. 1^r - 4^r, 136^r - 151^r, and 234^r - 255^r.⁶⁵

The volume contains a large antiphoner in one hand, and segments of several treatises and a tonary in another hand. The antiphoner section records the chants for a

⁶⁴The folio numbered as "256" is blank.

⁶⁵This manuscript has been studied numerous times. Some earlier descriptions include: Joseph Smits van Waesberghe et al, eds., *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: The Theory of Music: From the Carolingian era up to 1400*, series III B, vol. 1 (München: G. Henle, 1961), pp. 137-138; and Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed. by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe (N.P.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955), p. 64, where it was given the siglum "U."

complete liturgical year (ff. 5^r - 97^r, winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, ff. 97^r - 208^r, summer *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, ff. 208^r - 222^r, *commune*); the organization of these chants follows the secular *cursus*.⁶⁶ Sections of various theoretical treatises are found on ff. 228^v - 233^v. These include texts drawn from Guido's *Micrologus* Chapters 12-13, Guido's *Prologus in Antiphonarium* (almost complete), Regino of Prüm's *Tonarius* (first section), and pseudo-Odo's *Dialogus de musica*, interspersed with a partially notated tonary of Mass and Office chants ascribed to Berno of Reichenau.⁶⁷ With respect to this section of Utrecht 406, Paul Merkley writes, "In the case of this source, the subjects of the writings are musical, but the manuscript does not seem closely linked to practice."⁶⁸

The folios of Utrecht 406 measure approximately 325 x 255 mm, with a principal writing-space of 260 x 190 mm for ff. 1^r-228^v and 229 x 200 mm for ff. 228^v-255^v (the end of the manuscript).⁶⁹ Two sets of folio numbers survive. The current one is in modern arabic numerals in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos; the older Roman numbering is found in the centres of the upper margins of the rectos and is not entirely without error.

The majority of folios display thirteen lines per folio side, with staff notation in intervening spaces. The script is in a German variant of Carolingian minuscule.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁶Refer to the CANTUS website for more detailed information and a complete index of the chants contained in this manuscript. This index has also been published: Charles Downey, *An Utrecht Antiphoner: Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 406 (3.J.7)*, printouts from an Index in Machine-Readable Form: A CANTUS Index, with an Introduction by Ruth Steiner, *Musicological Studies*, no. LV/6 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 220 pp.

⁶⁷The tonary contained in this manuscript is described in Huglo, *Les Tonaires*, p. 203. It was also included under the siglum "UTRECHT" by Paul Merkley in *Italian Tonaries* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1988), pp. 108-109.

⁶⁸Paul Merkley, *Modal Assignment in Northern Tonaries* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1992), p. 112.

⁶⁹Merkley, *Modal Assignment*, p. 111. See also the introduction to the published facsimile edition: Ike de Loos, *Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 406 (3.J.7)*, index by Charles Downey, ed. by Ruth Steiner, *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts*, 21 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), p. vii.

⁷⁰de Loos, p. vii.

neumes, which are of a mixed form with both French and German elements,⁷¹ have been set on a four-line staff with coloured F-lines. F- and C-clefs are at the left-hand sides of each system.⁷² The neumes, which show a distinction between *virga* and *punctum*, have been drawn with a quite vertical ductus (rather than the more slanted orientation of many Germanic notational styles), long caudae, and a rounded aspect to the initial strokes. A remarkable feature of the notation of Utrecht 406 is its use of significative letters, such as *s* (chromatic alteration) and *t* (possibly to indicate transposition).⁷³

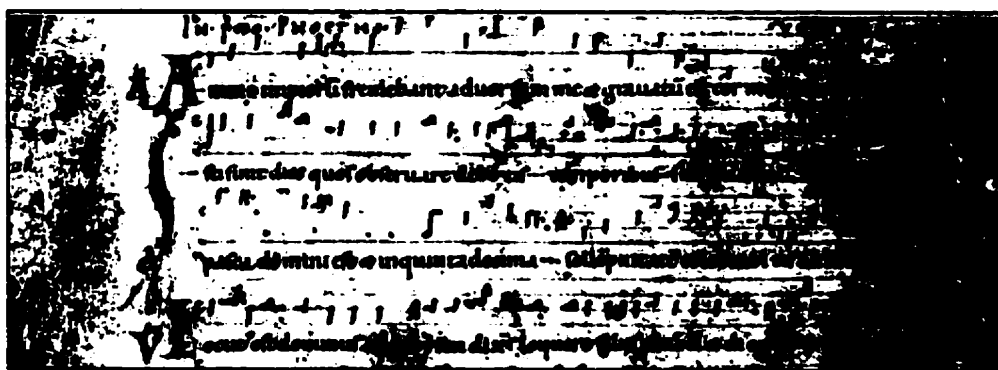


Illustration 32: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 406 (olim 3.J.7), from f. 82'

Since this manuscript was intended for daily use, it is relatively unadorned. Rubrics are concise with few indications of the service. The edges of the parchment folios are worn, and the volume appears to have been well used. The exterior of the codex measures 325 x 255x110 mm.⁷⁴ During its most recent restoration in 1988, the oak boards and paper flyleaves which had been added to the volume in 1844 (upon its arrival

⁷¹See de Loos, pp. ix-xiv for more details on Dutch notation.

⁷²The setting on the staff of neumes which were formerly used *in campo aperto* is found in many manuscripts from areas of German influence. See, for example, the sources which employ "Klosterneuburg" notation. Even so, the introduction of the staff occurred in the Netherlands mainly in the second half of the twelfth century, much earlier than in the rest of the German empire.

⁷³de Loos, pp. xiv-xvi.

⁷⁴de Loos, p. vi.

at the University Library) were replaced with new covers and parchment flyleaves.⁷⁵

Utrecht 406 has been described by several scholars as a “transitional” source⁷⁶ – a manuscript that displays both east- and west-Frankish characteristics.⁷⁷ The importance of this source is unmistakable. Ruth Steiner writes, “The testimony to the eastern tradition of chant given by Utrecht 406 is particularly valuable because there are so few eastern sources with staff notation that are comparable to it in date; thus it can illuminate features of this chant tradition that have been little known.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵de Loos, p. vii.

⁷⁶See, for example, the placement of Utrecht 406 in the “transitional” category of manuscript sources in Huglo, s.v. “Antiphoner,” in *The New Grove*, p. 484. See also the survey of melodies provided in Ruth Steiner, “Antiphons for Lauds on the Octave of Christmas,” in *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Szendrei and D. Hiley (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), pp. 307-315. This study highlights the inclusion in Utrecht 406 of both “French” and “German” melodies for the antiphon *Ecce Maria genuit* (CAO 2523, on ff. 35^v and 36^r) where most other sources include only one or the other. Other antiphon texts in Utrecht 406 which are included twice with different melodies are: *Stephanus servus dei quem* (CAO 5027) on ff. 37^r and 37^v; *Egressus Jesus secessit* (CAO 2620) both on f. 74^v; *Surrexit dominus de sepulcro* (CAO 5079) on ff. 101^r and 101^v; *Sterum autem videbo vos* (CAO 3465) both on f. 106^r; and *Attendite a falsis prophetis* (CAO 1511) both on f. 224^r. Some responsories in Utrecht 406 also have two different verses – on a feast and its octave, for example – sometimes with both a standard and non-standard verse formula; these include *Centum quadraginta quattuor* (CAO 6273) on ff. 33^r and 38^r; *In medio ecclesiae aperuit os* (CAO 6913) on ff. 30^r and 38^r, and *Quem vidistis pastores dicite* (CAO 7470) on ff. 22^r and 36^r. (See the CANTUS index and facsimile edition for further details.)

⁷⁷In this respect, it is important that during the Middle Ages the present Netherlands, although extending as far west as the North Sea, were part of the German (i.e., east-Frankish) empire. Also, for the majority of the Middle Ages, Utrecht was a diocese under the control of the archdiocese of Cologne.

⁷⁸Ruth Steiner, in the Introduction to *An Utrecht Antiphoner: Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 406 (3.J.7)*, printouts from an Index in Machine-Readable Form: A CANTUS Index, Musicological Studies, no. LV/6 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), p. viii.

VOR1 *Vorau, Stift – Bibliothek, 287 (olim XXIX)*

RISM: A-VOR 287

14th-century antiphoner; 339 folios; “gothicized” German neumes on a four-line staff; from Salzburg (modern Austria)

Vorau 287,⁷⁹ an antiphoner originally from Salzburg,⁸⁰ dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. The contents of this manuscript follow the cathedral cursus, and present the chants for the complete liturgical year (ff. 1^r -84^r, winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, ff. 85^r - 224^r, summer *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, ff. 224^r - 290^v, *commune*, summer histories, other feasts; ff. 291^r -338^r, added *Sanctorale*). The beginning of the manuscript has been lost; the first folio begins in the middle of Christmas Vespers. There are four other lacunae throughout the volume.⁸¹ This manuscript includes a tonary with antiphons whose melismas outline each of the eight modes (ff. 285^v - 286^v), as well as canticle tones which have been notated to the first verse of both *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* canticles in all eight modes (ff. 286^v - 288^r).⁸²

The 339 parchment folios of *Vorau 287* measure approximately 296 x 214 mm with a principal writing-space of 228 x 170 mm. The folios are numbered in a modern hand in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos. There are thirteen lines of narrowly-spaced, angular Gothic text per folio side, with musical notation on four-line staves in the intervening spaces. The “gothicized” German neumes have been drawn with a slanted axis of notation and a moderately wide nib. The puncta are oblong, with thin, short caudae. C- and/or F-clefs predominate, though G- and A-clefs are also used.

⁷⁹Vorau 287 was filmed by HMML as project #7271. It is listed in the library catalogue: Pius Fank, *Catalogus Voraviensis* (Graz: Sumptibus Canoniae Voraviensis, 1936), pp. 162-163.

⁸⁰A study of the Salzburg Office tradition (*Temporale* only), of which Vorau 287 is a part, has been published as part of the CAO-ECE project, and is cited above. The CAO-ECE indices display the results of a survey of a number of related sources. The goal of each survey is to reconstruct the chant tradition of a particular liturgical centre. This analytical treatment of a number of original sources in combination has been designed with different intentions than the single-source indices produced by CANTUS which serve as research tools for a number of further applications by scholars of many fields.

⁸¹The CANTUS index of this source is available in electronic format on the website.

⁸²This manuscript is included in Huglo, *Les Tonaires*, p. 422.

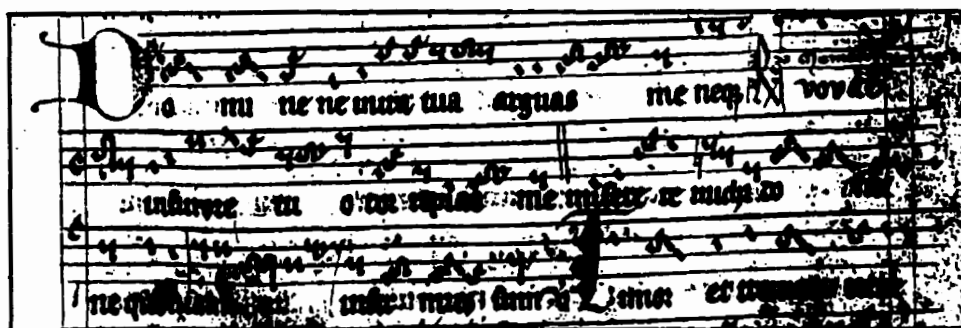


Illustration 33: *Vorau, Stift – Bibliothek, 287, from f. 25'*

During the creation of the index for this manuscript by CANTUS, numerous errors made by the text scribe were observed, including insertions, omissions, and incorrect words. Many of these errors have been carefully corrected in the manuscript through marginal and interlinear annotations, apparently by the music scribe.

VIE3 *Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, 1799** [Suppl. 263]*

*RISM: A-Wn 1799***

13th-century antiphoner, 249 parchment folios; Laon neumes on a dry-point staff; Cistercian (provenance uncertain)

The 249 parchment folios of the thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphoner Vienna 1799** measure 413 x 296 mm with a principal writing-space of 306 x 238 mm.⁸³ The contents follow the monastic cursus and include chants from throughout the liturgical year. Preceding the antiphoner is the text of the “Prologus Bernardi” in two columns per folio side; this is the Cistercian treatise which explains their reform of chant. A tonary of invitatories included in the manuscript is in the same German hand as the antiphoner, and in the same style of notation, but with no decoration; this suggests that it was included for private use.⁸⁴

Evidence of three sets of folio numerals survive despite some trimming of the

⁸³This source was filmed by HMML as project *15,131. It is included in the library catalogue: *Tabulae Codicum Manu Scriptorum Praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum*, vol.I (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1965), p. 291. Vienna 1799** is described by Merkley in *Modal Assignment*, pp. 161-162. It is also included in Huglo’s *Les Tonaires*, p. 362.

⁸⁴Merkley, *Modal Assignment*, p. 162.

folio edges. On the opening few folios of the antiphoner proper are small arabic numerals in the centres of the upper margins of the rectos. Many of these have been lost. The first thirteen leaves are numbered with small cursive Roman numerals in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos. The current numeration consists of tiny, lightly-drawn arabic numerals in the uppermost right-hand corners of the rectos. This most recent numbering extends throughout the volume but is not plainly visible on many of the leaves.

There are twelve lines per folio side of Carolingian minuscule with a round aspect. Many of the initials are decorated (on f. 1^v, for example); some contain miniatures (on f. 17^v and 24^v, for example). The intervening notation consists of Laon neumes on a four-line dry-point staff with red F- and yellow C-lines. F- or C-clefs appear at the left-hand edge of each system. The noteheads are quite small and rounded, and there is only a slight slant upwards to the right within the neume groupings. A distinction has been made between virgae and puncta. The differentiae are placed within the staves over the letters “euouae.”

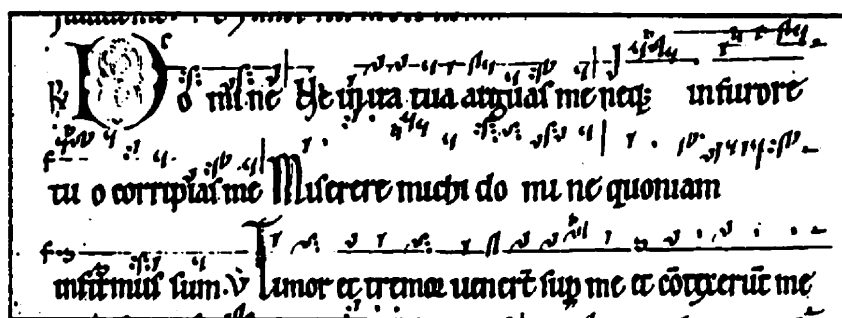


Illustration 34: *Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, 1799***, from f. 30^v

The binding is modern and measures 424 x 305 mm. Paul Merkley has commented that the cover may be the original one restored.⁸⁵ The leaves of the volume appear to be in good condition.

⁸⁵Merkley, *Modal Assignment*, p. 161.

SOURCES FROM REGIONS OUTSIDE OF GERMAN INFLUENCE

PENP *Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales),*
 20541 E *RISM: GB-AB 20541 E*

mid-14th-century antiphoner; 324 folios; quadratic staff notation; from Wales

This manuscript, commonly known as the “Penpont Antiphoner,”⁸⁶ preserves the chants of the Office following the Sarum rite. It dates from the middle of the fourteenth-century (c. 1320-1390) and was prepared for use in a non-monastic church (i.e., secular *cursus*) in Wales, probably in the diocese of St. David's.⁸⁷

The 324 folios of the Penpont antiphoner are comprised of 302 full vellum leaves plus three half-pages and eighteen smaller stubs at the end of the volume; these latter leaves have been numbered as ff. 303 - 324. There are several lacunae and at least one binding error: thirty-seven separate leaves are missing, as well as five whole quires of twelve leaves,⁸⁸ and the innermost leaves in the twenty-fourth quire are incorrectly bound (the correct order should be ff. 236, 238, 237, 240, 239, 241).⁸⁹ The numbering of the folios (which has not been corrected) is in modern arabic in a light-coloured ink in the upper-right-hand corners of the rectos.

The contents of the Penpont antiphoner include the *Temporale* (ff. 1 - 157), an incomplete psalter with music (ff. 158 - 176), the *Sanctorale* (ff. 177 - 300), and an extremely fragmentary *commune* (ff. 301 - 324). The many lacunae of this manuscript have, unfortunately, resulted in an incomplete record of the Office for a complete liturgical year; there is no kalendar, the chants for the whole season of Advent are missing, and the *commune sanctorum* is largely incomplete after the common of apostles.

⁸⁶This manuscript has been published in a facsimile edition: *National Library of Wales, MS. 20541 E: The Penpont Antiphonal*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no.22, Introduction and indices prepared by Owain Tudor Edwards (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997). It has also been indexed by CANTUS, and the index of contents is available from the website.

⁸⁷Edwards, p. 5 and CANTUS “About” file.

⁸⁸Edwards, p. 5.

⁸⁹Edwards, p. 5. See also the CANTUS index of the contents of this source.

The folios in the main body of the antiphoner measure 385 x 250 mm with a principal writing-space of 280 x 190 mm. The manuscript has been formatted with two columns per side, and either forty lines of text only or thirteen lines of text with musical notation per column. The Gothic script has been dated clearly to the mid- to late-fourteenth century, and was executed by at least two hands; Hand A copied the chants for the *Temporale*, *Sanctorale*, and *commune*, and Hand B provided the texts for the psalter.⁹⁰ The rubrics are red, and the plain initials are generally red and blue. Concerning the flourishes and infilling of the larger initials in red, blue or black, Owain Edwards remarks, “The decoration of about 1500 large calligraphic initials incorporates a variety of human heads or faces, birds, animals, or non-representational patternwork.”⁹¹

The notation is conventional and consists of black square neumes on red four-line staves with F- and C-clefs and an occasional G-clef. The differentiae are included within the main body of the manuscript over the vowels “euouae.” There are at least two contemporary notation hands. Edwards mentions the scribes’ careful regard to the placement of the ligatures over the textual underlay. Edwards also remarks on the tendency in the Penpont antiphoner to make less use of liquescent neumes than in the Sarum antiphoner or that from Worcester. He writes, “The feature which is normally most distinctive with liquescent neumes, the indefinite pitch of their final elements, has been abandoned in favour of fixed pitches in a great many cases, though by no means to the total exclusion of liquescent neumes.”⁹²

⁹⁰For more details on the scribal activity, refer to Edwards, pp. 5-6.

⁹¹Edwards, p. 6.

⁹²Edwards, p. 7.

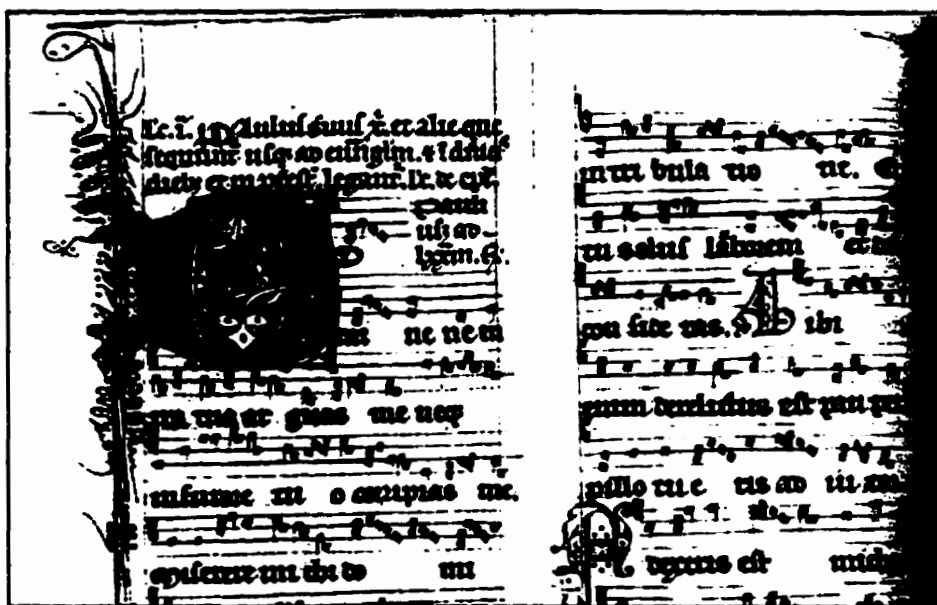


Illustration 35: Aberystwyth, *Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru* (National Library of Wales), 20541 E, from f. 41^v

Although there has been some damage to this manuscript from rodents and dampness, most of the material is still easily legible. Some trimming at the top margin has resulted in the loss of many of the running titles found after f. 100. The medieval binding of this large, heavy book is still intact.⁹³

BUD1 *Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library), lat. 118*

RISM: H-Bu lat. 118

14th-century antiphoner; 249 parchment folios; square notation; Franciscan (provenance uncertain)

*Budapest 118,*⁹⁴ the first volume of a fourteenth-century antiphoner now housed in

⁹³This description has been included in the facsimile edition: "Sewn on nine bands in oak boards, evidently original. The boards are not rectangular ... Eight of the nine thongs survive, reinforced with hemp cord in 1970. The cover has entirely gone apart from a few very small fragments of whittawed leather which are still *in situ* on both boards; one fragment on the lower board shows traces of pink stain. Four sets of nail holes on the lower board probably mark the former presence of bosses." [Edwards, p. 5.]

⁹⁴The Budapest antiphoner has been filmed by HMML but not assigned a project number. Budapest codices 118, 119, 121, and 122 have been indexed by CANTUS; the index of the contents of these sources is available in electronic form from the CANTUS website.

the Budapest University Library, contains the chants of the winter *Temporale* following the secular cursus. Together with Budapest codices 119, 121, and 122, the Divine Office for the entire liturgical year is recorded. Little is known of the history of these four manuscripts before they were acquired by the library during the reign of Joseph II of Hungary (1780-90).⁹⁵ Although the exact provenance or use of the Budapest antiphoner is unknown, clear association of these manuscripts with the Franciscan Order can be determined owing to a number of inscriptions in the manuscripts, the similarity in presentation of the material between these sources and the ordinal prepared by minster-general Haymo of Faversham (c. 1180 - 1244),⁹⁶ as well as the occurrences of feasts for saints especially venerated by that order such as Francis of Assisi, Clare of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, and Peter of Alcántara.⁹⁷

Budapest 118 contains 249 folios including three interpolated leaves (ff. 85, 135, and 235). The manuscript measures approximately 485 x 325 mm, and is currently bound in a white leather cover dating from the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ There are seven lines per side of large Gothic script with an angular aspect.⁹⁹ Several of the larger initials are decorated. Between the lines of text are four-line staves with F- or C-clefs and quadratic notation which appears throughout the volume to have been copied by a single scribe.

⁹⁵See the "About" file on the CANTUS website.

⁹⁶Andrew William Mitchell, "A CANTUS Index: A Franciscan Antiphoner from Hungary" (Master's thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Western Ontario, 1996), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁷The feast for Peter of Alcántara (1499-1562, canonized in 1669) is inserted into Budapest 121; it is a seventeenth-century addition to the antiphoner. [See Mitchell, pp. 44-46.]

⁹⁸D. Polycarpus Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungaricae et limitropharum regionum*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), pp. 523-27.

⁹⁹For more detail on the script, see K. Szigeti, "Denkmäler des Gregorianischer Chorals aus den ungarischen Mittelalter," in *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4 (1963): p. 134.

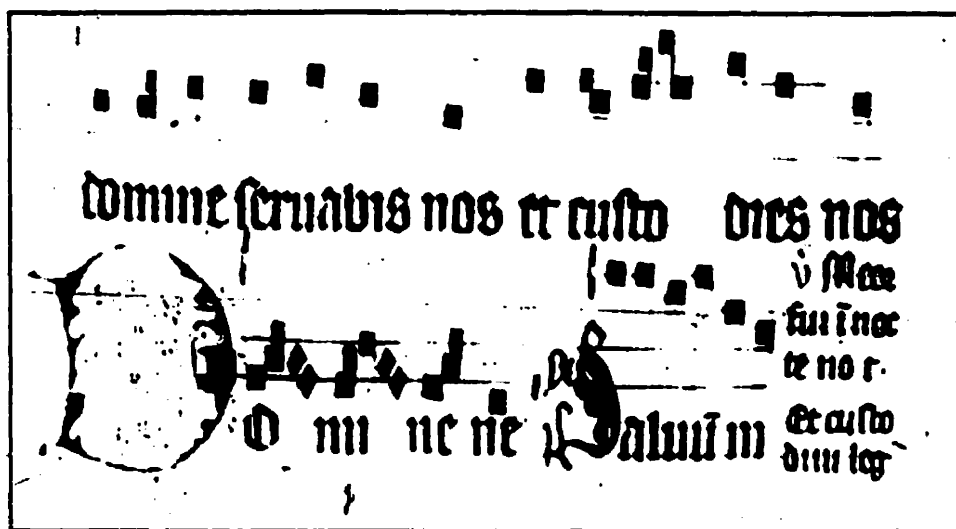


Illustration 36: *Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library), lat. 118, from f. 108'*

BARN *Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9*

RISM: *GB-Cu Mm.ii.9*

mid-13th-century antiphoner; 567 pages; square notation on four-line staff; Sarum rite, probably from St. Giles Abbey at Barnwell, England

The manuscript commonly known as the “Barnwell” antiphoner¹⁰⁰ dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and was probably written for St. Giles Abbey, an Augustinian house at Barnwell, England. This antiphoner records the chants following the cathedral cursus and is one of several extant sources representing the Sarum rite.¹⁰¹ Walter Howard Frere used *Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9* as the main source

¹⁰⁰This manuscript was assigned the siglum “Sar 1” by LeRoux, and it has been indexed by CANTUS. The CANTUS version has been published as: Lila Collamore and Joseph P. Metzinger, eds., *Frere's Index to the Antiphons of the Sarum Antiphoner*, with an introduction by Ruth Steiner (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1990). See also, Lila Collamore, “An Index to the Antiphons of the Sarum Antiphoner Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9” (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1990), and Dom René-Jean Hesbert, “The Sarum Antiphoner — Its Sources and Influence,” *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 3 (1980): pp. 49-55. This antiphoner was not included in Hesbert's study of responsory series in CAO, because the pages containing the Advent chants are missing.

¹⁰¹Other sources of the Sarum Antiphoner include: *Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2,602* (the “Springfield Antiphonal”); *Oxford, Bodleian Library, 23, 25, and 26, London, British Library, Add. 32,427, Add. 28,598, Add. 17,002, and Harleian 4,958; Dublin, Trinity College, B.1.1, 3, 4, and 5*, as well as some printed volumes.

for his facsimile edition of the Sarum antiphoner, published as *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*.¹⁰² Unfortunately, this manuscript lacks the first part of the winter *Temporale* (from Advent to Epiphany). In addition to this opening lacuna of perhaps four gatherings (approximately twenty pages), a gathering containing the end of the *Temporale* and the beginning of the *commune* is also missing from the end of the volume (pp. 609 - 632). In the facsimile edition, Frere compensated for these gaps by reproducing folios from several different sources, among them the Erlyngham Breviary, now housed in the Chapter Library at Salisbury.¹⁰³

The 567 pages of the Barnwell antiphoner measure approximately 340 x 240 mm. Eleven lines of Gothic text in two columns appear on each side with musical notation in the intervening spaces. The notation is square on four-line staves with F- and C-clefs. The pages are numbered in the lower margins with hollow, printed, arabic numerals. The chants of the *Temporale* are included on the pages numbered as 101 to 342, and those for the *Sanctorale* are found on pp. 345 to 608. In addition to the usual saints' Offices is a partial feast for the Translation of Thomas Becket (p. 456) and an Office for Edmund (beginning on p. 597).

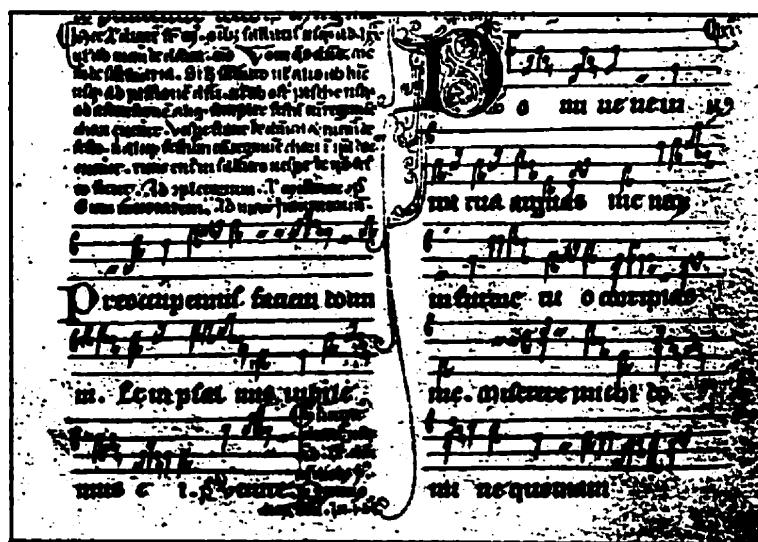


Illustration 37: Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9, from p. 102

¹⁰²Frere, ed., *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, cited above.

¹⁰³The CANTUS index includes only the part of the year contained in the Barnwell antiphoner.

CAM1 *Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 601*
RISM: I-Lc 601

early-12th-century antiphoner; 560 parchment pages; central Italian neumes on dry-point staves; from Pozzeveri (modern Italy)

This Camaldolese¹⁰⁴ antiphoner dates from the early twelfth century.¹⁰⁵ Its 560 parchment pages, which measure approximately 365 x 255 mm, show no signs of Gothic features. There are fourteen lines per side of rounded Carolingian minuscule with musical notation in the intervening spaces. Some of the initials are decorated; several include miniatures, such as those at the starts of feasts, for example. The uncial letters for ordinary use are quite simple in design.

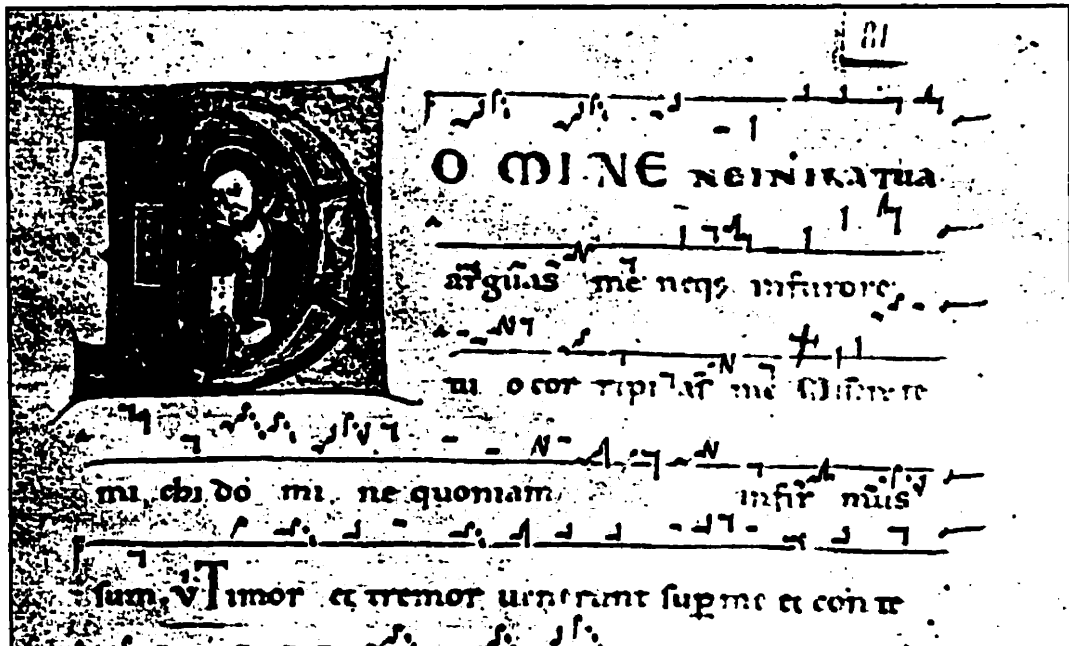


Illustration 38: *Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 601, from p. 81*

¹⁰⁴The Camaldolese order, named after its centre of reform (Camaldoli, modern Italy), was one of the many later reformed orders within Benedictine monasticism. Other founding or reforming centres of or related to Benedictine monasticism include Cluny, Gorze, Hirsau, Grandmont, and Vallombrosa.

¹⁰⁵Lucca 601 has been published in facsimile: Dom André Mocquereau, ed., with the Monks of Solesmes (Abbaye Saint-Pierre), *Antiphonaire Monastique, XIIe siècle, Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque Capulaire de Lucques*, Paléographie musicale, vol. 9 (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Cie, 1906; Reprint Berne: Herbert Lang & Cie, 1974). Lucca 601 was included by Hesbert in CAO vol. 5 as source "709, in LeRoux's study as "cam 1," and by Heisler as "Luc."

The notation consists of central Italian neumes on dry-point staves with coloured F- or C-lines. The music scribe copied the rectangular- or oblong-shaped noteheads with a vertical ductus, and made a clear distinction between virgae and puncta. F-, C-, or A-clefs are marked at the left-hand margins.

At the beginning of the volume, there are two parchment flyleaves and one pastedown. These recycled leaves contain material associated with the cathedral of Lucca, but not directly related to the antiphoner proper.¹⁰⁶ Although Lucca 601 was copied for the use of the choir, this volume remains in excellent condition.

Lucca 601 is without any trace of insertions or deletions. The complete chants of the *Temporale* are found on pp. 1 - 320, and those of the *Sanctorale* and the *commune* on pp. 320 - 546. The contents provide some evidence concerning the provenance of this source: as the chants contained in Lucca 601 closely reflect the Benedictine liturgy and follow the monastic cursus, it is clear that this manuscript was not written for the chapter of canons at the cathedral in Lucca. The editor of the *Paléographie musicale* facsimile series, Dom André Mocquereau, has suggested that the presence of this monastic (i.e., unusable) Office book in a cathedral library can only be explained if there occurred at one time the suppression of a monastery, and if the possessions of that monastery were transferred to the chapter library.¹⁰⁷ This may indeed have occurred in the fifteenth century near Lucca: in an act by Pope Gregory XII in July of 1408, the monasteries of San Pietro di Pozzeveri and San Michele di Quiesa were suppressed, and their property was confiscated. In the same month, the monastery of Santa Maria di Pontetetto was suppressed.¹⁰⁸

It is generally considered that Lucca 601 was used at Pozzeveri, since this monastery was founded in the eleventh century for canons regular but was transferred to

¹⁰⁶See Mocquereau, p. 11* for details.

¹⁰⁷Mocquereau, p. 11*.

¹⁰⁸Mocquereau, pp. 11*-12*.

the Camaldolese order before the year 1095.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the ancient library inventory from Pozzeveri lists two antiphoners.¹¹⁰

MaF2 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12044*

RISM: F-Pn lat. 12044

early-12th-century antiphoner; 241 folios; French notation on a four-line staff; from St. Maur-les-Fossés (modern France)

This early-twelfth-century antiphoner¹¹¹ originated at the monastery of St. Maur-des-Fossés, which lies just east of Paris and was reformed by Cluny in the tenth century. The 241 parchment folios are numbered in a modern hand in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos. Each folio side has thirteen lines of rounded Carolingian minuscule, with staff notation in the intervening spaces. The notation consists of French neumes with a nearly-vertical ductus on a four-line dry-point staff with F- and C-clefs or F- and D-clefs.

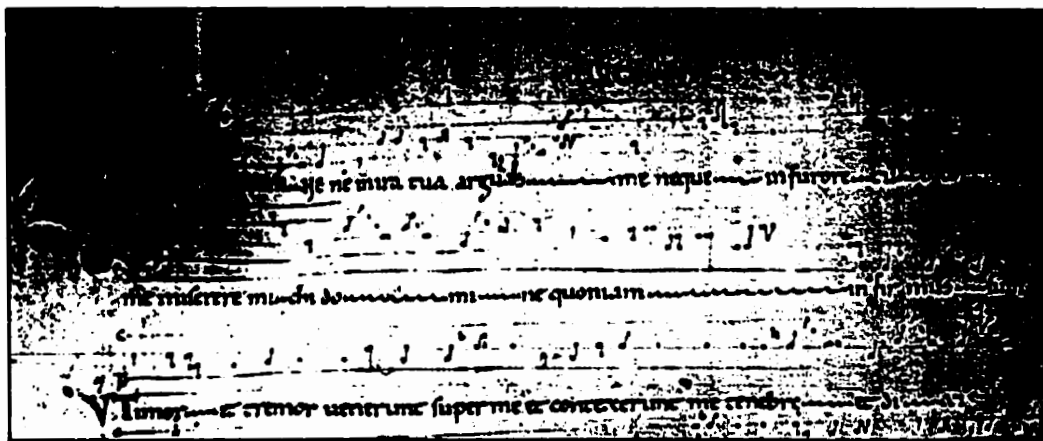


Illustration 39: *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12044, from f. 29^v*

Paris lat. 12044 records the chants for a liturgical year following the monastic

¹⁰⁹Mocquereau, p. 12*.

¹¹⁰Mocquereau, p. 12*.

¹¹¹Paris lat. 12044 was included by LeRoux as “MaF 2,” and by Heisler as “Mau.” This source was filmed by HMML but not assigned a project number. It is included in the library catalogue: Léopold Victor Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8 823 - 18 613*, 4 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974), p. 34.

curus. The winter *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* occur on ff. 1^r - 143^r, and the summer *Sanctorale* is found on ff. 143^r - 226^r. The *commune* chants have been copied on ff. 226^r-241^v. The volume is incomplete at the beginning and end, and there is a short lacuna after the fourth Sunday of Advent. Some mutilated folios, such as f. 39 (recording the Office for Maurus) which is largely torn away, have caused some imperfections in the manuscript. Some of the saints' Offices of local tradition in Paris lat. 12044 include Babolenus (f. 146^v), Arnulfus of Metz (f. 161^r), Eligius (f. 218^v), and the Translation of Babolenus (f. 224^v).

Hesbert included a similar manuscript from the same monastery, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12584*, in CAO as manuscript "F."¹¹² Paris lat. 12584 and Paris lat. 12044 have much in common, but because Paris lat. 12044 is later, it includes material not found in the eleventh-century manuscript transcribed by Hesbert.

WORC *Worcester, Worcester Cathedral – Music Library, F. 160 (olim 1247)*

RISM: GB-WO F.160

13th-century antiphoner, 354 folios; English square notation on four-line staves; from Worcester (England)

This manuscript¹¹³ from Worcester Cathedral is composed of a number of liturgical books of different types and dates. These include: an antiphoner containing

¹¹²See Hesbert, CAO, vol. 2.

¹¹³The Worcester antiphoner was included by Hesbert in CAO vol. 5 as source *894. Both LeRoux and Heisler have assigned this manuscript the siglum "Wor." This source is also described by Huglo in *Les Tonaires* on pp. 342 and 472, and it is included in the Solesmes study, *Le graduel romain*, vol. 2 on p. 154. The antiphoner and processional have been reproduced in facsimile: Dom André Mocquereau, director, *Antiphonaire Monastique XIIIe siècle; Codex F. 160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester*, Paléographie musicale, vol. 12, with an introduction by Laurentia McLachlan (Tournai: Desclée, 1922; Reprint Berne: Herbert Lang & Cie SA, 1971). The Worcester antiphoner has also been indexed by CANTUS; the inventory of contents is available in electronic format from the CANTUS website. The CANTUS index exists in two forms: one includes all the chants in the antiphoner, processional, and hymnal, including the Offices of the Visitation of Mary and Corpus Christi, which were added in the fourteenth century. (Although not included in the facsimile edition, these two Offices are discussed in the introduction to it.) The references in this version of the index are to folios in the manuscript. A second version of the index includes only the chants of the antiphoner and refers to the page numbers of the facsimile edition.

chants of the *Temporale* (ff. 2^r - 95^v); a processional (ff. 100^r - 115^v); private prayers; the Office and Mass of the Visitation of Mary (ff. 121^r - 130^v); the Office and Mass of Corpus Christi (ff. 135^r - 142^v); a kalendar (ff. 147^r - 148^v); a psalter (ff. 149^r - 164^v); a hymnal (ff. 164^v - 169^v); a collectarium; an antiphoner containing chants of the *Sanctorale* (ff. 182^r - 282^v); an abridged tonary (ff. 285^v - 286^v); a kyriale; a gradual (beginning on f. 294^v); and a fragmentary proser.

Both sections of the antiphoner, as well as all items from the calendar to the end of the manuscript, were copied in the same thirteenth-century hand, around the year 1230.¹¹⁴ The processional and the gradual were copied shortly afterwards, and the Offices and Masses of the Visitation and Corpus Christi were copied in the fourteenth century. This compendium-type manuscript reflects the usage of the Benedictine monastery of Worcester, and is slightly incomplete (there are a few missing leaves). There is no evidence of an ancient set of folio numbering; the current pagination of its 354 parchment leaves is by a modern hand.

The chants of the antiphoner follow the monastic cursus. On each folio side, there are fourteen lines of text with Anglo-Norman (English) square notation on four red lines in the intervening spaces. The neumes are in black ink, and are clear and regular. The axis of notation is nearly vertical, and the caudae on the neumes are substantial. Initials alternate between blue and red, and many are ornamented. Pen-flourished initials are found at the starts of the feasts for Easter, Christmas, Ascension, and Pentecost. The beginning of the Advent chants must have had a similar flourished initial; however, that leaf is missing. The recent binding is of red leather and measures 260 x 180 mm. The original format was larger.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴Laurentia McLachlan, introduction to *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 12, p. 10.

¹¹⁵McLachlan, p. 9.

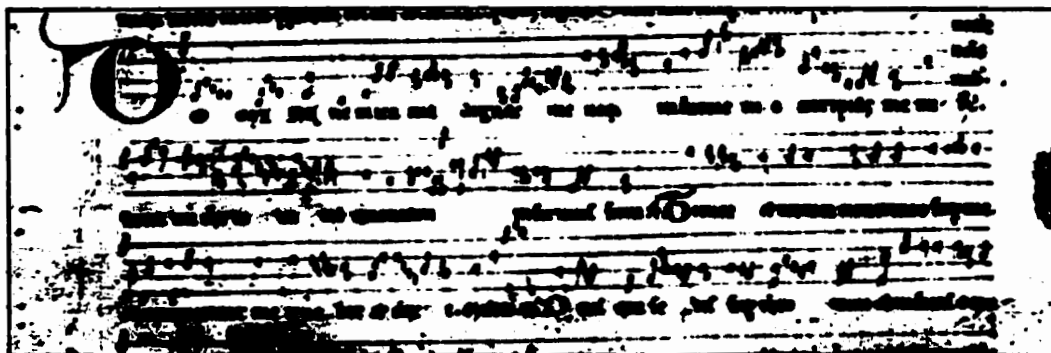


Illustration 40: Worcester, Worcester Cathedral – Music Library, F. 160 (olim 1247), from f. 30'

Worcester F. 160 is an invaluable source, as it appears to be the only medieval liturgical manuscript from Worcester that survived the official destruction of Office books on April 23, 1549.¹¹⁶ Important contents preserved in Worcester F. 160 are a number of rare Offices for Anglo-Saxon saints; these include Cuthbert, Dunstan, Oswald, and Wulfstan.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶McLachlan, p. 9.

¹¹⁷The Offices for Cuthbert and Wulfstan are briefly discussed by Andrew Hughes in “British Rhymed Offices: A Catalogue and Commentary,” in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, Susan Rankin and David Hiley, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 257 and 279.

CHAPTER 11

THE MELODIC TRADITION AT KLOSTERNEUBURG: A CASE STUDY OF THE FERIAL ANTIPHONS CONTAINED IN TWENTY-FIVE ANTIPHONERS

The existence of an east-Frankish or Germanic melodic chant tradition has been under sporadic consideration for a number of decades. Following the preliminary work of Peter Wagner in the 1920s and early 1930s, several of his students continued his investigation into the occurrences of melodic variants in sources of medieval chant originating from the various geographical or cultural areas of western Europe. Wagner concluded that there were consistent differences in the melodic contours of certain portions of chants in sources from the west-Frankish regions of Europe (France, Italy, England¹) as compared with those from areas of German influence, identified as the east-Frankish regions (modern Germany, Austria, Switzerland). Further work on the matter of regional melodic variants has more recently been undertaken by Maria-Elisabeth Heisler, and the subject has been commented upon by a number of others. In the most expansive study to date on the east-Frankish chant tradition, Heisler writes, in an explanatory analogy, that melodic variants in chant, which can be seen from church to church, are comparable to the differences between various dialects of a spoken language.²

The German chant dialect involves the raising of the peak-pitch in particular phrases and the widening of the interval following that peak-pitch. This appears most often as a preference for the singing of a higher note at the semitone steps in the diatonic scale. For example, where the pitches D-F-D occur in east-Frankish manuscripts, D-E-D is often found in versions of the same chant in west-Frankish books. In other cases, the gapped interval A-C-A is found in sources from eastern regions instead of the western version of A-B-A or A-B \flat -A. Previous research has concluded to varying degrees that

¹Sources from these regions are grouped as west-Frankish owing to the dissemination of Gregorian practices to England and northern Italy via the west-Frankish territories in the area of modern France.

²"Melodischen Varianten, wie sie sich von Kirche zu Kirche zeigen, sind vergleichbar mit Unterschieden in der gesprochenen Sprache." [Heisler, 1986, p. 139.]

the regional or geographic divisions of east and west coincide with the various melodic versions. While these melodic patterns appear to be the most common variants between the chant traditions, there are also suggestions in the literature that more melodic variants can be found consistently between east- and west-Frankish sources. For instance, Dom Jacques Froger has written that the less-frequent yet characteristically German melodic pattern of D-B-C-B can be found in cadences for second mode pieces opposite the pitches D-C-C-B in sources from other regions.³ On the other hand, suggestions have also been made that the east-Frankish melodic tradition is not completely consistent in all sources which originate from within the regional or geographical boundaries where German influence occurred during the Middle Ages. Hendrik van der Werf writes, "This specific form of the intonation [A-C-A] appears frequently, although not consistently, in Germanic sources but not in others."⁴

Before the Klosterneuburg sources can be placed securely within or alongside either melodic tradition, it is necessary first to conduct a survey of the chant melodies in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners as well as in all available medieval sources in order to confirm or deny the existence of such distinct melodic traditions within the whole body of Gregorian chant. It must be determined if there are, in fact, enough significant variants in manuscripts which are related geographically to firmly support the notion of an east-Frankish melodic chant tradition.

Unquestionably, the starting point for such a comparative study concerning the melodic shape and intervallic content in medieval chants from various regions of Europe

³"Parmi les particularités qui caractérisent le style germanique, il en est une autre que Sidler ne mentionne pas, sans doute parce qu'elle est moins fréquente et attire moins l'attention; elle est inverse et consiste à baisser respectivement au *si* ou au *mi* un *do* ou un *fa* authentique. On en trouve des exemples dans les formules de cadence finale des pièces du 2^e mode; ainsi dans le mélisme par lequel se termine le dernier alléluia de l'Introit *Cibavit eos*, les deux clivis consécutives sont rendues, dans l'édition Vaticane du Graduel, qui suit en cela les mss allemands, par *ré-SI do-si*; dans la même formule de cadence qui termine les Répons du 2^e mode, l'Antiphonaire monastique a rétabli le *do* authentique de la première clivis: *ré-Do do-si*." [Froger, p. 15*, fn. 4.]

⁴van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 61.

is Peter Wagner's summary of regional melodic variants. Wagner presented his theory in a number of articles which culminated in the introduction to the facsimile edition of the Thomaskirche gradual, "Der germanische Dialekt des Gregorianischen Gesanges."⁵ In this work, he provides comparative tables showing the melodic variants contained in ninety-six Mass chants from Advent to Septuagesima. These examples are displayed each on a single line, with only the "variant" portion of the melody with its text underlay for each source. Wagner laments the enormity of comparing every chant for the complete liturgical year, and restricts his study to the chants for the first liturgical occasions of the year. He announces, however, that such a limitation has had no effect on the results; they would be the same if the whole of each manuscript had been compared.⁶

Wagner's tables show numerous minor thirds in Germanic sources in places where the Romanic manuscripts have a minor or major second; these constitute the majority of differences. Alexander Blachly refers to this feature as a difference in the *quality* of the melody.⁷ There is no major alteration in the melodic shape, and there is rarely a question of the mode. Wagner's results show that the melodic variants occur equally in all pieces for the Mass, in solo chants, as well as those for the choir; the altering of certain pitches was not just a soloist's predilection ("Liebhaberei").⁸ It is clear, too, that these variants are not scribal errors, as they occur in the same form in multiple verses of the hymn *Benedictus es* for Advent.⁹

In Wagner's prose summary of the variants by mode, he identifies each melodic pattern as it occurs in either the lower half or the upper half of each modal scale, and specifies whether each is common to a cadential figure or occurs within a melody. The

⁵Wagner, *Das Graduale*, pp. V-LXIV.

⁶"Die Ergebnisse würden sich nur zahlenmäßig ändern, nicht sachlich." [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. VII.]

⁷Blachly, p. 95.

⁸Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLV.

⁹Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. LVIII.

variants are the same intervallically when they occur in transposed melodies. Coupled with these descriptions is a characterization of the minor third of the Romanic version as “clear and not aggressive,” while the perfect fourth of the Germanic version is “more certain and bolder.”¹⁰ In a more old-fashioned approach, he also compares the “feminine” Romanic version with the “masculine” Germanic forms.¹¹

Although Wagner orders his discussion by the eight modes, the variants contained within each are essentially the same. One wonders why he deals with each mode individually, except for his comments on the particular “ethos” of each. Wagner does conclude, though, that fewer variants occur in sixth-mode chants.¹² However, he admits that he examined fewer chants in the sixth mode than in the others. Even so, Wagner emphasizes that the only chant found to be identical between the Germanic and Romanic sources was the sixth-mode Communion *In splendoribus*.¹³ He also states that the sixth-mode chants he did find do not demonstrate the Germanic tradition to the same degree as those in other modes.¹⁴

Owing to the apparent avoidance of the pitches B and E in the Germanic dialect, a number of scholars¹⁵ have proposed a pentatonic origin for chant. Wagner dismisses the

¹⁰“... ruhig und unaufdringlich ...;” “... bestimmter and kühner... .” [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. L.]

¹¹“... weibliche...;” “... männliche... .” [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. LII.]

¹²Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLV.

¹³Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLV.

¹⁴“... die Grenzen zwischen romanischen und germanischem Dialekt nicht immer genau sich abstecken lassen” [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. LVII.]

¹⁵For instance, although Gustave Reese makes no reference to a Germanic chant tradition, he writes, “Whether or not virtually the entire ancient repertoire was based on a pentatonic groundwork, as has been claimed, the fact remains that a considerable number of Gregorian melodies are clearly pentatonic. The following melody is purely so, E and b being omitted throughout.” [See Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), pp. 159-160.] The example which follows this citation is the communion *In splendoribus* taken from the *Liber usualis*. Reese’s comments, therefore, refer to the whole body of Gregorian chant, not just the chant sung in Germanic lands. For references to the pentatonic nature of chants in German sources, see Blachly, p. 98, van der Werf, p. 76, and Zoltán Falvy in his article “Zur Frage von Differenzen der Psalmodie” as cited by Heisler, 1986, pp. 43-44. In Falvy’s opinion, the phenomenon of the Germanic dialect involves a pentatonic influence which penetrated

idea, since the pitches B and E are indeed used in melodies displaying the Germanic tradition; they occur as structural pitches, and are used as well as passing and neighbouring notes. It is the special use of the upper notes of the semitone step (in a gapped interval) that distinguish the melodic figures of the Germanic and Romanic traditions. Wagner declares that Hugo Riemann's pentatonic structure is purely theoretical.¹⁶

Wagner refutes the argument that these melodic variants between Romanic and Germanic chants are a result of different pronunciations of the Latin texts.¹⁷ The variants are found in melismas, on all vocalizations of vowels, and even on syllables with different consonants, so they cannot have anything to do with specific pronunciations of any letter. There appears to be no difference in the occurrence of variants on either accented or unaccented syllables, and they occur in both single-syllable and multiple-syllable words. Wagner concludes that the root of the Germanic variants is a merely musical one.¹⁸

Although his results are intriguing, the reliability of Wagner's study must be considered since he consulted only one so-called "representative" source from each region. These include the Italian Codex Vaticanus, *Città del Vaticano, Archivio San Pietro, 6082*, a twelfth-century source from Monte Cassino; the English Graduale Sarisburiense, *London, British Library, Add. 12,194*, from the beginning of the thirteenth century; the French gradual from St. Yrieux, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 903*, from the eleventh century — this source is in Aquitanian neumes, but the pitches are unclear in

from east to west: "Das Phänomen des 'germanischen Chordialekts' ist seines Erachtens durch pentatonischen Einfluß bedingt, der vom Osten und Westen her eindrang." [Heisler, 1986, p. 44.] See also Joseph Yasser, "Mediaeval Quartal Harmony," *The Musical Quarterly* XXIII (1937): pp. 170-197, 333-366; and XXIV (1938): pp. 351-385.

¹⁶Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLVIII. See Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. 1, part 2: *Die Musik des Mittelalters (bis 1450)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1920; Reprint New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972), p. 62.

¹⁷Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLVI.

¹⁸"Die Wurzel der germanischen Varianten ist eine lediglich musikalische." [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLVII.]

only a very few cases; the fourteenth-century gradual, *Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek, St. Thomas 391* (formerly Codex 371 of the St. Thomas Archives, Leipzig); and the modern published book *Graduale Vaticanum*. The use of a single source as “representative” is a questionable practice, as it has been found in the present study that sources from the same region and even the same liturgical tradition have variant readings. For instance, manuscripts from within Germanic regions contain different variants (refer to the tables, below), and significant melodic divergences have been found even between the Barnwell antiphoner and the Penpont antiphoner, both of which record the chants of the Sarum rite.

In the other major study of melodic chant traditions to date, Maria-Elisabeth Heisler expands her research base to include both Mass and Office chants. In addition to her sources for the Mass, Heisler studies nineteen antiphoners of which two are from the Low Countries, six are French, two Italian, one English, and eight German.¹⁹

As noted by Heisler, Wagner considered the basic difference between the melodic chant traditions to be with the treatment of the diatonic semitone between the steps E-F and B-C (or B \flat -C). Wagner described an exchange of tones, as the German singers apparently preferred the higher pitch of the interval: D-E became D-F and A-B \flat or A-B \natural became A-C. Heisler questions this explanation as the determinant of Germanic or Romanic tradition, since there are chants which do not contain either E, B \flat , or B \natural .²⁰

With reference to the work of Walther Lipphardt and his study of Germanic variants in the Leipzig tonary published in the article “Über Alter und Ursprung,” Heisler shows that through a study of ambitus in the tonary, the existence of a German dialect can be inferred.²¹ Lipphardt studied only the initia of Mass chants, rather than their complete melodies; Heisler’s research is consistent in this respect with Lipphardt’s.

Instead of a regional division, Heisler opts to identify Wagner’s Germanic dialect

¹⁹Heisler, 1986, p. 160.

²⁰Heisler, 1985, p. 68.

²¹Heisler, 1986, p. 91.

as “Manuscript Tradition A,” and his Romanic dialect as “Manuscript Tradition B.” Heisler determines that although there are formulaic idioms that are uniform (i.e., A manuscripts have a reading of the pitch C where B manuscripts have B ♯ or B ♭), there are discrepancies between these two traditions: some B manuscripts agree in places with the A tradition. Of course, as Heisler herself points out, it is not possible to speak of all the divergences in traditions, but only of a few examples.²² Moreover, since it appears that the A and B manuscript traditions overlap frequently, Heisler concludes that one cannot speak of a consistent A or B tradition in either the Office or the Mass;²³ one must consider these melodic features to be only tendencies.²⁴ Heisler also cautions that where manuscript traditions A and B are clearly separate, it is not certain if this is owing to the melodic tradition or merely the origins of the manuscripts. It is not easy to distinguish these elements.²⁵

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

As there are limitations in Wagner’s study – principally, the small number of original sources consulted – it seems prudent to verify his results despite the fact that several scholars have readily accepted Wagner’s conclusions. Although Heisler expanded on the research of Wagner, her melodic examples include only the initia of certain chants. The present study compares full melodies. In addition, since the importance of this research lies in the east-Frankish chant tradition with respect to the melodies contained in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners, Office manuscripts are the focus here. And finally, a much greater number of melodies have been marshalled, and from a wider geographical area.

²²Heisler, 1986, p. 94.

²³Heisler, 1986, p. 100.

²⁴“Es zeigt sich wiederum, daß man zwar von allgemeinen Tendenzen sprechen kann, nicht aber von der “romanischen” und der “germanischen” Fassung.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 92.]

²⁵“Doch bei diesen lassen sich die Lesarten nicht problemlos nach Überlieferungsgebieten oder Herkunft der Handschriften trennen.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 93.]

In order to accomplish within a reasonable time a comparative study of the variants contained in all the available medieval antiphoners, it is first necessary to choose a set of chants from the liturgy that can be studied in detail. This set must include enough chants to provide a basis for comparison, but not so many that the data are unmanageable. For this purpose, the antiphons of the “ferial,” or daily Office are ideal.

FERIAL ANTIPHONS

Ferial antiphons, along with the other genres of ferial chants, were sung on regular weekdays throughout the year (including Sundays) when no other feast took precedence. There are several advantages to selecting this group, the first being its frequency of occurrence in medieval antiphoners; the ferial Office is found in sources from all medieval liturgical centres across Europe. Unlike some Offices recorded in the later Middle Ages when the general development was toward “proper” chants (for the veneration of local saints, for example), the ferial Office is a standard, conservative element of medieval service books. In addition, since the texts for most of these antiphons are derived from the psalms which they accompany throughout the psalm cursus, and since that cursus (i.e., the reciting of the 150 psalms in a repeating weekly cycle) was, for the most part, standardized throughout western Europe, there is a good deal of duplication from place to place (in manuscript to manuscript) in the series of ferial antiphons, at least among sources preserving similar practices. For example, manuscripts following the cathedral cursus often share similar series of chants; similarities can also be found between sources recording the monastic use. Even though the usages of particular antiphons or antiphon series may not be identical from one liturgical centre to another (since substitutions may occur), the multiple occurrences of a large number of chants provide a wealth of information for the investigation of regional musical traditions.

Owing in part to their inclusion in sources from all across Europe, as well as stylistic considerations, it is presumed that the antiphons of the ferial week are quite ancient; this is supported by a few general observations. The ferial antiphons, also identified as “psalter antiphons” since they accompany the sequential cursus, act as

refrains either around or within the singing of the psalm verses. The prose texts and two-phrase structure of these antiphons often derive from the particular psalms with which they are sung²⁶ (often the first verse), though some texts are free. The textual association with the psalms supports the theory that the simple antiphon melodies in the ferial Office may derive from an ancient practice of responsorial psalmody.²⁷

The melodies of ferial antiphons are set syllabically with very few exceptions. This is not to presume that simple melodies are necessarily more ancient than complicated ones. However, the general lack of melismatic embellishment or even neumatic nuance suggests a functional origin in the delivery of liturgical texts, rather than an “aesthetic” purpose. The basic setting of these texts parallels more closely the recited psalm tone than the more elaborate, newly-composed “silver age” antiphons for more recent feasts. Terence Bailey has written,

It cannot be taken for granted that the earliest history of the Office of Psalms bears directly on the liturgical chants found in the medieval books. And it cannot be proven that any of these chants preserve the character of the refrains that accompanied the ancient psalmody. But the simple refrains of the medieval sequential cursus [*i.e. the ferial antiphons*] do have a striking uniformity of style and feature not found in the antiphons sung with the psalms of the Proper, not even in those sung with the psalms and canticles that were fixed assignments at Matins and Vespers from earliest times. Moreover, this uniformity is observable in the Roman, Milanese, and Byzantine Offices. It is therefore a reasonable hypothesis that the refrains employed for the numerical series of psalms belong to a separate and ancient stratum of psalmody.²⁸

Many of the ferial antiphon texts are short. Of the over 120 ferial antiphons sung during the Offices of Vespers, Matins, Lauds, and the Day Hours at the monastery of

²⁶On the usages of texts from particular psalters, see Pierre-Patrick Verbraken, “Le Psautier des tropistes,” in *Research on Tropes*, ed. by Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1983), pp. 65-75.

²⁷Jean Claire has written extensively on this. See, for example, Jean Claire, “Les Répertoires liturgiques latins avant l’octoéchos; I: L’office férial romano-franc,” *Études grégoriennes* XV (1975): pp. 5-192.

²⁸Bailey, *Antiphon and Psalm*, p. 133.

Klosterneuburg, 92 (over 70%) are between three and six words. The longer chants (i.e., with longer texts) are generally those sung with the Gospel canticles for Lauds and Vespers, the *Benedictus* and the *Magnificat*; these more elaborate “gospel antiphons” derive from a different tradition. They are frequently “proper,” at least to the season, and have not been included in the present melodic study.²⁹

The ferial antiphons generally have a narrow range with few, if any, of the later melodic characteristics of particular modes (such as the D-A leap found frequently in first mode chants). At least as far as the assignment of psalm-tones is concerned, modal ambiguity appears to be more of a “characteristic” of this group of chants as a whole. David Hiley writes, “... their tonality was somewhat unstable, for one finds different versions in different modes in various medieval sources.”³⁰ For example, as indicated by the differentiae provided, both third and fourth modes are assigned to the chant *A viro iniquo libera me domine* (CAO 1197). The third mode differentia C-C-B-A-C-A occurs in Trier 480, while at least thirteen other sources provide a form of fourth mode differentia for a nearly identical melody. Hiley proposes, “This may also be an indication of antiquity, or at least of an origin before the advent of the eight-mode system.”³¹

Melodic instability can also be seen in several of the ferial antiphons where the differentiae provided do not correspond with the finals of the chants. For example, for the same chant *A viro iniquo*, four sources record a slightly different melody; their version ends on D instead of E. Two of these sources, Klosterneuburg 1011 and 1017,

²⁹The only exceptions are the antiphons whose texts are from those of the canticles; these have been considered as “original” texts, and therefore are not “proper” or associated with the liturgy of the day. Also excluded from the present study are the chants whose texts consist entirely of repetitions of the word “Alleluia.” The melodies for these chants are those sung to full texts during the ferial week. The source melodies often appear in incipit next to the fully written-out “Alleluia” antiphons as a guide to the melody for which the repeated “Alleluia” is sung. In some sources, these “Alleluia antiphons” are intermingled with the usual antiphons for the ferial week, and were presumably used in place of the regular antiphons on appropriate days. In the manuscripts surveyed for the present study, the source melodies have not generally been listed. Since the identities of these melodies cannot be firmly established, their value in a comparative study has been severely diminished.

³⁰Hiley, p. 91.

³¹Hiley, p. 91.

provide no *differentiae* for this antiphon. The other two sources, Klosterneuburg 1015 and Voralpe 287, maintain the D finals but provide *fourth* mode *differentiae*!³² At least seven other ferial antiphon chants surveyed here show similar inconsistencies between chant finals and assigned *differentiae*.³³ Following Hiley's remarks, this suggests not only an origin before the advent of the eight-mode system, but also a different organizational concept for the chant melodies.

Modal instability aside, a survey of the ferial antiphon melodies also brings under consideration the phenomenon of oral transmission of the entire chant repertory in the centuries before the advent of notation and its effect on the pitches of the chant melodies before and during the transition to a written (or partially-written) tradition. Although musings on the oral transmission of chant have been presented in previous studies by a number of scholars and are beyond the scope of this work, it is generally considered that chant melodies were corrupted to some degree before they were stabilized in written form. It is tempting to suppose that some evidence for this theory lies in the sources which record entirely different melodies for some chants. For example, at least two different melodies (as well as variants of those melodies) are recorded in the various manuscripts surveyed in the present study for numerous chant texts, such as those identified with CAO numbers 0005, 0006, 0011, 1253, 1390, 1498, 1533, 1536, 1682, 1732, 1736, 1744, 1824, 2114, 2150, 2169, 2230, and 2328, among others. There are also many cases where a chant is the same at its opening (sometimes merely transposed when compared against the same text in other sources) but the melody diverges at some point before the cadence and the last pitches and final no longer correspond. This occurs, for example, in those chants with CAO numbers 1735, 1825, 2713, 4511, and 5219. (See below for a description of the "at a glance" table.)

³²In the Voralpe source, there has been an erasure underneath the present fourth-mode *differentia*, but the original pitches cannot be determined. There is no sign of any alteration to the Klosterneuburg entry.

³³Lack of correspondence between finals and *differentiae* occur, for example, in the chants with CAO numbers 1197, 1278, 1732, 1744, 1825, 2116, 2150, and 2328.

The Melodic Tradition - Ferial Antiphons
Friday Matins - First Nocturn

Tri1				E	F	E	g	E	F	D	1	AAGFGA	
Utr1				F	F	E	g	E	f	D	1	AAAGGFGAG	
Penp	A	F	a	A	G	F	G	E	FE	D	D	1	AAGFGGAG
Barn				F	F	G	E	FE	D	D	1	G2	
Gra2			GF	F	F	G	E	F	D	D	1	FGAAGFGGAG	
cam1			GF	GA	G	F	G	E	F	D	D	1	AAGFGGAG
MaF2			G	F	F	G	E	f	D	D	1	AAAAGGAG	
Pre2				F	F	G	E	FE	D	D	1	AAGFGGAG	
Gra7				F	F	E	g	FE	D	D	1	AAGFGAG	
Co11				F	F	G	E	FE	D	D	1	AAGFGAG	
Zwie				F	F	E	G	f	D	D	1	"aq" (AAAGGFGGAG)	
Vie3				F	F	E	G	f	D	D	1	AAGFGAG	

Worc				F	F	G	FE	DF	FF		6	F1	
Bud1			GF	F	DC	G	G	A			6	F1	
Ober				F	F						6	F1	
Vor1											6	F1	
Gra6											6	"H"	
K1o1											6	F1	
K1o5											6	F1	
K1o4											6	F1	
K1o2											6	F1	
*K1o3	F	G	A	g	G	FE	D	F	F	F	G	G	F
5219	Tu solus al_tissi_mus super om_nem terram												

Illustration 41: "At a glance" table 5219

THE METHOD

Once the chant series to be studied was selected (i.e., ferial antiphons), a systematic consultation of original sources was begun in order to isolate the melodic variants found among the sources within that series. Following an initial examination of each extant source which was available for study in either microfilm or facsimile, a list of eligible manuscripts for this examination into the melodic traditions of medieval Europe was produced.

The first step in either establishing or dismissing the existence of an east-Frankish melodic chant tradition involves the recording of the complete cursus of ferial antiphon

melodies for each manuscript source into some means for comparison. The eight Offices of a typical weekday (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline) contain no fewer than twenty antiphons. A full set of Offices is recorded for each of the seven weekdays in the majority of manuscript sources which transmit the ferial cursus. The number of different ferial antiphons contained in a typical antiphoner ranges approximately between 100 and 140.³⁴ Despite this large number, many of these antiphons are common between sources owing to the standardization of the psalm cursus. In the course of this research, for example, the over 2400³⁵ ferial antiphons encountered in the twenty-five sources surveyed provide multiple examples of only 203 different chants.

For each of these 203 different antiphons, a standard four-digit reference number was assigned; these numbers were either borrowed from the corresponding entry in CAO or newly-invented for chants not included in CAO. An individual table was created for each of these 203 antiphons in order to store the details of the melodies as found in the different manuscript sources, and each melody was transcribed into letter notation. In the initial stages of research, owing to the central position of the Klosterneuburg sources and the legibility of the pitches in Klosterneuburg 1017, the ferial antiphon melodies as found in this source were adopted as “base melodies” for comparison. This choice was in no way intended to imply any superiority to these readings; Klosterneuburg 1017, as the earliest of the clearly legible sources from this monastery, was merely a starting point for melodic transcription and analysis.

The format for each antiphon “at a glance” table consists of a number of elements:

- 1) The reference number and the complete text of the antiphon appear horizontally along the bottom line.
- 2) The siglum for the base melody (Klo3 for the majority of chants), with an asterisk (*) to the left to denote this source as the one used for comparison in this table,

³⁴129 different antiphons were sung in the Klosterneuburg liturgy.

³⁵The ferial antiphon database contains 2462 individual records. Each record represents a single occurrence of a ferial antiphon. Each record contains fields for the CAO identification number, the manuscript siglum, the full melody in letter notation, as well as (most importantly) a division of the pitches of the melody by their corresponding syllables in the text.

has been placed at the left-hand margin above the reference number.

- 3) The pitches, as found for the “base melody,” have been entered over the corresponding syllables in the underlying text. After a few brief observations of the melodies to be transcribed, it was determined that, since the ranges of the ferial antiphon melodies are generally quite narrow, and leaps larger than a fourth rare, upper-case letters could be used for the transcription of all standard neumes regardless of any register shifts. (If any doubts arose as to the ranges represented in the original notation, the microfilms or facsimiles could easily be consulted again.) Lower-case letters were reserved for liquescent neumes and other graphical variants in the event that this distinction might be useful in the future. Square brackets were entered to indicate the absence of neumes owing to a textual variant. Square brackets around the word “empty” were entered in the cases where neumes are missing but text is present. In the early stages of research, a hyphen (-) was used to indicate the presence of a flat sign, and the symbol ^ represented the use of the natural sign. For later manipulation of the data, however, it was necessary to change the occurrences of “B-” to “6” and “B^” to “H.” (A rare occurrence of E-flat has been represented with “3.”) A question mark was entered over any syllable for which the notation was illegible.
- 4) The sigla of other manuscript sources in which a chant occurs have been entered above one another at the left-hand margin.
- 5) The pitches of these chants have been entered above the corresponding textual syllables *only when they are different from the pitches of the base melody*. In this way, these tables show melodic (or textual) variants between certain sources “at a glance.”
- 6) Modes and differentiae as found in each source have been recorded at the right-hand side of each table. Some of the differentia entries use the codes adopted for the indexing in CANTUS³⁶ format of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners.

³⁶Debra S Lacoste, *Four Klosterneuburg Antiphoners*, cited above.

- 7) Notes and comments, when necessary, have been entered at the bottom of each page below the antiphon text.

The Melodic Tradition - Ferial Antiphons

Wednesday Matins - First Nocturn

Gra2	G	B	A	GF	G	A6	A	8	G1								
cam1	G	B		AG	B			8	G1								
Worc	GG	B			B			8	G1								
Col1	GG	B			B			8	G1								
Barn	GG	B			B			8	G1								
Penp	GG	B			B			8	G1								
Vie3	G	B			B			8	G1								
Pre2	G	B			B			8	G1								
Gra7	G	B			b			8	G1								
Gra6	G				B			8	"w"								
Vor1	G				B			8	G1								
Bud1		B			B			8	G1								
MaF2		B			B			8	G1								
Ober	G				B			8	G1								
Zwie	G							8	"w" (CCBcAG)								
Utr1	G							8	CCBCBaG								
Tri1	G							8	G1								
K1o1								8	G1								
K1o4								8	G1								
K1o5								8	G1								
K1o2								8	G1								
*K1o3	A	F	A	C	C	C	G	B	C	A	A	C	A	G	G	8	G1

1549 A__vertet dominus captivitatem plebis suae

Note the variant on the word "plebis" - ACA / ABA.

Illustration 42: "At a glance" table 1549

Several of the "at a glance" tables incorporate more complicated readings than that shown above. For example, the antiphon CAO 1498 was found to have a textual variant as well as a number of different melodic versions and two modal assignments:

The Melodic Tradition - Ferial Antiphons

Monday None

MaF2	B	D	C	AC	B	A	G	A	G	F	GA	A	G	G	[	]	7	DDEDCDC	
Gra2	CB	D	C	AC	B	A	GA	A	A	A	C	B	G	G	[	]	7	DDEDCDC	
cam1		C	B	GAB	A	G	A		G	F	FA	A	G	G	[	]	8	CCACDC	
Worc		D		AC	B	A	G		A	GF	GA	A	G	G	[	]	8	CCACDC	
Coll			C		A	G	G	A	G	F	GA	A	G	G	[	]	8	CCACDC	
Vie3			C		A	G	G	A	G	F	GA	A	G	G	[	]	8	CCACDC	
Gra7					A	G	G	a	G	F	GA	A	G	G	[	]	8	CCACDC	
Bud1		C	C	C	[		]	C	C	C	C	C	A	B	A		8	CCACDC
Ober		C	CB		[		]	A	A	A	A	A	C	C			8	A1
Utr1					[		]	A	A	A	A	A	C		G		8	CCBCBAGGA
Zwie					[		]	A	C		A	GF					8	"wb" (CCBcAGA)
Pre2	A		C		[		]	A	A	?	?	GF		G			8	*
Vor1		C	C		[		]				A	GF					8	A1
Gra6			C		[		]	G			A	GF					8	"wb"
K1o1					[		]	FG									8	A1
K1o5					[		]										8	?
K1o4					[		]										8	A1
K1o2					[		]										8	A1
*K1o3	C	C	B	c	A	[]	G	AC	G	AG	F	GA	A	G	FG	G	8	*

1498 As_pice in me [domine] et mi_se_re_re me_i domi_ne

H-BU 118 has repeated C for the first 10 pitches -- reciting-tone like?

Illustration 43: "At a glance" table 1498

A close examination of these "at a glance" tables has revealed over ninety variants³⁷ of pitches or texts within the ferial antiphons surveyed.³⁸ Those variants already generally accepted as German or east-Frankish (such as that over the word *plebis* in the table for chant 1549, above) have been identified, and numerous other variants have been isolated. As this study has its foundations in previous research into the

³⁷The isolation of this rather large number of variants is vital in order to track their appearance in manuscripts from different regions, monastic orders, language areas, etc. with significant and telling results. I anticipated that the successful determination of a large number of melodic and/or textual variants would most probably be sufficient to prove the existence of an east-Frankish chant tradition.

³⁸Clear east-Frankish variants occur in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners in many of the ferial antiphons, including those with CAO numbers 3317, 2773, 2349, 2427, 1918, 1281, 2168, 4473, 3230, 3557, 2116, 2709, 3583, 2148, 3557, 1281, 1918, 2168, 4473, 3230, and 2148, among others.

supposed regional variety in melodic tendencies within western-European chant, the question posed at this point is not merely concerned with the confirmation of regional occurrences of these acknowledged variants, but also, “Are there more variants than those generally accepted which demonstrate a consistency in east-Frankish usage?”

Once the list of potentially significant variants had been created from the “at a glance” tables, it was necessary to search through the complete set of ferial antiphon melodies in order to determine if the variant melodic patterns occurred enough times within the antiphon melodies to be deemed “significant,” and if so, to determine if those melodic patterns occurred consistently in any group of sources which might be related. It has long been realized that, if programmed and manipulated properly, the computer can be a tremendous tool for research. For the purposes of analyzing the enormous amount of data collected from the twenty-five sources surveyed, as well as for searching through the over 2400 antiphons for the variants isolated from the “at a glance” tables, a computer database (Microsoft Access 97) was employed.

To prepare for manipulation in Access, both the antiphon melodies and the list of melodic variants had to be imported into the database. Separation of the pitches by syllables in the text was necessary for accurate searches. For example, the melodic pattern AB (a two-note neume) followed by A is distinct from the pattern of three single pitches A-B-A, yet both would be found in a search for ABA by the full melody. The antiphon melodies were taken from the “at a glance” tables, but had to be filled out so that each database record contained a pitch (or pitches) for each syllable. These pitches were entered syllabically in fields named Syll1, Syll2, Syll3, and so on.

Once imported, the records contained in both tables underwent concatenation (the joining of data in the syllable fields) and a full melody or full variant was entered in a separate field at the end of each record. It was with these concatenated fields and some relatively simple “select queries” in Access that the initial searches for occurrences of variants within the ferial melodies were accomplished.

Next, it was necessary to identify the syllabic positions of the found melodic variants within the ferial melodies so an appropriate comparison by syllable could be

made. It is important to note the distinction between the preliminary search and the comparison stage of this research. The searches for particular variants extended throughout the whole database. Upon the identification of a variant, the comparison of the pitches of that melodic pattern had to be limited to the actual syllabic positions of the neumes within the records which contained versions of that same chant (i.e., the same CAO number).

THE MELODIC VARIANTS

The following ninety melodic figures, found both during the analysis of the “at a glance” tables and suggested in the work of other researchers, have been suspected as possible “melodic variants” within the regional chant traditions in question. At the corresponding syllabic locations where any one of the melodic figures occurs in any of the ferial antiphons under investigation, either the same figure or a different melodic version occurs. The manuscripts which share identical readings show affinity at the level of the melodic tradition. For each melodic variant listed below, the number of differing melodic versions found at corresponding locations in the chants surveyed here is given. Evidence of an unstable transmission of at least portions of chant melodies is witnessed in the melodic variants with higher numbers of differing versions. Those variants with lower numbers are either identical more often when they occur (i.e., more stable) or they simply do not appear as frequently within the melodies. A “0” indicates that the melodic figure was not encountered in any of the ferial antiphons.

MELODIC FIGURE OR "VARIANT"	NUMBER OF DIFFERING VERSIONS FOUND AT THE LOCATION OF THE VARIANT
A-A-FG-G	30
A-B-A-B-G	0
A-B-A-G	86
A-C-A	80
AC-A	55
ACA	7
A-C-A-A	43
A-C-A-C-G	0
A-C-BA	34
A-C-C	88
A-F-A	24
A-F-FG	15
A-F-G	76
A-FG-G	40
A-G	242
A-G-A	206
A-G-A-G	199
A-G-C	28
A-G-E	60
A-G-F	221
A-G-G	202

AB-A-G	66
B-C-A	97
C-A-G	113
C-AG	61
C-B-A	106
C-B-C	94
C-B-G	39
C-BC-A	50
C-C-B	85
C-C-BC	26
C-C-D	35
C-CB-A	80
C-D-C	71
C-G-G	38
CC-A	8
CDF	21
D-B-D	25
D-C-C	71
D-D-D	113
D-E-D	56
D-E-DC	24
D-EF-D	79
D-F-C	0
D-F-D	91
D-F-E	138
D-F-F	113

DE-C	15
DF-E	55
E-D-E	76
E-DE-E	46
E-FG-G	42
E-G-D	0
E-G-G	25
F-A-C	43
F-D-F	94
F-E-D	160
F-E-F	130
F-F-G	109
F-FE-D	79
F-G	155
F-G-6-G	22
F-G-A	96
F-G-A-F	36
F-G-AFG	5
F-G-F	144
F-G-G-F	41
F-G-GA-F	12
F-GA-G	80
FE-D	153
FED-DEF-D	9
G-6-G	19
G-A-F	68

G-A-G	245	G-E-F	116	G-FE-D	143
G-A-G-G	146	G-EF-G	71	G-FG-G	20
G-AC-A	27	G-F-A	39	GA-A-G	113
G-B-C	49	G-F-E	125	GAB-B	24
G-B-G	28	G-F-FA	5	GF-GA-B	11
G-C-C	47	G-FA	11		

IN SEARCH OF "SIGNIFICANT" VARIANTS

Through a series of Visual Basic modules and Access queries (see Appendix IX for more programming details), the initial matches of melodic variants within the ferial antiphon melodies were placed in more-flexible arrays rather than tables. Arrays allow for the return of more complicated data, including the syllabic position for the start of each variant. This, in turn, enables a direct comparison of particular syllabic contents between records of the same chant as found in different manuscript sources. For example, the melodic pattern of A-A-FG-G occurs in 63 of the over 2400 records in the ferial antiphon melodic database. Many of these 63 matches represent multiple occurrences of the same chants (i.e., those with the same CAO numbers) within the ferial cursus, so the results can be compressed: this melodic pattern occurs in ten different chants (CAO 1548, 1682, 2116, 2148, 2168, 2427, 2709, 3204, 3359, 4394) in the versions recorded in eight different manuscript sources (Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, Gra6, Vor1, and Zwie). At the same syllabic positions where the melodic pattern A-A-FG-G occurs in those chants in those sources, twenty-nine other melodic versions occur. These melodic variants include AF-AG-FG-G, G-A-G-G, and AF-A-G-G. The following table provides a sampling of the results of the melodic comparisons.

A SAMPLE OF THE SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS ENCOUNTERED

IN THE PLACE OF THIS MELODIC FIGURE:	FOUND MELODIC FIGURE:	TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES	IN HOW MANY SOURCES?	IN WHICH SOURCES?
A-C-A	A-C-A	179	21	Barn, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Kas1, Kas2, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
	A-B-A	111	17	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas1, Kas2, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc
	A-B-AF	21	5	Barn, Coll, Gra7, Penp, Vie3
A-B-A-G	A-B-A-G	116	17	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas1, Kas2, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc
	A-C-A-G	60	12	Gra6, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, Ober, Tri1, Utr1, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
	A-G-G	51	13	Barn, Bud1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, MaF2, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Worc

D-E-D	D-E-D	71	23	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas1, Kas2, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Penp, Pre2, Tril, Utr1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
	D-F-D	15	9	Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, Ober, Tril, Vor1, Zwie
	D-F-E	10	10	cam1, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, Ober, Pre2, Tril, Zwie
D-F-D	D-F-D	58	18	Barn, Bud1, Gra6, Kas1, Kas2, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Tril, Utr1, Vor1, Zwie
	D-EF-D	27	11	Bud1, cam1, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, Ober, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
	D-F-F	21	12	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Gra6, Kas1, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Utr1, Worc, Zwie
A-A-FG-G	A-A-FG-G	63	8	Gra6, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, Vor1, Zwie
	G-A-G-G	15	9	Barn, Bud1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Penp, Vie3, Worc
	AF-A-G-G	12	4	Coll, Gra7, MaF2, Vie3

C-A-G	C-A-G	282	23	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas2, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Ober Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
	B-A-G	109	17	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas1, Kas2, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc
	C-A-G-F	47	21	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
F-GA-G	F-G-G	137	21	Barn, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas1, Kas2, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Vor1, Zwie
	F-GA-G	127	23	Barn, Bud1, cam1, Coll, Gra2, Gra6, Gra7, Kas2, Klo1, Klo2, Klo3, Klo4, Klo5, MaF2, Ober, Penp, Pre2, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Vor1, Worc, Zwie
	F-GA-GF	14	9	Bud1, Gra2, Gra7, MaF2, Pre2, Tri1, Utr1, Vie3, Worc

As anticipated, the results are mixed. For example, for the presumably-opposing variant figures A-B-A and A-C-A, several manuscript sources record both versions (Barn, Coll, Kas1, etc.). Both gapped and stepwise melodic figures are found in Germanic and non-Germanic branches of the Gregorian tradition, and therefore, both can be reckoned as belonging within the tradition as a whole; the distinction between traditions involves the increased frequency of occurrence of gapped intervals in German sources. It is interesting here that the use of either gapped intervals or stepwise figures is more clearly defined with respect to eastern or western sources for the intervals A-C-A or A-B-A than for D-E-D or D-F-D.

Owing to their provenance in regions bordering between east and west, it is not particularly surprising that Ober, Tri, and Utr1 display both gapped and stepwise melodic figures. These sources can be considered as transitional, and appear to have been influenced by more than one melodic tradition. What is curious, however, is the occurrence of both gapped and stepwise readings in more centrally-located German sources, such as Gra6, Kas1, Kas2, and Coll.

During the course of this melodic analysis, it was found that many of the ferial antiphon melodies in Ober are entirely different from those in other sources; these divergences are not merely variants, but constitute completely different melodies. Similarities, including some identical readings, were also observed between several sources; for example, there is a close relationship between Worc and Pre2, as well as between Vie3 and Gra7. There is also a connection between CCl. 1013, CCl. 1015, Kas1 and Kas2. These Kassel sources are the only others consulted in this study that present the antiphons for Sunday Lauds of the ferial cycle which are found in full in CCl. 1013 and partially in CCl. 1015. The occurrence of these seemingly rare chants in only two of the five Klosterneuburg antiphoners which contain the ferial cursus is peculiar. Their appearance in the present study in only one other location is striking.

The general agreement of the German sources Pre2, Gra2, Gra7, and Vie3 with the usual variants of the west-Frankish tradition can be explained with reference to their monastic roots: Pre2 is a Premonstratensian manuscript, Gra2 is a Carthusian source, and

Gra7 and Vie3 are Cistercian. A lack of concordance of these sources with others from regions of German influence has been noted by other scholars. Heisler states, for example, that particularly for the reformed orders, a uniform choral tradition was introduced which agreed with the “Romanic” tradition.³⁹

THE INCONSISTENCIES IN THE MELODIC CHANT TRADITIONS

The divergences within the melodies, in particular, those which cause difficulty in assigning some sources to an east- or west-Frankish tradition, remind us of the suggestion that not only each region, but each church had its own chant “dialect.” Hendrik van der Werf writes,

Not surprisingly, no clear and consistent boundaries can be found to separate the three dialect groups of Gregorian chant [i.e., Germanic, Southwestern, and central]. The differences between Germanic and Southwestern versions are very clear, but, as far as underlying structure is concerned, they differ from one another only by degree. Moreover, the sources of the central dialect group display seemingly Germanic as well as seemingly Southwestern features, sometimes even within one melody.⁴⁰

Alexander Blachly comments, “In fact, no two German sources seem to show exactly the same variants, but rather vary among themselves in the degree to which they manifest Germanic or Romanic elements.”⁴¹ Heisler adds that one cannot speak even of a uniform “French” tradition, much less an entirely uniform “Romanic” tradition.⁴² The concerns, therefore, with respect to Wagner’s small number of sources for comparative melodic research are obvious, since his results give the impression of a uniform tradition in both

³⁹“Durch Reformen wurde in diesen Orden eine einheitliche Choralüberlieferung eingeführt. Diese vereinheitlichte Überlieferung schließt sich meist der >>romanischen<< Fassung an.” [Heisler, 1985, p. 70.]

⁴⁰van der Werf, p. 70.

⁴¹Blachly, 98.

⁴²“Meine Untersuchungen haben nun ergeben, daß man nicht ohne Einschränkung von einer >>germanischen<< oder >>französischen<< Überlieferung sprechen kann, erst recht nicht von einer einheitlichen >>romanischen<< Überlieferung.” [Heisler, 1985, p. 69.]

Germanic and Romanic sources.⁴³ It should be noted, however, that at this early stage, variances *between* melodic traditions were being sought, not divergences *within* the traditions themselves.

Despite some inconsistencies, the chant sources tend towards a division into particular melodic traditions. As for the unexplained variances, Heisler names these as “arbitrary,”⁴⁴ and Blachly admits, “Admittedly, there are at this time no clear lines of descent that would establish how the Romanic and the Germanic traditions relate to one another.”⁴⁵ Rather than definitively categorizing as Germanic or Romanic, then, some scholars have preferred to assign varying degrees for certain sources. Such an assignment occurs, for example, in Johannes Aengenvoort’s study of the Mass chants sung in Münster. Aengenvoort finds a similarity in the use of a German tradition to that found by Wagner in the gradual from Leipzig, and he considers the Münster chant tradition to be “enthusiastic” in its use of Germanic variants.⁴⁶ Some scholars who have, for the most part, accepted dialect divisions, have adopted the terms “Romanizing” and “Germanizing” to describe the features apparent in particular sources. The suggestion has also been offered that the terminology should perhaps be softened from “German dialect” to “German tendencies.”⁴⁷

⁴³Wagner finds “Selbständigkeit.” [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. XLV.]

⁴⁴“Man kann nur von anscheinend willkürlich auftretenden melodischen Varianten sprechen.” [Heisler, 1985, p. 71.]

⁴⁵Blachly, p. 113.

⁴⁶“... daß der Münstersche Choral in der Bildung germanischer Varianten besonders eifrig ist.” Aengenvoort presents thirteen Germanic variants, and attempts a further explanation of the phenomenon of the Germanic chant dialect through a comparative analysis of the chants in manuscripts from the regions of Mainz, Köln, and Utrecht. He considers the pitches c and f to be the stable “Basistöne” of the Germanic melodic tradition, owing to their special treatment as the upper notes of the usual semitone step. [Johannes Aengenvoort, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Graduale Monasteriense*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. 9 (Regensburg: 1955), as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 34-35. See also, Kohlhasse and Paucker, item 3797.]

⁴⁷See, for example, the comments of Aengenvoort as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 34-35. Heisler also writes, “Er schwächt die strenge Trennung ‘romanisch’ und ‘germanisch’ ab, indem er von ‘germanischen’ Tendenzen spricht.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 34]

THE KLOSTERNEUBURG ANTIPHONERS

What is significant in the sampling of results shown above is the absence of the Klosterneuburg antiphoners within the source-groupings for the variants A-B-A, A-B-A-G, and B-A-G. The Klosterneuburg manuscripts are not only uniform among one another, but they are consistent (at least with respect to the melodies of the ferial antiphons) in the use of gapped intervals. This evidence contradicts the claim of Stefan Engels that CCl. 1010 prefers the E or B \natural tone to the F or C found in CCl. 1012 and 1013.⁴⁸

⁴⁸Engels, "Die Notation," p. 41.

CHAPTER 12

THE NATURE OF THE GERMAN REPERTORY

It is commonly understood that despite the varied appearances of late-medieval chant books from many different regions of Europe, these manuscript sources contain the same basic corpus of Gregorian melodies.¹ Many have commented on the uniformity of the liturgy across Europe; for example, Alexander Blachly writes, “the high degree of concordance between manuscripts that are widely separated by time and place is one of the most remarkable aspects [of] the plainchant tradition.”² Despite the striking similarities among the majority of late-medieval liturgical sources in their usages of chants in series or for particular feasts, regional adaptations have been recognized in notational styles, melodic contour, the manuscript copying tradition, and specific local usages.³ Owing to a convincing consistency of common features in manuscripts from western-European regions of German influence, the existence of an east-Frankish or Germanic Office tradition can be confirmed. The Klosterneuburg antiphoners, which originate from within the German region, share common features with other German sources and are representative of the east-Frankish chant tradition.

The elements thought to be more German in Gregorian chant manuscripts from western Europe include melodies which employ “gapped” rather than stepwise intervals in particular melodic figures, a conservative notational style, the veneration of saints from

¹Although the precise origins of many of the liturgical chants in the Gregorian repertory have been under scholarly investigation for many years and have often remained rather murky, it is particularly noteworthy that the uniformity of both textual and melodic material was preserved over many centuries in some centres, and subsequently adopted by others in later times. It is well understood that not all European regions were Christianized simultaneously; for example, it was not until the eighth century that the chants of the Roman liturgy were transmitted from Rome to Frankish lands, thereby replacing the Christian Gallican liturgy which had been in place from the fifth century under the Merovingians.

²Blachly, p. 85.

³Clerics in numerous European centres customized their liturgies to some extent in order to accommodate regional traditions, such as the adoption of an Office or Mass for a local patron saint.

German regions, the use of certain tropes including the extended form of the *Visitatio sepulchri* Easter drama, the use of chants in the German language, and the use of German instructional rubrics rather than the standard Latin.

CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES IN NOTATIONAL STYLES

After examining numerous medieval chant books from across Europe, I have observed that there is a certain conservative tendency in the notation used in manuscripts from regions of German influence. For example, the colouring of the F-line red and the C-line yellow was recommended by Guido of Arezzo in his *Aliae regulae* of c.1025. John A. Emerson's survey of medieval manuscripts reveals that most west-Frankish sources from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards had abandoned these colours.⁴ However, red F- and yellow C-lines are found consistently in the twelfth- and fourteenth-century Klosterneuburg antiphoners studied here, in some later manuscripts from that monastery, and in many other German sources such as the fourteenth-century Thomaskirche gradual (*Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek, St. Thomas 391*), a thirteenth-century gradual now housed in Trier (see *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 3, pl. 132), and the thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphoner, *Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, 1799***. Strict adherence to Guido's rules by the scribes of the Klosterneuburg sources is seen in the addition of a coloured line within a space (rather than the mere tracing of a regular staff line) when the clef is in a certain position.

Scribes using Germanic notations also retained the staffless neume-forms and merely adapted them to the staff, rather than break the scribal tradition and adopt the square neumes common in west-Frankish sources. With respect to this conservative feature, Peter Wagner writes,

The German chant books ... surprise us up to the time of the first prints by their unbroken adherence to tradition; their musical notation is merely the organic end-product of the old neumatic notation, which scarcely differs from it in any essential way. The particular neume signs of strophicus, oriscus, salicus, pes quassus, and quilisma, which from the twelfth century

⁴See Emerson, s.v. "Sources," in *The New Grove*, pp. 627-32.

on have as good as disappeared from the Romanic books to make place for more generalized notation, meet us still in the German printed graduals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This dependence on the outer appearance of the chant melodies is matched by the steadfastness of their cultivation.⁵

The retention of neumes without a staff in German regions later than in the west is also evidence of an apparently thriving oral tradition. The scriptorium that produced the twelfth-century Klosterneuburg antiphoners was progressive in its adoption of the so-called “Gregorian reforms” which included the implementation of the staff for notating the precise pitches of chants, for there are German sources still in staffless neumes dating from the late medieval period. For example, the antiphoner from the monastery of St. Florian, *St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift – Bibliothek und Musikarchiv, XI. 480* is dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century and displays adiaستمatic neumes drawn with a wide nib. The St. Florian source, though lacking in elegance, is not an isolated occurrence of staffless neumes in later German manuscripts. Other sources dating from the twelfth century or later with this type of notation include: the twelfth and thirteenth-century Bamberg antiphoners, *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 22, Lit. 23, Lit. 24, Lit. 26*; the twelfth-century antiphoner within a breviary from St. Dysibode, *Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 103*; the thirteenth-century antiphoner from Szekesfehervar, now modern Hungary, *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 211*; the twelfth-century antiphoner probably from the Abbey of St. Lambrecht, *Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 258*; the twelfth-century antiphoner from Franconia, *Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 215*; the thirteenth-century Austrian antiphoner, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Lit. 202*; the twelfth- to fourteenth-century St. Gall antiphoners, *St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 388, 389* from Sitten, and *437* from Marbach; the twelfth- or thirteenth-century antiphoner from Weingarten, *Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.I.55*; the thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphoner, *Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1799***; and the twelfth-century gradual and antiphoner from Salzburg, now *Wien, Österreichische*

⁵Wagner, *Das Graduale*, vol. 1, p. VII; translation from Blachly, p. 105.

Nationalbibliothek, S. N. 2700.

Perhaps some aspects of this apparent conservatism can be explained as merely a practical consideration. In places where staff notation was introduced suddenly, the entire stock of codices for that church had to be replaced by books more expensive than the old ones, since music written on staves takes up much more space than the neumatic scripts which had formerly been copied above rather narrowly-spaced texts. Although it is known that liturgical books were made obsolete by various reforms and that the copying of new manuscripts would have been required on occasion, it is also clear that the expense of copying a set of replacement books was enormous. As it was apparently not a heretical act to counter or refuse to adopt the “notational reform” of the staff, the retaining of the “old-fashioned” neumatic notation as long as possible would have preserved many of the resources of a particular monastery or church. This trend, then, in addition to suggesting that the oral tradition was still functioning, might be considered a result of German thriftiness.

CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES IN OTHER FEATURES OF MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION

With regard to the entire chant repertory, the extant documents show a strong inclination to preserve established traditions. Gustave Reese writes, for example, “Keeping the chant intact was long regarded as a religious duty, the respect for which seems not to have diminished notably until after the advent of polyphony.”⁶ Although west-Frankish manuscripts display this quality to a certain degree, the inclination to resist change appears to have been stronger in sources from German regions. For example, earlier sources for the Office from both east- and west-Frankish lands tend to have their *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* chants intermingled by calendar date. Dom Joseph Gajard describes this feature in the tenth-century Mont-Renaud antiphoner from Noyon, and

⁶Reese, p. 115.

remarks that this organization is often found in older manuscripts.⁷ Whereas younger sources from France, Italy, and other west-Frankish regions often have the chants for the *Sanctorale* grouped together either in a second volume or in a separate section after those for *Temporale*, many later German manuscripts, including those from Klosterneuburg, retain an intermingling of all the chants for the liturgical year.

Conservatism in German manuscript production is also displayed in the combinations of letters to identify modes and differentiae; this system is more ancient than the use of neumes written out in the margins for differentia patterns. Although not used in the more progressive “Klosterneuburg notation,” many German sources from the later Middle Ages, such as Karlsruhe Aug. LX and Graz 29 and 30, have Greek vowels in the margins to designate the mode of each chant, combined with Latin consonants to indicate the differentia. The vowel “a” indicates mode 1, “e” mode 2, “i” mode 3, “o” mode 4, “u” mode 5, “H” mode 6, “y” mode 7, and “ω” mode 8. The consonant “b” identifies the first differentia of any tone, “c” the second, “d” the third, “g” the fourth, and so on. This system was recommended by the German writer John Cotton in his *De musica* of c. 1100. In this treatise, John writes,

One should also know that by some the phthongi — that is, the tones, — are designated by vowels, and the differentiae of the tones — which some wrongly call diffinitiones [differing endings] — by consonants, in this way: a denotes the first tone, e the second, i the third, o the fourth, u the fifth, Greek H the sixth, y the seventh, and ω the eighth. And b indicates the first differentia of any tone, c the second, d the third, g the fourth, and so on, with the mute consonants in alphabetical order.”⁸

THE EAST-FRANKISH MELODIC TRADITION

One wonders, too, if conservative tendencies are responsible for the gapped intervals of the east-Frankish melodic tradition. Although the idea is widely disputed,

⁷“Le Graduel suit le même ordre que les plus anciens manuscrits. Les fêtes de saints n’y sont pas, comme dans notre Graduel moderne, groupées à la fin du livre en un sanctoral unique et complet; elles sont au contraire réparties parmi les messes du temps.” [Dom Joseph Gajard, director, *Le Manuscrit du Mont-Renaud, X^e siècle, Gradual et antiphonaire de Noyon*, Paléographie musicale, vol.16 (Sarthe: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1955), p. 19.]

⁸John, “De Musica,” in Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, p. 121.

some scholars propose an underlying pentatonic structure for early chant. If this were, in fact, the nature of chant before the written tradition, and if such a structure had been retained longer in the German books than in sources from other regions, it might explain the melodic divergences between east- and west-Frankish sources.

A number of scholars have developed other theories to explain the distinctive melodic content of east-Frankish books. Following his discussion of the oldest notated collection with German songs, the Jena manuscript, compiled in the middle of the fourteenth-century, Hendrik van der Werf writes,

Despite the time lapse between the earliest sources of Gregorian chant in the Germanic dialect and the earliest extant German song collections, it is possible that the many open thirds and fourths in the Germanic dialect of Gregorian chant reflect an indigenous liking for intervals wider than a second.⁹

In the opinion of Ekkehard Federl, an important indication of the Germanic chant dialect is in the notation. He suggests that chants written in square notation follow the Romanic tradition, while Germanic forms are notated in Gothic “Hufnagelschrift.”¹⁰ Heisler argues this point, and states that the use of a particular notation is no criterion for the Germanic melodic dialect.¹¹

Whatever the origin, owing to the consistent occurrences of certain melodic variants in manuscripts from within east-Frankish areas as opposed to those figures in sources from west-Frankish areas, a legitimate melodic tradition, identified as east-Frankish, can be confirmed. David Hiley writes,

The importance of comparison of musical variants cannot be overestimated. Not only do they act as a litmus test for the relationships between sources, they constitute valuable evidence as to the mode of

⁹van der Werf, vol. 1, p. 160.

¹⁰“Es ist nämlich im allgemeinen die Regel, daß die lateinische Lesart in römischer Quadratnotenschrift, die germanische dagegen in gotischer Hufnagelschrift notiert ist.” [Federl, as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 30.]

¹¹“... daß die Notenschrift kein Kriterium für die Lesart des Gesangs sein kann.” [Heisler, 1986, p. 31.]

transmission of chant. ... This work is laborious, for its effectiveness depends both on the accumulation of a large number of points of musical variance and their tracking through a large number of sources.¹²

The inconsistencies within both the east- and west-Frankish dialects, as observed in this study, by Heisler, Blachly, Flotzinger, and even Wagner¹³ have plagued the “chant dialect” theory for many years. Scholars continually encounter mixed results in studies which are aimed at labelling sources as Germanic or Romanic. Almost all scholars have discovered and agree that a mix of east- and west-Frankish traditions can occur in the same manuscript, even in neighbouring chants. Heisler has determined that, although many manuscript sources follow exclusively one melodic tradition or the other, there are several that incorporate elements of both east and west traditions.¹⁴ Especially in bordering regions, it is certain that some centres (Laon, for example) felt both Romanic and Germanic influences.

With respect to determining the geographical borders of a liturgical tradition, László Dobszay writes,

We shall find that the sources display a very characteristic order at some points in the set of chants, and that this order proves to be stable during a longer period within the confines of one and the same liturgical unit. Other configurations of chants show certain differences within the districts. Yet other liturgical points will allow some freedom for selection. ... It is only through analysis that we can discover the characteristic features upon which rites differ, that is, the features which distinguish them one from another.¹⁵

¹²Hiley, p. 338.

¹³Wagner writes, “Was wir als germanische Varianten bezeichnen, erweist sich auch hier keineswegs als ausschließliches Eigentum der deutschen Überlieferung, sondern als rechtmäßigen Gebrauch machen.” [Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. LVIII.] Wagner notes that the Graduals of the Advent Ember days all end with a final figure that appears Germanic (C-A). He concludes that these melodies must be very old because the Romanic and Germanic traditions share this melodic pattern. [“Die ersten Ansätze wenigstens zur germanischen Terzkadenz im (I. und) II. Ton müssen demnach bereits in die älteste Zeit des christlichen Kultgesanges hineinverlegt werden.” Wagner, *Das Graduale*, p. LI.]

¹⁴See Heisler, 1985, p. 80, for the examples of overlapping traditions in sources from Essen and Murbach.

¹⁵Dobszay, “The Program ‘CAO-ECE,’” p. 358.

The results of the melodic comparison of variants in Mass chants undertaken by the monks of Solesmes and published in the fourth volume of *Le graduel romain*¹⁶ show a clearer division of sources from eastern and western regions with respect to their usages of particular melodic passages. It is remarkable that where there is agreement among the German sources, it is generally an exact match;¹⁷ most of the German manuscripts have identical readings to a level of ninety-four percent, with no more than six differing versions out of the 100 variants compared.¹⁸

Based on the results of the present study, the correlation of the variants supports, in general, a division of manuscripts by eastern and western regions. The Klosterneuburg antiphoners fall without question into the grouping of sources which displays gapped intervals rather than stepwise, that is, those of the east-Frankish manuscript tradition.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EAST-FRANKISH TRADITION

A mix of east- and west-Frankish melodic traditions in a Kremsmünster source is rationalized by Altman Kellner using an evolutionary theory. He describes the occurrence of neighbouring chants of different traditions in the funeral Office; the second-mode psalm tone for the fifth antiphon of Vespers shows a Germanic version, while the subsequent chant, the Magnificat antiphon, is in a Romanic form.¹⁹ Kellner proposes that a gradual supplanting of the Romanic melodic versions by the Germanic

¹⁶The Monks of Solesmes, *Le graduel romain: Édition critique par les moines de Solesmes*, vol. IV: Le Texte neumatique, i: Le Groupement des manuscrits (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1960); ii: Les Relations généalogiques des manuscrits (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1962).

¹⁷“On remarquera que l’articulation de ce groupe selon les liens de plus proches voisinage est exactement la même dans les deux tableaux” [*Le graduel romain*, vol. IV, p. 395.]

¹⁸See Table IX.3.1 in Hiley, p. 574 for a concise listing of the sources grouped according to agreements in their uses of particular melodic variants.

¹⁹“Die melodischen Überlieferung gehört dem germanischen Choraldialekt an, doch finden wir, selbst in wesentlichen Belange, die römische Überlieferung. So ist beispielsweise der Psalmschluß des zweiten Tones bei der fünften Vesperantiphon germanisch notiert während die unmittelbar anschließende Magnifikat-Antiphon die römische Form aufweist.” [Altman Kellner (OSB), *Musikgeschichte des Stiftes Kremsmünster* (Kassel and Basel, 1956), as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 32. See also Kohlhase and Paucker, p. 349, item 385.]

occurred throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁰

Such a theory brings into question the chronology of the east- and west-Frankish traditions. Many scholars have posited solid arguments detailing the reasons why German chant must have developed out of the Roman tradition, or the other way around. What is *not* often disputed is the reality that the origin of either tradition cannot be determined with certainty, owing primarily to the lack of pitch-accurate notation in east-Frankish regions as early as it is found in the west-Frankish realm. The differences in intervallic distances in manuscripts without staff-lines is not, of course, provable.²¹

The endurance of the oral tradition in Germanic centres has resulted in many difficulties for modern researchers attempting to accurately represent the pitches in certain sources and identify melodic variants. Such are the quandaries that the monks of Solesmes chose to avoid as they selected manuscript sources for their research and chant reconstructions early in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the priority granted to French and Italian manuscript sources at that early stage in chant research has, to some degree, skewed the modern representation of medieval chant.

Wagner's repeated comments on the replacement²² of the lower tone by the higher one suggest that he believed that the Romanic was the originating tradition, and that the Germanic version was altered from the Romanic at a later date. Wagner emphasizes the role of the Irish missionaries in the early German church, since the conversion of Germany was shortly after the Council of Glasgow in 747. Wagner writes, "The monks from the Island kingdom who christianized Germany certainly taught in the monasteries founded by them no other order of liturgy and chant than the one which was current

²⁰... So können wir sagen, daß in Kremsmünster die römische Überlieferung bis im 1300 führend blieb; im 14. Jahrhundert ringen beide Dialekte um die Vorherrschaft, bis schließlich Hand in Hand mit der Entfaltung der Gotik, der germanische Dialekt den Sieg davonträgt." [Kellner, as cited by Heisler, 1986, p. 32.]

²¹"Abweichungen der Intervalle zwischen >>germanischen<< und >>romanischen<< Handschriften lassen sich in linienloser Notation nicht unterscheiden." [Heisler, 1985, p. 73.]

²²Wagner employs the terms "Vertauschung" meaning "exchange" on pp. LII and LVII, and "Ersatz" meaning "replacement" on pp. LIII, LIV, LVIII, for example.

among them."²³

Theodor Heinrich Klein shows how the Germanic Dialect is the result of a corrupted transmission of the chant northwards from Rome, a process which dates as far back as the early Roman missionaries. He writes that as the Carolingian reform began, the liturgical ground in Mainz was prepared so that the seeds would bear good fruit. Nevertheless, the older Frankish musical traditions in Mainz were not completely exterminated; the melodic divergences of the older tradition crept in and remained a strong element of the new version of the chant of that region.²⁴ In Klein's view, then, the Germanic Dialect dates from as early as the period of the Carolingian liturgical reform, when the so-called "Gregorian" chants were brought north from Rome to unify the liturgy across the Frankish realm. With respect to terminology, Klein has stated that the idea of the Germanic chant dialect in no way fairly represents all of the varied local traditions of liturgical chant in the Middle Ages, as the "dialect" itself was not even uniformly transmitted.²⁵

Even so, it is probable that the Germanic melodic forms date from as early as the Romanic ones. The remarks of ninth-century theorists Aurelian of Réôme and John the Deacon suggest that an east-Frankish melodic tradition was already in place before the adoption of notation; however, it may be impossible to prove how ancient this tradition is. Blachly concludes,

It is possible, however, that the Germanic dialect preserves an older layer of chant that later became modified in the Romanic manuscripts when square notation superseded the neumatic, or even earlier. Perhaps both

²³Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, p. 221.

²⁴"Als die karolingische Reform begann, war der Mainzer Boden schon gut vorbereitet, so daß der ausgestreute Samen gute Frucht trug. Dennoch war auch in Mainz die alte fränkische Musikauffassung nicht auszurotten; melodische Abweichungen in den oben beschriebenen Arten schlichen sich ein und konnten sich festsetzen. Sie wurden weitertradiert und blieben ein fester Bestandteil des Kirchengesangs." [Theodor Heinrich Klein as quoted in Heisler, 1986, p. 39.]

²⁵"... daß der Begriff des 'germanischen Choraldialektes' in keiner Weise den vielfältigen lokalen Erscheinungsweisen mittelalterlichen Kirchengesangs gerecht wird. Der germanische Dialekt ist eben als *Zersingungs- und Umgestaltungsprodukt nicht einheitlich überliefert.*" [Klein, as quoted in Heisler, 1986, p. 39.]

dialects have roots that predate the advent of notation. Uncertainty on this critical issue no doubt accounts in part for the hesitant treatment scholarship has accorded the Germanic tradition to date.²⁶

THE VENERATION OF LOCAL SAINTS

A German Office tradition can also be characterized by the inclusion of chants for the veneration of saints who either have Germanic origins or who were popular in regions of Germanic influence. The Klosterneuburg antiphoners, for example, include a commemoration for Bishop Godehard (May 4), as well as full Offices for Ursula (October 21), whose earliest evidence is found in an inscription on a stone at Cologne, and Acacius (June 22), whose cult flourished in Switzerland and Germany in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. The Office for Acacius occurs in CCl. 1018 on ff. 246^r - 249^v (and f. 262^v); chants for Acacius are also found in Graz 30 on ff. 133^r and 139^v, and in Vorau 287 on ff. 331^r - 338^r. CCl. 1018 includes both a feast of *commune* chants for the Eleven Thousand Virgins (of which Ursula was one) on f. 149^r, as well as an Office of proper chants for Ursula at the end of the manuscript, on ff. 234^r - 239^r. Chants for the Eleven Thousand Virgins occur in CCl. 1012 on f. 83^v, and in CCl. 589 on ff. 96^v - 99^v. Although this feast is not limited exclusively to German sources, its frequency of occurrence in manuscripts from regions of German influence is high.²⁷ The commemoration for Godehard (Gothard) occurs in CCl. 589 on f. 20^v. Chants for Godehard are also found in Graz 30 on f. 129^v, and in Vienna C-10 on ff. 29^v - 35^r.

TROPES

As witnessed in the occurrence of the sequence text *Quem non prevalent* in CCl. 1013 and only a very few other German sources, the use of certain chants can lead to

²⁶Blachly, p. 100.

²⁷Chants for the Eleven Thousand Virgins are included in Graz 30 on ff. 279^v - 287^r, Linz 290 on f. 362^v, Vorau 287 on ff. 182^v - 185^v, Karlsruhe Aug. LX on ff. 192^v - 195^v, Cambrai 38 on f. 52^r, Cambrai C 4 on ff. 182^r - 184^r, Paris lat. 15182 on ff. 401^v - 405^v, Valenciennes 114 on ff. 158^r - 159^v, the Penpont antiphoner on ff. 272^r - 273^v, the Barnwell antiphoner on pp. 567-569, the Worcester antiphoner on f. 262^r, and in Zutphen 6 on ff. 144^r - 147^r.

determinations of manuscript affinities. Troped texts in particular, such as *Quem non prevalent* and the Easter drama in its various versions, reveal the extent to which local traditions were exercised within a diocese or monastery, and the influence of those traditions on neighbouring or otherwise related regions. Thomas Renna writes, “The Gregorian reforms certainly lessened the force of local custom, yet custom remained a factor everywhere in the medieval church.”²⁸

An early form of the Easter drama, beginning *Quem quaeritis in sepulcro O Christicolae* (CAO 8455) is found in CCl. 1013 on ff. 145^r - 145^v. This version differs from the one preserved in the later Klosterneuburg antiphoners (CCl. 589 and 1018), and it is found in several sources from different regions of Europe, including *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 484*,²⁹ Cambrai 38 on ff. 120^r - 120^v, Paris lat. 12044 on ff. 100^r - 100^v, Paris lat. 15181 on ff. 296^v - 297^r, and Utrecht 406 on f. 97^v.

The later version of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, contained in CCl. 1018 and CCl. 589, appears to be more centred within the German orbit. For example, of the fifty-seven sources indexed in the CANTUS database, a form of the later *Visitatio* can be found only in CCl. 1018, in Graz 30 on ff. 3^r - 4^r, and in Stuttgart HB.I.55 on ff. 82^r - 82^v.

A German connection can also be observed in the later version of the *Visitatio sepulchri* which ends with the singing of the antiphon *Dicant nunc Iudaei*. Walther Lipphardt traces a similar usage to two other German monasteries which came under the influence of Hartmann von Brixen,³⁰ the first Provost of the reformed monastery of Klosterneuburg. William Smolden writes, “This anti-semitic composition, found in

²⁸Thomas Renna, s.v. “Church, Latin: Organization,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, ed. by Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), p. 376.

²⁹See facsimile in McShane, p. 16.

³⁰“In Zusammenhang mit Hirsauer Reformklöstern hat das Rottenbacher, das Klosterneuburger und das Neustifter Spiel (vermutlich alle drei unter der Einwirkung des Gründungspropstes Hartmann) den Versus ‘Dicant nunc iudei’ als apologetischen Bestandteil aufgenommen. Wohl zuerst in Paris hatte man diesen Gesang durch die dialogisierte Ostersequenz des Wipo von Burgund ‘Victimae paschali laudes’ ersetzt, dessen Strophe ‘Credendum est magis Mariae veraci / quam Iudeorum turbae fallaci’ genau den apologetischen, gegen die Juden gerichteten Sinn hatte wie ‘Dicant nunc Iudei.’” [Lipphardt, “Musik in den Österreichischen Klöstern, p. 61.]

Hartker, p. 203, and in not more than a score of *Visitatios*, mostly German, is no longer in the Roman liturgy.”³¹

THE USE OF GERMAN VERNACULAR TEXT

In several Klosterneuburg manuscripts, including CCl. 1213 on f. 83^v and CCl. 574 on f. 144^v, the song for the end of the Easter play is the German hymn *Christ ist erstanden*.³² Smoldon writes concerning Easter dramas in general, “There is clear evidence that a lay congregation was present and that they were allowed to make their own contribution by singing lines of vernacular hymns such as *Christ ist erstanden*. To them, surely, the ceremony must have been a vivid reminder of the Death, the Harrowing, and the Resurrection.”³³ In many of the German manuscript sources which include an Easter drama, various rubrics such as *Populo interim acclamante Christ ist erstanden*, *plebs conclamante Crist [sic] ist erstanden*, or *Clero ad chorum redeunte populus succinat Christ der ist erstanden* as is found in CCl. 635 (f. 58^r) and CCl. 590 (f. 301^r), indicate that the people witnessing the play were to participate at the end. The occurrence of *Christ ist erstanden* in Klosterneuburg breviaries and ordinals, but not in the extant antiphoners, suggests that the canons performed the liturgy which included the German vernacular hymn in the parishes that they served, but that they retained fully Latin chants for their own worship in the monastery church.

The occurrence of German texts extends to some rubricated forms in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners. For example, the abbreviated form of *in ewangelio* instead of *in evangelio* to indicate the antiphons to be sung with the Gospel canticles appears consistently in CCl. 1017 and 1018 and represents a German variant of the Latin text.³⁴

³¹Smoldon, p. 122.

³²See Lipphardt’s extensive research on the use of this text in “Studien zur Musikpflege,” cited above.

³³Smoldon, pp. 14-15.

³⁴Latham, p. 173.

Instructional or identifying rubrics in German appear sporadically on the leaves of CCl. 589, 1012, 1015, and 1018. The German text on f. 181^r of CCl. 1015 before the chants for the complete Office of Corpus Christi reads, *Von unsers herren leichnamen*.³⁵ This brief phrase offers convincing evidence that this book was used, at least for a time, in the women's convent. According to Engels, these Klosterneuburg sources also have German rubrics:³⁶ CCl. 588 (gradual-sequentiary, dated c. 1300), CCl. 995 (fourteenth- to fifteenth-century processional, with Ostländische notation), and CCl. 1007 (fourteenth century manuscript containing rhymed Offices). Bruno Stäblein details the Klosterneuburg hymnary, as found in seven manuscripts: CCl. 1000, 996, 1003, 997, 999, 1001, and 1004. Of these, three contain German rubrics (CCl. 1003, 997, 1004), another three contain Latin rubrics (CCl. 1000, 996, 999), and both German and Latin are found in CCl. 1001.³⁷

Among the many hundreds of Latin liturgical chant manuscripts surviving from medieval western Europe, the numerous neumed sources from Klosterneuburg comprise an invaluable corpus for research. The eight extant Klosterneuburg antiphoners display multiple Germanic associations, including German notational forms, tropes found primarily in regions of German influence, German vernacular texts, as well as the conservative tendencies of coloured F- and C-lines, the retention of staffless neume shapes in conjunction with the eventual adoption of the staff, the intermingling of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* chants as found in the earliest-notated chant books, and the suggestion of an underlying pentatonic structure in the chants which may explain the melodic divergences in the east-Frankish chant dialect. The Klosterneuburg antiphoners can be clearly identified as characteristic representatives of a medieval Germanic Office tradition.

³⁵“From our similarly-named men.”

³⁶Engels, “Die Notation,” pp. 42–43.

³⁷Stäblein, *MMMA* 1, p. 566.

PLATES

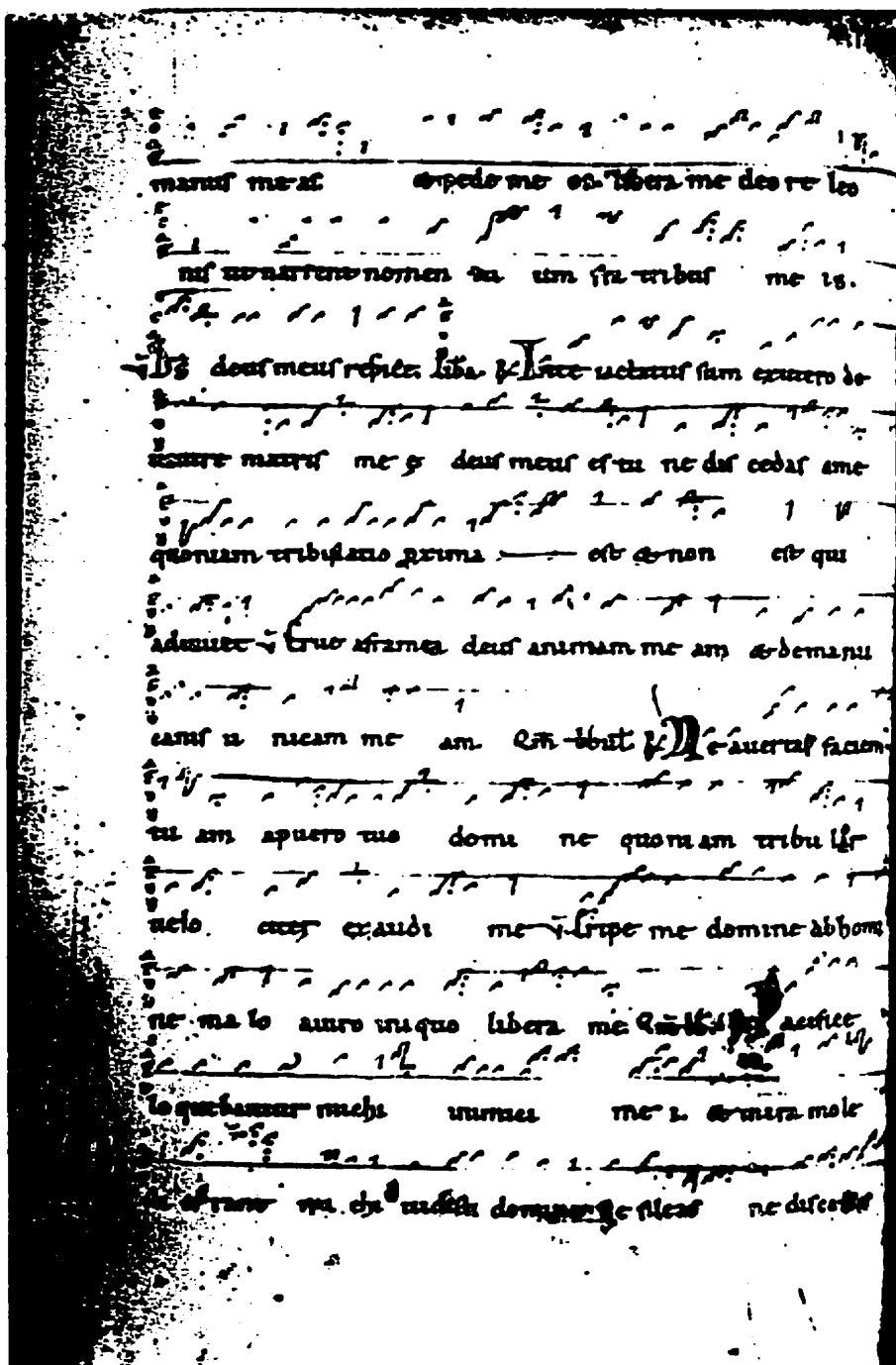


Plate 1: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1013, f. 125v

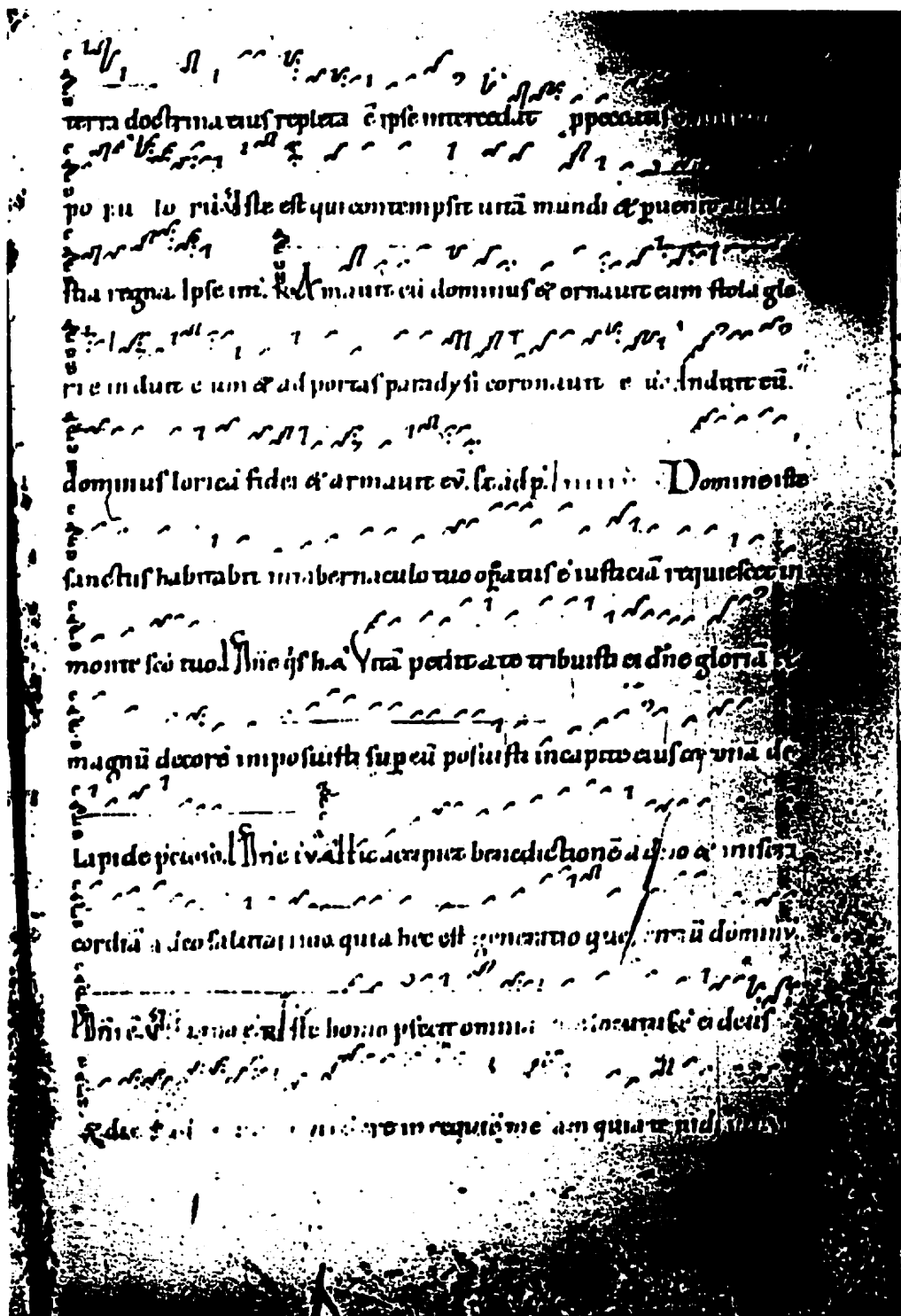


Plate 3: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012, f. 113^r

Non tam
 beata mater et regina virgo
 deo digna mitis et benigna **Q**uasi regis nota
 christo regi gratia vera sponsa christi christum
 induisti **Q**ue te spondisti sponsam esse christi sponsam
 spondo gratos fac nos et beatos **V**ictrix sapientum
 dum sis per coemeterium cetera lacte fluis syna sepeliris
Montra vite viam ut phylasophiam mundi transes
 mus veram inquiramus **O**ra et inclina uerum
 montem syna ut inuenimus eorum chorum ange
 lozum **S**it laus deo patri summo xpo deale spiri
 tu sancto honoratus et unus Amen **Y**lloria

Plate 4: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1012, f. 151v

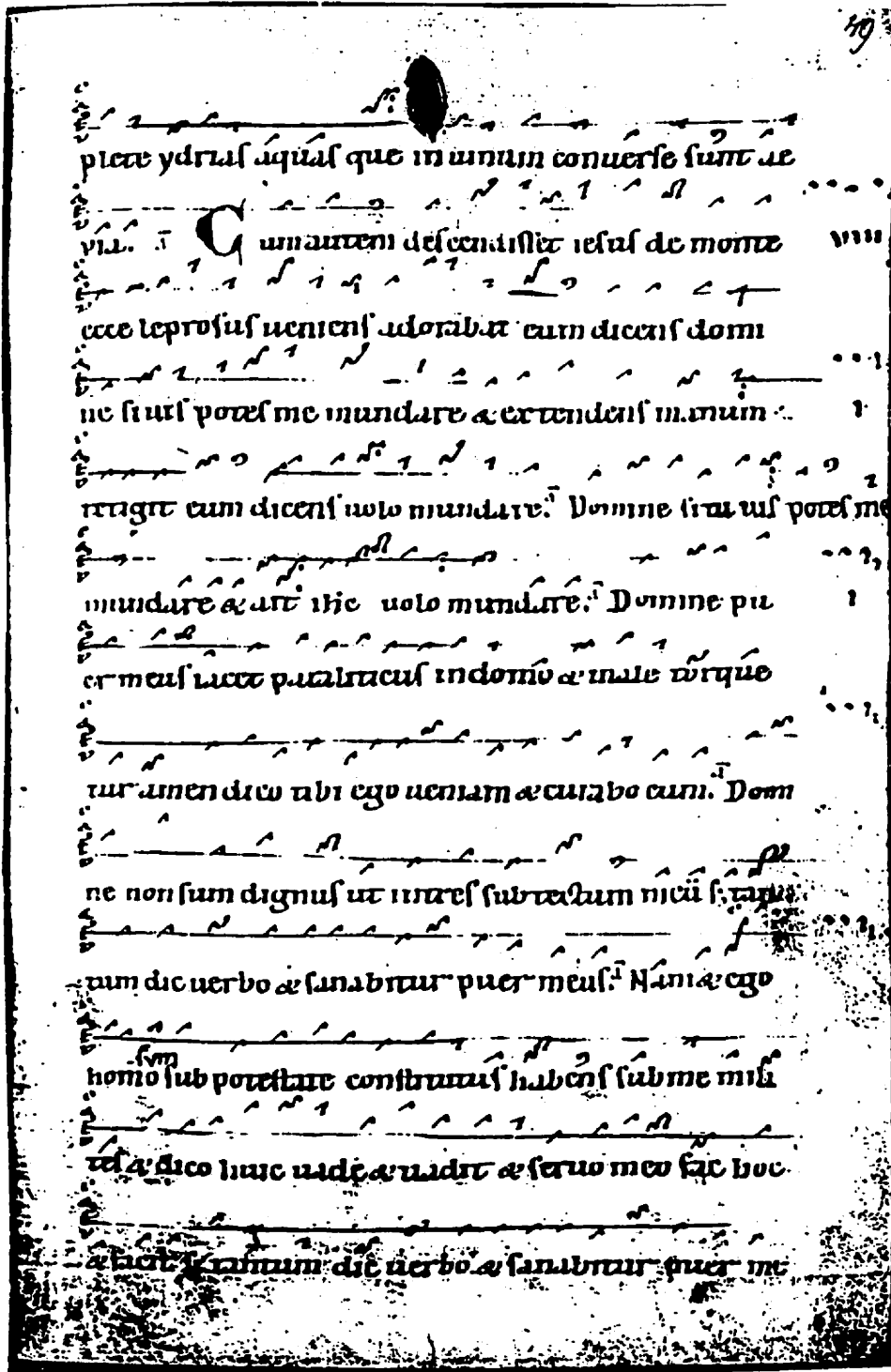


Plate 7: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1010, f. 49^r

Dante exultemus domino ubi
 lemus deo salutaris nostro pro
 cipemus faciem eius in confes
 sione et in psalms ubi lemus
 et. **Q**uoniam deus magnus dominus et rex magnus
 super omnes deos quoniam non repellit dominus ple
 bem suam quia in manu eius sunt omnes fines ter
 re et altitudines montium in se conspiciat. **Q**uon
 iam ipse est mare et ipse fecit illud et audiam fi
 ducunt manus eius venite adoremus et proaba
 mus ante deum ploremus coram domino qui fecit

Plate 8: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1017, f. 174^v

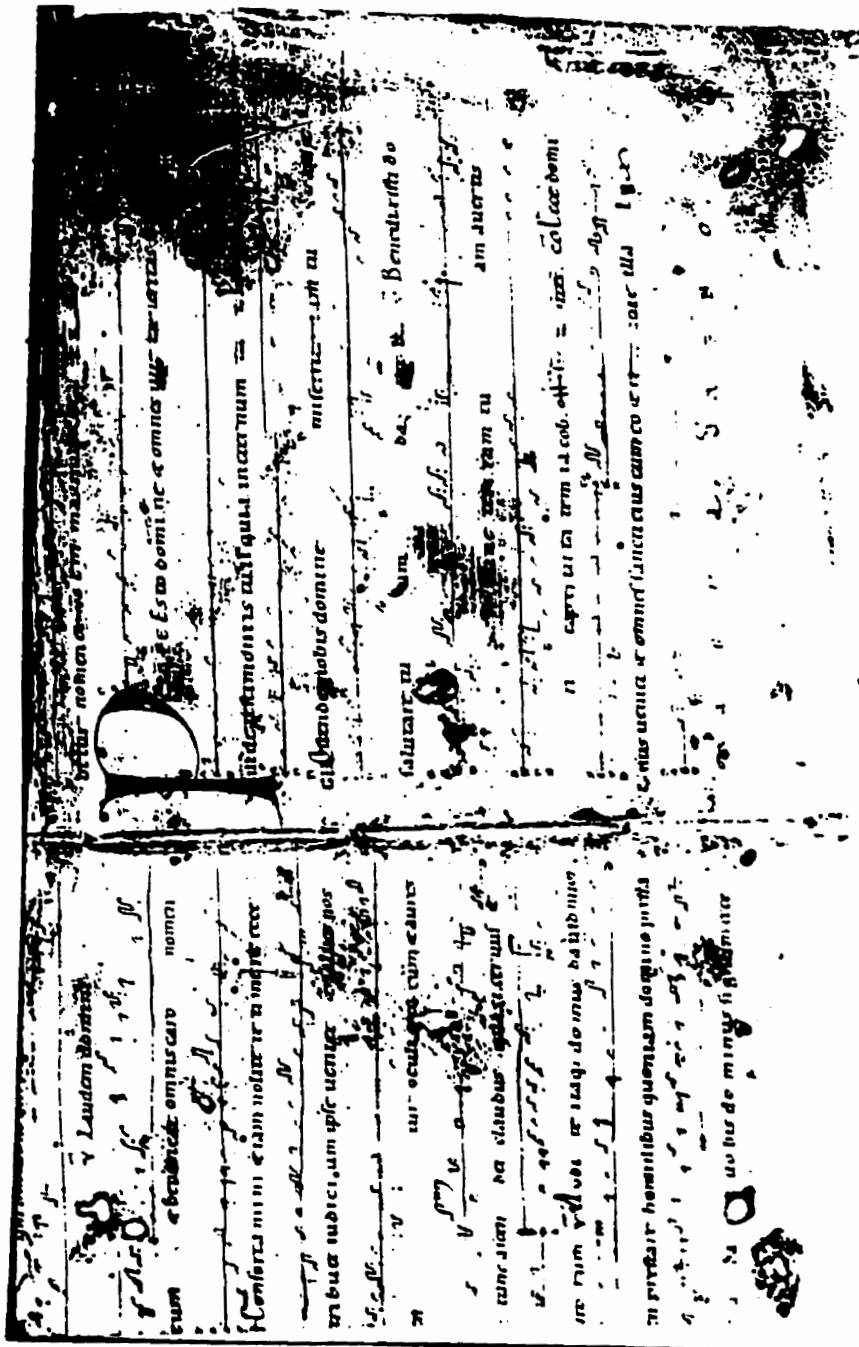


Plate 9: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, f. 1^v

in deva dilexi q. an dñe si in tpe adstentur de p̄o dñi
 custodiam. a s̄o curber. a dñs adon ihs. a deva. Te
 ratus firm. h̄ vato p̄re salubens p̄o. p̄o dñi 16. 23
 p̄o curberu. an sumes in macti. an deva p̄stati
 an p̄ter maifestau. Inuitate. Deva. p̄stati a s̄o
 curber. a v̄m. deva ego vato ad p̄m deva q̄o p̄m
 m̄ me f. s̄. Post p̄stati. Laudes. v̄m p̄stati s̄re
 tequis. an s̄u. an p̄ f. an deva. p̄o Merito s̄. a dñe
 itemp. v̄m s̄o s̄m̄is ep̄statius es. p̄o p̄stati s̄o.
 Non p̄stati. h̄ vato p̄re. an deva q̄o s̄m̄itbol. an
 sumes in mundi. v̄ dñs celo. p̄o dñm̄. s̄m̄.
 s̄m̄itbol. an s̄i aligerens me. Deva p̄stati.
 ym̄. festu n̄r celebre. an s̄u s̄m̄. Inuit. Deva. s̄m̄.
 m̄. ym̄. festu n̄r. an s̄o s̄u s̄m̄ uera. p̄o s̄o
 v̄m. s̄. p̄stati. s̄. s̄m̄. an s̄o s̄o s̄m̄. an
 s̄o p̄stati. a v̄m s̄m̄. s̄o s̄m̄ s̄m̄ v̄m. s̄. s̄m̄.
 v̄m. s̄. Inuit. s̄. Deva p̄stati. an s̄u s̄m̄. Laud.
 an s̄u s̄m̄. s̄. s̄m̄. an s̄o s̄m̄. an deva
 p̄stati. s̄. s̄m̄. an s̄o s̄m̄. Deva. s̄. s̄m̄. s̄.

Sande spiritus apple mox corda fl
 delum t̄ tui amoris. in eis igne ac
 cende. qui p̄stati. longva. p̄stati
 gentes in v̄m̄. s̄m̄. congregasti deva
 Deva

Plate 10: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1018, f. 43'

Proximis sui generationi huic et dixi sem-
 per hy errant corde ipsi uero non cognoue-
 runt uas meas quibus uitauit inua mea
 si introibunt in requiem meam. **O** lo-
 patri et filio et spiritui sancto. **S**icut erat
 in principio et nunquam semper et in secula

Gloria in excelsis deo... **S**eculorum Amen
 dei filio pro phetiarum
 prelagi a nato de matris uero promi-
 dali pia cu lo benedi ca mus
 co mi no. **Q**uoniam regis

omnia sua ⁊ cōparauit eam. añ **Q**uinqz
 prudentes uirgines acceperūt oleū inua
 sis suis cū lampadibz media autē nocte da
 mor factus est ecce sponsus uenit exite ob
 uiam xp̄o domino. añ ista est speciosa inter
 filias iherusale uiderūt eam filie syon ⁊
 beatissimam preticauerūt ⁊ regine facē ei
 us laudauerūt. añ **S**imile est enim regi
 nū celoꝝ sagene missē in mare ⁊ ex omni
 genere pistū cōgregantū quā cū impleta
 esset etuentes ⁊ secus litus sedentes elege

Adisti celsis diuine misericordie b[eat]a uirg[ini]a que lauans lac-
 rimas maculas criminis susceptoris sui tetigit uestigia de pro-
 uia sua derelinquens itinera huius post hec assiduebat ubiq[ue]
 illius audiebat uiuenti adhererebat mortuum querebat in-
 uentem reperit quem mortuum que uiuere. **Lan-**
 timq[ue] apud deum loci gratie tuentis ut hinc ipsis quoq[ue]
 ap[osto]lis uentis eius ap[osto]la resurrexisset nunciat uiuentis u-
Gaudete uisti in domino aena rectos deo collaudato.
 aena aena aena In memoria etna erit uisti ab audien-
 tione mala no timebat. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto
 in argenti celozu. ugo tenetis p[ro]p[ri]o. Dis. mandata
 iam co[m]scendisti suauissima uictima q[ui]a p[ro]p[ri]o q[ui]o
 sciat d[omi]n[u]s Inuit. **R**egem nullo p[ro]p[ri]o q[ui]o d[omi]n[u]s

 Plate 13: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, f. 157^v

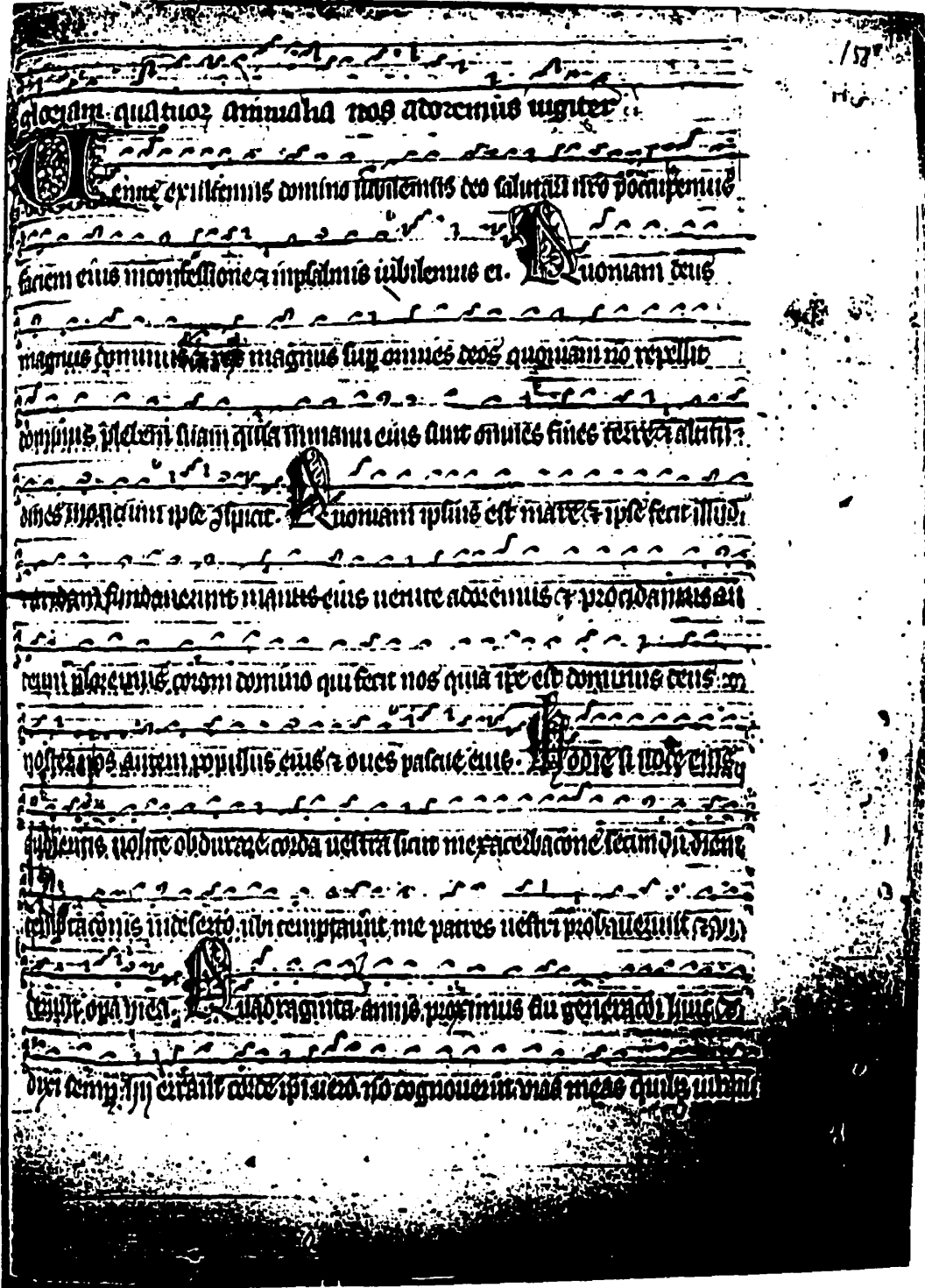


Plate 14: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, f. 158r

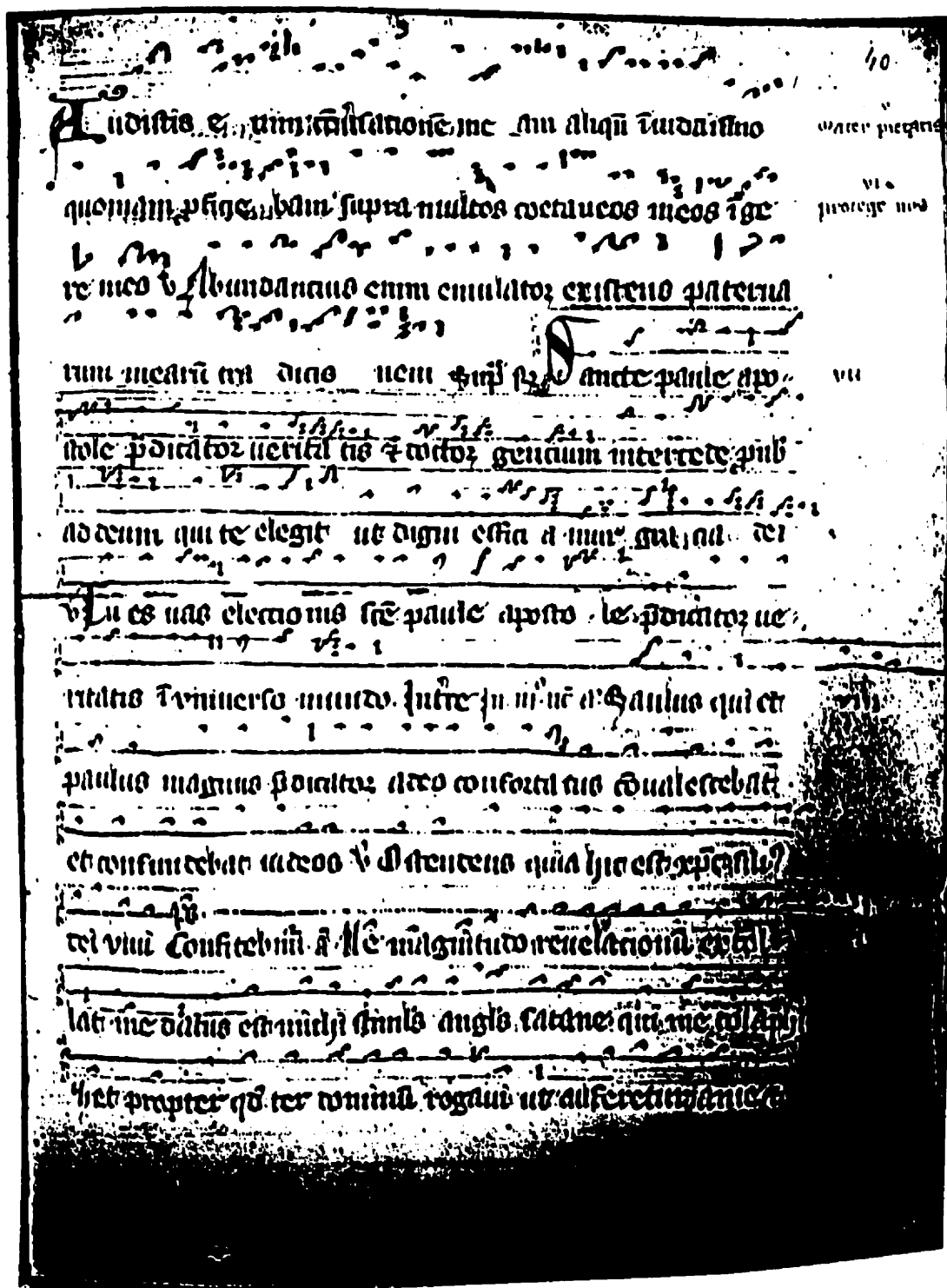


Plate 15: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 589, f. 40r

Spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius au-
 dit et nescis unde ueniat aut quo uadat
 alleluia. Non enim loquitur
 a se ipso sed quae audierit loquitur unde uenit
 Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Spiritus
 Et quam crucem adoramus domine tam gloriosam pau-
 sionem miserere nobis qui passus est pro
 alleluia u. seruat admirabile euacuatio uulneris restitucio
 sancta no miserere. Salus omnium populorum per uicem
 facta est letentur gentes plaudant uambus credentes.

Plate 17: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1015, f. 192'

Accleſie ſancte frequentans lumina ſacro
 pectori mandata concedat ſagaciter. **I**n fan-
 cia teneriori deſerta corpus ieiunioſo materabat.
Sancte et uſte uiuendo ad honorem ſacerdo-
 tii meruit reuelari diuinitus. **S**ancte uictoria
 eſt confellio: totum precioſe ad eſto: noſtris pre-
 cibus puer ac propicius ymnis. **L**audat te,
Oper omnia laudabilem uirtum cuius me-
 ritis ab omni clade liberantur qui eſtoto corde
 querunt: **Sanctus** **Deſperat** **Abſ** **uictoria** **po**
Deſperat **Abſ** **uictoria** **po** **Deſperat** **Abſ** **uictoria** **po**

Plate 18: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011, f. 15^v

Quitus est angelus gabriel a deo in
 civitatem nazareth ad virginem desponsatam viri
 cui nomen ioseph. **U**ne commsa. **I**ngressus an
 gelus ad mariam ait ave gracia plena dominus
 tecum. **U**eni enarra. **M**aria turbatur in sermo
 ne angeli et cogitabat qualis esset hec saluta
 tio. **Q**uia et. **S**perne tua. **I**ngressus an
 gelus ad mariam ait ave maria gra
 tia plena dominus tecum. **B**enedicta tu
 mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui
Benedicta tu in mulieribus et

 Plate 19: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift — Bibliothek, 1011, f. 133^v

229

us a. **M**ulieres sedentes ad monumentum
 lamentabantur flentes dominum Kinel. riel.
Urginis cranie Katherine martiris al
 me festa celebra re da nobis rex pie rpe.
 a. **H**ec dominum celi complectens mente sue
 li respuit honorem mundi latentis amore.
 a. **C**epit amare deum totumque relinquere mu
 dum cetera mente petens et ad semper ad
 herens a. **H**anc pius inpropiam sibi ut
 firmere sponsam dignatus celi peruenit et

NOTE TO USER

The diskettes are not included in this original manuscript. It is available for consultation at the author's graduate school library.

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI

APPENDICES I-VIII ON DISKETTE: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION

The complete contents of the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners dating before 1400 are included here in indices following the CANTUS format, an Internet-accessible database for Gregorian chant. This database, a tool for musicologists and medievalists with different interests, currently includes the indexed contents of over fifty antiphoners; the indices for all sources may be downloaded or searched online. Contributions to the database of new manuscripts indices are continually being made by scholars from around the world.

Only items which were to be sung are included in the CANTUS format; it should be noted, however, that this includes nearly every item in most antiphoners. Prayers, lessons, homilies and other such items of the liturgy, which can be found in breviaries, are omitted from the indices. Each line (or "record") of an index represents one chant. The primary information provided for each chant includes folio and side, the location of the item on the page, the feast and the Office for which the chant was sung, the genre of the chant, its position within the Office, the incipit or first few words of the chant, the concordances of that text as compared with those manuscripts surveyed by Hesbert in the first four volumes of CAO, the four-digit number assigned by Hesbert to that chant text in CAO, the mode as determined by the indexer based on final and range, the differentiae¹ provided with antiphons, the eight-digit feast code which provides a unique numerical identifier for every occasion and date in the liturgical year, and the RISM-style siglum which identifies the chants belonging to a single manuscript source within the database.

Although indications of mode are included in each record, Cantus indices are based on chant texts rather than melodies. These indices are meant to be tools for

¹In the case of a very few antiphons in CCL 1012 and 1018, a differentia has been included in the manuscripts but the antiphon itself is an unnotated incipit. As these cases are extremely rare, there is no guideline at present for the entering of this information into the CANTUS database. In the appendices included here, the differentiae indicated in the sources for these abbreviated chants have been entered into the appropriate field. The modes suggested by these differentiae have been indicated in the mode field by numbers preceded by an asterisk (*) in order to show that no notation has been provided for the antiphon itself, but that a mode has been implied.

research, not editions or analyses of the manuscripts. The primary importance of each index is as a “table of contents” to a particular manuscript. Individual chants can sometimes be difficult to locate in large manuscripts, particularly if the chants sought are in added feasts copied in unpredictable places. With the aid of a CANTUS index, a researcher examining a manuscript source can be saved the time of scrolling through a microfilm in search of a particular chant.

Refer to the Cantus website <<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus>> for the complete description of the organization of the data in these indices. Also on the website are explanations of the abbreviated feast names that are used in the indices and the eight-digit feast codes which are assigned to each day of the liturgical year. CANTUS officially holds in its database indices of CCI. 1012, 1013, 1017, and 1018, which were prepared and submitted by the present author. These files, which can be downloaded at any time by any interested scholar, have been extracted from the CANTUS database (operating in the programme Access 97) and are stored here on diskettes in universal ASCII text (.txt) format. The manuscripts CCI. 589, 1010, 1011, and 1015 have also been indexed, and, in addition to their inclusion here on diskettes in ASCII format, these files are available from the author.

SUMMARY: Number of records per source

CCI. 1013	2890
CCI. 1012	2168
CCI. 1010	2381
CCI. 1017	2220
CCI. 1018	2822
CCI. 589	2865
CCI. 1015	2683
CCI. 1011	2744

Total	20,773
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APPENDIX IX

COMPUTER PROGRAMMING FOR ANALYSIS OF THE FERIAL ANTIPHON MELODIES

PREPARING THE DATA

1. **Import full melodies of the ferial antiphons into a single table in Access.** Each record represents one melody found in a particular source, and must be in letter notation with the pitches for corresponding syllables separated into different fields. The “Ferial Melodies” table allows for forty-five syllables. Each record must also include the CAO number (or other four-digit identification number) for that chant, as well as the manuscript siglum representing the source for the version of the melody presented in that record.
2. **Run query “1 - Concatenate Full Melodies into Table.”** This joins the syllables into a single field (“Full”) which is added at the end of each record.
3. **Import melodic excerpts to be sought in the same manner as was done for the ferial antiphon melodies.** The “Melodic Variants” table allows for five syllables. Manually enter the number of syllables for each “variant” into a separate field.
4. **Run query “1b - Concatenate Variants.”** This accomplishes the same task as query 1, but for the “Melodic Variants” table.

FINDING MATCHES

5. **Run query “2 - Locate Variants Within Melodies”** This query appends to the “Comparison” table matches of the full concatenated variants found in the full concatenated melodies. The results show the CAO numbers where the matches are found, and the relevant data (manuscript siglum, variant, and CAO number of the melody within which that variant is found) is returned. This query also adds each found variant divided by syllables to fields at the end of each record in the “Comparison” table.
6. **Run query “4 - Add Ferial Melody Syllables to Comparison.”** This query sends each ferial antiphon melody divided by syllables to fields at the end of each

corresponding record in the “Comparison” table.

7. Run module “1 - Return MatchPosition Data.” This Visual Basic module returns the syllabic positions of the “variant” matches within the ferial antiphon melodies. When there is a match between the syllables for “variant” and “full melody,” this programme embedded within Access returns into a new field the syllabic position number of the first syllable of the “variant” where that “variant” occurs within a full melody. A result of “0” is returned if there is no match owing to similar pitches being divided up among syllables differently in either the “variant” or the full melody (i.e., if the preliminary search in Query 2 for the variant A-B-A found ABA in the concatenated version of a melody, it may find either a match of the three-syllable melodic figure A-B-A or the completely different two-syllable figure AB-A – therefore, not a match). [Note to users: To run module 1, double-click the module to open it, then click the go/continue button (right arrow). Make sure that the cursor is within the subroutine (after “Sub Dd”). Owing to the large amount of data being surveyed, it may be necessary to press Ctrl-Alt-Del to exit Access if it stalls during this module.]
8. Run query “5 - Send Valid Matches to Table.” This query separates the “valid” matches from those found during the preliminary locate (query 2), and sends them to the “ValidMatches” table. All “0” results (those records that matched by pitch but not by syllable division) are removed from the matches returned to the “Comparison” table from “Module 1.” It has been found that fewer than half of the matches of the preliminary search are actually “valid” in this respect.

SETTING UP FOR THE COMPARISON OF VARIANTS

9. Run query “6 - Find Other CAO #s for ValidMatches.” With reference to the “ValidMatches” table, this query finds all records in the “Ferial Melodies” table with the same CAO number as the records with “valid” matches and sends them all into the “CAOMatches” table. This allows for comparison between manuscripts of all variants at particular syllabic positions within individual CAO

numbers.

10. Run module "2 - Return Relevant Syllable Data." For each of the "valid" matches in the "CAOMatches" table, this embedded Visual Basic programme returns to new fields in the "CAOMatches" table the pitch contents for the syllables at the corresponding positions of the "variant" matches for all other records which have the same CAO numbers.
11. Run query "7 - Remove Duplicates from CAOMatches." After these last two steps, the data which is returned to the "CAOMatches" table can be sorted and manipulated to show clearly the variants (by syllable) that were sought in the full antiphon melodies, in which chants (CAO numbers) and manuscript sources (sigla) these variants were found, and most importantly, what occurs melodically at the position of the "variant" in other versions of the same chant. The resulting data are stored in the "CAOMatches (minus duplicates)" table.

Reports can now be generated to interpret the data.

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