Music and Liturgy for the *Benedicamus Domino* c.800–1650

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Music and Liturgy for the *Benedicamus Domino* c.800–1650

edited by

Catherine A. Bradley

Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance
Collection « Épitome musical »

BREPOLS

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add.	Additional
AM	*Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis juxta vota RR. D. Abbatum congregationum confœderatarum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti a Solesmensibus monachis restitutum*. Paris, 1934
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. Socii Bollandiani. 2 vols. Brussels, 1898–1901. Subsidia hagiographica 6. 2nd edn. Brussels, 1949. *Novum supplementum*, ed. H. Fros. Subsidia hagiographica 70. Brussels, 1986
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Département des manuscrits, unless otherwise indicated)
CAO	*Corpus antiphonalum officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert. 6 vols. Rome, 1963–79
DIAMM	Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (https://www.diamm.ac.uk)
LU	*The Liber usualis with Introduction and Rubrics in English*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes. Tournai and New York, 1961.
NAL	Nouvelles acquisitions latines
NAF	Nouvelles acquisitions françaises
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64
Rés.	Réserve
RISM	Répertoire international des sources musicales
WA	*Antiphonaire monastique: Codex F. 160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester*. Paléographie musicale 12. Tournai, 1922

Introduction*

Catherine A. Bradley

The versicle *Benedicamus Domino* ('Let us bless the Lord') and its response *Deo gratias* ('Thanks be to God') might seem an unlikely focus for a collection of essays. This versicle-response dialogue is short and even somewhat unremarkable: a straightforward exhortation to collective praise that is concisely answered by an expression of gratitude. It may be this characteristic that, at least in part, accounts for the functional diversity, ubiquity, and longevity of the *Benedicamus Domino–Deo gratias* dialogue, and its importance as a site of musical and poetic elaboration throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern era. Nevertheless, the prevalence of the versicle-response pair and its fundamentally flexible nature makes it a challenging, sometimes provocative, object of study for liturgists and musicologists. Thus there remain considerable gaps in historical understandings of ritual contexts and music for the *Benedicamus Domino* before 1650, which this volume seeks to address.

In the Western Christian liturgy, *Benedicamus Domino* is normally sung at the conclusion of all of the monastic Office hours except Matins.[1] It also serves to close the Mass in

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* The following manuscript sigla are used:

BAV Pal. lat. 487	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 487
BL Harley 2942	London, British Library, Harley 2942
BL Harley 2951	London, British Library, Harley 2951
BL Harley 3020	London, British Library, Harley 3020
BnF Lat. 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 887
BnF Lat. 1139	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1139
BnF Lat. 1534	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1534
BnF Lat. 10511	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10511
Brussels 1870	Brussels, KBR, 1870
Brussels 9850–52	Brussels, KBR, 9850–52
Calixtinus	Santiago de Compostela, Archivo-Biblioteca de la Catedral, s.s
Cambridge CCC 411	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 411
Évreux 89	Évreux, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 89
Farfa 4	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele II', Farfense 4
JRL 24	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Lat. 24
Laon 263	Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 263
Lucca 603	Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 603
Madrid 289	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 289
Munich Clm 19162	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19162
New Haven 422	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 442
Oxford Junius 121	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121
Oxford Laud Misc. 4	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 4
Pepys 1236	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1236
St. Gallen 349	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 349
Trent 91	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1378
Uppsala C 438	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 438
Vienna 1915	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1915
Vienna 1932	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1932

1 • As emphasised in Hughes 1982, 66, it seems that the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle is typically omitted at the end of

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penitential seasons (when the Gloria is not sung), replacing the more usual closing versicle for the Mass, *Ite missa est* ('Go, it is the dismissal'/'The Mass is ended'), whose response is also *Deo gratias*.[2] In addition, the exclamation *Benedicamus Domino* can feature in processional commemorations, as well as in informal sacred, devotional, and festive contexts, such as at the end of meals. The typically terminal position of this versicle surely contributed to the relative freedom with which it could be handled: its place at the conclusion of rituals may have facilitated, indeed encouraged, extended musical performance, which perhaps also evaded regulation. This is certainly the spirit of an extravagant rubric in the thirteenth-century northern French manuscript Laon 263, where the final Office on the feast of the Epiphany—labelled as an 'endless Compline' (*completorium infinitum*)—concludes with the instruction 'Let us sing all the *Benedicamus* we know'.[3]

When and where exactly the *Benedicamus* originated remains uncertain, but its multifunctional purpose, within and beyond the liturgies for both Mass and Office, is already evident in its earliest traces. As established by Josef Andreas Jungmann, the first mentions of the *Benedicamus* versicle are made in three ninth-century texts from Carolingian France.[4] Two of these (the *Ordo Angilberti*, c.800, and the second Capitulary of Theodulf of Orleans) suggest the use of the *Benedicamus* at Mass, while Amalarius of Metz's *Liber officialis* confirms its declamation in the Office.[5] The *Benedicamus* seems to have travelled to England via France: as discussed by Samuel Cardwell in Chapter 6, the first appearance of the versicle in an English source is in the *Regularis concordia*, a Benedictine reform text of c.973. Here the declamation of the versicle features, not in the context of Mass or Office liturgies, but after the evening reading and the *caritas* (a special Saturday provision of food and drink).

It is, therefore, certain that the *Benedicamus* versicle was established in Carolingian France in the ninth century and had travelled to England by the late tenth century. References to the *Benedicamus* are not known in any of the pre-1000 sources that document liturgical practices in Rome, the so-called *Ordines Romani*.[6] By contrast, the use of the

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Matins when it leads directly into Lauds. If this is not the case, however, then the *Benedicamus* could be sung at the close of Matins. Hiley 1993, 27, notes that the 'conventions … are somewhat unclear'.

2 • On the dual interpretation of 'missa' as dismissal or Mass in the *Ite missa est* versicle, see Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, ix. On the use of *Benedicamus Domino* at Mass, where it might also replace the *Ite* when another service immediately follows, see Hughes 1982, 93.

3 • Laon 263, fol. 141v (*tot Benedicamus quot novit quisque canamus*). For discussion of this rubric, see Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 227; Hiley 1993, 41; and Caldwell 2023b, 75–76.

4 • Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 2, 435. See the discussions of Jungmann and his sources by Cardwell in Ch. 6 and Minniti in Ch. 8.

5 • As noted in Huglo 1976, the opening Office versicle (*Deus in adiutorium meum intende*) is already prescribed in the sixth-century *Regula Monasteriorum* attributed to St Benedict (see Linderbauer 1928, 37, 38, and 48). Yet there is no explicit mention here of a closing *Benedicamus Domino* versicle.

6 • Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 2, 435, observed the absence of the *Benedicamus* in Roman sources before 1000. On early records of liturgical practices in Rome, of which none of the sources before c.1000 are genuinely Roman in any case, see Westwell 2024. I thank Arthur Westwell for a discussion of his findings. The *Benedicamus Domino* versicle is notably absent from *Ordo Romanus* 19, in which both the *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* versicle (see n. 5 above) and the *Jube domne benedicere* versicle (discussed below) feature. *Ordo 19* describes gatherings and lunch and dinner in Roman

closing versicle *Ite missa est* is attested in the earliest, late eighth-century source of the *Ordo Romanus primus*, describing the rite of the Papal stational Mass.[7] Proof of the use of the *Ite missa est* dismissal is therefore slightly earlier than that for the *Benedicamus*. And—unlike the *Benedicamus*—the *Ite* first features within descriptions of the Roman liturgy, encouraging the hypothesis that the *Benedicamus* versicle originated north of the Alps, at a point when the *Ite* was already established in Rome.[8]

The concentration in France of the earliest documented traces of the *Benedicamus* versicle supports its status as a possible Frankish innovation. Chapter 8 by Giulio Minniti presents nine previously unknown instances of *Benedicamus Domino* texts and melodies copied c.875–c.1100 onto flyleaves and in the margins of ninth- and tenth-century books of various kinds. Seven of the *Benedicamus* texts and melodies can be localised in France, and in contexts that, respectively, suggest their various connections to Mass, Office, and processional liturgies.[9] Nevertheless, another of Minniti's discoveries is the earliest notated *Benedicamus* melody that can be securely placed in Italy, copied in the tenth century at the Emilian abbey of Nonantola, alongside a responsory for the abbey's patron, St Sylvester. This is confirmation that the *Benedicamus* versicle was sung and notated in a monastic context south of the Alps before 1000.

A general absence of evidence poses a major challenge in writing a history of the *Benedicamus Domino*. Initially, the *Benedicamus* did not have an established presence or context in written records, neither in *Ordines* and other liturgical texts or commentaries, nor—as discussed below—in notated music books. Cardwell demonstrates that English texts dependent on Amalarius's *Liber officialis* do not replicate references to the *Benedicamus Domino* included there. Moreover, two texts associated with Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023) are demonstrably inconsistent in their references to the *Benedicamus*. In Wulfstan's *De synodo*, the *Benedicamus Domino* is unambiguously spelled out among a list of Latin prayers only in the later of the two surviving manuscript sources, the mid-eleventh-century Oxford Junius 121. In the two extant sources of the *Old English Benedictine Office*, the *Benedicamus* is again mentioned only in Oxford Junius 121 and here solely in the context of Compline, not within that of the other Office hours at which, presumably, it was also sung. This seems to confirm that the *Benedicamus* versicle was present and known in a greater variety of liturgical contexts than those which scribes considered it necessary or valuable to record. Perhaps this was because of the brevity and pervasiveness of the closing dialogue, and its relatively generic textual content and multipurpose function.

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monasteries and is uniquely preserved in the late eighth-century Frankish manuscript St. Gallen 349 (pp. 104–18), on which see Westwell 2022. See the edition of the text in Silva-Tarouca 1923, 213–17.

7 ✦ The earliest source of the *Ordo Romanus primus* (or *Ordo 1*) is identified in Westwell 2024, 22, as BAV Pal. lat. 487, copied at Lorsch at the end of the eighth century. The reference to the *Ite missa est* versicle and its response *Deo gratias* appears on fol. 9v. For an edition and English translation of the composite text established in scholarship as the *Ordo Romanus primus*, see Griffiths 2012, 58. On the dating and probable Frankish origin of this *Ordo*, see also Westwell 2024, 26–27.

8 ✦ See, for example, Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, ix.

9 ✦ Minniti identifies two new late ninth-/early tenth-century marginal texts that confirm the use of the *Benedicamus* in the Mass. For discussion of a possible processional context for the *Benedicamus* melodies in Brussels 9850–52, see Ball 2024.

As one would expect, the survival of contextual evidence for the *Benedicamus Domino* improves with time. Chapter 5 by Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn sets out conceptual understandings of singing *Benedicamus Domino* and other expressions of jubilation, as inherited from Augustine and Amalarius and developed in liturgical theological writings by Sicard of Cremona and William Durandus in the thirteenth century. As Gionata Brusa demonstrates in Chapter 7, sparse references to the *Benedicamus Domino* in the earliest extant, twelfth-century *Ordines* from the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg (mainly preoccupied with when the versicle was to be sung at Mass in place of the *Ite missa est*) had increased dramatically by 1600. Nevertheless, the vast majority of *Ordines*—from Salzburg and elsewhere—are less specific than we might wish when mentioning the *Benedicamus*. Apart from indications concerning the performance of the *Benedicamus* by boys, discussed below, books describing the liturgy usually remain silent on the question of where exactly and to what melody the versicle was sung.[10] Exceptional cases where a particular scribe took a special interest in the *Benedicamus* versicle are, therefore, all the more revealing. Such a case may be Oxford Junius 121, discussed above, perhaps inspiring a later eleventh-century scribe to copy on the manuscript's flyleaf a *Benedicamus* trope with musical notation (the earliest known example in an English source).[11] Brusa similarly presents an extraordinary instance in the earliest of the fifteenth-century *Libri ordinarii* of St. Emmeram, where Hermann Pötzlinger notated and carefully rubricated a version of the well-known 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* melody (discussed below) for an intricate *alternatim* performance between *chorus* and *cantores*, which may have been his own invention.[12]

In music books, the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle did not make regular appearances or occupy any established position before the twelfth century.[13] All of the earliest, tenth-century notated instances of the versicle are additions, most often on the flyleaves and in the margins of non-liturgical manuscripts. In the eleventh century, the majority of notated *Benedicamus Domino* melodies are still after-the-fact additions. Nevertheless, groups of untroped *Benedicamus* plainchant melodies begin to be included in notated sources, often those also transmitting *Benedicamus* tropes or songs (as in BnF Lat. 887, a troper-proser from early eleventh-century Aquitaine). In the twelfth century, by contrast, the practice of copying untroped *Benedicamus* plainchant melodies within a wide variety of notated liturgical books became much more usual.

The situation in England, surveyed by Thomas Phillips in Chapter 10, is illustrative. The earliest known English collection of *Benedicamus* chants comprises the twenty-one melodies that were added in the early twelfth century on the initial flyleaves of a tenth-century psalter from Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury (Cambridge CCC 411). A later group of eighteen *Benedicamus* chants that is the focus of Phillip's study is, by

10 • Robertson 1988, 4–10, offers a wide-ranging overview of the evidence from *Ordines* and other relevant documents.

11 • See Cardwell's discussion and transcription of the trope text in Ch. 6. The melody cannot, as yet, be recognised and reconstructed.

12 • Reproduced as Figure 7.2.

13 • See further details on early contexts of transmission for the *Benedicamus* in Ch. 8 by Minniti.

contrast, germane to its host manuscript: Oxford Laud Misc. 4, the earliest extant English processional, copied in the third quarter of the twelfth century at the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans. The *Benedicamus* melodies in this St Albans processional, with rubrics specifying the liturgical occasions at which they were to be sung, are replicated almost exactly in a thirteenth-century antiphoner from the Benedictine Abbey of Lyre in Normandy (Évreux 89).[14] Together, these two sources confirm the existence, already by the late twelfth century, of a codified Norman tradition for *Benedicamus Domino* plainchants. Moreover, Oxford Laud Misc. 4 stands as an important (if exceptional) twelfth-century witness to a systematic practice of ordering and rubricating *Benedicamus* melodies, hitherto first recognised only in thirteenth-century books.[15]

Phillip's chapter is one of three that offer a catalogue appendix of the *Benedicamus Domino* chants of a previously unstudied source. David Merlin and Laine Tabora—in Chapters 12 and 13 respectively—have similarly indexed the *Benedicamus Domino* melodies of two little-known fifteenth-century collections: recorded in two diurnals from the Augustinian Convent of St. Maria Magdalena in Vienna (Vienna 1932 and Vienna 1915), and in a fifteenth-century book of hours from the Cistercian nunnery, also devoted to St Mary Magdalene, in Riga (Uppsala C 438). These new case studies of traditions of singing and recording *Benedicamus* melodies at particular institutions usefully complement and augment the work of Anne Walters Robertson, whose 1988 handlist of *Benedicamus* melodies in two related thirteenth-century sources from Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille remains a key point of reference for untroped *Benedicamus Domino* plainchants.[16]

The *Benedicamus Domino* versicle is one of the few categories of liturgical plainchant that still lacks a definitive catalogue.[17] While catalogues of the Mass Ordinary items (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei) were completed in the 1950s and 1960s by students of Bruno Stäblein, an edition of melodies begun by William F. Eifrig for the Mass dismissal versicle, *Ite missa est*, was first finished by Andreas Pfisterer in 2006. Its conception was complicated by the degree of overlap between *Ite* and *Benedicamus* melodies and the lack of a full survey of the latter.[18] Efforts by Barbara Marian Barclay, Michel Huglo, and

14 • Évreux 89 is also discussed in Ch. 4 by Mary Channen Caldwell. Caldwell emphasises the fact that, in addition to its section dedicated to *Benedicamus Domino* chants, some *Benedicamus* melodies are occasionally placed instead within individual Office liturgies in Évreux 89 (as she discusses in the case of the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* melody, absent from the *Benedicamus* collection in Évreux 89 but included within the St Nicholas Office in this source).

15 • Harrison 1965 and Robertson 1988 identified and studied such thirteenth-century *Benedicamus* collections from England and France, respectively. In these collections, rubrics exceptionally also identified the source chants of borrowed *Benedicamus* melodies.

16 • As noted in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xxii, the Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille *Ite* chants are quite unusual in the broader context of *Ite* melodies in their heavy dependence on responsory sources. These *Benedicamus* melodies in Robertson 1988 also do not seem to be entirely typical of wider traditions: while the Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille sources share many of the widespread *Benedicamus* chants indexed in Ch. 13, they have only a limited number of concordances with those in Chs. 10 and 12. See also the discussion of atypical features of these *Benedicamus* melodies by Everist in Ch. 2.

17 • As part of the ERC-funded *BENEDICAMUS* project, a digital edition and catalogue is currently under preparation by Nicholas David Yardley Ball.

18 • See Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, vii. *Benedicamus* melodies are included in the catalogue 'only if their destination for Mass is made clear by rubric or context' (at x).

Anne Walters Robertson notwithstanding, a comprehensive overview of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle has proved elusive, owing to several significant obstacles.[19] One is the early presence of the *Benedicamus* in the margins of non-musical and indeed non-liturgical manuscripts, and its later itinerancy between many different types of liturgical books for Office and Mass. A second is the corresponding lack of any complete list, catalogue, or edition of the many *Benedicamus Domino* tropes and songs, which proliferated most notably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[20] This inhibits general understandings of what may be highly complex interrelationships between *Benedicamus* chants, prosulae (which add syllabic trope texts to pre-existing chant melismas), and song melodies, as revealed by Sam Barrett in Chapter 1. A third challenge to defining the limits of any *Benedicamus* corpus (in this case, a characteristic shared with the *Ite missa est*) is the importance of an unwritten tradition in plainchant practices for the versicle. As Robertson elucidated in her 1988 article, existing chants and chant melismas were frequently co-opted, sometimes apparently ad hoc, as melodies to which the texts 'Benedicamus Domino' and 'Deo gratias' were fitted.[21]

Melodies borrowed and adopted as *Benedicamus Domino* chants could be selected, as desired, from the liturgy of the day. Yet many melodies became established and widely used as vehicles for the *Benedicamus* versicle, beyond the confines of any specific or original liturgical occasion. As in the case of the *Ite missa est*, the *Benedicamus* was often sung to Kyrie melodies drawn from the Ordinary of the Mass, especially Kyrie *Clemens rector* and Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor*.[22] Chapter 9 by Marit Johanne Høye is devoted to the relationship between *Benedicamus* and Kyrie chants. Høye examines not only the transmission of the two old favourites mentioned above, but also identifies unique and local melodies, demonstrating the various ways in which Kyrie sources could be drawn on and adapted for *Benedicamus* melodies. Michael B. O'Connor, in Chapter 17, traces an Iberian tradition of *Benedicamus* polyphony that was predominately based on borrowed Kyrie chants, and probably performed at the close of Marian *Salve* services.

The most famous borrowed *Benedicamus* plainchant melody, which threads its way through multiple chapters in this book, is that sung to the 'Flos filius eius' melisma, verifiably in written circulation already in the eleventh century. The original source of the 'Flos filius eius' melody is in the verse of the responsory *Stirps Jesse* for the Nativity of the Virgin, the creation of whose music and metrical text is linked to Fulbert of Chartres in the first decades of the 1000s.[23] Minniti and Cardwell respectively draw attention here to two early

19 • Barclay 1977, Huglo 1982, and Robertson 1988.

20 • The most comprehensive list remains that in Arlt 1970, vol. 2, 289–96. Editions of *Benedicamus* tropes are planned as part of the project *Corpus monodicum: Die einstimmige Musik des lateinischen Mittelalters*, directed by Andreas Haug and Frank Puppe. As emphasised in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xi, the number of tropes for the *Benedicamus* versicle is considerably larger than for the *Ite*.

21 • While the first written trace of a borrowed *Benedicamus* melody known to Robertson was in the eleventh century (Robertson 1988, 44–45), this same *Benedicamus* melody—adopting the opening of the responsory *Pretiosus Domini Dionysius*—has now been identified as a tenth-century addition in Brussels 9850–52; see Ball 2024.

22 • On the prevalence of Kyries as *Ite* sources, see Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xxii–xxv.

23 • See Fassler 2000.

notated witnesses to untroped *Benedicamus* chants previously unknown in musicological literature: a flyleaf inscription made c.1040–80 in a French source of Carolingian canon law documents (New Haven 442) and a late eleventh-century addition in the composite manuscript BL Harley 3020, which Susan Rankin identifies as the hand of a scribe from St Augustine's, Canterbury. By the late eleventh century, two different *Benedicamus* prosulae set to the 'Flos filius' melody are attested, in northern and southern France: in the Latin song fragments from Anchin, Douai 246, and as an addition in Aquitanian neumes in BnF Lat. 1534, a ninth-century record of the Council and Synods of Aachen (816–19), which was at Saint-Nazaire in Carcassonne by the twelfth century.[24] The oldest layer of the Aquitanian versarium BnF Lat. 1139, dated around 1100, stands as another early and southern French witness both to a further *Benedicamus* prosula and a polyphonic *Benedicamus* trope on the borrowed 'Flos filius' melisma.[25]

The practice of singing *Benedicamus* prosulae to the 'Flos filius' melody persisted well into the seventeenth century, and several chapters here investigate different chronological points and aspects of prosulae transmission.[26] Chapter 11 by Martha Culshaw examines the manuscript Brussels 1870, principally recording chapters and collects, copied in 1348 for the 'Nazareth' monastery of Urbanist Clarissan nuns in Brussels. The vast majority of notated items in the book are *Benedicamus* prosulae, of which no fewer than twenty-two are for the same 'Flos filius eius' melody, each time written out in full. Thirteen of these 'Flos filius' prosulae adopt the incipit of the widely disseminated *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* (which itself occupies a prominent position at the head of the collection), substituting the name of the relevant dedicatee or feast for the word 'Ihesu'. The prevalence and persistence of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* is evident in several further chapters. In the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Libri ordinarii* from the Salzburg province studied by Brusa, frequent references to *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* invariably act as a byword for the 'Flos filius' melody. The prosula features in the fifteenth-century *Benedicamus* collections from Vienna and Riga indexed by Merlin and Tabora.[27] And three different polyphonic elaborations of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* in the fifteenth-century Trent codices, all apparently originating in German-speaking lands, are analysed in Chapter 16 by Alessandra Ignesti.[28] One of these settings survives elsewhere in a recognisably shared but nonetheless highly variant version, which seems to reflect possibilities for extemporaneous reworking and elaboration in performance.

24 • On Douai 246, see Arlt 2006. The prosula is *Benedicamus flori orto*, whose incipit immediately makes textual reference to its borrowed 'Flos filius' melisma, and whose text exploits the same 'virga/virgo' (stem/virgin) pun as the original host responsory *Stirps Jesse*. On the prosula *Benedicamus ingenito ipsisque unigenito* added on fol. 115v of BnF Lat. 1534 (whose text does not refer directly to the *Stirps Jesse* responsory), see Huglo 1982, 119.

25 • On the layers and date of BnF Lat. 1139, see Grier 1990, 23–34. BnF Lat. 1139 preserves the prosula *Benedicamus Dobenigno voto* (on fol. 60v, discussed further below), followed immediately (on fols. 60v–61r) by the two-part, polyphonic *Benedicamus* trope, whose lower voice is the 'Flos filius' melody and whose upper voice carries the trope text *Stirps Jesse florigeram* (its text making immediate reference to the original *Stirps Jesse* responsory).

26 • As demonstrated by Manon Louviot in her forthcoming catalogue of sources for the prosula *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* (Louviot forthcoming).

27 • See the transcription of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* in Uppsala C 348 in Example 13.1.

28 • Transcribed in Ch. 16, Appendices 10–12.

Traditions of making not only *Benedicamus* prosulae but also *Benedicamus* polyphony on the 'Flos filius' melody continued unbroken throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Chapter 2 by Mark Everist offers an example from thirteenth-century Paris in the two-voice conductus *Deus creator omnium*. This otherwise freely composed polyphonic song exceptionally (and without any indication in its manuscript sources) adopted the 'Flos filius eius' plainchant melisma as the lower voice of its final 'Benedicamus Domino' cauda. In Chapter 15, Antonio Calvia and Anne Stone reconstruct and analyse a two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* which also takes as its tenor voice the 'Flos filius' melody. This *Benedicamus* is preserved along with French songs and Mass Ordinary tropes in one of the two fragments they have discovered of what was once an early fifteenth-century polyphonic codex, possibly from Milan. Calvia and Stone place their new example within the context of an early fifteenth-century Italian phenomenon of *Benedicamus* polyphony that apparently had its origins in unwritten practices. Such polyphony, with one or two florid upper voices, was often based on a slow-moving 'Flos filius' tenor, presented in long notes of equal duration, sometimes notated simply as unmeasured plainchant.[29]

James R. Tomlinson, in Chapter 14, identifies a related but hitherto unconnected practice in his survey of English polyphony for *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* between c.1200 and c.1550. He draws attention to inscriptions of the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus* in late fourteenth- and in fifteenth-century English manuscripts that exemplify various degrees of notational and polyphonic prescription. A stand-alone, rhythmicised, and decorated version of the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus* is recorded in mensural notation in BL Harley 2951, while an unmeasured, chant-like notation of the 'Flos filius' melody appears above what seems to be an accompanying, mensuralised voice in BL Harley 2942, now erased. Both versions of the 'Flos filius' melody resemble that in the only complete polyphonic *Benedicamus* setting of this chant that survives in an English source, in two voices in the late fifteenth-century collection of *Benedicamus* polyphony in Pepys 1236. Together, therefore, Chapters 14–16 identify different kinds and examples of written traces that, once again, point to the presence and significance of unwritten musical traditions for the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle. In this case, it is the improvisation, elaboration, reworking, and composition of *Benedicamus* polyphony based specifically on the 'Flos filius eius' melody, a practice that was evidently established in England, Italy, and the German-speaking lands in the late fourteenth century and continued throughout the fifteenth.

A second well-known *Benedicamus* plainchant melody, also thought originally to derive from a host responsory chant, pervades several chapters in this book and provides a revealing point of comparison with 'Flos filius'. This is the melisma 'Clementiam', from the responsory *Qui cum audissent* from the Office of St Nicholas.[30] For 'Flos filius', the surviving sources support what would seem to be the most expected and straightforward evolu-

29 • Cuthbert 2006, 365–418, first defined this type of 'equal-note' polyphony, identifying and discussing examples in Italian sources.

30 • See especially Ch. 1 by Barrett and Ch. 4 by Caldwell.

tionary narrative for a borrowed *Benedicamus*: a melisma from the responsory *Stirps Jesse* was adopted initially as an untroped *Benedicamus* melody, to which *Benedicamus* prosula texts and polyphonic voices—which sometimes also made direct reference to text of the original *Stirps Jesse* responsory—were subsequently added. The status and treatment of 'Clementiam' as a *Benedicamus* melody is, however, shown here to be more complex both than that for 'Flos filius' and than has hitherto been understood.[31]

The earliest known source of the *Qui cum audissent* responsory is identified by Mary Channen Caldwell (in Ch. 4) as Munich Clm 19162, a manuscript from Tegernsee in southern Germany dated to the late tenth century.[32] As in later sources of this Nicholas responsory, the 'Clementiam' melisma is here preserved in full, and has a characteristic and self-contained tripartite, AAB form.[33] The first association of 'Clementiam' with the text of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle has been recognised in close chronological proximity to the earliest record of *Qui cum audissent*. The early eleventh-century Aquitanian troper-proser BnF Lat. 887 preserves the song *Eia, pueri iubilo*, whose text concludes with the exclamation 'Benedicamus Domino', and whose melody shares an AAB form and aspects of its overall melodic contour with the 'Clementiam' melisma.[34] Wulf Arlt first noted the connection between these two melodies, suggesting that *Eia, pueri iubilo* 'probably originated as a prosula' of 'Clementiam'.[35] However, as Barrett argues in Chapter 1, 'Clementiam' and *Eia, pueri iubilo* may instead be understood as two distinct melodic traditions. These separate melodic traditions co-existed and indeed influenced one another, as discussed further below, but *Eia, pueri iubilo* was not necessarily derived from, or even modelled on, 'Clementiam'.[36] The 'Clementiam' melisma is a highly stable fifth-mode melody that immediately ascends through an octave, while the *Benedicamus* song-trope *Eia, pueri iubilo* is melodically much more flexible: it can have variable starting and final pitches, and its initial phrase does not always reach the upper octave. As Barrett demonstrates, the melody of another *Benedicamus* trope long regarded as a prosula for the 'Clementiam' melisma is in some respects closer to *Eia, pueri iubilo* than 'Clementiam' itself: this is the widespread and long-lived *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*, first attested in BnF Lat. 10511, a gradual and processional from the Auxerre region dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. Remarkably, Barrett further suggests that the melody of a *Benedicamus* trope uniquely preserved in an early twelfth-century manuscript from Farfa—*Orthodoxorum coetus cleri-*

31 • For a comprehensive timeline of the 'Clementiam' melisma, see Arlt 1983, 37. Three sources in the following discussion pre-date the earliest instances that were known to Arlt: Arlt dated *Qui cum audissent* in the early eleventh century; 'Clementiam' as an untroped *Benedicamus* was first known to Arlt in thirteenth-century sources; and his earliest record of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* was from the early fourteenth century.

32 • See Eder 1972, 31–32.

33 • See the comparative transcription of the 'Clementiam' melisma in Example 4.4.

34 • See the transcriptions of *Eia, pueri iubilo* presented in Examples 1.6 and 4.7.

35 • Arlt 1983, 33–37 (*möglicherweise als prosula entstand*, at 37).

36 • That *Eia, pueri iubilo* was not simply a 'Clementiam' prosula resonates with the broader understanding of the *Benedicamus* songs in BnF Lat. 887 advanced in Hiley 1993, 213–15. Hiley writes of this collection (at 215): 'we are dealing with the result of a local campaign to extend the festal *Benedicamus* repertory, where several of the pieces have a family likeness not really attributable to a trope or prosula technique. They are newly composed from the start.'

corum in Farfa 4—shows several points of proximity to *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* and may even have been based (somewhat loosely) upon an earlier version of this trope melody, even though it is known only from sources of a later date.[37]

Early twelfth-century sources from Lucca and Palermo testify concretely to the circulation of *Eia, pueri iubilo* beyond eleventh-century Aquitaine.[38] Yet curiously, and unlike the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus*, there are no known records of the 'Clementiam' melody as an untroped *Benedicamus Domino* plainchant melody from the eleventh or early twelfth centuries. The first such appearance seems to be in the third quarter of the twelfth century in the Saint Albans processional, Oxford Laud Misc. 4, mentioned above.[39] This is also the date of BnF Lat. 10511, the first known source of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*. Even though its melody—here and more generally—is closer to *Eia, pueri iubilo* than to 'Clementiam', the text of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* has a conventional prosula-like appearance (with 'Benedicamus' as its incipit, rather than as a culmination). Moreover, the provision of a dedication to St Nicholas in BnF Lat. 10511 shows that a melodic relationship of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* to 'Clementiam' was, at least by this point, perceived and understood.[40] Broadly contemporary, in turn, is the first polyphony for the 'Clementiam' melisma, a two-voice setting of the untroped versicle text *Benedicamus Domino* in the Codex Calixtinus from Compostela.[41]

The evolutionary impression given by extant sources of 'Clementiam' and related melodies stands, therefore, in stark contrast to the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus*: the Saint Nicholas responsory *Qui cum audissent* and the *Benedicamus* song *Eia, pueri iubilo* that resembles the 'Clementiam' melisma are both first attested around the turn of the tenth century into the eleventh, in southern Germany and southern France, respectively. While both of these distinct, albeit similar, melodies had a continued and fairly widespread circulation, there is a lack of evidence for any direct connection between the 'Clementiam' melody and the *Benedicamus* versicle before c.1150, at which point proof of the melody as an untroped *Benedicamus* chant, with the appearance and function of a *Benedicamus* prosula, and as the foundation of a polyphonic *Benedicamus* setting appears almost simultaneously in sources from England, northern France, and northern Spain.[42]

37 • The modelling does not directly replicate aspects of poetic structure or musical form. Notably, *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* has an AB form, rather than the AAB form of 'Clementiam', *Eia, pueri iubilo*, and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*.

38 • The manuscripts are Lucca 603 and Madrid 289. See the discussion and the transcription of their *Eia, pueri iubilo* melodies in Chs. 1 and 4, Examples 1.6 and 4.7.

39 • See the discussion of this source and its record of the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* (on fol. 165v) in Ch. 10 by Phillips. See also the transcription of this melody as the first item in a comparison of 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* melodies presented by Caldwell in Example 4.5.

40 • As discussed by Caldwell in Ch. 4, the first dedicatee of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* in BnF Lat. 10511 (fols. 329v–330r) is the Virgin Mary, but Nicholas's name was supplied (by the same scribe) underneath Mary's as an alternative. See Figure 4.4 and stave 3 of Example 1.7.

41 • Calixtinus, fol. 190r–v. On the dating of Calixtinus, see Roesner 2001, 142–57.

42 • There exists an early twelfth-century prosula for the 'Clementiam' melisma, on which see Arlt 1983, 34–36. Notably, however, while this prosula makes reference to Nicholas, it does not invoke any form of the *Benedicamus* versicle or response text.

Such widely dispersed sources and evident gaps in transmission confirm, yet again, that the surviving evidence is partial, offering only a glimpse of the circulation of 'Clementiam' as a *Benedicamus* melody. Nonetheless, the contrast with the nature of the evidence for the 'Flos filius' melisma across the same period remains striking. For 'Flos filius', its first, eleventh-century associations with the *Benedicamus* versicle are as an untroped *Benedicamus Domino* melody, several of whose earliest prosulae and tropes also invoke the original *Stirps Jesse* responsory. In the case of 'Clementiam', its melody is not extant as an untroped *Benedicamus* chant before the mid-twelfth century, and ties to the textual themes and content of the *Qui cum audissent* responsory in *Benedicamus* songs and tropes related to the 'Clementiam' melody are weak or absent.[43] All of this suggests that 'Clementiam' was not straightforwardly extracted from its host responsory and borrowed as a melody for the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle in that way that 'Flos filius' was. Rather, it was arguably the recognition of a resemblance between the 'Clementiam' melisma and the newly-composed *Benedicamus* song *Eia, pueri iubilo* that inspired a later adoption (possibly as late as the twelfth century) of 'Clementiam' as a *Benedicamus* plainchant melody in the liturgy.

Complex interactions between the chant and song melodies 'Clementiam' and *Eia, pueri iubilo* continued well beyond the twelfth century. The song melody that was initially adopted for *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*, for instance, later largely gave way to and was replaced by the 'Clementiam' chant. In the fourteenth-century manuscript Brussels 1870, presented by Culshaw in Chapter 11, the melody of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* is that of the 'Clementiam' melisma, with its characteristic opening octave ascent. *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* and four further different syllabic texts set to the 'Clementiam' melisma provided in Brussels 1870 were, like their many 'Flos filius' counterparts, clearly understood as prosulae for the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus*.

Conversely, in the fifteenth-century book of hours from Riga studied by Tabora in Chapter 13, the melody of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*—here with the variant text incipit *Benedicamus devotis laudibus*—presents an unusual mix of melodic features of both song and chant traditions.[44] In Uppsala C 438, *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* has variable starting and final pitches such that its initial A phrase ascends through the seventh characteristic of the earliest melodies for *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* (which seem to derive from *Eia, pueri iubilo*), while the repetition of the A phrase begins a tone lower, thus spanning the full octave associated with the 'Clementiam' chant melisma. The same blended features of song and chant characterise another, apparently unique, *Benedicamus* trope set to

43 • As discussed by Caldwell in Ch. 4, the dedicatee of the prosula *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* varies: it can be Nicholas (see, for example, Example 4.8, and Figures 4.3 and 4.4) but is most often the Virgin Mary. Otherwise, *Benedicamus* texts associated with 'Clementiam' lack any obvious thematic or lexical overlap with *Qui cum audissent*. One could argue that the reference to boys in the incipit of *Eia, pueri iubilo* was inspired by the association with St Nicholas. However, as discussed further below, *pueri* often performed the *Benedicamus* versicle and they are invoked in other *Benedicamus* songs and tropes that have no connection either to Nicholas or to the 'Clementiam' melody (such as *Eia, nunc pueri*, also preserved in BnF Lat. 887).

44 • See Example 13.3 and Figure 13.1.

the same melody and which immediately follows *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* in Uppsala C 438. This is *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha et O*, which could plausibly be much older than the fifteenth century: the unusual interruption of 'Domino', to insert new, assonant text after its first syllable is shared with the 'Flos filius' prosula *Benedicamus Do- benigno voto*, known in Aquitaine c.1100.[45] Exceptionally, melodic features of the *Eia, pueri iubilo* song tradition persist even in the untroped *Benedicamus* chant incipits notated within the liturgical calendar in Uppsala C 438. For fourteen different feasts, this book cues a version of what would normally be identified as the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus*, but here with the opening seventh associated with *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*, rather than the chant's established octave. It is difficult to say whether the fusion of features of song and chant that inflected the performance of the 'Clementiam'-related melodies in Uppsala C 438 resulted from an active awareness of two living melodic traditions, or whether the creators of this book relied on older exemplars. Nevertheless, these examples from fifteenth-century Riga demonstrate the possibility for continued exchange, overlap, and cross-fertilisation between both song and chant melodies, which endured centuries after 'Clementiam' was thoroughly established as a *Benedicamus* melody and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* was perceived, not as a song, but as a chant prosula.

All told, a remarkable continuity and endurance of musical and ritual practices surrounding the *Benedicamus* versicle—often attested in chronologically and geographically disparate sources—emerges within and between the seventeen chapters of this book. The examples of Bohemian *cantiones* analysed by Jan Ciglbauer in Chapter 3 are emblematic in this respect. Ciglbauer explores political motivations associated with the Utraquist reform in fifteenth-century Bohemia that inspired both textual insertions and excisions, either to make explicit the liturgical functions of otherwise generic songs, or to divest songs of these functions and genericise them. While the cultural and religious contexts are new and particular, the practice is at least three centuries old. Precisely the same kind of flexibility—whereby the citation of liturgical versicles could be added or removed at will—is observable already for twelfth-century songs in Aquitanian and Norman-Sicilian sources, and in the Codex Calixtinus. Moreover, there is also a functional relationship and occasional interchangeability specifically between the same two types of songs discussed by Ciglbauer: those sung in place of the *Benedicamus Domino* and those used before a reading to beseech the officiant or the most senior person present to give a blessing, *Jube domne benedicere* ('Deign, O master, to bless').[46] Citations of both of these ubiquitous and mobile formulae are still

45 • See Example 13.4 for *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha et O*. *Benedicamus Do- benigno voto* first appears in BnF Lat. 1139, fol. 60v (concordances are listed in Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 192). The mix of melismatic and syllabic text declamation in *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha et O* is unlike that in *Benedicamus Do- benigno voto*, and atypical of prosulae more generally. However, *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha et O* is similar in that respect to *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* from early twelfth-century Farfa, whose melody is also related to 'Clementiam' (discussed by Barrett in Ch. 1; compare Example 1.5). There is also a textual connection with an *Ite* prosula based on a Kyrie melody whose earliest records are from the thirteenth century (Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 108, no. 427Bb): the response trope of *Ite pax vobis vite missa est* is 'Deo qui est alpha et O gratias'.

46 • The *Jube* versicle may use either 'domne' or 'Domine' as apparently interchangeable forms of 'master' or 'lord'. As sug-

sometimes present in songs in thirteenth-century French sources.[47] Yet while this tradition seems then to disappear completely in France, songs and polyphony not only for *Benedicamus Domino* but also for *Jube domne benedicere* are and remain prominent in sources from the German-speaking lands and Bohemia until the end of the fifteenth century.[48]

Benedicamus Domino and *Jube domne benedicere* obviously share an emphasis on blessing, either offering or seeking it. Like the *Benedicamus*, *Jube domne benedicere* could be sung at Mass and in the Office, as well as in broader monastic contexts, such as at mealtimes or Chapter meetings.[49] Both versicles are also linked to processions—since it seems that the *Jube* was declaimed as the reader moved towards the lectern—and it is also worth noting that the *Deo gratias* response could follow the reading.[50] Interestingly, *Jube domne benedicere* is apparently first attested, not in association with a reading, but in a closing and processional context in the *Ordo Romanus primus*, immediately following the earliest documented use of the *Ite missa est* versicle.[51] A further point of connection seems to be a possibility for flexibility in the choice of melodies for requesting reading blessings, which—like the *Benedicamus* and the *Ite*—could borrow sections of other chants, in this case usually sequences.[52] These are all possible reasons for a special kinship between songs citing the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Jube domne benedicere* versicles. Why such song traditions apparently flourished and persisted only in certain geographical areas remains unclear. Whereas the ritual function of the *Ite missa est* is specific and well-defined, the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Jube domne benedicere* versicles are more universal phrases that could be uttered day to day, multiple times a day, and not necessarily confined to a formalised ritual. There seems to be a paradox inherent in such quotidian moments that is most strongly evident in musical responses to the *Benedicamus*. On the one hand, repetition can invite elaboration and experimentation, opening up a space amenable to innovation. On the other, it appears simultaneously to encourage singing in the same way or the same kind of way for century after century.

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gested in Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 1, 454–55, n. 94, the use of 'domne' signals that the petition for a blessing is to the officiant, the earthly master, rather than to the Lord. I thank Henry Parkes for discussion of this of this versicle and its various forms and functions. On the relationship between *Benedicamus* songs and those concluding with the *Jube* versicle or commands to read, see Fuller 1969, vol. 1, 25–33. See also Ignesti forthcoming for a detailed study of *Cum gaudio concurrite*, a song transmitted in Central European sources from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, with alternative 'Benedicamus Domino' and 'Jube benedicere' endings.

47 • See the discussion and list of examples in Everist 2018, 49–57.

48 • On the tradition of polyphony for readings, which typically open with the *Jube domne benedicere* versicle, see Göllner 1969.

49 • See Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 1, 454–55 and Hughes 1982, 62 and 86. The *Jube* versicle (here as 'Jube domni benedicere') features three times in the late eighth-century description of gatherings and lunch and dinner in Roman monasteries in *Ordo Romanus 19*, see n. 6 above.

50 • The *Deo gratias* response after the reading is prescribed following the second appearance of the *Jube* versicle in *Ordo Romanus 19* in St. Gallen 349 (p. 106). See Silva-Tarouca 1923, 213.

51 • The Papal stational Mass concludes with the *Ite* dismissal and its answering *Deo gratias*. Then follows a procession towards the sacristy, during which the bishops request a blessing from the Pope ('Jube domne benedicere'), to which he responds 'Benedicat nos Dominus'. On the *Ordo Romanus primus*, see n. 7 above.

52 • See Hiley 1993, 249–50.

Existing perceptions of the *Benedicamus Domino* have often associated it with novelty, with its role in the so-called New Song tradition and in early Aquitanian polyphony. Creativity and variety in musical and poetic embellishments of the *Benedicamus* are also abundantly evident in this volume. Arguably its most significant contribution is, however, the extent to which it reveals the stability and longevity of musical practices associated with the *Benedicamus*, exposing unexpected connections between ways of singing the versicle in, for example, twelfth-century Farfa and fifteenth-century Riga. Chapters 2 and 4, by Everist and Caldwell, encompass the twelfth- and thirteenth-century French repertoires of song and polyphony that are still central to music-historical narratives. Otherwise, the essays are chronologically and geographically diverse, spotlighting different regions and centres in northern, central, and southern Europe, and moving—in the final chapter by O'Connor—into Latin America. Whereas the focus on the *Benedicamus* versicle in England had previously been largely on the carol, contributions by Cardwell, Phillips, and Tomlinson respectively present significant new knowledge concerning the early history of the *Benedicamus* in the English liturgy, foregrounding important twelfth-century collections of *Benedicamus* melodies previously overlooked, and studying the untroped polyphonic settings of the versicle, which have attracted less scholarly attention than their motet counterparts.[53]

In certain respects, the essays presented here serve further to substantiate, exemplify, and concretise existing perceptions of the *Benedicamus*. That, for instance, the versicle could be sung by boys (*pueri*) was a feature already underlined by Anne Walters Robertson and Susan Boynton.[54] The chapters that follow offer ample additional evidence for this performance practice across Europe, from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries: from *Ordines* and customaries and within the specific context of celebrating Saint Nicholas, as well as from the content of *Benedicamus* song and trope texts themselves, and from musical features of *Benedicamus* polyphony.[55] Yet an alternative emphasis is also placed on the importance of the *Benedicamus* versicle within books from female communities, for which three case studies from Brussels, Vienna, and Riga are presented in Chapters 11–13.[56] In the manuscripts from Brussels and Riga, the strikingly repetitious notation of the same small number of *Benedicamus* melodies over and over again—to a point which seems almost gratuitous—perhaps served a meditative, devotional, or somehow symbolic purpose for the manuscripts' copyists and/or users.

53 • See Harrison 1965. JRL 24, a thirteenth-century missal from Exeter presented by Harrison, has to date been the earliest reference source for untroped *Benedicamus* plainchant melodies in England. Phillips's study of Oxford Laud Misc. 4 in Ch. 10 now offers a twelfth-century English *Benedicamus* corpus.

54 • Robertson 1988, 5–9, and Boynton 2008, 43–48.

55 • Examples include the reference to 'Adolescentes vel iuniores fratres' (Young men and younger brothers) as the singers of the songs described as 'levitates et extollentias' (light and irreverant), which Barrett connects to the two *Benedicamus* songs in Farfa 4 (Ch. 1). For musical evidence of possible performance by boys, Ignesti draws attention to five unusual and relatively simple two-part *Benedicamus* settings in Trent 91, which are for equal voices in a high register (Ch. 16).

56 • These chapters complement five previous case studies in the special issue of *Early Music* 50, no. 4 (2022), '*Benedicamus Domino* as Female Devotion': for an overview, see Bradley 2022.

As a whole, this book presents many new and heterogeneous sources, unknown musical compositions, and unsuspected contexts for the *Benedicamus Domino*. It offers multidisciplinary perspectives on the origins and ritual functions of the versicle, its hagiographical resonances, and its conceptualisation in liturgical theological writings from the Middle Ages. The chronological, geographical, repertorial, and disciplinary range of the seventeen contributions notwithstanding, there remain many open avenues of investigation. It is hoped that the multiple individual examples and corpora of *Benedicamus Domino* melodies and polyphony transcribed and defined in this volume will facilitate future research. The sheer number of discoveries and connections advanced in and emergent between the essays that follow demonstrates just how rich is the potential for such further work. The majority of chapters in this volume study types of sources and environments that have either previously been overlooked or regarded as somewhat peripheral in existing scholarship. These findings additionally invite a return to and a revision of scholarly perceptions of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle in its better-known, and historiographically more central, contexts.

SONG



1.

Organa, *Neumae*, and Dissent in *Benedicamus* Songs at the Abbey of Farfa in the Early Twelfth Century

*Sam Barrett**

Benedicamus Domino songs or versified tropes of the *Benedicamus Domino* have attracted attention mainly for their 'newness'. In the first place this has meant consideration of *Benedicamus Domino* songs as representatives of the 'New Song' recorded from c.1100 onwards.[1] There has also been significant interest in ongoing and at times substantial revisions of these *Benedicamus Domino* songs in the later Middle Ages in acts of re-creation.[2] Less attention has been paid until recently to the variety of meanings that new or newly reformulated *Benedicamus Domino* songs might have assumed at particular times and in specific contexts.[3] In this chapter I seek to continue recent trends by reconsidering an exceptional report about the introduction of new songs at the Abbey of Farfa in the early twelfth century. Renewed attention to two *Benedicamus Domino* songs copied at Farfa at this time reveals how newly identified musical features are consistent with signs of dissent mentioned in the report.

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Aosta 13	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, 13 (*olim* 9-E-17)
BAV Borg. lat. 211	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. lat. 211
BAV Vat. lat. 8487	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8487
BnF Lat. 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 887
BnF Lat. 1139	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1139
BnF Lat. 10511	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10511
BnF Lat. 12044	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 12044
Douai 246	Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 246
Farfa 4	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele II', Farfense 4
Grand-Saint-Bernard 7	Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, 7
Limoges 2	Limoges, Bibliothèque francophone multimedia, 2 (17)
Lucca 603	Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 603
Madrid 288	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 288
Madrid 289	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 289
Madrid 19421	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 19421
Munich Clm 560	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 560
Prague G 10b	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, VI G 10b

1 ✦ For a concise introduction in English to the New Song, a term given historiographical significance by Wolfram von den Steinen and introduced into musicology by Wulf Arlt, see Voigt 2019, 408–14.

2 ✦ See, in particular, Arlt 1983 and Arlt 2006. On revisions to *Benedicamus Domino* songs in Central Europe, see the detailed comments on individual songs in Plocek 1985, and the examples discussed in Vlhová-Wörner 2022.

3 ✦ Exceptional in this regard are the five case studies in the special issue of *Early Music* 50, no. 4 (2022), '*Benedicamus Domino* as Female Devotion'. *Benedicamus Domino* songs on the Feast of the Circumcision, also known as the Feast of Fools, are a special case, given the expanded scope of celebration on this day. For an extensive collection of references to sung items, including *Benedicamus Domino* songs, see Arlt 1970, *Darstellungsband*, 38–51, to which may be added Max Harris's revisionist account that emphasises festal liturgical order as a response to disordered secular celebrations: Harris 2011, esp. Part II: 'Shaping the Feast of Fools'.

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The report in question appears in both the Register and Chronicle of the Imperial Abbey of Farfa.[4] It describes what happened in 1122 when younger brothers, who had gone into exile over the disputed election of a new abbot, were forced to return and to resume their role in the choir:

> *Adolescentes vel iuniores fratres cantuum neumas et organa solita respuebant, et non spirituali honestate aut gravitate, sed istrionum more canere studebant, et multas nenias extraneasque cantilenas introducere satagebant, nec huius loci consuetudinem sed diversarum partium levitates et extollentias, quas in exteris locis quibus degebant audierant vel viderant, exercere curabant.*
>
> Young men and younger brothers rejected the melismas of chants and accustomed *organa*, and they dedicated themselves to singing not in a spiritually honest or sincere way, but in the manner of actors. They also hastened to introduce many ditties and foreign songs, and they cared to employ songs that did not follow the custom of this place, but light and irreverent songs from diverse regions, which they had heard or seen while spending time in foreign parts.

The sentence immediately preceding this passage describes how festal ceremonies had previously been conducted reverently wearing elaborate vestments. The exiled brothers were forced on their return to wear their normal clothes with their frayed hoods so that they were seen 'to sing or recite as if plundered and despoiled':[5]

> *Reversi vero ad monasterium et recongregati, praecipuas sollemnitates quas cum maximo decore et ornamentorum pulchritudine in vestibus albis vel palliorum cappis, aliarumque dignitatum solebamus facere, tunc in nigris et laciniosis cucullis et indumentis cottidianis in choro et ante altare vel in sublimi ambone compellebamur agere, et tamquam expoliati ac depraedati videbamur canere vel psallere.*
>
> And when we returned to the monastery and reassembled, we performed the special ceremonies which we used to do with the greatest decorum and with beautiful ornaments in white albs or mantles, caps and other dignities. But then we were forced to perform in the choir and before the altar or on the lofty pulpit in black and frayed hoods and everyday clothes, and we were seen to sing or recite as if plundered and despoiled.

In her study of the Imperial Abbey of Farfa in the long eleventh century, Susan Boynton placed this passage within the broader context of the upheaval that followed the death of Abbot Berard III in 1119.[6] In May 1121, certain monks of Farfa sought to replace Abbot Guido, whose earlier election in unusual circumstances had been vetoed by Henry V, with an Imperial candidate. The plan failed as the monks who protested were first forcibly sent into exile by Guido and then compelled to return when Pope Calixtus intervened on his behalf by sending an army into the Abbey. On the return of the exiled monks, Guido compelled them to wear tattered clothing, to which younger monks responded by introducing new and irreverent songs 'which they had heard or seen while spending time in foreign parts'.

4 • For this passage in the Chronicle, see Balzani 1903, vol. 2, 311. For the same passage in the Register, see Balzani & Giorgi 1914, vol. 5, 322. The emended Latin text from the Register given here follows Boynton 2006, 217, which is based on BAV Vat. lat. 8487, fol. 519v. The translations given in this study are my own.

5 • Latin text from the Chronicle as edited in Balzani 1903, vol. 2, 311. For the same passage in the Register, see Balzani and Giorgi 1914, vol. 5, 322.

6 • Boynton 2006, 215–29, esp. 215–17, building on Boynton 2002, 65.

Boynton proposed that *Splendor patris*, a *Benedicamus Domino* song added to a manuscript copied at the Abbey of Farfa in the early twelfth century, might represent an example of such new songs.[7] In this chapter I revisit Boynton's suggestion and propose new musical readings, separating out what was presented by her as a single *Benedicamus Domino* song into two discrete songs. Reconsideration of the musical procedures and transmission of the two newly distinguished *Benedicamus Domino* songs establishes previously unexpected connections to the musical features mentioned in the report. This, in turn, provides a basis for considering how specific musical characteristics of *Benedicamus Domino* songs were variously associated with newness and dissent at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa in the early decades of the twelfth century.

An early twelfth-century collection of prayers and songs from the Abbey of Farfa

Three years after the suppression of Roman religious corporations in 1873, manuscripts from the Abbey of Farfa were transferred to the Biblioteca nazionale centrale in Rome. One of these manuscripts—Farfa 4, a codex of small proportions (181 × 111 mm)—comprises three distinct units: a collection of psalms (fols. 1r–49v, cut short at Psalm 72); a selection of relatively long private prayers (fols. 50r–78v); and a mixture of *orationes ad crucem salutandum* (fols. 79r–88r), hymns (fols. 88v–132r), and *canticae* (fols. 132r–144r).[8] All three parts were copied by scribes at the Abbey of Farfa in the early twelfth century. Although it remains unclear whether the manuscript was originally designed as a composite unit, it was unified by the thirteenth century, when it was variously emended.[9] The contents and small dimensions of the manuscript led Paola Supino Martini to propose that it may have been intended for personal use.[10]

Musical notation was added to the book in two places by a single notator. The neumes inserted alongside three hymns in the margins of fols. 126r–127r are set to one side here.[11] Figure 1.1 shows the recto of the single folio (fol. 77r) of notated songs added at the end of the manuscript's second part. Two separate *Benedicamus Domino* songs were copied without rubrics on the folio shown, namely *Splendor patris* (at the head of the folio) and *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* (beginning with *Benedicamus Domino* three lines from the foot of the folio). The verso of the same folio, which is not supplied here, continues with a notated responsory used primarily for the Common of Apostles, also without rubric: *R. Isti sunt viri sancti quos elegit Dominus in caritate non ficta et dedit illi[s] gloriam sempiter-*

7 ✦ Boynton 2006, 219–25.

8 ✦ For a detailed manuscript description, see the entry in 'Manus Online' prepared by Livia Martinoli and revised by Valentina Longo, last updated in 2021: https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-manoscritti/-/manus-search/cnmd/211448.

9 ✦ On the copying of the manuscript see Supino Martini 1987, 263, esp. n. 156.

10 ✦ Supino Martini 1994, 50–51.

11 ✦ The three hymns are all for the Dedication of the Church: *Sacratum hoc templum Dei*, *Urbs beata Hierusalem*, and *Christe caelorum habitator alme*.

nam, quorum doctrina fulget ecclesia ut sol et luna. V. Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam.[12] The text on both sides of the folio was copied by a scribe writing a small Roman version of Caroline minuscule script (*minuscola romanesca*) with features similar to the script used for the book's main contents.[13] The continuation of text and neumes into the lower margin implies that both were added by the same scribe, who ran out of space when writing the melisma on 'gra-'. Identification of the notator with the text scribe secures an early twelfth-century date for the neumes.

The notator wrote central Italian neumes with careful attention to heighting, regulated by the use of dry-point lines; *c* and *f* clefs were placed both at the end of lines and occasionally within them. The notator's work shows a particular concern for directionality, employing a range of single-note signs to this end.[14] Two different signs were used for single notes in a rising context in *Splendor patris*: the normal upright *virga* is found mainly at the apex of a melodic ascent when the next tone is lower (as at 'pa**tris**' and 'iusti**ti**ae'), whereas a hook-shaped form is found mainly when the next tone is higher within a rising melodic line (for example, the other rising single tones in the opening line). A similar use of the hook-shaped sign is found in the responsory *Isti sunt viri* on fol. 77v and in the untexted central Italian neumes added to the margins of fols. 126r–127v. This unusual feature, along with the common use of clefs, heighting regulated by dry-point lines wherever possible, and use of a range of signs, implies that all were the work of the same notator. The rarity of the hook-shaped sign in central Italian notations suggests a concern to indicate pitch through directional means, possibly arising from the addition of a light rising stroke and final turn upwards when writing an ascending oblique dash within a series of rising tones. Why such attention was paid to directionality in this case is not immediately clear, although the possibility that the scribe was taking extra care to signal pitch in notating an unfamiliar song gains credence when the unusual musical procedure that underlies it is recognised.

12 • *CAO* 7026a. The musical incipit of *Isti sunt viri sancti* is also copied informally in lighter ink at the foot of the folio.

13 • Supino Martini 1987, 263 n. 157.

14 • The observations and terminology employed here are informed by ongoing debates about the definition, characteristics, and historical development of notations in central Italy, without taking a view on contested issues. The principle of directionality is defined with reference to Beneventan notation in two essays by Leo Treitler, 'The Early History of Music Writing' and 'Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music Writing', reprinted with new introductions in Treitler 2007, 317–64 and 365–428, esp. 339–40, 346–48, and 425–27. Directionality is discussed in the context of a reassessment of the relation between central Italian and Benenventan neumes in a recent unpublished dissertation, Minniti 2021, esp. 60–70, 101–03, and 106–10. For an alternative view based on the spread of a *nota romana* as developed in the late tenth century at Rome or at a related centre under papal authority, see Baroffio 2011, 114–19.

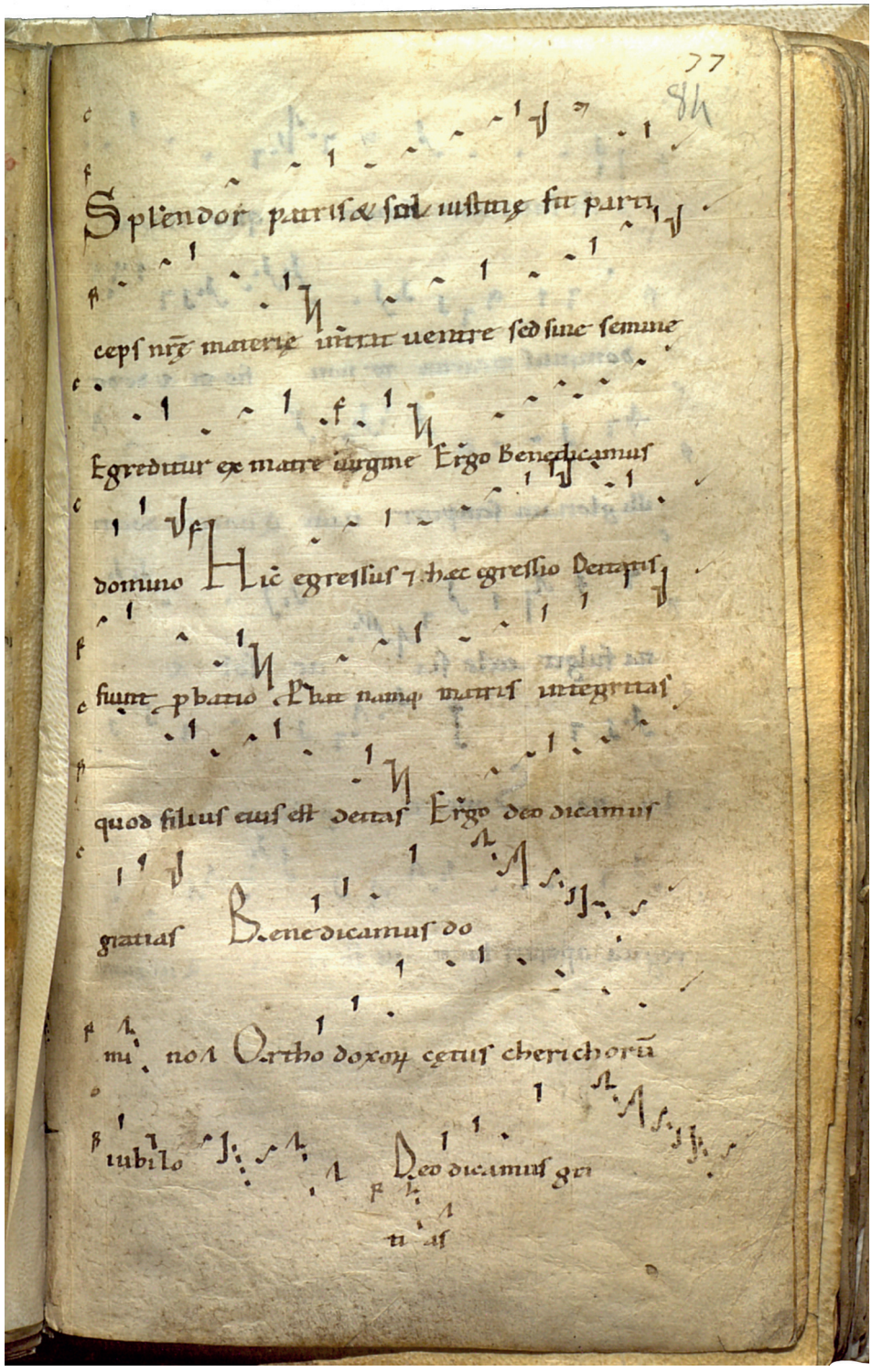


Figure 1.1: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele II' di Roma, Farfense 4, fol. 77r
(reproduced with permission)

Splendor patris

I.	1. Splendor patris et sol iustitiae	10pp	-iae	a	The splendour of the Father and sun of justice
	2. fit particeps nostrae materiae:	10pp	-iae	a	partakes in our substance:
	3. intrat ventre[m] sed sine semine;	10pp	-ine	b	He enters the womb but without seed;
	4. egreditur ex matre uirgine.	10pp	-ine	b	He goes forth from his virgin mother.
	5. Ergo BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.	10pp	-ino	c	Therefore, 'Let us bless the Lord.'
II.	1. Hic egressus et haec ingressio	10pp	-io	d	This going out and this coming in
	2. deitatis fiunt probatio;	10pp	-io	d	become proof of His divinity
	3. probat namque matris integritas	10pp	-itas	e	and the mother's chastity proves
	4. quod filius eius est deitas.	10pp	-itas	e	that her son is God.
	5. Ergo DEO dicamus GRATIAS.	10pp	-ias	f	Therefore let us say, 'Thanks be to God!'

Example 1.1: *Splendor patris*, Farfa 4, fol. 77r



I. 1. Splen - dor pa - tris et sol ius - ti - ti - ae 2. fit par - ti - ceps nos - trae ma - te - ri - ae:
3. in - trat ven - tre[m] sed si - ne se - mi - ne; 4. e - gre - di - tur ex ma - tre vir - gi - ne.
5. Er - go be - ne - di - ca - mus Do - mi - no.

II. 1. Hic e - gres - sus et haec in - gres - si - o 2. de - i - ta - tis fi - unt pro - ba - ti - o;
3. pro-bat nam - que ma - tris in - te - gri - tas 4. quod fi - li - us ei - us est de - i - tas.
5. Er - go De - o di - ca - mus gra - ti - as.

The theme of incarnation that runs through *Splendor patris* implies that it was used as part of festal celebrations associated with Christmas (see Example 1.1).[15] The use of two balanced strophes ending with the respective troped elements of the versicle *Benedicamus Domino* and its response *Deo gratias* is characteristic of contemporary Norman-Sicilian and northern French *Benedicamus Domino*s but is not restricted to this repertoire.[16] The ten-syllable lines with fixed antepenultimate or proparoxytonic accents (10pp), which were in widespread use from the twelfth century onwards, are divided by a regular caesura into the customary four plus six syllables in lines 1–4 of each strophe. The fifth and final lines of each strophe, quoting the eight-syllable versicle and its five-syllable response, maintain the ten-syllable pattern by placing 'Ergo' at the opening of both lines and inserting 'dicamus' within the *Deo gratias* response. The paired two-syllable end-rhymes place the text within the orbit of new song styles developed especially in France from the eleventh century onwards.[17]

Repetition of the same syllabic melodic phrase for each line of the song is an unusual feature. There is also a playful quality to the subdivision of the lines, as heard in the two

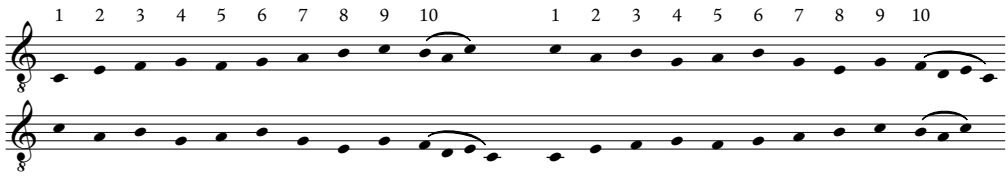
15 • *Splendor patris* is included within a series of *Benedicamus Domino* songs under the rubric *In nativitate Domini* in Madrid 289, fols. 126v–134v: see Arlt 1970, *Darstellungsband*, 178–79. The opening line recalls the Advent antiphon *O oriens splendor lucis et sol iustitiae*.

16 • Arlt 1970, *Darstellungsband*, 203–04 and Arlt 2006, 100.

17 • The fundamental role played by two-syllable rhyme in new styles of Latin poetry developed from the eleventh century onwards has long been recognised. With particular reference to liturgical poetry, see Gautier 1886, ch. 12 and von den Steinen 1959, 239–43.

rising fifths in the first part of the line (*C*–*G*, *F*–*c*) and falling thirds in the second part. The melody of both parts of the line articulates the internal caesura at the fourth syllable by arriving at *g*, creating a strong *C*–*E*–*G*–*c* axis within the overall C tonality, another distinctive feature of the New Song. These stylistic features of *Splendor patris* accord with reports of 'extraneas cantilenas' as described by the Farfa chronicler, whether or not this was one of the specific songs that he had in mind. What may be added here is that *Splendor patris* also works against itself in polyphony as a voice-exchange or *Stimmtausch* melody (see Example 1.2).[18]

Example 1.2: *Stimmtausch* for *Splendor patris*, Farfa 4, fol. 77r



The two-part arch-shaped phrase structure is decisive for determining *Stimmtausch*. The melody begins on the final as the lowest note of the phrase and closes on the upper octave at the mid-point; it then starts again on the upper octave and descends back to the final. The resulting organum is idiomatic, featuring prominent parallel fourths (at syllables 2–3 and 9–10) and thirds (at syllables 5–6). The major second at the seventh syllable is the only moment that causes pause for thought, but such passing seconds are found in other early *Stimmtausch* melodies.[19] The likelihood that *Stimmtausch* is intended is increased by the unison *G* at the caesura on the fourth syllable. Although the melody works as a *Stimmtausch*, whether the whole song was sung as a *Stimmtausch* is another matter. The poetic contrast between the two internally balanced pairs of lines in each strophe (lines 1–2 and lines 3–4) and the lone, quasi-refrain fifth lines beginning with 'Ergo' may have been articulated by a musical contrast between monophony and two voices.[20]

Stimmtausch melodies were especially associated with *Benedicamus Domino* songs, as is evident from the information provided by Bruno Stäblein in the notes to his *Hymnen* volume.[21] Recognition of *Splendor patris* as a *Stimmtausch* adds a new twelfth-century example to the two other *Stimmtausch* melodies first recorded in the first half of the twelfth

18 • The possibility that *Splendor patris* might be a *Stimmtausch* melody was mentioned without further exploration in Hiley 2008, 551.

19 • See Stäblein 1956, 537.

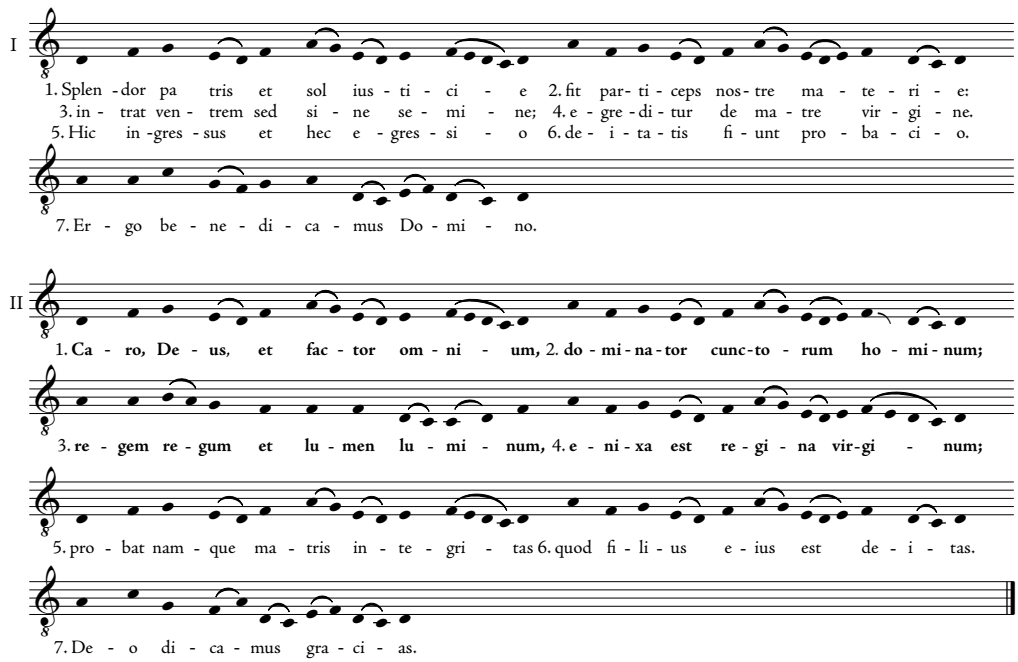
20 • On the possible contrast of monophonic and polyphonic sections within *Stimmtausch* songs in performance with particular reference to the troped versicle *Deus in adiutorium* recorded on fol. 32r of BnF Lat. 1139, see Sevestre 1990, 470–74. *Annus novus in gaudio*, recorded on fol. 36v of BnF Lat. 1139, provides an example of a two-voice refrain for an otherwise monophonic song.

21 • Stäblein's notes for his 1956 *Hymnen* volume identify four *Stimmtausch* melodies. Two were first notated in the early twelfth century (nos. 131 and 634) and may be identified respectively with the melodies recorded for *Iohannes postquam senuit* and *Procedentem sponsum* in Munich Clm 560. The remaining two (nos. 432 & 615) were first notated at a later date. Melody no. 131 was by far the most widespread and was commonly used for *Benedicamus Domino* songs, as indicated by the list of texts recorded in Stäblein 1956, 532–34.

century. It is similar in its basic procedure to the other two insofar as it rises and falls through an octave with a prominent articulation of the fifth degree of the scale. *Splendor patris* is distinctive in its clear organisation of musical ideas: the melody divides into two rising fifths in the ascending portion and falling thirds in the descending portion. It is also simpler than other surviving medieval examples in its predominantly syllabic rendition, with a melisma only on the final syllable of each line.

Further light on the early history of *Splendor patris* is shed by a second version of the song, recorded on fol. 134r–v of the Norman-Sicilian troper Madrid 289, copied c.1140 for use in the Cappella Palatina of the Norman kings of Sicily.[22] As may be seen in Example 1.3, the text of this version was sung to an unrelated D-mode melody. Poetically, the five-line strophes of the Farfa version are each expanded to seven lines. In Madrid 289, the first two lines of the *Deo gratias* response trope are moved up, and now precede the exclamation 'Ergo benedicamus Domino' in the first strophe. Four new lines of text (marked in bold in Example 1.3) are then inserted at the start of the *Deo gratias* response trope in the second strophe.[23] These new lines describe the incarnate Lord as Ruler of all men, and King of Kings born from a virgin queen. Although the ultimate origin of these lines is yet to be determined, their appearance in this context may be linked to the royal provenance of the manuscript. A single line, 'regem regum et lumen luminum', is set apart melodically as the only segment within both strophes that departs from the same melody with slight varia-

Example 1.3: *Splendor patris*, Madrid 289, fol. 134r–v



22 • Hiley 1981a, 46.

23 • Previous discussions of this version of *Splendor patris* do not mention the melodically unique line.

tions repeated over each pair of lines. In other words, this seemingly later textual version of *Splendor patris* may have been shaped to suit performance in a royal context.

Later medieval transmission helps to clarify the question of the relation between the Farfa and Norman-Sicilian versions of *Splendor patris*. Five further notated versions survive in four late thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century processionals from St George's convent in Prague castle. These versions were edited by Václav Plocek and have recently been commented upon by Hana Vlhová-Wörner.[24] Comparison of the various textual versions given in Table 1.1 implies that at least the text of the St George's versions derives not from the Norman-Sicilian version, whose additional royal lines it lacks, but from a tradition more closely related to the earlier Farfa version, replicating the *Benedicamus Domino* trope in its initial five-line strophe.

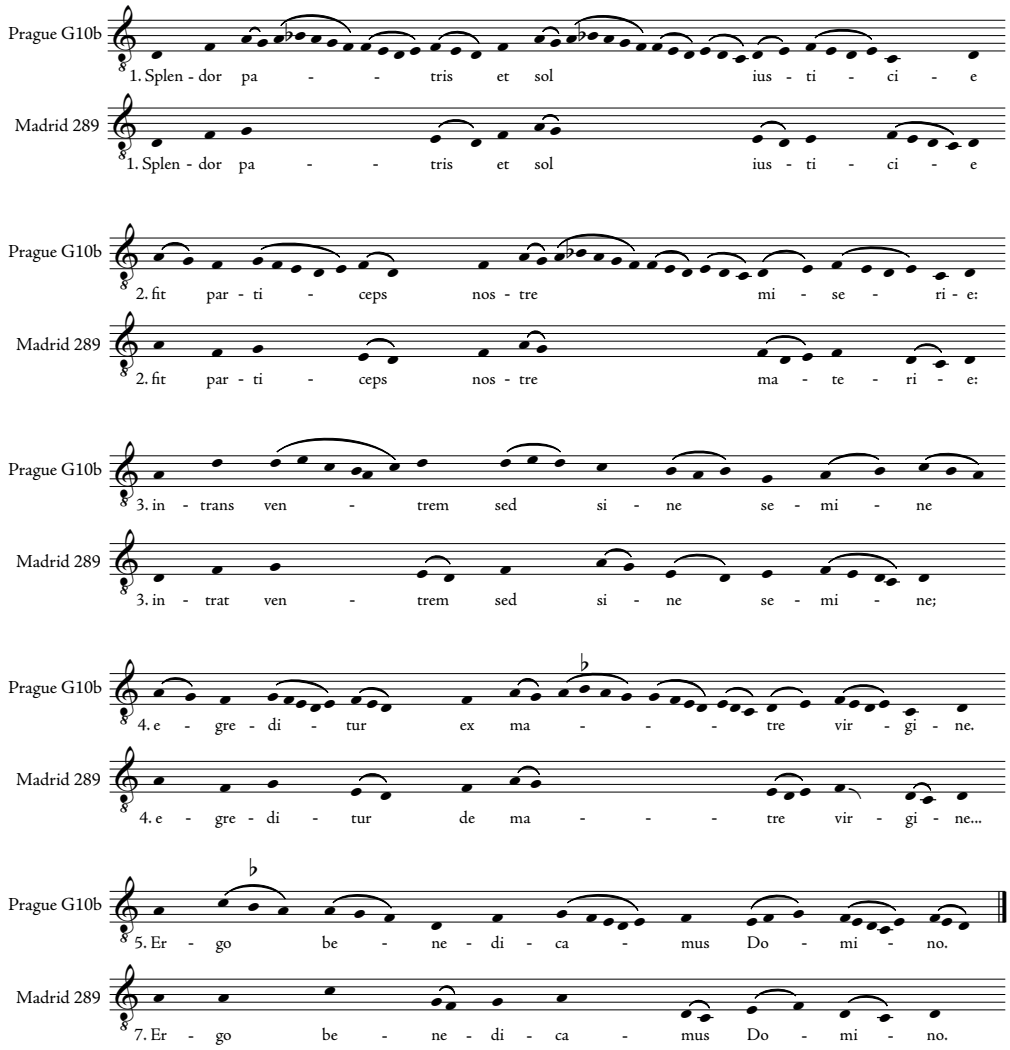
Table 1.1: Versions of the text of *Splendor patris*

	Abbey of Farfa (Farfa 4)	Cappella Palatina, Palermo (Madrid 289)	St George's, Prague (Prague G 10b)
I.	1. Splendor patris et sol iustitiae 2. fit particeps nostrae materiae: 3. intrat ventre[m] sed sine semine; 4. egreditur ex matre uirgine. 5. Ergo benedicamus Domino.	1. Splendor patris et sol iusticie 2. fit particeps nostre materie: 3. intrat ventrem sed sine semine; 4. egreditur de matre uirgine. 5. Hic ingressus et hec egressio 6. deitatis fiunt probacio. 7. Ergo benedicamus Domino.	1. Splendor patris et sol iusticie 2. fit particeps nostre miserie: 3. intrans ventrem sed sine semine 4. egreditur ex matre uirgine. 5. Ergo benedicamus Domino.
II.	1. Hic egressus et haec ingressio 2. deitatis fiunt probatio; 3. probat namque matris integritas 4. quod filius eius est deitas. 5. Ergo Deo dicamus gratias.	1. **Caro, Deus, et factor omnium,** 2. **dominator cunctorum hominum;** 3. **regem regum et lumen luminum,** 4. **enixa est regina virginum**; 5. probat namque matris integritas 6. quod filius eius est deitas. 7. Deo dicamus gracias.	

The melodies, however, paint a different picture. The opening two lines of the version recorded in a Prague processional copied around 1300 are aligned with the Norman-Sicilian version in Example 1.4. The later Bohemian melody placed above is near identical in outline to the Norman-Sicilian version, while being more ornate on select syllables (e.g. '**pa**tris', '**sol**', and 'no**stre**' in lines 1 and 2). The later melody also introduces tonal contrast in the third line, shifting the melodic outline a fifth higher onto the secondary centre *a*, before returning to the opening low tessitura in the fourth line. The closing *Benedicamus Domino* is the most varied between the two versions, but the distinctive rise from the fifth to the seventh degree followed by a twisting descent is present in both. In sum, as has been observed in detail by Plocek, the Bohemian melody for *Splendor patris* appears to be a reworking of the melody earlier recorded in the Norman-Sicilian troper. The reworking transforms the earlier recorded melody, characterised by its repeating unit with an inter-

24 • Plocek 1985, no. 36, vol. 1, 140–43 and vol. 2, 69–70. See also Vlhová-Wörner 2022, 428–29.

Example 1.4: Melodic comparison of *Splendor patris* at St George's convent, Prague (Prague G 10b, fol. 165r, c.1300) and the Cappella Palatina, Palermo (Madrid 289, fol. 134r–v, c.1140)



nal threefold expansion, by fashioning a more differentiated melody, characterised by the varied return of a melisma within the opening ten-syllable line ('**pa**tris' and '**sol**') and more contrast between different lines of the strophe.

The simplest explanation of the available evidence is that the Farfa version of the *Splendor patris* text stands earliest in the surviving transmission. This version of the text appears to have been reordered and expanded before c.1140 to create a version specific to the Capella Palatina in Sicily. At some point the Farfa version of the text lost its *Deo gratias* response trope—as was common in many later transmissions of *Benedicamus* songs—resulting in the single-strophe version used at St George's, Prague. The shared basic melody between the Cappella Palatina and St George's versions implies a common ancestor, which

was most likely northern French given the likely derivation of non-unique songs in the Norman-Sicilian repertoire from northern France.[25] An early northern French version of *Splendor patris* that had the two-strophe Farfa version of the text and the Norman-Sicilian melody without the inserted lines may therefore be hypothecated.

But what about the Farfa *Stimmtausch* melody? *Stimmtausch* was evidently a relatively widespread procedure in the early twelfth century, when it was recorded in Aquitaine (BnF Lat. 1139), in south-west Germany (in Munich Clm 560), and in central Italy (in Farfa 4). The specific melodies used varied, although one solution associated primarily with *Iohannes postquam senuit* was widely known already by this date, and there was an association of *Stimmtausch* with *Benedicamus* songs from the early twelfth century onwards. Indeed, the early *Stimmtausch* melody for the *Benedicamus Domino* trope *Iohannes postquam senuit* was, like *Splendor patris*, also replaced by a monophonic melody in the Norman-Sicilian tropers.[26] The preference for carefully crafted monophony over *Stimmtausch* in at least one culturally sophisticated milieu implies that the two-voice procedure was considered relatively simple.

Before leaving the Farfa *Stimmtausch* melody, it should be noted that it now stands as the earliest known two-voice melody notated in Italy. Its written record precedes the polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* song *Regi regum glorioso* notated at Santa Maria di Pontetetto, Lucca, whose date of recording was pushed back to the second half of the twelfth century by Susan Rankin.[27] The only comparably early case is a notation added in a highly cursive fashion to a missal copied at Montecassino at the end of the eleventh century (BAV Borg. lat. 211, fol. 151r); neither the text nor the melodic lines of what *may* be a two-voice notation here can be confidently dated or transcribed.[28]

25 • On the likely northern French derivation of non-unique songs recorded in the Norman-Sicilian tropers, see Arlt 1970, *Darstellungsband*, 175–77, and Arlt 2006. In respect to the full contents of the Norman-Sicilian tropers, see Hiley 1981a, esp. ch. 14 ('Benedicamus Songs and Conductus'); Hiley 1983; Hiley 1988; and Introduction to Hiley 2001b, esp. xvi–xxv.

26 • Arlt 2006, 106–08.

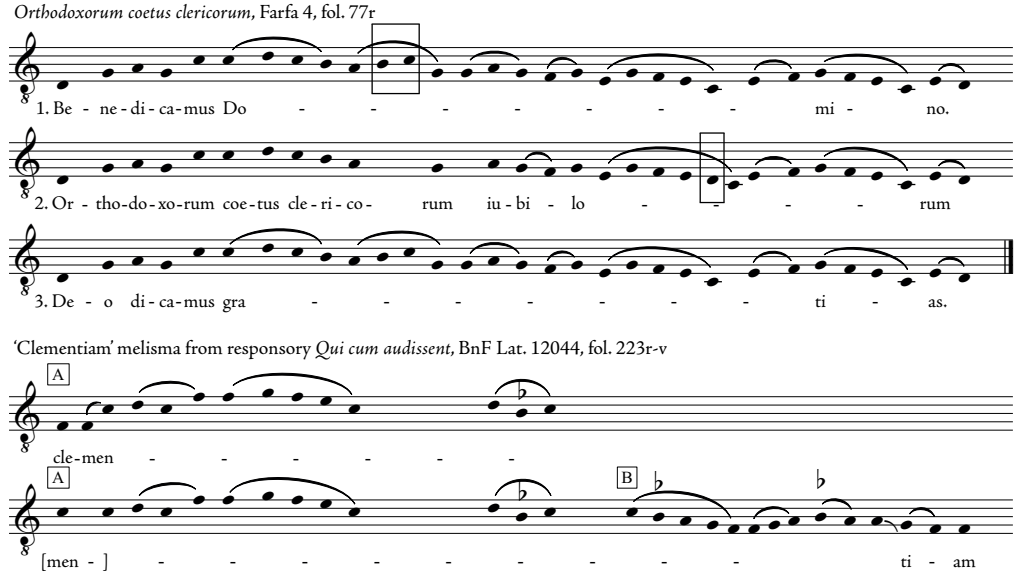
27 • *Regi regum gloriso* appears in Lucca 603 on fol. 256r. See, further, Rankin 2002, 93.

28 • For further commentary, see ibid., 80–82.

Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum

1. BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.	8pp	Let us bless the Lord.
2. Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum iubilorum	15p	Let the body of orthodox jubilating clerics
3. DEO dicamus GRATIAS.	8pp	proclaim thanks to God.

Example 1.5: *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* (Farfa 4, fol. 77r) and the 'Clementiam' melisma (BnF Lat. 12044, fol. 233r)



The second *Benedicamus Domino* song copied on the same folio in the Farfa manuscript provides a different case (see Example 1.5). The versicle and response of the *Benedicamus* dialogue are separated into balanced eight-syllable lines through the insertion of the word 'dicamus' between *Deo* and *gratias*, as was done in *Splendor patris*. The creation of 8pp lines for the quoted elements implies a verse structure not wholly realised in the inserted line, whose fifteen syllables could be divided into 7p + 8p, but are more remarkable for appearance of the same assonant vowel ('u') at the end of each word, a characteristic feature of prosulae. The inserted line refers self-referentially to a group of clerics who are singing in orthodox jubilation. Its wording is significant since the formulation 'coetus clericorum' implies a body of secular clerics rather than enclosed monks, while the manuscript orthography 'chericorum' suggests that an error was made in copying a text unfamiliar to the scribe, reinforcing the impression that this song also did not originate from the Abbey of Farfa.

Each line of the text was sung to the same melody. The result is familiar in part as a *Benedicamus Domino* prosula, examples of which survive in number from early eleventh-century Aquitaine (BnF Lat. 887) and occasionally from elsewhere.[29] A key difference from other early *Benedicamus Domino* prosulae lies in the distribution of the text in Farfa 4,

29 • On the *Benedicamus* prosulae in BnF Lat. 887, see Chailley 1960, 98–100; Arlt 1970, *Darstellungsband*, 161–66; and Hiley 1993, 213–15. Occasional other early examples are highlighted in Arlt 2006 and a single example is discussed in detail in Hartmann-Strauß 2018.

where the prosula text was added to a repetition of the complete *Benedicamus Domino* melody rather than encompassed within a single statement of an original chant melody. Moreover, where prosula texts are usually fitted syllabically only to the melismatic tail of chant, *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* itself encompasses a melismatic tail on the penultimate syllable of 'iubilorum'. There are also differences between the melody sung to the opening *Benedicamus Domino* in line 1 and that sung to the added prose text in line 2: the rising *b*–*c* figure midway through the first line is omitted in the second (before the final syllable of 'clericorum', boxed in Example 1.5), but this prosulated second line introduces an extra *D* before the penultimate *C* (boxed in Example 1.5).

A clue to the reason for this unusual behaviour may lie in similarities between the melody and the 'Clementiam' melisma as sung at the end of the respond of the Nocturns responsory *Qui cum audissent sancti Nicholai* in the Office of St Nicholas. A version of this melisma taken from BnF Lat. 12044, an early twelfth-century antiphoner from St-Maur-des-Fossés, is given at the foot of Example 1.5.[30] Alignment allows an appreciation of general similarity in the distinctive twofold opening leap and overall melodic contour, leaving aside the repetition of the opening (A) phrase in the 'Clementiam' melisma. For all the similarities in melodic shape, there remain clear differences in tonality between the D final of the *Benedicamus Domino* prosula and the F final of 'Clementiam', as well as in prominent melodic details, such as the opening fourth of *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum*, additional notes (the *a*, G, and *E* at the tenth, thirteenth, and nineteenth notes respectively of the outer lines), and a closing rise and fall to the fifth, rather than to the fourth degree of the mode.

The 'Clementiam' melody has not previously been associated with *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum*, but its use as a basis for other *Benedicamus Domino* songs has been noted. Wulf Arlt has shown, in a wide-ranging and detailed study, how the melisma lies at the basis of two related *Benedicamus Domino* songs, *Eia, pueri iubilo* and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*.[31] As can be seen in Example 1.6, *Eia, pueri iubilo* survives in seven manuscripts from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, in which its melody varied greatly.[32] It is not only written out at different pitch levels (variously beginning on *C*, *F*, and G) but also features considerable variation in its final cadence (ending on either the final or a tone above the final, which is itself approached either from a step above or from a step below). As summarised by Arlt, *'Eia, pueri iubilo*... is transmitted with so many and such profound deviations that it seemed entirely plausible to draw on this song as the paradigm for a newly conceived melody that lacks the binding nature of a modal "tone" and which could therefore be formulated differently time and again in the "changing" transmission'.[33]

30 • For further discussion of the 'Clementiam' melisma and a wider selection of melodies, see Ch. 4 by Mary Channen Caldwell in this volume.

31 • Arlt 1983.

32 • As noted by Arlt, two of these versions cannot be transcribed reliably and so are excluded from consideration, i.e. those in Madrid 288, fol. 166v and the fragment used as a cover leaf in Douai 246.

33 • '*Eia pueri iubilo*... ist mit so vielen und so tiefgreifenden Abweichungen überliefert, dass es durchaus plausibel schien, dieses Lied als Paradigma einer neu konzipierten Melodie heranzuziehen, der die Verbindlichkeit eines modalen "Tons" fehlt und die deshalb in der "verändernden" Überlieferung immer wieder anders formuliert werden konnte'; Arlt 1983, 33.

Example 1.6: Comparison of *Eia, pueri iubilo* and *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum*



1. BnF Lat. 887, fol. 46r (early 1000s, Aquitaine)
2. Lucca 603, fol. 243v (1120s, Santa Maria di Pontetetto)
3. Madrid 289, fol. 136r (1140s, Cappella Palatina, Palermo)
4. Madrid 19421, fol. 110r (c.1170, Catania)
5. Limoges 2, fol. 298v (c.1300, northern France)
6. Farfa 4, fol. 77r (early 1100s, Farfa)

* indicates a note omitted on the melodic repetition of the opening A section

Notes found only in *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* are boxed

The melodies given in Example 1.6 present a revised and reordered version of the synoptic table provided by Arlt.[34] They variously demonstrate a set of features present in *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* but missing from the 'Clementiam' melisma: an opening rise to the seventh degree (Madrid 289), a conjunct fall of five notes to the fifth degree of the scale (Lucca 603, Madrid 19421, and Limoges 2), and a closing *D* (Limoges 2). Although no single melody matches *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum*, the set of similarities may be taken as a basis for claiming that a version of *Eia, pueri iubilo* was taken over into a *Benedicamus Domino* melody, to which a prosula was then added to create a new intermediary line.

34 • Among other slight alterations, the opening note of *Eia, pueri iubilo* in Madrid 19421 is changed to C from the *D* given in Arlt 1983, 33. Although *D* is possible for the ambiguously placed opening note, C is clearly signalled in subsequent iterations of the phrase. I thank Mary Channen Caldwell for discussion of several details of the transcriptions presented here.

The immediate difficulty with this explanation is that *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* is not a prosula in a straightforward sense. Text was added not to the closing melisma of *Benedicamus Domino* melody, but to a restatement of the whole melody that sits between an opening statement for *Benedicamus Domino* and its repetition for *Deo gratias*. The portion of the melody that is texted is instead the opening repeated section of *Eia, pueri iubilo*, leading to a melisma set with seeming deliberation to the penultimate syllable of the word 'iubilorum'. The text itself has elements of verse, as noted above, while not falling into a regular verse scheme. *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* therefore resists straightforward characterisation either as a prosula, or as a trope, or as a *versus*, but implies a freer form of creation that made use of multiple techniques, a trait shared with *Eia, pueri iubilo* as well as with other early *Benedicamus* prosulae in BnF Lat. 887 and in Lucca 603.[35] It is with this in mind that the term *Benedicamus Domino* song is used here to imply not a *Benedicamus Domino versus*, but a sung transformation of the *Benedicamus Domino*.

Matters might be left there, but several loose ends remain, such as the apparent idiosyncrasies of the Farfa melody, including its opening on *D* and various additional notes (boxed in Example 1.6). An initial *D* is found at the start of a second, *Deo gratias* strophe of *Eia, pueri iubilo* in BnF Lat. 887 (not shown in Example 1.6, which begins 'Leta iuventus personet'), providing an alternative opening to an otherwise strict repetition of the melody. All the additional notes can be found in melodies for *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* recorded in monophonic and polyphonic settings from the twelfth century onwards.[36] The prospect that an early version of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* or another like it lies behind the shape of the melody used for *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* is increased by the survival of a monophonic version in a gradual and processional copied in the Auxerre region in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[37] Importantly for our purposes, this monophonic version of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* both begins and ends on *D* and dips down to *E* at the opening of the final phrase (G–*E*–G). Example 1.7 aligns the Farfa melody for *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* with the monophonic version of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* from Auxerre, followed by two later versions of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* from manuscripts associated with Aosta, both of which include the *b*–*c* rise found in the outer lines of *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum*.

In addition to certain shared melodic details not found in versions of *Eia, pueri iubilo*, the *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* melodies transcribed in Example 1.7 demonstrate a common formal principle, for in all cases the texted iteration of the melody was followed by 'Deo dicamus gracias' sung to a repetition of the entire melody.[38] *Benedicamus devotis*

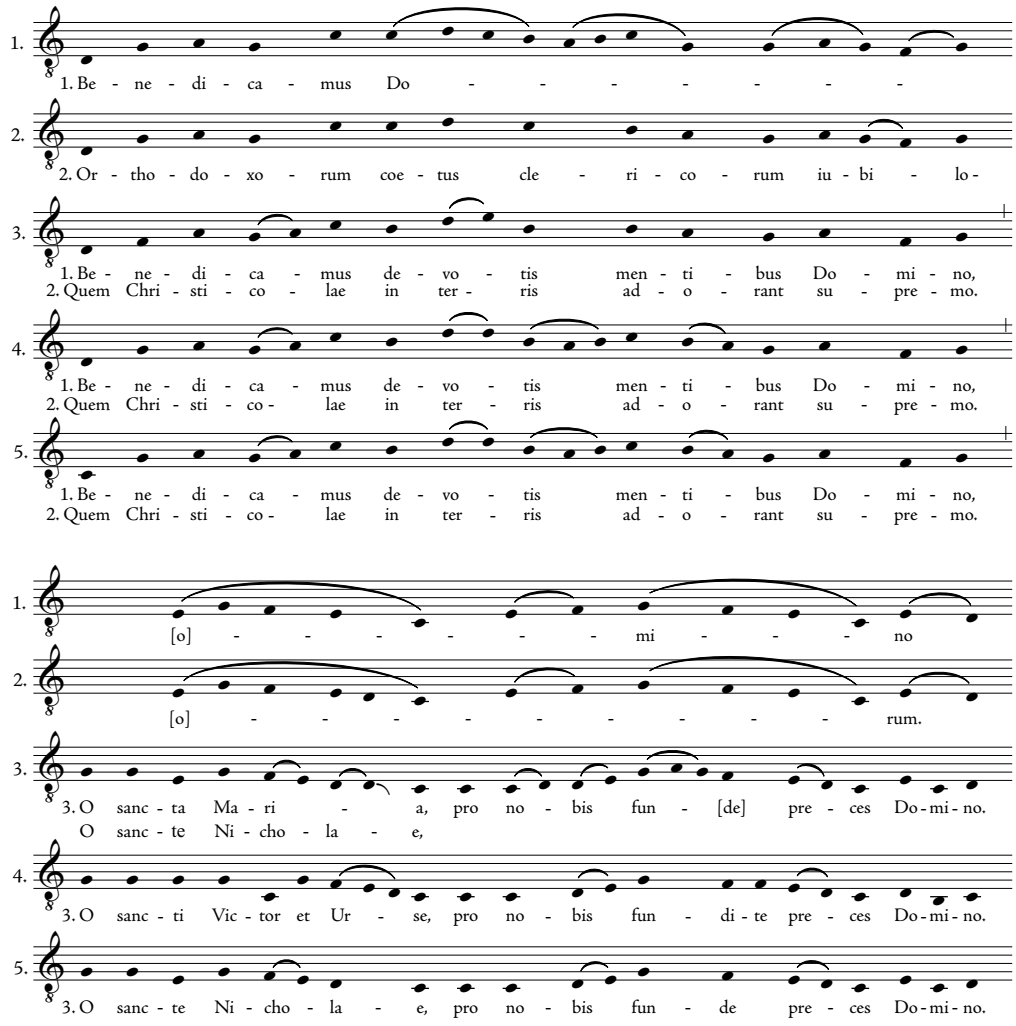
35 • Hartmann-Strauß 2018 convincingly demonstrates the principle of free creation in her detailed analysis of *Adest nunc omnes* in Lucca 603. The range of techniques used to create *Benedicamus* songs in BnF Lat. 887 is emphasised in Hiley 1993, 213–15.

36 • For further discussion of settings of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*, see Ch. 4 by Caldwell in the current volume. I am grateful to Mary Channen Caldwell for sharing her provisional list of sources.

37 • On the dating and provenance of BnF Lat. 10511, see Fassler 2011, 106–09.

38 • Space was left for the repetition of the melody in BnF Lat. 10511, but it was not entered.

Example 1.7: Comparison of *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*



1. Farfa 4, fol. 77v, line 1
2. Farfa 4, fol. 77v, line 2
3. BnF Lat. 10511, fol. 329v (third quarter of the twelfth century, region of Auxerre)
4. Aosta 13, fols. 69v–70r (fourteenth century, Aosta)
5. Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, fol. 66r–v (fifteenth century, Aosta)

mentibus melodies therefore feature the same basic principle of alternation between prosulated lines and elements of the *Benedicamus Domino* dialogue witnessed in *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum*, albeit in *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* settings the prosulated iteration is not preceded by *Benedicamus Domino* sung to the whole melody and the distinctive internal repetition (AAB) of the melody is retained.

For all that *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* is closer in melodic detail and form to select melodies for *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* than to *Eia, pueri iubilo*, it remains impossible to reconstruct its melodic derivation. No single melody precisely matches that recorded at Farfa. The proximity of *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* to the family of melodies for *Eia, pueri iubilo* and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* is nevertheless sufficient to establish probable derivation from this *Benedicamus Domino* song tradition rather than from the 'Clementiam' melisma. The contrast between the relative stability of the 'Clementiam' melisma and the 'changing transmission' of the *Benedicamus Domino* songs leads to a final reflection. One way of making sense of the observed melodic behaviours is to propose that the 'Clementiam' melisma was treated with greater freedom once removed from its host responsory and used as a source for *Benedicamus Domino* songs of various types. An alternative way of making sense of the same musical evidence is that two related but different melodic traditions coexisted in the early eleventh century. Accordingly, the 'Clementiam' melisma did not necessarily provide the source for *Eia, pueri iubilo*; rather, the considerable differences between the earliest version of *Eia, pueri iubilo* and the 'Clementiam' melisma represent two initially distinct melodic formulations. The increased proximity to the 'Clementiam' melisma in the later recorded versions of *Eia, pueri iubilo* then becomes understandable as the result of a recognised similarity between the two melodic formulations, leading to a gradual transformation in the written record of *Eia, pueri iubilo*. Viewed this way, while certain features of the stable 'Clementiam' melisma were taken over into the changing *Benedicamus Domino* song tradition, the gap between the two separate but related melodic traditions was never entirely closed.

Conclusions and perspectives

This study began with an exceptional report that provided the possibility of placing *Benedicamus Domino* songs within a specific set of historical tensions as reported through the eyes of a chronicler writing in the 1120s at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa. It has proven possible to deepen Boynton's association by first separating out distinct two *Benedicamus Domino* songs and then uncovering practices that align with features mentioned in the chronicler's report. *Splendor patris* and *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* demonstrate, respectively, an unaccustomed style of organum (*Stimmtausch*) and creative use of a melody with signal differences from a well-known chant melisma. These features accord with the chronicler's reference to exiled brothers rejecting 'organa solita' and 'cantuum neumas' on their return to the choir.

The earlier history of the melodic procedures used in both *Benedicamus Domino* songs hints at their spread into central Italy from north of the Alps, and specifically from northern France. Investigation of the relation of a set of *Benedicamus Domino* songs to the 'Clementiam' melisma has also led to the proposal that the latter might have been less an ultimate source than an ongoing point of reference for similar, but from the outset separate, early *Benedicamus* songs. The introduction at Farfa in the 1120s of a version of melody used in *Benedicamus* songs with marked differences from a familiar chant melisma may

accordingly have been experienced as a rejection of what was customary in favour of new song traditions drawn from outside the Abbey walls. The songs became sonic acts of rebellion against punitive restrictions imposed by the new abbot, their exuberance standing as a rejection of the impoverished clothing, their newness and worldliness providing a sonic marker of dissent against the *status quo*, and their addition of layers of meaning through extra voices and texts unsettling established orders of meaning by grafting new layers onto old. In short, new songs and new styles were used to express dissent in a manner that has more recently been termed 'sonic vernacularism'. [39]

39 • Tausig 2018, esp. 26–28.

2.

The *Benedicamus Domino* and the Parisian Conductus: Distribution, History, and Structure

*Mark Everist**

The relationship between the *Benedicamus Domino* and the conductus has rarely been off the agenda set for the music of the long thirteenth century. Whether it concerned attempts to define the nature of the conductus, its rhythm, or its relationship with caudae, accounts of the polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino*,[1] early Parisian polyphony,[2] or its unwritten background,[3] the relationship between conductus and *Benedicamus Domino* has remained central to scholarly discussion.[4] Terms are critical in defining this corpus as the conductus finally takes its place in a broader scholarly perspective that views it as one among several traditions of medieval Latin song in the Christian West. One of the difficulties with the exhaustive discussion of the term conductus offered by Fritz Reckow, as long ago as 1973, was a reluctance to recognise that the same term could be used to describe different genres and especially different functions.[5] The current attempt to analyse the relationship between *Benedicamus Domino* and the Parisian conductus recognises the generic, stylistic, and functional differences that can exist between works called conductus by Anonymous IV, on the one hand, and—on the other hand—those rubricated as 'Conductus' or 'Benedicamus' in the Beauvais office preserved in LoA(1),[6] the Aquitanian and Norman-Sicilian repertoires,[7] and fourteenth- and fifteenth-century collections east of the Rhine.[8] This study therefore focuses on works copied in Paris during the thirteenth

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* The following manuscript sigla are used:

BAV Vat. lat. 5320	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5320
Cividale LVI	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, LVI
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
Hu	Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, II (*olim* IX)
LoA(1)	London, British Library, Egerton 2615, fols. 1–78bis
LoA(2)	London, British Library, Egerton 2615, fols. 79–94
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 20486
Madrid 289	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 289
Siena 30	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, L.V.30
Toledo 98.28	Toledo, Archivio y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, 98.28
Stuttgart 95	Stuttgart, Würtembergische Landesbibliothek, H.B.I.Asc.95
StV	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 15139
W_1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.
W_2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.

1 ✦ Barclay 1977.

2 ✦ Huglo 1982.

3 ✦ Robertson 1988.

4 ✦ Everist 2018, 199–213.

5 ✦ Reckow 1973.

6 ✦ Arlt 1970.

7 ✦ Fuller 1969 remains the best overview of the former while Hiley 1981a remains the standard text for the latter.

8 ✦ This has suffered from omission from the collected edition published in Anderson 1979–. The volume dedicated to repertoires east of the Rhine is in preparation by Charles E. Brewer.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143513 ✳

century, the majority of which were also composed there. Thus, all compositions copied in F, and in W_2, are considered 'Parisian conducti'.[9] The very few unica in Ma and the rather more unica in W_1 are disregarded, since their origins cannot be guaranteed;[10] works shared between F and W_1, however, are of great importance and are discussed here. On the other hand, the conducti preserved in StV are included because they are copied in a manuscript with as many claims to Parisian origin as the works in F or W_2.[11] Such an approach distinguishes between Parisian and Aquitanian or Norman-Sicilian repertoires, and therefore permits comparison and contrast between Paris and these other traditions.[12]

The restriction to Parisian traditions centres the inquiry on precisely that repertoire of conducti that has been at the heart of the study of the genre ever since it was first inventoried by Eduard Gröninger in 1939.[13] Claims for the 'centrality' of this repertoire have characterised its scholarship for nearly a century.[14] A study of its relationship with the *Benedicamus Domino*, however, suggests that—despite their compositional and aesthetic brilliance—products of the Parisian tradition sit outside broader traditions of Latin song, and such an inquiry raises further questions about the degree to which the Parisian conductus can generally be considered 'central' to the institution of Latin song in the medieval West.

Several key questions concerning the *Benedicamus Domino* and the conductus remain. A comprehensive inventory of conducti that made use of the *Benedicamus Domino* was first assembled in 2018,[15] and the accompanying commentary encompasses many of the ways in which the conductus engages with the liturgy in poetic, musical, and ritual terms. But the commentary does set forth some methodological principles for addressing one of the central questions prompted by the *Benedicamus Domino* and the conductus: the degree of separability between the conductus itself and the citation of the words 'Benedicamus Domino'. The question of the integrality of the two components, however, merely masks further queries: is the alignment of the *Benedicamus Domino* with the conductus a matter of aesthetics, of ritual, or simple opportunism, and is it a musical or a poetic relationship, or both?

There are several tools that can be brought to bear on the question of how a terminal *Benedicamus Domino* relates to the rest of the work. Questions of rhyme, line-length, and end-accent are criteria for the determination of coherence across the piece. But even here,

9 • On F, see Branner 1972; Baltzer 1972; Everist 1985, vol. 1, 71–86. For the date and origin of W_2, see Everist 1985, vol. 1, 98–109.

10 • An early fourteenth-century date for W_1 was challenged in the 1980s on the basis of its decoration in Brown et al. 1981. This was confirmed in Everist 1990, and further developed in Baltzer 2008.

11 • For the origins of *StV* in the convent of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers, see Körndle 1999. It was one of three possible provenances suggested in Stenzl 1970, 237.

12 • LoA(1) consists of the festal office copied in and for Beauvais, while LoA(2) was clearly prepared in Paris in the same workshop as F, but for a commission in Beauvais where it was bound as a supplement to LoA(1). See Everist 1988.

13 • Gröninger 1939.

14 • Nowhere is this claim expressed more clearly than in Anderson 1979–, where the structure of the edition is determined by a distinction between 'central' and 'related' sources.

15 • Everist 2018, 200.

there are no incontrovertible rules. For example, the terminal *Benedicamus Domino* of *Gaude virgo virginum* appears to be well integrated into the poetic structure of the strophe as a non-separable entity.[16] The poetry of the fourth and final strophe and its analysis is as follows:

1.	In Egypto constituti,	8p	a	Long languishing in Egypt,
2.	Te ducente sumus tuti,	8p	a	With you as leader we are safe,
3.	Ut saluti,	4p	a	So that, saved,
4.	Restituti,	4p	a	Restored,
5.	Morbo sani pristino,	7pp	b	Cured of former sickness,
6.	Benedicamus Domino.	8pp	b	Let us bless the Lord.

Although the final invocation matches the previous line in terms of rhyme ('-ino') and proparoxytonic stress, the two lines are of different length; furthermore, while the penultimate line introduces a new line-length into the strophe (a heptasyllable), the final *Benedicamus Domino* octosyllable mirrors the length of the opening lines of the strophe. Recourse to the previous three strophes offers little support since all four strophes are structured differently (although, as argued later, the musical structure seeks to integrate them). The integrality of the *Benedicamus Domino* quotation, however, is settled by syntax, since the invocation is prompted by the 'ut' which governs the subjunctive of the invocation. There is no question of any separability of the *Benedicamus Domino* citation from the rest of the strophe. Musical implications of these questions in *Gaude virgo virginum* are discussed later, as is the case of *Columbe simplicitas*, which—unlike *Gaude virgo virginum*—has an invocation of *Benedicamus Domino* that is clearly separable.

There is a sense, however, in which questions of separability are subservient to those of ritual. Even in instances where only a single concordance for a conductus has the *Benedicamus Domino* invocation, while all the others are lacking it and where the single occurrence shows all the signs of the quotation being a later addition, the work must be considered a candidate for ritual inclusion.[17] The poetry of the *Benedicamus Domino* conducti eschews the literary and poetic complexities involved in the quotation of patristic, scholastic, and classical sources. The *Benedicamus Domino* conducti restrict their intertextual reference not merely to biblical sources, but also to those that are common tropes in the repertoire.[18] Although the presence of a *Benedicamus Domino*—separable or inseparable—clearly does

16 ✦ *Gaude virgo virginum* is preserved in F, fols. 282v–283v; W_2, fols. 99r–101v; W_1, fols. 136v–137v; Ma, fols. 37r–38r. It is an ambitious work, through-composing all four stanzas with a panoply of interlocking caudae. Further listings of sources will not be given, but are found in Bevilacqua and Everist n. d.

17 ✦ Such is the case for *O lilium convallium*, discussed below, which is found in F and in four other non-Parisian sources, probably copied later. Of these, one (Stuttgart 95, fol. 78r) adds a *Benedicamus Domino* invocation at the end.

18 ✦ Although Anderson's edition of the poetry of the conductus contains reference to biblical, patristic, scholastic, and classical sources, very little use has been made of this knowledge. For the citation of texts from classical antiquity (a small proportion of the overall total), see Everist forthcoming.

not exclude performance or cultivation in a non-liturgical context, neither is there is any reason to fear any kind of ritual disturbance by the substitution of the plainsong *Benedicamus Domino* with a conductus that concluded with its text and perhaps also its music. In 1198, Odo of Sully permitted the performance of the responsory and *Benedicamus Domino* in organum for two, three, or four voices at Vespers on the Feast of Fools.[19] The surviving three-voice organum setting of *Benedicamus Domino*, as preserved in F, takes around six to seven minutes to perform, assuming that a 'Deo gracias' response was sung in plainsong. This is the average length for the conducti that make use of the *Benedicamus Domino*.[20]

Musical complexity is embraced as enthusiastically as in any other part of the Parisian conductus repertoire, with substantial caudae articulating the musical discourse through repetition, symmetry, and asymmetry. While the restriction to biblical sources for their poetry limits the risk of dogmatic confusion that could result in censure, the musical complexity of the *Benedicamus Domino* conducti aligns with the similar convolution of Parisian organum, especially the modal notation and rhythm of the clausulae with which the caudae of the conductus repertoire share so much. Such liberal musical engagement in the conducti which cite the *Benedicamus Domino* focuses questions of aesthetics in the repertoire, in the same way as the rest of the conducti *cum caudis* are able to develop musical meaning through the deployment of caudae of different durations to illustrate, enhance, or subvert their texts.

In his almost unique account of the conductus given in the sixth chapter of his untitled music treatise, the author known as Anonymous IV made use of a number of terminological concepts that have been adopted in modern scholarship, but which benefit from a preliminary gloss.[21] He speaks of the 'conductus cum caudis' and 'conductus sine caudis', conducti with and without caudae. The cauda is a passage in which all the voices are subject to strict metrical organisation according to one of the rhythmic modes, notated in a largely unambiguous modal notation. The conductus *cum caudis* is patterned, and displays a subtle organisation of symmetrical and asymmetrical phrasing which is measurable because of its metre, and which frequently underpins the citational practice in the poem. The conductus *sine caudis* is syllabic, with no melismas, and a single note or ligature-constellation setting a single syllable throughout. Generically, the melismatic cauda is a form of 'musica sine littera', while the syllabic conductus *sine caudis*—and those syllabic parts of the conductus *cum caudis*—is a form of 'musica cum littera'.

The repertoire of Parisian conducti that engage with the *Benedicamus Domino* is listed in Table 2.1, which includes all the works that cite the words 'Benedicamus Domino' in their poetry, but also two conducti in StV that share their music with a freestanding *Benedicamus Domino* setting discussed later, and *Leniter ex merito*, which shares its concluding *Benedicamus Domino* with *Naturas Deus regulis*. This repertoire is extraordinarily tight-

19 • Everist 1985, vol. 1, 1–2, and the sources cited there.

20 • The polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* settings in F are edited in Everist 2003, 201–44.

21 • Reckow 1967, vol. 1, 46.

Table 2.1: The corpus of Parisian *Benedicamus Domino* conducti

Conductus	Style*	Sources
Brevi carne deitas	M/S	F unicum
Columbe simplicitas	M/S	F and Hu (*Benedicamus Domino* cauda in F only)
Deduc Syon uberrimas	M/Th	F; W_1; W_2; Ma; StV; and 3 others
Deus creator omnium	M/Th	F; W_1; Ma
Gaude virgo virginum	M/Th	F; W_1; W_2; Ma
Gloria sit soli Deo	M/S	F unicum
Iherusalem accipitur	M/Th	StV unicum
Ista dies celebrari	M/Th	F; W_1; Ma
Leniter ex merito	M/S	F; W_1; W_2; and 2 others
Naturas Deus regulis	M/Th	F; W_1; W_2; Ma; StV
O felix Bituria	M/Th	F; W_1; StV
O lilium convallium	S/S	F and 4 others
O totius Asie gloria	M/S	StV unicum
Relegata vetustate	M/Th	F; W_1; Ma; and 1 other

* The abbreviations are those used in Bevilacqua and Everist n.d.: M/S = melismatic/syllabic; M/Th = melismatic/through-composed; S/S = syllabic/strophic

ly focused. For example, in the entire repertoire of the conductus—around 900 works—monophonic pieces outnumber polyphonic ones by a proportion of 2:1. But considering the conducti that overlap with the *Benedicamus Domino*, not a single work is monophonic in all its surviving versions. And while it is common to find single voices of polyphonic conducti copied as monodies across the entire repertoire, there is not a single such example among the Parisian conductus that engages with the *Benedicamus Domino* ecosystem. There is, therefore, a clear and unambiguous alignment between the *Benedicamus Domino* and polyphonic music.

The clarity of focus for the polyphonic conductus with *Benedicamus Domino* also extends to the type of structure. Of the fourteen pieces here, no fewer than thirteen are conducti *cum caudis* which make use of multiple and extended caudae, and in all these cases these structures involve the *Benedicamus Domino* citation at the end of the work. Perhaps even more striking is that more than half the works are through-composed: this means that new music is composed for each stanza, with the result that musical structures are conceived on a very large scale, *and* they implicate the *Benedicamus Domino*. Furthermore, those pieces that are identified as 'strophic' in published inventories are in fact in a single stanza only: there is therefore no sense in which the music in these pieces simply repeats with new words, strophically. In fact, in these single-strophe pieces, the levels of musical complexity are every bit as high as in the conducti that are through-composed across several strophes; moreover, in these single-stanza works, the *Benedicamus Domino*

necessarily takes on a greater status than in the multi-stanza conducti because it occupies a larger proportion of the total poetic space.

The presence of a concluding *Benedicamus Domino* is invariably marked in the Parisian conductus by an unmeasured, syllabic presentation of the setting of the word 'Benedicamus' followed by a measured and elaborate cauda on the word 'Domino'. This is the case at the end of *Deus creator omnium*, for example, in which a fully syllabic and unmeasured setting of the word 'Benedicamus' yields to the second word, 'Domino', here as everywhere else in the repertoire set as a fully-measured cauda in 'musica sine littera', which—with a duration of thirty 'longae trium temporum' (hereafter LTT)—elegantly mirrors the duration of the cauda that concludes the previous strophe.[22]

In its almost consistent use of a syllabic setting of the word 'Benedicamus' the Parisian repertoire aligns with the majority of the *Benedicamus Domino* melodies inventoried by Barclay in 1977; of the 104 melodies that she listed, 73 treat the word 'Benedicamus' syllabically, while 31 provide melismas for at least one of the syllables, the majority (24 out of 34 cases) on the syllable '-ca-'.[23] But the situation is completely reversed in the two related early thirteenth-century collections from Compiègne and Saint-Denis analysed by Robertson a decade later, in which melismatic handling of the word 'Benedicamus' slightly outnumbers syllabic treatments by 14 to 12.[24] The Parisian conductus aligns itself most clearly with the broader repertoire, where syllabic settings of the work 'Benedicamus' predominate, and distances itself from the Compiègne/Saint-Denis predilection for melismatic settings of the word. All occurrences of the word 'Benedicamus' in the Parisian conductus are syllabic, with a single exception: the variable-voice conductus *Naturas Deus regulis*, where the melismatic nature of the setting is part of the plainsong on which the citation of *Benedicamus Domino* is based.[25]

The degree to which the *Benedicamus Domino* is separable from a host conductus hinges on the structure of the poem and syntax. *Columbe simplicitas* illustrates how the two criteria interact (the text is here taken from F):

22 • The terminal caudae of the third and fourth strophes are of 30 LTT while that of the second strophe is of 60 LTT, developing a simple *dupla* relationship across the final three strophes. The first strophe ends with 'musica cum littera', but is preceded by caudae of 15 LTT, half the length of those that end strophes 3 and 4. The internal structuring of the strophes is more complex: in the fourth, caudae of three LTT are juxtaposed with one of nine (a *tripla* relationship), but also with one of seven (a prime), but this is exactly the pattern found in the second strophe, which starts with a cauda of six LTT (the terminal cauda is 60) but is followed by one of eleven (another prime). As a unit of temporal measurement, the 'longa trium temporum' is attested in sources from the second third of the thirteenth century to around 1300; see Anonymous VII (Coussemaker 1864–76, vol. 1, 379–80); Dietricus (Müller 1886, 7); Lambertus (only in the reading in Siena 30, fol. 27v); St Emmeram Anonymous (Yudkin 1990, 173 and 237). It is expressly equated, later in the century, with the *longa perfecta* in Anonymous IV (Reckow 1967, vol. 1, 31); *Compendium breve artis musicae* (BAV Vat. lat. 5320, fol. 50r); *De arte discantandi* (Coussemaker 1852, 266 and 272).

23 • The other syllables are set with the following frequency: 'Be-' is set five times; '-ne-' twice; '-di-' twice; '-ne-di-' once (Barclay's catalaogue is in Barclay 1977, 53–91).

24 • Robertson 1988, 18–26.

25 • For an account of the complex origins and generic function of *Naturas Deus regulis*, see Everist 2024.

1. Columbe simplicitas	7pp	a	The simplicity of the dove
2. Fel horret malitie,	7pp	b	Recoils from the gall of malice
3. Turturis et castitas	7pp	a	And the chastity of the turtle-dove
4. Fetorem luxurie,	7pp	b	From the stench of luxury.
5. Etiam veritas inmeritum	10pp	c	Indeed, truth an unworthy
6. Mendacem odit spiritum;	8pp	c	mendacious spirit hates;
7. Sic decertat cum vitiis	8pp	d	Thus, virtue strives
8. Virtus sibi contrariis,	8pp	d	against vices to its own opposite,
9. Sed crimina	4pp	e	But sins,
10. Maiora ducunt agmina.	8pp	e	Far greater, prevail.
11. Benedicamus Domino	8pp	x	Let us bless the Lord.

In terms of line-length, the number of syllables is irregular, apart from the opening quatrain; thus, although the *Benedicamus Domino* shares an octosyllable with the penultimate line, lines 6–8 are also octosyllabic. The rhyme scheme consists of two pairs of *rimes croisées* (abab) followed by three pairs of *rimes plates* (ccddee); the *Benedicamus Domino* falls outside this scheme as it introduces an orphan rhyme (x) at the end. Furthermore, the syntax of the poem is complete at the end of the penultimate line, leaving the *Benedicamus Domino* as a fully separable item. In addition, the only other source for the conductus, Hu, omits the *Benedicamus Domino* entirely. Whether the Hu version was copied indirectly from F or from a common exemplar is impossible to say, but the possibility of the *Benedicamus Domino* being added in F from an exemplar that ended with the words 'Maiora ducunt agmina' that was then faithfully copied in Hu cannot be ruled out. A much simpler proposition is the three-voice conductus *O lilium convallium*, which survives without a terminal *Benedicamus Domino* in three of its four sources: F, Toledo 98.28, and Cividale LVI (the latter in two voices). The only version that preserves the work with the terminal *Benedicamus Domino* is the one found in Stuttgart 95. Internal features of the poetry, both structural and syntactic, point to the separability of the versicle from the rest of the poem.[26]

If there is significant variance in the degree to which a *Benedicamus Domino* ending adheres to or is separated from the Parisian conductus that uses it, the two conducti in StV take a very discrete approach: they both change the versicle text itself. The subject of the fourth stanza of *Iherusalem accipitur* is the Blessed Virgin Mary:

1. Maria, pacis visio,	8pp	a	Mary, vision of peace
2. Nam pacem veram vidimus	8pp	b	Because we see true peace
3. In sue terre medio,	8pp	a	In the centre of her land,
4. Quam fundavit altissimus	8pp	b	Which the Highest founded
5. In cuius pacis nomine.	8pp	c	In the name of his peace.
6. Benedicamus Domine	8pp	c	O Lord, let us praise.

26 • Everist 2018, 201–02.

Mary is not only the subject of the stanza, but she is also the addressee of the first-person plural imperative 'Benedicamus'. 'Domino' in the ritual formulation is changed to 'Domine', a simple vocative, with the object of 'Benedicamus' clearly Mary herself. Similarly, *O totius Asie* makes use of the accusative 'Benedicamus Dominum' that then rhymes with the preceding line: 'De cuius victoria | Protectorum virginum, | Benedicamus Dominum'. The shared rhyme merely serves to reinforce the syntactic inseparability of the versicle since 'Benedicamus' governs not only 'Dominum' but also 'Protector virginum' in the previous line: 'For her [Catherine of Alexandria's] victory | Protectress of virgins | Let us bless the Lord'. The two conducti in StV, in their varying of the syntax and case of the text of the versicle, stand both together—and in alignment with repertoires beyond Paris—but apart from the rest of the Parisian repertoire where this variability is not found.

Direct musical borrowings from the monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* repertoire in the conductus are rarer than might be thought. There are apparently two. The first is the conductus *Deus creator omnium*, already discussed. It ends with the words *Benedicamus Domino* set respectively in unmeasured counterpoint and as a cauda of twenty-seven LTT which stands in a *sesquialtera* proportion to the preceding cauda of eighteen. But the tenor to both unmeasured and measured sections is taken from a monophonic *Benedicamus Domino*, the well-known 'Flos filius eius' melisma from the responsory *Stirps Jesse* for the Nativity of the Virgin. The relationship to the plainchant source in *Deus creator omnium* is clear, albeit rare in the repertoire.[27]

The second borrowing is much more problematic, and concerns the variable-voice conductus *Naturas Deus regulis*. Manfred Bukofzer correctly identified the tenor of the *Benedicamus Domino* cauda that ends *Naturas Deus regulis* as part of the melisma on the word 'Virgo' from the gradual *Benedicta es venerabilis* with the verse *Virgo Dei genetrix*. But he then went on to argue that this passage had to have originated in a clausula, a suggestion that is as unwarranted as it is unnecessary.[28] The borrowing of the fragment of the *Benedicta es venerabilis* gradual points to a further technique in play in the constellation of practices that make up the repertoire of conducti that intersect with the *Benedicamus Domino* tradition: one in which the composer of the conductus simultaneously creates a polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* from plainsong and embeds it in a conductus simply as part of the act of creating the conductus. This is entirely consistent with the intertextual complexity of *Naturas Deus regulis*, a work that not only cuts into the *Benedicamus Domino* tradition but also into two other conducti: *Leniter ex merito* and *Hac in die rege nato*, as well as the history of a contemporary chronicle text. Indirect musical borrowings are equally rare. *Leniter ex merito* borrows its *Benedicamus Domino* cauda from *Naturas Deus regulis*, and the *Benedicamus Domino* cauda from *Columbe simplicitas* is shared with the music for the motet *Qui servare puberem* on the tenor fragment 'Ne'.[29]

27 • Ibid., 203–07.

28 • Bukofzer 1953, 76–77.

29 • Everist 2024.

The poetry of the conductus that engages with the *Benedicamus Domino* avoids the broader frames of reference that the genre habitually exploits: purely biblical reference is preferred to patristic or scholastic commentary, or indeed to any reference to the classics. This may well be tied to the ritual qualities of conducti that end with the words 'Benedicamus Domino': if a non-liturgical poem is to remain within the domains of the paraliturgical, it clearly needs to pay close attention to any references that might be read into it, and allusion to Cicero or Juvenal, for example, would surely have been problematic. The only exception is *Leniter ex merito*, which plays off a sustained allusion to the fifth of Ovid's *Heroides*, but this is involved with the *Benedicamus Domino* ecosystem only insofar as it shares its music with that of a *Benedicamus Domino* cauda in another work; there is no reason at all for it to avoid reference that would make ritual performance awkward.[30]

Identifying the provenance and distribution of conducti that align with the *Benedicamus Domino* hinges on the relationship between surviving manuscript sources. Some conducti are shared between most or all of the earliest sources for the conductus, and for those that are found in both F and W_1, it is reasonable to assume that they were found in a hyparchetype shared by the two manuscripts, probably copied in the same format in Paris a generation before them; so if the dates of 1245–55 for F and the 1230s for W_1 are accepted, then this hyparchetype dates from at least as early as the second decade of the thirteenth century.[31] The works that may have been copied in this hyparchetype are *Relegata vetustate*, *Naturas Deus regulis*, *Leniter ex merito*, *Deus creator omnium*, *Ista dies celebrari*, and *Gaude virgo virginum*. The two works that are cannibalised for the single three-voice *Benedicamus Domino* setting in StV, *Deduc Syon uberrimas* and *O felix Bituria*, must also have been present in this hyparchetype.

But there are some works that are only found in F and later sources that suggest that they were not only collected for the first time in F but that they might also date from later than the works copied in the hyparchetype shared by F and W_1. Outside of F, *Columbe simplicitas* is only found in Hu, so copied perhaps sixty or seventy years later, and the two conducti that end with variants of the *Benedicamus Domino* text in StV—*O totius Asie gloria* and *Iherusalem accipitur*—are unica in that manuscript.

Two works unique in F have much in common. *Brevi carne deitas* and *Gloria sit soli Deo* are copied very close together and share key poetic and musical characteristics. Both are found in the seventh fascicle of F separated only by a single work: the extraordinary setting of the text *Porta salutis*.[32] Like its two fellows, *Porta salutis* is a short text set to music of great complexity; *Brevi carne deitas* and *Gloria sit soli Deo* are both single-stanza poems. Figure 2.1 presents a structural overview of the locations of caudae and their durations in LTT in the single ten-line strophe of *Brevi carne deitas*, indicating the locations of caudae.

30 • For the classical allusion in *Leniter ex merito*, see Everist forthcoming.

31 • For this argument, and the sources that underpin it, see ibid.

32 • *Porta salutis* has rightly received much attention. See Maschke 2013.

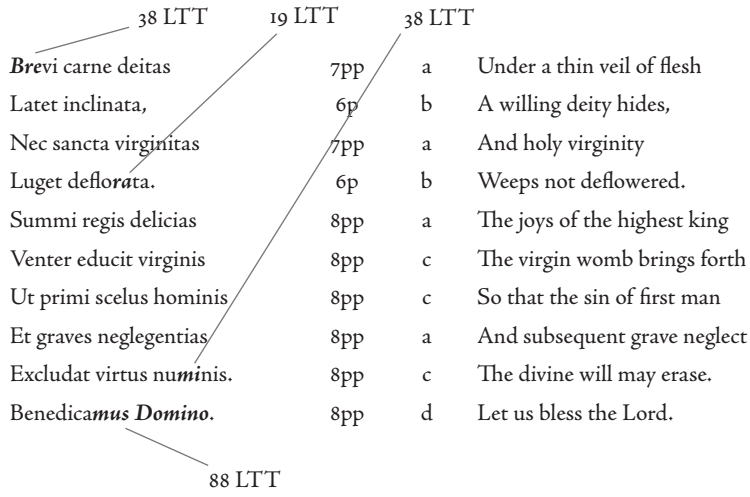


Figure 2.1: Structural Overview and Analysis of *Brevi carne deitas*

The significance of the very long cauda on 'Domino' at the end of *Brevi carne deitas* will become clear when discussed in the context of other terminal caudae, but the comparisons with *Gloria sit soli Deo* are found in the durations of the caudae at the beginning of the piece. Two of the caudae in *Brevi carne deitas* are of the same length—thirty-eight LTT—and they frame a cauda of exactly half that length. In other words, the caudae in the main section of the piece play off prime numbers against a simple *dupla* proportion (19 is the eighth prime). The use of prime numbers in the conductus comes into an even greater focus when set alongside a similar analysis of *Gloria sit soli Deo* (see Figure 2.2).

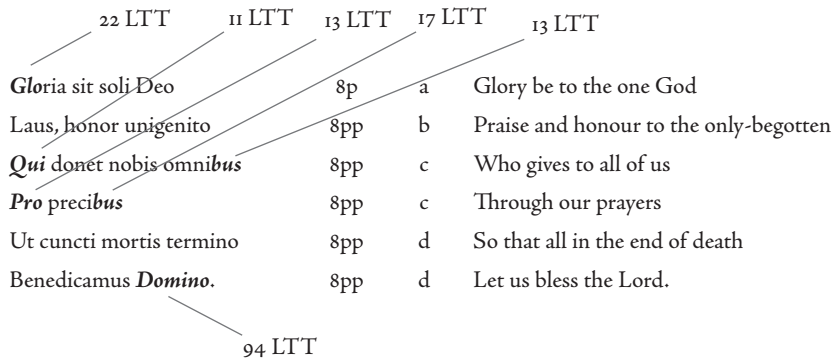


Figure 2.2: Structural Overview and Analysis of *Gloria sit soli Deo*

Gloria sit soli Deo not only exploits the same prime coupled to a *dupla* relationship (11 and 22 LTT) as seen in *Brevi carnis deitas*, but the remaining caudae both exploit the next two highest prime numbers—13 and 17—and in addition, the syllabic centre of the poem—syllables 24 and 25 out of 48—is marked by two symmetrical caudae of prime duration (13 LTT): these are the caudae at the end of 'omnibus' and the beginning of 'Pro precibus'. *Brevi carnis deitas* and *Gloria sit soli Deo* both share an interest in the interrelationship

between poetry, music, and sounding number that includes caudae whose durations exploit prime numbers coupled to simple proportions (*dupla* and *sesquialtera*); these shared concerns go well beyond most of the broader conductus repertoire, and their unique status and contiguity to *Porta salutis* sets them apart from the rest of this broader repertoire, but closer to the rest of the pieces that engage with the *Benedicamus Domino*.

One difference between *Brevi carne deitas* and *Gloria sit soli Deo* is the fact that, in the first, *Benedicamus Domino* is an invocation that follows the completed syntax of the rest of the poem, while in the second, the words are fully integrated into the poem with the subjunctive 'Benedicamus' in the final line dependent on the 'ut' in the previous line. The first invocation is therefore separable and the second inseparable, which carries with it the possibility that the version of *Brevi carne deitas* might have existed in a previous form without the *Benedicamus Domino* conclusion, and that it was added later. *Gloria sit soli Deo*, on the other hand, could only have been conceived with the citation of *Benedicamus Domino* included *ab initio*.

In every case except two, the cauda on 'Domino' is the longest in the conductus. *Brevi carne deitas* and *Gloria sit soli Deo* are good instances of where the terminal cauda on 'Domino' is not only the longest in the composition, but in *Gloria sit soli Deo* it is longer than all the other caudae in the piece put together. Of the two exceptions, *Gaude virgo virginum* closes with its terminal cauda on 'Domino' of 30 LTT, shorter than those of 36 and 48 elsewhere in the piece. But, as has already been seen, the cauda of 30 LTT may also match the duration of the one that closes the preceding strophe, so it is possible that compositional priorities in this individual piece—to mirror the ends of the two strophes—override larger generic conventions where the final cauda on 'Domino' is usually the longest. *Deus creator omnium* behaves similarly, in that it appears to prize internal symmetries within and between stanzas more than conventions that place the longest caudae at the end of the work, where they also embellish the words *Benedicamus Domino*. Analysis of the structure of *Deus creator omnium* is problematic since the durations of many of the longer caudae are difficult to ascertain because of either ambiguous notational and rhythmic patterns or contradictory readings between different manuscript sources. But the final cauda, of 27 LTT, is decidedly unambiguous and stands in stark contrast to the several caudae of 4 and 3 LTT (these *sesquitertia* proportions are also unfolded into two caudae of 12 LTT in the same stanza). As in the case of *Gaude virgo virginum*, the final cauda on 'Domino' may relate back to the previous stanza, where the largest proportion of the ten caudae play off *tripla* relationships of 9 and 3 LTT with which the 27 LTT of the final cauda of the work aligns perfectly as 3^3.

Again, the two conducti in StV behave at variance with the rest of the Parisian repertoire. *O totius Asie* is problematic since the nature of the counterpoint in its three caudae makes the assessment of duration problematic; even so, the first of these (between 65 and 70 LTT) is around twice as long as the two others, the last of which sets the word 'Domino', and which may in fact be the shortest cauda in the piece. *Iherusalem accipitur* is significantly more elaborate. Its first stanza deploys six caudae which interact with each other via

symmetries involving simple *dupla* and *tripla* proportions; its second begins with a cauda the duration of a doubled prime (22) while the third initially returns to the harmonious proportions of the first stanza, but then closes with a cauda of 54 LTT (2×3^3). The fourth stanza is the most complex since its single cauda is constructed out of two clausulae that are found elsewhere in StV; these two clausulae are of 29 and 37 LTT durations respectively: the tenth and the twelfth primes. Taken together, the two clausulae would constitute a cauda longer than the closing cauda of the previous stanza; if treated separately, they would not. But this would be to miss the point of the idiosyncratic nature of *Iherusalem accipitur*'s final cauda, a vanishingly rare example of such generic overlap, and furthermore complicated by the fact that the relationships are all self-referential (all within StV), and that the clausulae—because they are in StV and furnished with cues to the motets from which they were taken—did not originate in any ritual context.[33]

F effectively fixes the repertoire known to its compilers on the rue Saint-Jacques in the decade around 1250, who seem to have attempted to record everything they could lay their hands on, whatever its origins, and who also seem to have been aligned with the periphery of the Cathedral of Notre Dame.[34] The other location for the Parisian conductus, represented by StV, is the convent of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers (otherwise known as the Priory/Monastery of Sainte-Catherine-de-la-Couture); although now destroyed, the location of the foundation was clearly what is now the Place du Marché Sainte-Catherine on the edge of the Marais.[35] The evidence hinges on the veneration at Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers for Saint Catherine coupled to the density of works for Saint Catherine in StV itself.[36] The Parisian conductus is therefore shared between two locations only 1500m apart, but radically different in terms of scale, order, and tradition.

Benedicamus Domino usage in StV differs from treatment in the repertoire preserved in F: the former displays a willingness to change the lexical and syntactic forms of the versicle, transgressing conventions around the duration of the cauda for the *Benedicamus Domino*, and the complex intertextual affiliations between conductus and free-standing *Benedicamus Domino* setting. All these differences notwithstanding, when taken together, the repertories in F and StV stand together but apart from the larger repertories of medieval Latin song that engage with the *Benedicamus Domino*.

Although this chapter concerns the ways in which the Parisian conductus overlaps with the *Benedicamus Domino*, it has raised a number of issues in terms of other repertoires, especially the festal office in LoA(1) and the conducti in the so-called 'Norman-Sicilian' repertoire in Madrid 289. There are works analogous to those discussed here in both repertoires, although in LoA(1) not a single work rubricated as 'conductus' uses the *Benedicamus*

33 • Bradley 2018b, 112–13. The first to claim that the StV *clausulae* were in fact based on motets was Rokseth 1935–39, 4: 70–71.

34 • For the proximity of F to the ritual tradition of the cathedral, see Wright 1989, 235–272.

35 • Cottineau and Poras 1935–39, vol. 2, 2204.

36 • For a recent review of the origins of StV, see Shaffer 2020, 28–60.

Domino, while all the works that do use the versicle are rubricated as 'Benedicamus'.[37] The single piece in Madrid 289 is only termed conductus in the modern literature because it is not a sequence.[38] All these works are monophonic, and the few pieces of polyphony in LoA(1) have nothing to do with the *Benedicamus Domino*. However, in the same way as the two conducti in StV, many of the works in LoA(1) and Madrid 289 make changes to the lexical and syntactic of the versicle in pursuit of a more clearly integrated structure. The single piece in Madrid 289, *Dies ista gaudium*, ends 'Benedicat domino', and of the nine works rubricated 'Benedicamus' in LoA(1), six make similar adjustments. The poetry in both repertoires, in comparison—even with the restricted range of expression of the Paris *Benedicamus Domino* conducti—is limited; when compared to the wider repertory of Parisian conductus the intellectual origins of the latter are drawn into sharp relief.

Comparisons between the Parisian conductus, the Beauvais festal Office, the Norman-Sicilian, and Aquitanian repertoires prize questions of complexity and sophistication more highly than those of ritual or devotion. Although the concept of 'Parisian' is no longer explicitly considered 'central'—as opposed to the 'peripheral' repertoires—its centrality is implicitly acknowledged in scholarly approaches with great regularity. In a renewed consideration of Latin song, Parisian practices deserve contemplation alongside other repertoires of equal importance.

There is a high degree of generic consistency in the Parisian conducti that involve the *Benedicamus Domino*, both in F and StV: polyphonic treatments, through-composed structures playing off numerical disposition, limited ranges of poetic allusion. And at the micro-level, the *Benedicamus Domino* is handled in consistent ways with the first word set in an unmeasured style and the second to usually the longest cauda in the piece, a consistency that invites comparison with the less-stable monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* repertoire.

Even allowing for some differences between Notre Dame and Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers, the Parisian conductus presents a coherent generic profile that contrasts radically with analogous works in the Beauvais, Norman-Sicilian, and Aquitanian repertoires. In terms of ritual, the Parisian conducti that align themselves with the *Benedicamus Domino* appear no less susceptible to liturgical integration than any of the works in the broader repertoire that are unambiguously so designated. In this regard, as in so many others, the conductus slips into a tradition of liturgical and paraliturgical practice that reaches back centuries.

37 • The works in question are *Corde patris genitus* for First Vespers, *Parentis primi novum* and *Castitatis lilium* for the procession before the cross, *Lux omni festa* for Lauds, and *Super omnes alias*, *Dei sapientia*, *Patrem parit filia*, and *Dies ista celebraris* for Second Vespers (see Arlt 1970, vol. 2).

38 • Hiley 1981a, 823.

3•

Closing Formulae of Central European *Cantiones*: Witnesses to Tradition and Functional Fluidity in Fifteenth-Century Bohemia

*Jan Ciglbauer**

Benedicamus Domino songs and their relatives—songs used as introductions to the reading of lessons—belong to the earliest layers of newly-composed sacred Latin song that evolved in close relation to the Mass and Office. It is therefore unsurprising that late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Bohemia, a region with a significant tradition of sacred song, was a historically significant locus of music for those liturgical occasions. From before c.1380, there survives from Bohemia only an exceptional corpus of *Benedicamus* tropes and songs from the female Benedictine convent of St George, located inside Prague Castle. The earliest codices to record that collection date from the end of the thirteenth century. However, they partly preserve a repertoire from much earlier times, with individual pieces having a geographical and chronological reach as far as France and the early twelfth century.[1]

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Kingdom of Bohemia experienced unprecedented economic growth and cultural development under the reign of Charles IV. Latin liturgy was an important tool for strengthening Bohemian identity.[2] This cultural expansion continued during the reign of his son, Wenceslas I, and was characterised, among other things, by a vigorous phase of composition of new sacred songs, with both Latin and vernacular texts. This was thanks, in part, to the concentration of creative minds from all over Europe gathered in active religious orders, and around Prague University.

The connection between the *Benedicamus* items collected at St George's, Prague, from the late thirteenth century with the burst in sacred song cultivation in the last decades of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century is not immediately obvious. There are only a few concordances between the earlier St George's repertoire and the rich tradition of later Bohemian *cantiones*. Moreover, those concordances consist only of otherwise widely disseminated pieces such as *Iohannes postquam senuit*, *Laus Domino resonet*,

* This research—exploring the conservation of widely-known songs under the influence of liturgical reforms of the Utraquist church in Bohemia—was supported by the European Regional Development Fund project 'Beyond Security: Role of Conflict in Resilience-Building' (reg. no.: CZ.02.01.01/00/22_008/0004595).

The following manuscript sigla are used:

Franus Gradual	Hradec Králové, Muzeum Východních Čech, Hr-6 (*olim* II A 6)
Jistebnice Cantional	Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, II C 7
Lübeck Troparium	Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, theol. lat. 2° 16
Nelahozeves	Nelahozeves, Lobkowiczká knihovna a archiv, VI Fb 16
Prague 5116	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, 59 R 5116
Prague I G 39	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, I G 39
Vyšehrad	Prague, Národní archiv, fond Vyšehradská kapitula, 376 (*olim* V C c 4)
Vyšší Brod 42	Vyšší Brod, Knihovna cisterciáckého kláštera, 42

1 • For an overview of this repertoire see Plocek 1985 and recently Vlhová-Wörner 2022.

2 • See Eben and Rankin 2020.

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Procedentem sponsum, and *Puer natus in Bethleem*.[3] The comparison of textual and notated records suggests that there must have been several steps—by way of sources now lost, or oral tradition only—between the St George's sacred song repertoire of around 1300 and the transmission surviving in sources from around 1400 and later.

From around 1380 onwards, partly as a consequence of the Great Schism, Bohemia witnessed the rise of a powerful reform movement, connected most prominently with Master Jan Hus and his followers. Hus was sentenced to death at the Council of Constance in 1415 and burnt at the stake, but creativity in the field of sacred song did not cease during and after the violence that broke out in response to his death. By contrast, the result was first a collection of songs with Czech texts, as documented by the contents of the so-called Jistebnice Cantional from the 1420s.[4] Once the Hussite wars had come to an end in the mid-1430s, the so-called Utraquist church became predominant, especially in Bohemia, reducing the Catholic Church to an almost underground denomination in some regions. The name 'Utraquist' comes from perhaps the most insistent demand of the reform movement, which was the communion of both bread and wine ('sub utraque specie') to distinguish it from the traditional communion of bread alone ('sub una specie'). The Utraquist theologians made significant modifications to the framework of the Prague liturgy. Besides the communion of bread and wine, the extended use of the vernacular language was perhaps the most obvious novelty. Further, the reformist theologians focused on the Mass and the celebration of the Eucharist, which had an impact on the kinds of genres cultivated within the liturgy as a whole.

Monastic life in general fell out of favour. Monasteries, as well as other communities of clerics, were perceived as cultivators of simony, deflected from the objectives of the idealised early church. The destruction of monasteries during the violent phase of the Utraquist reform movement went hand in hand with a reconsideration among Hussite theologians of the ways in which the Mass and Office should be celebrated. Voices of some reformist theologians were heard saying that communal celebration of the monastic liturgy of the hours should be replaced by private study of the Bible. By the end of the fifteenth century, liturgical books and other sources from the environment of the Utraquist church demonstrate that the Divine Office was slowly reduced in scope, with its canonical hours merged into two blocks of morning and evening services.[5] At the same time, and as exemplified below, the tradition of votive masses continued.[6] In particular, Marian votive masses in the Advent season—the so-called *Rorate* Mass—evolved to become a significant phenomenon in Bohemia.[7]

3 • Plocek 1985, vol. 1, 63–68, 81–88, 126–32, and 135–37; text editions of these tropes with Bohemian concordances are available in Dreves 1886 and Böse and Schäfer 1988.

4 • Jistebnice Cantional; see Kolár, Vidmanová, and Vlhová-Wörner 2005, and Vlhová-Wörner 2019. The manuscript is available online at <manuscriptorium.com> and <melodiarium.musicologica.cz> [at FMBM Browse, JistK].

5 • Holeton 2011, 200–13.

6 • For votive masses 'de corpore Christi', see Vlhová 1996.

7 • As discussed in detail in Mráček 1977 and Slavický 2018.

From a quantitative perspective, the liturgical environment in Utraquist Bohemia provided fewer opportunities for singing the *Benedicamus* versicle in its primary liturgical position as part of the Divine Office. Did that mean, however, that *Benedicamus Domino* tropes and songs were less cultivated? The continued tradition of votive Masses—especially Masses to the Virgin Mary and 'de Corpore Christi'—and the preservation of Vespers within the daily liturgy allowed pre-Hussite *Benedicamus* songs to be sung as well as new songs with the *Benedicamus* formula to be composed.[8] A certain intention to conserve and build upon the pre-Hussite repertoire in Bohemia can also be identified in the somewhat conservative mode of preservation of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century polyphonic repertoire, and in the use of black mensural notation for certain pieces even when void notation was already established for the newest polyphony.[9] It was very easy to convert a generic *cantio* into either a *Benedicamus* song or an introduction to the reading of a lesson simply by adding or removing the relevant conventional formula at the end of the song. It is therefore fruitful to scrutinise such tendencies in the transmission of strophic sacred songs in Utraquist Bohemia. This chapter reveals and explores the significance of small textual changes that indicate functional shifts, and a fundamental functional flexibility, in the use of strophic sacred songs in the reformed liturgical services.

Prima declinacio

Changes to the ritual function of a song can typically be observed in small alterations as well as additions to its text. The *cantio Prima declinacio* is a revealing example of this phenomenon ('V' or 'W' indicates 'versus', and R° the 'repeticio', discussed further below):[10]

1.	
<V.> Prima declinacio	The first declension,
casuum regulacio	the regulation of cases,
misit genitivum	has sent a genitive
W. In ae analesim	in ae, a resolution
quos cepit per ethesim	for those whom by sickness
stigis infectivum	the corruption of Hell has captured.
R° hos bonitatis gerula	The bearer of Goodness has,
abstraxit homagio	for our homage, rescued these,
quos nepa nugigerula	whom the snake that spouts falsehoods shut off
obstruxit obstagio	from what was promised them.

8 • Votive Masses traditionally lack the Gloria and thus concluded with *Benedicamus Domino* rather than *Ite missa est*; see Hiley 1993, 24 and 150, and Harper 1991, 120.

9 • This question was recently discussed in Gancarczyk 2017 and Hlávková 2020.

10 • Dreves 1886, 83–84, no. 44; Böse and Schäfer 1988, 325–27, no. 263; for music transcription see Černý et al., 2005, 50–51, no. 29. I would like to thank Dr Henry Howard for translating all of the text examples in this chapter and for discussions of their meaning.

2.	
W. Scribere clericulis cunctisque cristicolis nobis instat cura	To write for young clerics and for all Christians is our pressing task:
W. Magister per quam regulam deus servi formulam sumpsit contra iura	By this regulation our master, God, took on the condition of a servant, contrary to the laws.
R° Non solum philosophice necque logicaliter sed scripture mistice credamus simpliciter	Let us believe the mystic scripture not only philosophically or logically, but in simplicity.
3.	
W. In masculino genere fortis wlt discernere cordium oculta	It is the will of the One mighty in the masculine gender to discern the secrets of our hearts:
W. Heu est interieccio murmurum connexio mala nece rewulsa	'Alas' is the interjection, the conjunction of cryings, after evil death is defeated.
R° Ob hoc iube domine fieri silencium quod in tuo nomine letetur cor canencium	Therefore, command it, Lord, that there be silence, that the heart of those singing it may rejoice in your name.

Prima declinacio is known almost exclusively in Bohemian sources, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century until approximately the mid-sixteenth century. In its content, *Prima declinacio* is a song of praise for the mystery of the incarnation of Christ, expressed in rather cryptic language and combining Greek words, grammatical terms, and allusions to theological concepts. For example, the opening line, 'Prima declinacio', can be understood not only in its primary grammatical sense (as 'the first declension', the feminine one; also Mary, if understood more allegorically), but also as the 'first fall' (that is, the story of Adam and Eve, whose decisive element was feminine), which nevertheless has sent us the 'genitive' (that is, Christ, 'the life-giving one'). The feminine element in the story of salvation seems to be underlined as well in the first line of the second versus, 'in ae analesim'. The resolution, or salvation, is 'in ae', that is, in the genitive ending of the feminine declension or, in other words, Christ born of a woman. *Prima declinacio* seems to have emerged in circles of highly educated clerics from the university or in intellectually-minded religious orders. In several other songs from these environments, allusions to Aristotelian philosophy and medicine are found alongside traditional devotional idioms.[11]

11 ✦ See, for example, texts *Eya, mater pia* and *O Maria, mater Christi* in Ciglbauer 2020, nos. 9 and 18; see also <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 92 and 62 respectively.

At the beginning of the extant written transmission of *Prima declinacio*, there are two nearly identical records of the song—both without any musical notation—from the first two decades of the fifteenth century. One of them is an addition to a manuscript now preserved at Nelahozeves Castle in the private collection of the House of Lobkowicz, originally from the monastery of Augustinian canons in Roudnice. The Roudnice monastery was, from 1333, the first and most important foundation of the Augustinian canons in Bohemia, with close contacts with the Archdiocese of Prague, the King's court, and the University. The manuscript Nelahozeves is dated c.1389–1419. It contains polyphonic lessons in organal style and *Prima declinacio* is written on the final folio (fol. 159v).[12] It is also the oldest record of the Office of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary composed by the third Archbishop of Prague, Jan of Jenštejn.[13] The second early source of *Prima declinacio* is the paper manuscript Vyšší Brod 42, copied c.1410. This manuscript brings together traditional Cistercian repertoire as well as diocesan repertoire from Prague, including a unique collection of monophonic and polyphonic songs with text in both Latin and Old Czech.[14]

These early, text-only sources transmit a three-strophe structure without a refrain. According to later sources with musical notation, the melody of each strophe has an AAB form. These sections are marked in the manuscripts by the sign 'V' or 'W' for 'versus' for the A material, and R° for 'repeticio' for the B material.[15] The B or 'repeticio' section of the third strophe is the key to the function of this *cantio* in its earliest instantiations. A paraphrase of the blessing formula *Iube Domine* indicates that this song was probably used as an introduction to the reading of a lesson. Specifically, it is linked—both textually and melodically—to the introductory benediction *Iube Domine silencium fieri in aures audiencium* (Lord, let there be silence in the ears of the listeners) for the lesson *Consurge, consurge*, read as part of the Matins of Nativity.[16] This lesson, together with its benediction, is also found in the Nelahozeves manuscript.[17] Not only does *Prima declinacio* paraphrase poetically the appeal for silence in its final 'repeticio', but its first three pitches (*d–c–a*) correspond to the opening three notes of the upper voices of both the *Iube Domine* benediction and the lesson itself.

Aside from their concluding paraphrase of the blessing *Iube Domine*, which suggests that this *cantio* was sung to introduce a lesson, the early records of *Prima declinacio* do not betray any further signs of ritual or liturgical function or adaptation in the form of rubrics or textual additions to already established units of text. Later fifteenth-century sources, by contrast, suggest that *Prima declinacio* became an inherent part of the Marian votive Masses in Advent. The so-called Vyšehrad manuscript, a voluminous collection of pre-Hussite

12 • The organal lessons are discussed in Maňour 1996; this manuscript is not included in the edition in Göllner 1969.

13 • Hallas 2021, 76–77 and 420–29 (with facsimile of folios containing the Office of Visitation).

14 • This manuscript is available in facsimile; see Rothe 1984; digital copies are on <melodiarium.musicologica.cz> at FMBM Browse, 1410VB; see also *Vyšší Brod 42: A Unique Music Source from Pre-Hussite Bohemia* by Jan Ciglbauer, Hana Vlhová-Wörner, Lenka Hlávková, and Pavel Kodýtek, forthcoming 2024.

15 • The B section marked 'R°' for 'repeticio' may or may not function as a refrain, in which both the same musical material and its accompanying refrain text recurs.

16 • See Göllner 1969, vol. 1, 90–98 (transcriptions) and vol. 2, 56–64 (commentary).

17 • See Maňour 1996, 34–35 (transcription) and 42 (facsimile).

as well as Utraquist sacred songs from c.1460, places the *cantio* within an early morning Marian votive Mass on Sunday.[18] Individual strophes of the song were to be interpolated in the sequence *Mittit ad virginem*. In this position in the liturgy, the final lines quoting and paraphrasing the *Iube Domine* benediction served as a suitable transition to introduce the reading of the Gospel.[19]

The order of chants for the Marian Advent Masses in Vyšehrad is unique in its selection and assignation of specific pieces to the liturgies on single days of Advent weeks. The selection differs from that found in sources around 1500 and later.[20] Nevertheless, *Prima declinacio* appears in early sixteenth-century sources as well. The Franus Gradual from 1505 contains a comprehensive overview of chants for Marian Masses on its final folio (fol. 367r–v).[21] *Prima declinacio* is mentioned twice. The first occurrence is in the Sunday liturgy as a possible interpolation within an alternative sequence, *Ab arce siderea*.[22] The second occurrence is within a list of *cantiones*, whose precise position in the Marian liturgy is not specified.[23]

The multiple possible positions and uses of *Prima declinacio* within the Mass liturgy account for the existence of the two additional, alternative strophes transmitted in sources after c.1450:

4.	
W. Musa dic veridice que sit causa mistice huius novitatis	Muse, say truthfully, what the cause is of this unheard-of mystery.
W. Scamnum luna pedibus gignit virgo regibus solem claritatis	The Moon bears a stool for his feet, the Virgin bears the Sun of glory for kings.
R° Deus misit filium mundi in exilium ut hunc virgo pariat stupente natura	God sent his son into the exile of the world, that a virgin might bear him, to the astonishment of Nature.
5.	
W. Fruamur solacio cellorum pallacio hoc nobis sit datum	May this be granted us, that we may enjoy solace in the palace of the heavens.

18 • Vyšehrad; available online on <melodiarium.musicologica.cz> at FMBM Browse, Vyš376.

19 • Vyšehrad, fol. 1r: 'Tempore Adventus de domina canitur … Alleluia *Prophete sancti*, prosa *Mittit ad virginem* cum cantilenis *En positive <collaudando>*, *Imperatrix egregia*, *Prima declinacio*'.

20 • Slavický 2018, 252–57.

21 • Franus Gradual, dated 1505. The source is available online at: <manuscriptorium.com> and <melodiarium.musicologica.cz> at FMBM Browse, 1505Fr.

22 • Franus Gradual, fol. 367rc, 'Alia prosa *Ab arce sider<e>a descendit Prima declinacio* O XV [original foliation], *Imperatrix egregia* O XIII (…)'.

23 • Franus Gradual, fol. 367rc, 'Secuntur Canciones … *Prima declinacio* O XV'.

R° Ob hoc omnes parvuli	Therefore let us all, little ones,
senes et iuvenculi	old men and youths
viri nec non vetuli	and men not yet old,
odas roboremus	put strength in our songs.

The sources containing the additional strophes retain the original final (third) strophe with the *Iube Domine* formula. The first additional (fourth) strophe returns to the mystery of Christ's incarnation, the second and final additional (fifth) strophe is a prayer for eternal solace. In common with many songs of Utraquist origin of that period, the fifth and final strophe lacks the second 'versus', so that its form is effectively AB instead of AAB. In the newly composed text for the last B section, 'Ob hoc omnes parvuli', all are exhorted to participate in singing the song of praise. This clearly reflects the thinking of most Utraquist theologians, who proposed greater participation of the laity within liturgical rites and music making.

Prima declinacio demonstrates the flexibility with which sacred songs could be performed within the liturgy and with which strophes could be added to Latin songs in order to reflect or enhance their desired function. There are cases where a single *cantio* could be used either as an introduction to a lesson or as a *Benedicamus Domino* substitute, and such *cantiones* have alternative final strophes corresponding to and facilitating these alternative functions.[24] This, however, was probably never the case of *Prima declinacio*. If it was not performed as an interpolation within a sequence—concluding with the strophe quoting the reading benediction *Iube Domine*—it could be sung with the addition of extra strophes, the last of which was formulated as a communal prayer, closing with an appeal that all should 'put strength' in their songs. I turn now to further case studies which demonstrate two contradictory but simultaneous activities in fifteenth-century Bohemia: attempts to remove traces of previous liturgical functions from older sacred songs as well as to convert sacred songs whose texts were not specifically linked to a particular liturgical function into *Benedicamus* songs.

Converting *cantiones* into *Benedicamus* and vice versa

In the fifteenth-century Utraquist tradition in Bohemia, fourteenth-century *Benedicamus* songs were still in use. The most prominent example is a network of compositions linked to the text *Surrexit Christus hodie*. Single strophes consist of four lines, each eight syllables, in which lines 2 and 4 are 'Alleluia, Alleluia'.[25] There are monophonic settings of *Surrexit Christus hodie* as well as settings in two-part voice-exchange or *Stimmtausch* polyphony.[26] In the environment of a strong reform movement in the fifteenth century—whose aim was to purge the liturgy of complex musical forms claiming too much undesired attention—the

24 • See *Cum gaudio concurrite* in Böse, Rothe, and Schäfer 1988, 214–15, no. 207; *Pueri nativitatem* in Böse, Rothe, and Schäfer 1988, 316–17, no. 256; for a comparison of textual variants see also <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 19 and 20 respectively.

25 • Böse, Rothe, and Schäfer 1988, 201 03, no. 197; see also <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 12, 'Surrexit Christus hodie | Alleluia, Alleluia | humano pro solamine | Alleluia, Alleluia'.

26 • Černý 1975, 56–70, summarised in German at 115.

composers of songs focused their creativity on sacred monophonic music, and these melodies thrived. The simple text form of *Surrexit Christus hodie* (consisting of only two rhyming eight-syllable lines per strophe, interspersed with Alleluias) facilitated the creation of new texts based on this formal model without requiring a great deal of poetic skill. This gave rise to many contrafacta for *Surrexit Christus hodie*, vernacular as well as Latin, for the feasts of Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Christi, and Marian and saints' feasts.[27] While fifteenth-century Latin contrafacta predominantly retained the *Benedicamus Domino* formula of the original in their ultimate or penultimate strophes, the versions in the Czech vernacular did not. Instead, for example, a version from the Jistebnice Cantional (1420s) concludes 'Let us all say Amen so the eternal fire stays away from us; grant us this kindly, Christ, Amen, Alleluia' (*Řečmež všickni spolu amen, byť nás minul věčný plamen, rač to dáti, Kriste, Amen, alleluia*), and sixteenth-century Czech contrafacta behave similarly.[28]

A significant group of strophic *cantiones* are variably documented as songs for *ad libitum* use or for use in place of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle. There seems, however, to be a prevailing tendency for songs to lose their *Benedicamus* identity. For example, the final strophe in most sources of *Danielis prophecia* contains 'Uni trino sempiterno benedicamus domino'.[29] Yet of this text there are also records where the *Benedicamus* formula is absent, for example, in a Utraquist gradual from c.1500, probably of Prague provenance (Prague 5116).[30] This manuscript also transmits other songs that are predominantly known as *Benedicamus*: *In hoc anni circulo*,[31] and *Pueri nativitatem*.[32] The latter could also be used as an introduction to a lesson: most of its earlier records contain strophes indicating one or both of these alternative purposes, quoting either the lesson benediction *Iube Domine* or the versicle *Benedicamus Domino*. In Prague 5116, none of those strophes is present. It is hard to determine whether this manuscript is evidence of a unique practice and a different function for this song, or whether the other sources simply kept on transmitting the final *Benedicamus* strophe even though, in practice, it could be omitted or the song was no longer tied to this function.

Among the *cantiones* which tended to lose their *Benedicamus* identity in the fifteenth century, there is one further intriguing example. Vyšší Brod 42 contains the earliest record of a strophic song for the feast of Mary Magdalene, *Felici peccatrici*, indicated in a rubric as 'a pious song of St Mary Magdalene' (*Cancio devota de Sancta Maria Magdalena*).[33] The last strophe reads 'So that through your intercessions the weight of our sins may be di-

27 • See textual variants listed in <cantio.cz> under the Melody-ID 139.

28 • Vlhová-Wörner 2019, 176–77, *Radujme se všickni nynie* (Let us all rejoice now).

29 • Böse and Schäfer 2000, 127–28, no. 51; for a musical transcription, see Černý et al. 2005, 190–91, no. 104; see also <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 132.

30 • Prague 5116 is available online at <manuscriptorium.com>.

31 • Böse and Schäfer 2000, 117–18, no. 48; see also the transcription of the version in the Jistebnice Cantional and Codex Speciálník (Hradec Králové, Museum of Eastern Bohemia, Hr-7, olim II A 7) in Černý et al. 2005, 108–10, no. 62.

32 • Černý 1984 at 95–99; Böse, Rothe, and Schäfer 1988, 316–17, no. 256; Černý et al. 2005, 110–11, no. 63; further bibliography on <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 20.

33 • Böse, Rothe, and Schäfer 1988, 217–18, no. 209; <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 36.

minished, by your loving prayer' (*Ut tua per suffragia relaxentur nostra vicia, tua prece pia*). Curiously, 'tua prece pia' seems to be the result of a correction made by the same scribe of something he had written earlier. From the perceptible traces of marks of abbreviation for 'm' or 'n', the text could originally have read 'Benedicamus Domino', and this would correspond with the reading in some later sources.[34] Although 'tua prece pia' fits better musically than 'Benedicamus Domino'—since the third line of each A section or 'versus' in the other strophes always has six syllables—it is a semantic duplication of 'ut tua per suffragia' in the first line of the strophe. It is possible, however, that *Felici peccatrici* in its original form did not include the *Benedicamus Domino* formula (which was perhaps added at the end of the fourteenth century for the same reasons that it was subsequently retained in transmissions around 1450), and that the scribe of Vyšší Brod 42 was simply the first to notice the incompatibility of the *Benedicamus Domino* insertion within the text of *Felici peccatrici*. Whatever the scribe's intention or the more poetically appropriate solution, it is clear that at the end of the fifteenth century, *Felici peccatrici* was another example of a *cantio* which exhibited and apparently acquired variant readings at the place where previously, around 1450, the *Benedicamus Domino* formula had usually been found.[35]

Ave trinitatis cubile

In *Felici peccatrici*, a reference to the *Benedicamus Domino* seems to have been added and then removed again in the fifteenth century. A different situation pertains in the transmission of the *cantio Ave trinitatis cubile*:[36]

<V.> Ave castitatis cubile ave trinitatis sedile plena gracia.	Hail, bed of chastity, hail, seat of the Trinity, full of grace.
<V.> Ave viciorum fugatrix ave peccatorum purgatrix culpe nescia.	Hail, you who put vices to flight; hail, you who cleanse us of sins, knowing no fault yourself.
R° Opifex qui regit summa et infima te matrem sibi preelegit o piissima.	The maker who rules the highest and the lowest chose you for his mother, most loving one.
<R°> [Refrain] Maria te rogamus succurre ne petamus yma atque scelus antiquum expurga et antiquum zima.	We ask you, Mary, help us not to make for the abyss, and purge away the old crime and the old leaven.

34 • Vyšehrad, fol. 50r.

35 • An alternative to the *Benedicamus* formula in the Franus Gradual (fol. 285v) reads 'May our sins be smoothed through your intercession and grace be given' (*Ut tua per suffragia relaxentur vicia deturque gracia*). In Prague 5116 (pp. 491–92) the entire strophe containing the *Benedicamus* formula is omitted.

36 • Böse, Rothe, and Schäfer 1988, 303–05, no. 248; <cantio.cz>, Text-ID 8. The version from Prague I G 39 given above uniquely interchanges 'castitatis' and 'trinitatis' in the first strophe.

Ave trinitatis cubile belongs to the same type of sacred songs as *Prima declinatio* (AAB, strophic), with just one formal difference. Each AAB strophe ends with a second *repeticio*, which is in this case a true refrain, giving the form AABR. The song was already popular at the beginning of the fifteenth century. After the Hussite wars, it became part of the core repertoire of songs established in Utraquist music sources. *Ave trinitatis cubile* is mostly found in Bohemian sources, with only one exception, the Lübeck Troparium.[37] Unlike *Prima declinacio*, *Ave trinitatis cubile* was also translated into the vernacular, and received further contrafacta in Czech.

In the sources of this *cantio* with musical notation, it appears mostly as a stand-alone piece. For example, in Vyšší Brod 42, discussed above, *Ave trinitatis cubile* has the rubric 'about the blessed Virgin at any time' (*de beata virgine quando placet*). During the fifteenth century, this song also appeared in the selections of repertoire for the *Rorate* Masses. In the Vyšehrad manuscript, the Kyrie of *Rorate* Masses on Thursdays in Advent is prescribed to be interpolated with *Ave trinitatis cubile*.[38] In the later selection of *Rorate* repertoire in the Franus Gradual, *Ave trinitatis cubile* appears as a Kyrie trope on Saturdays in Advent. It could be used as an interpolation within Kyrie *Virginitatis amator*, or of another Kyrie in E mode.[39] The Franus Gradual mentions, as do a few other fifteenth-century sources, the author of the second Kyrie: Zawisse (Záviš).[40] Záviš was a fourteenth-century Bohemian creator of liturgical music and love songs.[41]

One Czech contrafact of *Ave trinitatis cubile* is recorded in the fifteenth century: *Zdrá-va, matko Syna božieho* (Hail, mother of the Son of God) from the Jistebnice Cantional, fol. 48r.[42] It consists of a single strophe in the form AABC. It is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, retaining the prayer-like nature of the original Latin text (*Maria, te rogamus, succurre…*). Until recently, there was no known source of *Ave trinitatis cubile* as a *Benedicamus* song. However, the copy in Prague I G 39 (fols. 78v–79r according to the modern foliation in the source; fols. 84v–85r on manuscriptorium.com) contains an additional strophe that signals the possibility of its use in place of the *Benedicamus* versicle.[43] This unique strophe continues in the prayer-like manner of the preceding strophes, closing with the canonical formula *Benedicamus Domino*:

37 • Lübeck Troparium, fols. 56v–57v; available online <digital-stadtbibliothek.luebeck.de/viewer/image/Troparium/>.

38 • Vyšehrad, fol. IV. 'Quinta feria. Kyrie eleison [in E mode], Cantio *Ave trinitatis cubile* vel *Ave virgo mater intemerata*. Alleluia *O consolatrix pauperum…*'.

39 • Franus Gradual, fol. 367rb, 'Sabato Kyrie virginitatis <amator> Infra kyrie *En emola typica* O VIII *Ave trinitatis cubile* O III *Ave sanctissima regina* O II', 'Sabato Alie canciones. Kyrie virginitatis <amator>. *En emola <typica>* O VIII, *Ave trinitatis cu<bile>* O III (…)'.

40 • Franus Gradual, fol. 367rb, 'Kyrie zawissowo [Czech genitive of Zawisse], *Ave trinitatis cubile* O III *En emola <typica>* O VIII (…)'.

41 • Vlhová-Wörner 2007; Ciglbauer 2016, 123–25.

42 • See the edition in Vlhová-Wörner 2019, 198, no. 106.

43 • See black and white images available at <manuscriptorium.com>. To date, there have been only two studies on selected items from this manuscript: Plocek and Vidmanová 1973 and Doležalová 2017; a study on codicology and contents by Jan Ciglbauer is planned.

<V.> Ora mater Christi tu deum ut nece tristi per eum simus liberi	Mother of Christ, pray God that through him we may be free of sorrowful death
<V.> et in mundo nunquam turbati sed celesti simus vocati regis pueri.	And may never be troubled upon earth but called to heaven as servants of the King.
<R°> Ergo referamus laudes cum iubilo patri filioque benedi- camus domino.	Therefore let us give praises with joy to the Father and the Son; let us bless the Lord.
<R° Maria te rogamus>	We ask you Mary …
Amen.	Amen.

The manuscript containing this singular version of *Ave trinitatis cubile* is an almost unknown collection of theological texts with an intriguing genesis. Probably originating at Prague University, it was written on paper in different periods over time. From its textual contents, it might have connections to the Cistercian Order, which maintained a college at Prague University until the beginning of the Hussite wars.[44] Later in the fifteenth century, an independent fascicle with texts of sequences and *cantiones*, dated c.1430, was attached to the older core. At that time, the Cistercian college in Prague no longer existed. Afterwards, the manuscript was probably preserved in the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna (*Sancta Corona*, in Latin).[45] After the abolition of the monastery in 1785 as part of the Josephinian reforms, the manuscript found its way back to Prague.

The unique record of *Ave trinitatis cubile* as a *Benedicamus* song in Prague I G 39 is difficult to interpret. Since this version is not documented in Utraquist sources, a question arises: was it merely an isolated attempt to convert a generic Marian *cantio* into a *Benedicamus* song, or was it more broadly representative of the alternative 'Catholic' tradition in predominantly Hussite and Utraquist Bohemia, a tradition not reflected in Utraquist sources? Monastic sources—or sources compiled by the opponents of the reform movement and thus documenting a rather conservative approach to sacred songs—are heavily underrepresented among Bohemian sources of *cantiones*. The evidence of an isolated source such as Prague I G 39, with its possible links to the Cistercians, may therefore be more representative and significant than it first appears.

There are effectively two plausible interpretations of *Ave trinitatis cubile* as a *Benedicamus*. The *cantio* was well known in pre-Hussite Bohemia as an independent song, which later in a Utraquist context was used as a Kyrie interpolation in the Marian morning Masses in Advent. A conversion into *Benedicamus* may simply document an alternative, local use

44 • Doležalová 2017, 165–71, examined textual items connected with late medieval Cistercian writing.

45 • An almost illegible note (which has escaped the attention of cataloguers) on the inner side of the front cover of Prague I G 39 reads 'Monasterii Ste Corone 1649'.

either at Mass during Advent (when the *Benedicamus* would have replaced the *Ite missa est*), or also outside the Advent season and perhaps as part of the Office for Marian feasts throughout the year in a Cistercian monastery.[46] Alternatively, the unique version of *Ave trinitatis cubile* in Prague I G 39 may be the only survivor of a pre-Hussite practice of introducing well-known *cantiones* into more conservative liturgical environments in certain monastic communities, or of adapting popular Utraquist songs for a more traditional use in the same communities after the Hussite wars.

Conclusions

The church reform movement and the Hussite wars changed the spiritual environment of fifteenth-century Bohemia. Since the Divine Office was subject to significant revision and reduction, one would expect many songs functionally connected with the Office—introductions to lessons and *Benedicamus Domino* substitutes—to disappear from the written tradition and from living practice. However, practical music sources paint a different picture. As a result of the Utraquist reforms, the texts of older sacred songs were modified according to current theological disputes and remained in use. Modifications reflecting the greater participation of lay people in singing in church and stressing the importance of communion can be most easily identified. A number of songs were also assigned to new liturgical uses. Pre-Hussite repertoire, including *Benedicamus* songs, continued to be cultivated in several ways. On the one hand, some *Benedicamus* melodies were given new contrafacta, which distanced them from their original function and allowed them to be sung on more occasions throughout the day or the year. On the other hand, some songs that originally had no explicit indication of their function in the liturgy underwent small textual changes so that they could be used as *Benedicamus Domino* substitutes, since Utraquists continued to celebrate Vespers and votive Masses. Although there was from the beginning a tendency to omit the *Benedicamus Domino* formula in Czech contrafacta of Latin *Benedicamus* songs, in the Latin tradition the opposite was the case, and the *Benedicamus Domino* formula was retained in further Latin contrafacta. The period after the violent Hussite wars (from the military defeat of the radical Hussites in the Battle of Lipany in 1434 until around 1480) was characterised by conservatism, which built upon the pre-Hussite heritage in order to strengthen the new Utraquist identity.

What has already been observed in the polyphonic repertoire in Bohemia and could be described as a careful cultivation of the past, seems to pertain to the repertoire of monophonic *Benedicamus* songs as well.[47] Whereas after the Hussite wars the canonical formula *Benedicamus Domino* was added to some songs, presumably to allow them be sung in place of the *Benedicamus* versicle in the liturgy, from around 1500 onwards the same songs seem once again to lose their *Benedicamus* identity. Owing to a lack of

46 • The collection of *cantiones* in Vyšší Brod 42 is not representative of a 'Cistercian liturgy' and thus cannot be compared with Prague I G 39.

47 • See n. 9 above.

sources, the liturgy in Catholic institutions after 1430 has not been analysed as thoroughly as have the practices of the Utraquist church. It seems probable that small communities, belonging to an alternative 'Catholic' tradition and trying to revive some of the pre-Hussite monasteries, had a greater need and desire for *Benedicamus* songs, and thus converted some liturgically neutral *cantiones* for this explicit purpose (as documented in Prague I G 39, with its possible links to the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna). Unfortunately, only a handful of such sources survive, inhibiting understanding of and general statements about the possible practices of an alternative 'Catholic' tradition, distinct from the dominant Hussite and Utraquist influences in Bohemia at this time. The simultaneous effect of two contradictory tendencies—to reform significantly the liturgy and spiritual life, while still maintaining and building a coherent identity through the preservation of certain pre-Hussite practices—created a religious environment in which individual songs might flit, multi-directionally, from one liturgical function to another.

HAGIOGRAPHY, THEOLOGY, LITURGY



4.
St Nicholas and the Singing of Liturgical Versicles

*Mary Channen Caldwell**

A significant element in all medieval saints' cults is music, and the cult of the fourth-century bishop confessor St Nicholas of Myra is no different and is even remarkable for its heightened engagement with music through multiple media, genres, and hagiography.[1] To

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The following manuscript sigla are used:

BnF Lat. 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 887
BnF Lat. 1090	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1090
BnF Lat. 1107	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1107
BnF Lat. 10511	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10511
BnF Lat. 12044	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 12044
BnF Lat. 15181	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 15181
BnF Lat. 17329	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17329
BnF NAL 1412	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1412
BnF NAL 1535	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1535
Brussels II.2631	Brussels, KBR, II.2631
Calixtinus	Santiago de Compostela, Archivo-Biblioteca de la Catedral, s.s
Cambridge CCC 8	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8
Chantilly 50	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, 50
Douai 246	Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 246
Einsiedeln 611	Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 611
Erfurt 44	Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Erfurt, Dep. Erf. CA 8° 44
Évreux 89	Évreux, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 89
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
Freising 4	Freising, Dombibliothek, Alto. p. An 4
Fribourg 6	Fribourg/Freiburg, Bibliothèque de la Maigrague/Zisterzienserinnenabtei Maigrauge, 6
Grand-Saint-Bernard 7	Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, 7
Graz 211	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 211 ('Codex Albensis')
Hu	Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, 11 (*olim* IX)
JRL 24	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Lat. 24
Klosterneuburg 1011	Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, 1011
Limoges 2	Limoges, Bibliothèque francophone multimedia, 2 (17)
Lucca 603	Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 603
Madrid 288	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 288
Madrid 289	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 289
Madrid 19421	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 19421
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de médecine, H. 196
Munich Clm 2699	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2699
Munich Clm 19162	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19162
Oxford Laud Misc. 4	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 4
St. Gallen 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546

⁎ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143515 ⁎

pray to Nicholas in medieval Europe more often than not meant to sing to this beloved saint. The highly musical slant of his European cult starts with the prestige of his chanted liturgy, the creation of which is attributed in the eleventh-century chronicle of Anonymus Haserensis to Bishop Reginold of Eichstatt.[2] Not only is the creator of Nicholas's *historia* named, but the chronicle asserts that Reginold was promoted to the status of bishop on the basis of his new, beautifully crafted liturgy. This storied liturgy quickly spread through Europe and beyond; post-eleventh-century service books seldom omit Nicholas's proper Office or proper Mass items.[3] Moreover, alongside chant, the tropes, songs, motets, plays, and miracles created and copied for Nicholas identify him as a saint to be sung to and about, regardless of context or language.[4]

Certain patterns emerge within the sizeable corpus of musical works written in Nicholas's name in medieval Europe. One is the association of the saint with two related liturgical versicles: *Benedicamus Domino*—sung at the conclusion of the Offices—and *Ite missa est*, sung at the end of Mass, but replaced by *Benedicamus Domino* during penitential seasons.[5] Both versicles were set to new and borrowed melodies and troped both monophonically and polyphonically; the *Benedicamus* was particularly central to a range of musico-poetic experiments and innovations beginning in the late eleventh century.[6] The figure of Nicholas is present from the earliest history of singing and elaborating these two liturgical versicles in two ways: first, special versicle melodies and tropes were sung on his feast day; and second, melodies from his proper chants were borrowed for the versicles sung on a range of feast days, a practice that continued without interruption for centuries. While in the first instance the music of the versicles was specifically linked to Nicholas's liturgy and feast day, in the latter the melodies borrowed from his Office at times remained connected to the saint textually and ritually but were also widely reused for other feasts. Specifically, melodies on the melisma 'Clementiam' from the responsory *Qui cum audissent* and the short and more syllabic incipit of the antiphon *O Christi pietas* circulated widely, the former primarily as a *Benedicamus* melody and the latter primarily as an *Ite*; both were transformed into tropes and polyphonic settings, although at a higher frequency for the melisma on 'Clementiam'.[7]

Verona DCXC	Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, DCXC
Volterra L 3 39	Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci, L 3 39
W_1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.
W_2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.

1 • On the musical character of Nicholas's cult, see Jones 1978, 246–55, and Caldwell 2023a.

2 • The relevant text is edited and translated most recently in Altstatt 2021, 1–2. Latin edited in Weinfurter 1987, 47–48.

3 • On the music and text of his medieval Office, see Jones 1963; Reaney 1963; Leahy 1997; and Caldaralo 1997.

4 • Caldwell 2023a.

5 • The standard literature on the versicles includes Harrison 1965; Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 160–206; Barclay 1977; Huglo 1982; Robertson 1988; and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, all of which is expanded by recent publications largely stemming from the *BENEDICAMUS* project directed by Catherine A. Bradley. On Nicholas's prominence within the tradition of singing versicles, see Barclay 1977, 10–11.

6 • See Robertson 1988.

7 • *Qui cum audissent* is *CAO* 7474; *O Christi pietas* is *CAO* 4008. The melodies from these chants are catalogued in relation to versicles in Barclay 1977, 48–49; Robertson 1988; and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 70–71 and 78. While 'Cle-

The scope and breadth of how the music of Nicholas's liturgy intersects with the singing of versicles demands consideration. Why Nicholas? Why his liturgy? Why certain melodies? Despite the borrowing and troping of versicle melodies from saints' liturgies including and beyond Nicholas's, the question of how saints and their cults factor into the long-standing practice of musical and textual elaboration of liturgical versicles has gone largely unexamined. Yet, while several saints deserve attention, Nicholas is singular (aside from the Virgin Mary) since his liturgy both serves as a locus for melodic and poetic elaboration of versicles and supplies popular versicle melodies.[8] Moreover, aspects of Nicholas's medieval cult more broadly suggest that the connection between saint and versicles through his chanted liturgy had musical and extramusical roots.

In what follows, I put Nicholas's cult and liturgy into conversation with the musical and ritual practices of singing versicles to begin answering the 'whys' posed above. Doing so sheds light on why and how certain melodies were borrowed, and what meanings were retained or lost as melodic material was manipulated and transformed. After an initial section on why Nicholas's liturgy was privileged in the history of liturgical versicles, I offer a series of case studies focused on sources and works that illustrate the integration of Nicholas and his feast into the practice of singing the *Benedicamus* and, vice versa, how the liturgical versicle became a locus for musical and poetic elaboration for his feast day. Each case study reflects broader trends characterising the singing and elaboration of liturgical versicles in medieval Europe, here filtered through the lens of one saint's liturgy. The chapter closes by narrowing in on one melody, 'Clementiam', and its transformation into a *Benedicamus* melody with wide musical and poetic currency in and beyond Nicholas's liturgy.

The musical cult of St Nicholas

Why was Nicholas so closely linked to the singing of liturgical versicles, and especially the *Benedicamus*? Aspects concerning the veneration of Nicholas and his liturgy provide guidance for how to interpret and contextualise the popularity of certain Proper chants for singing liturgical versicles. Chief among these are the rank of his feast day and its association with Advent and Christmastide rituals and liturgical practices; his patronage of young people; and the popularity of his liturgy as read through music-theoretical and hagiographical sources. At the intersection of multiple factors—musical and otherwise—the chanted liturgy of Nicholas emerges as a logical site of borrowing for liturgical versicles.

Nicholas's principal feast falls near the beginning of Advent, a penitential season in the Church year beginning on the Sunday closest to the feast of St Andrew on 30 November and concluding with Christmas. By the twelfth century, fasting was required only by the

mentiam' tended to be associated with singing the *Benedicamus* and 'O Christi pietas' with the *Ite*, sources occasionally transmit the inverse; see the discussion below regarding a collection of versicle melodies from Évreux.

8 ✦ The Virgin Mary is associated with the single most widely sung versicle melody, 'Flos filius eius'; apart from the Virgin, other saints of interest include, to cite just a couple of examples, St Vincent, from whose liturgy several versicle melodies are widely borrowed; the Holy Innocents, for whom many versicle tropes survive; and locally venerated saints who became imbricated in the singing of versicles at particular institutions or within certain Orders.

clergy and was confined to certain days, making it a less intense penitential season than Lent. Theologians correspondingly describe Advent as a season equally of solemn penance and joyful anticipation of Christ's arrival.[9] This is amplified liturgically: the Gloria, *Ite*, and Te Deum were removed for the four weeks before Christmas (with the *Ite* replaced by the *Benedicamus* at Mass), while the Alleluia continued to be sung.

In many ways Nicholas is a banner saint for this dualistic season. Veneration of the saint runs throughout Advent by virtue of his being one of the sole high-ranking feasts in Advent and the usual occasion to elect the Boy Bishop, who reigned until the Feast of the Holy Innocents on 28 December.[10] Nicholas also perfectly embodies the dualistic theology of Advent. With a childhood marked by abstemiousness, the saint—becoming an exemplary bishop in adulthood—was held up as a role model for younger clergy; sermons emphasise his fasting as an infant, studiousness as a young man, and above all his lifelong virtuousness.[11] Yet his feast day nevertheless proved an occasion for ritual, musical, and occasionally choreographic excess, especially on the part of choirboys, clerics, and students, for whom festivities on and around Nicholas's feast offered a cathartic outlet at the beginning of winter.[12]

What does this have to do with liturgical versicles? Two important (if circumstantial) details support the heightened presence of Nicholas musically and poetically within versicle traditions. First, the increased demand for the *Benedicamus* during Advent. Given its replacement of the *Ite* at Mass during Advent, the number of occasions at which a *Benedicamus* was sung increased, which also meant producing settings or choosing melodies to use for the versicle throughout the season at Mass and Office.[13] As a high-ranking feast in calendars across Europe for Advent, the liturgy of Nicholas might have seemed ideal as a source for what Peter the Venerable prescribed as new, good, and popular tunes to sing the *Benedicamus* during the month leading up to Christmas (the feast at which one of the most popular melismas for singing the versicle from Nicholas's liturgy, the 'Clementiam' melisma, was widely prescribed in liturgical books for the *Benedicamus* at Second Vespers).[14]

Second, the singing of the *Benedicamus* during Advent and at Christmas (and throughout the year) was routinely assigned to boy singers, *pueri cantores*, the same children who venerated Nicholas as a special patron, celebrated his feast with great solemnity, and emu-

9 • In his *Legenda aurea*, Voragine observes that the Advent fast 'is partly one of rejoicing, by reason of Christ's coming in the flesh, and partly one of anxiety at the thought of the Judgment. To bring this to our minds the Church sings some of her joyful chants because of the coming of mercy and rejoicing, and puts aside some others because the Judgement will be very strict and prompts anxiety.' Ryan 2012, 4.

10 • For an overview of the ritual, see most recently Fort 2022.

11 • For example, in late thirteenth-century Paris, Thomas Aquinas preached that the Lord 'discovered in [Nicholas] something very rare, namely, virtue in the prime of his youth, which is rare among youths'. Sermon translated by Louis-Jacques Bataillon, OP, in Kwasniewski 2005, 46.

12 • Eudes Rigaud thus complained at the Church of St-Hildevert-de-Gournay in 1263: 'on some of the feast days, particularly that of St Nicholas, the clerks[-choral], vicars, and even the chaplains conducted themselves in a dissolute and scurrilous manner, dancing through the town and singing *virelais*.' Translation adapted from O'Sullivan 1964, 530–31.

13 • Robertson notes, however, that at Mass simple tones would probably have been used; Robertson 1988, 4 and 9.

14 • Relevant passage cited and translated ibid., 11.

lated him as bishop during Advent as Boy Bishops.[15] Not only are boys frequently tasked with singing the versicle, early tropes of the *Benedicamus* highlight boy singers and the Feast of the Holy Innocents.[16] *Pueri* in secular churches (and junior monks in monasteries) were assigned to sing many of the chants from which *Benedicamus* tunes were borrowed; as Anne Walters Robertson notes, 'boys would have been familiar with these [responsory] melismas from their original contexts. Perhaps, in fact, the actual selection of melodies for the *Benedicamus* was sometimes made from the very melismas that the boys had already learned.'[17] While probably true in a broader sense, boys were especially attuned to the feast of Nicholas since so much of his liturgy and miracles revolved around them.[18]

The connection between boys and Nicholas's liturgy extends beyond the ritual moment and into the schoolroom, where the saint was invoked as a disciplinary and pedagogical figure. For instance, musical ('Guidonian') hands beginning in the twelfth century invoke Nicholas with the phrase 'Sancte Nicolae doce me cantare', inscribed alongside the ascending and descending hexachord.[19] In the schoolroom, where Nicholas ruled as saintly teacher and disciplinarian, his chants, and specifically 'Clementiam', also featured as pedagogical examples. Three music theory treatises, Johannes Affligemensis's *De musica cum tonario* (c.1100), the anonymous thirteenth-century *Summa musice*, and Johannes de Muris's fourteenth-century *Summa*, cite the 'Clementiam' melisma as an example of pleasing phrasal repetition (see below).[20] Music theoretical writings also cite the antiphon *O Christi pietas* as well as the responsory *Beatus Nicholaus* and the antiphon *O pastor eterne*; moreover, chants from the saint's liturgy appear in tonaries as exemplary models of certain modes.[21] Singers (boys and adults), in other words, were exposed to Nicholas's chanted liturgy on the feast day itself and in the song school where the spectre of the saint loomed large as a saintly teacher.

Hagiographical literature offers an additional context for the privileging of Nicholas's liturgy. Uniquely among medieval saints, several of Nicholas's miracles feature his chanted liturgy with citations ranging from incipits to entire chant texts.[22] Noteworthy for several reasons, the citation and quotation of specific chants in miracle narratives both marks their popularity and increases familiarity on the part of singers, who could make a connection to the saint's liturgy. Importantly, his miracles cite chants appearing in the earliest tenth-

15 • See, for instance, Lefèvre 1960, 2, 18, 28, and 95. On boy singers and versicles, see Boynton 2008.

16 • See below on the trope *Eia, pueri iubilo*.

17 • Robertson 1988, 9.

18 • On Nicholas's patronage of children, see Jones 1978.

19 • One such hand is copied in BnF NAL 1412, fol. 202r. One of Nicholas's most popular miracles involves his disciplining of a prior using chant; see the translation in Jones 1963, 47–49.

20 • Page 1991, 123, Latin at 99; see also 233 for a cross-reference to *De musica cum tonario*. For the relevant passage in Johannes Affligemensis's *De musica*, see the edition in Smits van Waesberghe 1950, 118–19. For Johannes de Muris's *Summa*, see Gerbert 1963, vol. 3, 238. See below for further discussion of this passage.

21 • See, for instance, the tonary examined in Morris 1999, 84–85, which includes several chants from Nicholas's liturgy.

22 • Two of these miracles are translated in Jones 1963, 47–62 and Jones 1978, 116–18 and 240–45, catalogued and edited as *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (*BHL*) 6209 and 6210. Other miracles citing chants include *BHL* 6177, *BHL* 6161, and one in Académie 1895, 289–90.

century sources for his liturgy and circulating widely within and beyond the liturgy, including in theoretical treatises.[23] The antiphon *O Christi pietas* in particular features in two Nicholas miracles, in addition to being cited in tonaries and circulating as a *Benedicamus*, *Ite*, Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus melody.[24] The antiphon, in other words, was miraculous and popular: even in contexts outside of Nicholas's liturgy and without the chant text the melody would have been widely associated with Nicholas.

It is impossible to establish beyond a doubt why medieval singers and scribes borrowed certain melodies and not others to sing versicles. Yet in the case of Nicholas's liturgy a network of possibilities emerges. His liturgy's music was miraculous, prized, cited, taught, memorised, and sung by children and adults alike. The Advent context for Nicholas's highly ranked feast, alongside an increased seasonal interest in the *Benedicamus*, further fleshes out the assemblage of ritual, music, and hagiography. Whether or not any one of these details alone or in tandem underpins musical choices for liturgical versicles, the cultural and musical currency of melodies borrowed from Nicholaian chants may not only have motivated this borrowing but also shaped how borrowed melodies were perceived, received, and remembered by singers, liturgists, and listeners. In the following case studies, I examine more closely specific contexts for the intersection of Nicholas and liturgical versicles, beginning in a Norman Abbey with a flourishing cult for the saint.

A Proper Office and versicle melodies for Nicholas at a Norman abbey

The early history of melodies for the *Benedicamus* and *Ite* is one of fragments and traces; only beginning in the eleventh century are melodies and tropes consciously gathered in and added to tropers and service books. Melodies associated with Nicholas align with the trajectory from fragmentary to codified; music from his liturgy is found in the earliest notated manuscript witnesses for the *Benedicamus* (such as BnF Lat. 887, an early eleventh-century Aquitanian source), as well as in the majority of subsequent sources for versicle melodies, including collections of melodies copied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[25] Some sources explicitly name Nicholas's feast and identify the origins of versicle melodies in his liturgy, while customaries and ordinals attest to the use of special tunes for his feast day, as well as to the use of chants from his liturgy for versicle melodies more generally.[26]

23 • These include the antiphons *O Christi pietas* and *O pastor eterne*, the responsories *Beatus Nicholaus*, *Confessor Dei Nicolaus*, and *Ex eius tumba*, and the sequence *Congaudentes exultemus*.

24 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 70–71, melody no. 309; Thannabaur 1962, as melodies nos. 103 and 16 (Sanctus VIII); Schildbach 1967, melody no. 120; and Melnicki 1954, melody no. 96. At certain institutions, the antiphon melody was sung as different chants throughout Nicholas's liturgy, becoming a 'musical theme' for the day; Robertson 1991, 209.

25 • Concrete numbers are impossible until better control over sources is at hand, which is soon to be thanks to the efforts of the *BENEDICAMUS* project. Based on existing catalogues and scholarship, however, the 'Clementiam' and 'O Christi pietas' *Benedicamus* melodies were far-reaching and widely copied. For instance, in Barclay's admittedly preliminary list of early manuscript sources for the *Benedicamus Domino* (melodies and tropes), material connected to Nicholas appears in all manuscripts (or manuscript groupings); Barclay 1977, 23–36 (see also https://cantusindex.org/melodies-barclay).

26 • On collections of melodies, see Harrison 1958, 74–76 and Robertson 1988. For citations in customaries, see, for instance, Bradshaw and Wordsworth, vol. 1, 369 and 81 and Davril 1976, 295–96.

The thirteenth-century notated antiphoner from the Benedictine abbey of Lyre in the Norman diocese of Évreux, Évreux 89, is representative in that it transmits both a collection of *Benedicamus* melodies (see Figure 4.1) and melodies proper to Nicholas's 6 December feast day (see Figure 4.2).[27] The collection of *Benedicamus* melodies ranked by feast (fols. 11v–12r) includes a melisma from Nicholas's liturgy for use at Lauds—the incipit of *O Christi pietas*—while the Offices for First and Second Vespers and Lauds on Nicholas's feast day prescribe a *Benedicamus* melody.[28] These latter melodies comprise one for First Vespers drawn from the melody of '-da ne cadamus sustine' from the responsory *Magne pater Nicolae* (see Figure 4.2), 'O Christi pietas' for Lauds, and 'Clementiam' for Second Vespers; only 'O Christi pietas' overlaps with the collection of melodies on fols. 11v–12r, corresponding to its general use at Lauds.[29] Not all feasts copied in Évreux 89 received this level of attention for the *Benedicamus*, setting Nicholas apart both because of the care to prescribe *Benedicamus* melodies within his Office and also because of the appearance of the 'O Christi pietas' melody for Lauds in the versicle collection.[30] This source also highlights the interleaving of versicle melodies into the order of an Office, rather than being separated out into a different section of the manuscript (or even into different service books).[31]

By the thirteenth century when Évreux 89 was copied, it was already conventional to borrow melodies for the *Benedicamus* from responsories, Kyries, antiphons, and other chants; Anne Walters Robertson describes the compositional parameters prescribed by writers like Peter the Venerable and in customaries as '*Benedicamus* by plagiarism'.[32] Consequently, finding in Évreux 89 both a collection of *Benedicamus* melodies drawn from other chants and versicle melodies in Nicholas's Office linked to chants appearing in the same place is unsurprising, if still rare. In at least one case, moreover, the melody borrowed from Nicholas's liturgy differs from the one in wider circulation (see Example 4.1), suggesting that, while the scribes and liturgists who copied Évreux 89 were participating in the tradition of singing *Benedicamus* to frequently borrowed chants, they also chose to align their versicle melodies to local versions and at times set the *Benedicamus* to less frequently borrowed melodies from Nicholas's liturgy. In Example 4.1, the *Benedicamus* on 'Clementiam' follows the contours of the responsory melisma exactly (only one variant

27 • On this manuscript, see Meyer 2006–21, vol. 7, 23–24. The manuscript reveals the abbey's strong English connections. Deeming 2005, 76 n. 54. My thanks to Thomas Phillips, who notes that the series of *Benedicamus* melodies in Évreux 89 closely parallels that in an English twelfth-century manuscript from St Albans, Oxford Laud Misc. 4, on which see Ch. 10 by Phillips in this volume.

28 • These are the usual Offices for singing an elaborate versicle melody; see Robertson 1988, 4. Nicholas's liturgy is transmitted on fols. 187v–192v of Évreux 89.

29 • Évreux 89, fols. 187v, 192v, and 192v respectively.

30 • The expected feasts include special melodies; see, for example, the *Benedicamus* melodies on fols. 20v and 26v for Christmas and St Stephen respectively.

31 • As Robertson notes, by the eleventh century 'melodies are included in liturgical sources, most often tropers, prosers, and graduals', and by the twelfth century melodies appear in a wide range of service books, including antiphoners. Robertson 1988, 10.

32 • Robertson 1988, 11.

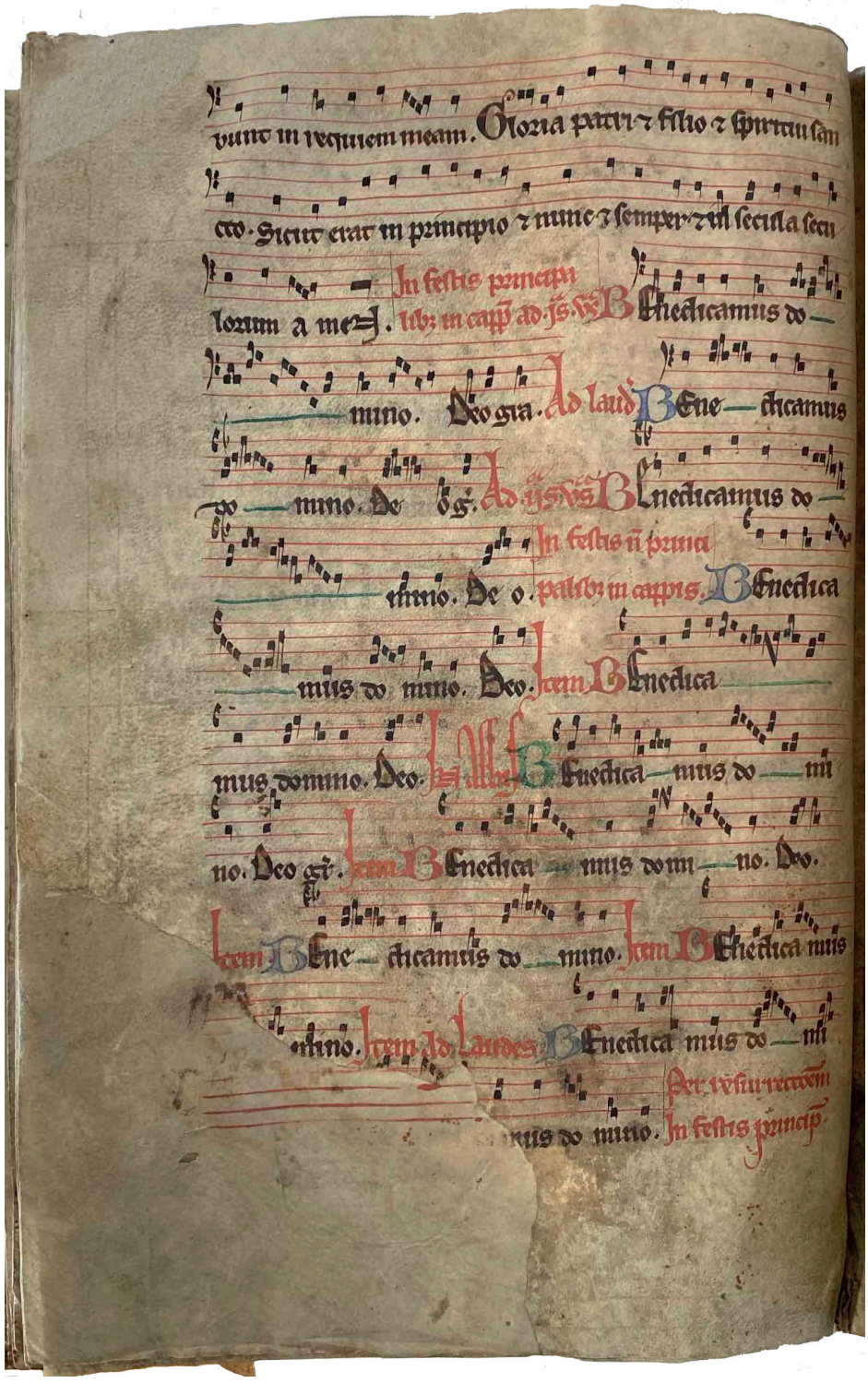


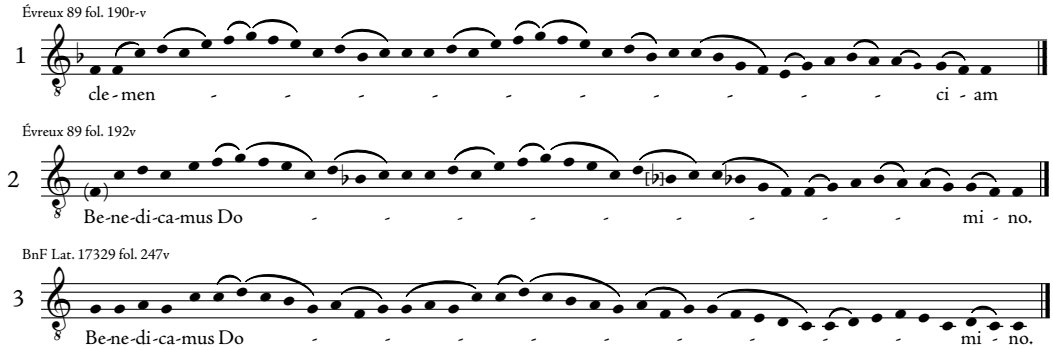
Figure 4.1: Évreux, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 89, fol. 11v, *'Benedicamus* melodies with feasts indicated ('O Christi pietas' as second melody 'ad laudes').
By kind permission of the Bibliothèque patrimoniale d'Évreux



Figure 4.2: Évreux, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 89, fol. 187v, First Vespers for Nicholas with *'Benedicamus* on the melody of '-da ne cadamus sustine' from the responsory *Magne pater Nicolae* (*CAO* 7115; see Évreux 89, fol. 191v).
By kind permission of the Bibliothèque patrimoniale d'Évreux

occurs where the responsory melisma moves down to *E* and the versicle remains on *F*).[33] By contrast, the use of the melisma as a versicle in other sources, including a northern French source from Saint-Denis (BnF Lat. 17329), sees the melody transposed down to start on C and the elimination of the initial rising interval of a fifth, alongside other minor variants.[34] The direct borrowing of melodic material for the versicle from the responsory melisma for use in the same Office is exemplified in Évreux 89, whereas sources like BnF Lat. 17329 collate melodies drawn from chants but removed from the order of a specific liturgy, and potentially at some distance from the local form of the responsory melismas in question.

Example 4.1: Comparison of melisma on 'Clementiam' from *Qui qum audissent* and *Benedicamus Domino* on 'Clementiam'



Finally, the practice of elaborating the *Benedicamus* is attested in the Évreux diocese more broadly in the Ordinal of Évreux Cathedral, in which tropes for particular feast days are prescribed.[35] Although the versicle is not listed for Nicholas's feast day in the Ordinal, the Norman setting of the abbey supports the high ranking of his feast day and, consequently, the added musical and poetic attention paid to liturgical elements, including versicles, in diocesan sources.[36] Évreux 89 confirms on a local level what musicologists have long observed at a transregional level: Nicholas's feast is often favoured for musical enrichment through versicles and his liturgy, moreover, serves as a source for versicle melodies both for his own feast day and others throughout the year.

Benedicamus Domino song-tropes for Nicholas from Palermo

Although the *Benedicamus* melodies in Évreux 89 are untroped, a major element of the versicle and its performance involved textual tropes. While the terminology around poetic tropes of liturgical versicles is ambiguous in terms of medieval rubrication and modern

33 • In Example 4.1, the initial pitch of the *Benedicamus Domino* appears to be incorrectly notated as G.

34 • See also the version from Saint-Denis (BnF Lat. 1107) cited in Robertson 1988, 21, which similarly is transposed and eliminates the initial rising fifth in the *Benedicamus* setting (although it preserves it as a rubric with the 'Clementiam' text; see below).

35 • See, for instance, Delamare 1925, 41, 44, 68, 81, 170, 200–201, and 233.

36 • On Nicholas's cult in Normandy, see Jones 1978, 144–54; Chibnall 2020; Fournée 1988; and Gazeau and Le Maho 2011.

classifications, a significant number of works troping the *Benedicamus* survive following the formal, poetic, musical, and stylistic contours of song of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries: *versus*, 'New Song', and conductus.[37] Copied primarily in eleventh- and twelfth-century tropers, versified 'song' tropes appear in service books, festal liturgies, and miscellaneous sources or as marginal additions. Nicholas is implicated in one of the earliest collections of song-form tropes of the *Benedicamus* with two works transmitted side by side in one of the Norman-Sicilian tropers, Madrid 289, copied c.1140 for the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.[38] *Benedicamus regi sydereo* R. *Deo cuius est eterna* (fols. 139v–140r) and *Sanctissimo pontifici* R. *Qui sic suum* (fol. 140r) are unrubricated in Madrid 289 but copied at the end of a collection of song-form tropes organised liturgically from Christmas to the Dedication of the Church, with Nicholas the only saint included outside of the Temporale order (SS Stephen, John, and the Holy Innocents are—as is often the case—included within the Christmas Octave), and copied prior to a collection of untroped *Benedicamus* melodies.[39] Together this pair of *Benedicamus* tropes highlights their function not only as liturgical elaborations but also within saints' cults due to their orientation around miracles and saintly attributes. Such works ornament the liturgy while promoting veneration of saints through the amplification of their miracles and attributes.

The two song-tropes follow the poetic principles of the *rithmus*, with regular line lengths and (generally monosyllabic) rhyme scheme; the integration of the liturgical text differs in that it serves as a framing device in *Benedicamus regi sydereo* at the beginning and end of each strophe corresponding to the versicle and response, while in *Sanctissimo pontifici* the versicle and its response serve, respectively, as the final line of each strophe:[40]

1. BENEDICAMUS regi sydereo	LET US BLESS the king of the stars
Quem Nicholaus amore intimo	whom Nicholas in deepest love
Semper coluit vacans ieiunio	always honoured by fasting,
Ab ortu suo serviens DOMINO.	serving THE LORD from his birth,
2. DEO cuius est eterna bonitas	GOD, who is eternally benevolent,
Qui Nicholaum ad sedes lucidas	who graciously led Nicholas
Duxit clementer post tot illecebras	to the magnificent thrones after so many
Cui seduli agamus GRACIAS.	enticements; let us THANK him devotedly.

37 • On the *Benedicamus Domino* in relation to the *versus*, the 'New Song' (a modern term referring to a formal, stylistic, and aesthetic shift in composition of song c.1100), and the conductus, see, for example, Harrison 1965; Fuller 1969; Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 160–206; Hartmann-Strauß 2018; and Everist 2018, 49–52 and 199–213.

38 • Madrid 289 is closely related to Madrid 288 and Madrid 19421; for dating and provenance, see Hiley 1981a, 42–46 and Hiley 1983.

39 • For a catalogue of *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies and song-tropes in the Norman-Sicilian tropers, see Hiley 1981a, 693–99, list on p. 377. See also Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 177–80; Barclay 1977, 26–29. *Sanctissimo pontifici* is also transmitted in Volterra L 3 39, fols. 15v–16v. My thanks to Andrea Klassen for alerting me to this previously unknown concordance (copied after a Nicholas sequence, *Congaudentes exultemus*).

40 • For a brief discussion of the form of *Benedicamus regi sydereo*, see Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 182.

1. Sanctissimo pontifici	To the most holy bishop
die canamus celebri	let us sing on the celebrated day
iocundo nisu animi.	while the spirit merrily rises.
2. Quem deitas innumeris	Whom divinity has adorned
decoravit miraculis	with innumerable miracles,
magnificans in seculis.	extolling him through the ages.
3. Congaudentes in iubilo	We who rejoice with
confessori Nicholao	Nicholas the confessor,
BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.	LET US BLESS THE LORD.
4. Qui sic suum pontificem	Who thus made his bishop
mundo fecit mirabilem	a wonder to the world
et in bonis laudabilem.	and laudable in good things.
5. Ut iam a puericia	That from boyhood
quarta et sexta feria	on Wednesday and Friday
matris vitaret ubera.	he avoided his mother's breast.
6. Unde cum eius sanctitas	Therefore since his holiness
multas excedat alias	surpasses many others,
DEO DICAMUS GRACIAS.[41]	LET US THANK GOD.

Both tropes celebrate Nicholas and his miracles, explicitly citing his 'innumerable miracles' in *Sanctissimo pontifici* and, in both works, centring on his identity as bishop and his abstemious infancy. Characteristic of twelfth-century Latin song more broadly, *Sanctissimo pontifici* begins with an invitation to sing in praise of Nicholas and, in both works, the saint is described above all as mediator between human singers and the divine. After all, the versicle ultimately gives thanks to the Lord and not to any one among the family of saints.

The musical settings of the two tropes have no known concordances among versicle melodies, although the opening gestures exhibit similarities with melodies in modes 1 and 8 respectively (see Examples 4.2a and b).[42] The opening fifth of *Sanctissimo pontifici* and the movement up and down the octave evokes the intervallic structure and octave ascent of the 'Clementiam' melisma (cf. Example 4.1), which might suggest a relationship considering the presence of the latter melody in a varied form (starting on *F*) in the same manuscript with a text for the Holy Innocents, *Eia, pueri iubilo* (fol. 136r).[43] Nicholas as a connecting link between the two melodies strengthens the possibility of a relationship, although it is impossible to disregard the general modal tendencies that lead to similar melodic gestures.

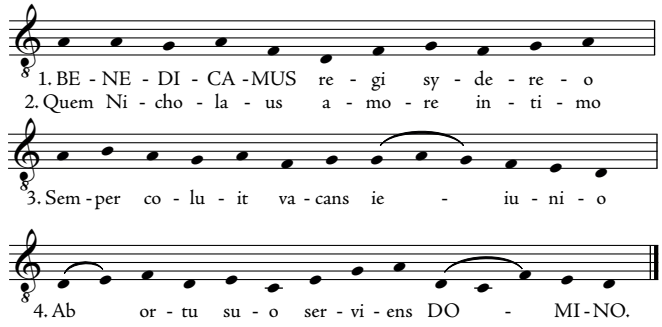
Copied for the Cappella Palatina in Palermo under Norman rule, the singling out of Nicholas's liturgy for elaboration in a collection of *Benedicamus* tropes in Madrid 289 is fitting. Not only was he highly venerated in Normandy by the eleventh century, he was also important to Norman rulers and monastic orders throughout Norman-occupied Italy. His cult was actively promoted across the occupied region, responding in part to the 1087 translation of his relics to Bari; the promotion of his cult included his liturgy, one version

41 • The version in Volterra L 3 39 differs textually in minor details; its heightened neumes align broadly with the melodic profile in Madrid 289.

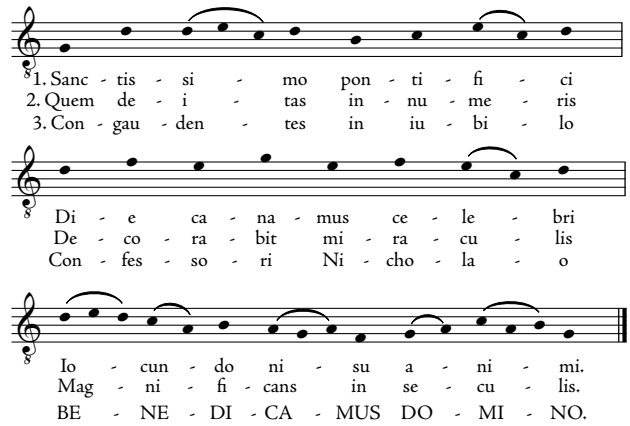
42 • For *Sanctissimo pontifici*, the three stanzas are musically identical except for the two-note figure on '-cun-' of 'iucundo' in the first stanza; I have followed the pitches and ligatures for the second two stanzas here.

43 • See below and Arlt 1983, especially the comparative edition of melodies of *Eia, pueri iubilo* at 33.

Example 4.2a: Madrid 289: fols. 139v–140r, *Benedicamus regi sydereo* R. *Deo cuius est eterna* (first strophe underlaid)



Example 4.2b: Madrid 289: fol. 140r, *Sanctissimo pontifici* R. *Qui sic suum* (first three strophes underlaid)



of which was probably brought from Normandy and incorporated in pre-existing local liturgies. The attributes and miracles of Nicholas featured in *Benedicamus regi sydereo* and *Sanctissimo pontifici* were unquestionably familiar to both Italians and Norman invaders, and the musical elaboration of his feast day aligns with Norman and southern Italian liturgical practices. Around this saint's cult, at least, no cultural or religious conflicts arose.

The two tropes for Nicholas in Madrid 289 reflect a moment of creativity around the versicle that privileged the composition of works in the poetic and musical style of the New Song of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition, the pair of works dedicated to Nicholas at the conclusion of a larger, liturgically ordered collection of *Benedicamus* tropes underscores how prominently the saint and his feast day figure in the history of the versicle; Madrid 289 also transmits *Eia, pueri iubilo* (discussed below), a trope employing the 'Clementiam' melisma, which means that—as in Évreux 89—Nicholas's liturgy features in Madrid 289 both as a focus of and source for versicle elaboration. It is also worth noting the northern French connection between the Abbey of Lyre in Normandy and Norman-occupied Sicily, since northern French locales tend to dominate the early history of the versicle and its troping, as the next case study likewise underscores.

Nicholas, *Benedicamus Domino*, and Latin song in Paris

Towards the thirteenth century, and especially in northern French regions, collections of liturgical polyphony and Latin song begin to be copied, revealing ongoing interest in setting the *Benedicamus*. In particular, the repertoire of Latin song collated under the label of the conductus includes polyphonic and monophonic works that, in some cases, take the form of song-form tropes like *Benedicamus regi sydereo*, hewing close to the versicle and its function, and in other cases include only the text 'Benedicamus Domino' (often as a concluding line).[44] The manuscript F, copied in mid-thirteenth-century Paris and reflecting the practices of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, includes polyphonic settings of the versicle; texted works that employ the versicle as a tenor; and conducti that trope or cite the versicle. Nicholas is present, too, as the saint who finds a place at all major moments of transition and development for the *Benedicamus*, integrated melodically through borrowing and textually through song-tropes.

In F, six works in multiple genres (organum, clausula, motet, conductus) connect Nicholas and the *Benedicamus* (see Table 4.1).[45] In three of them (nos. 1 and 3–4) the saint is indirectly referenced through the 'Clementiam' melody; in no. 2, 'Clementiam' is set as a clausula ostensibly for his liturgy (celebrated at a duplex rank at Notre Dame Cathedral), while nos. 5–6 are strophic refrain songs for Nicholas citing the versicle text but melodically unrelated to 'Clementiam'. The contents of F thus reflect not only a particular compositional approach to the *Benedicamus* that foregrounds polyphonic treatment, but also the curating of the versicle thematically and liturgically, the latter leading to the greater than expected presence of Nicholas through melody and text.

Of the works in Table 4.1, nos. 5–6 are absent from existing catalogues and studies of the *Benedicamus*. This is perhaps due to textual ambiguity, in addition to their placement among the idiosyncratic collection of sixty refrain songs in the final, eleventh fascicle of F where the versicle is otherwise textually absent.[46] The versicle, however, is clearly cited in the fifth and final strophe of *Nicholae presulum*, concluding four previous strophes celebrating Nicolas's protection of the clergy and ability to drive away sin alternating with a refrain

44 • Everist 2018, 199–213.

45 • See Roesner 1996 and Masani Ricci 2002. In the context of thirteenth-century polyphony, the 'Clementiam' melisma in its guise as a *Benedicamus Domino* melody is referred to as BD VI; see van der Werf 1989, 131. Van der Werf lists works associated with BD VI outside of F; BD VI and BD I ('Flos filius eius') are the only two *Benedicamus* melodies of the ones set polyphonically in F employed for motets. The clausula is unusual in that it derives from the choral portion of the responsory that would not have been sung polyphonically within organum; however, Catherine A. Bradley proposed that the clausula may have been one of a group of clausulae intended as *Benedicamus* substitutes; pers. comm. and an unpublished paper, '*Benedicamus Domino* and Musical Creativity in the Middle Ages', delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, San Antonio, TX, 2018. Other polyphonic works for Nicholas in F include the organa *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* (M51) (Common of the Saints, used for Nicholas); *Ex eius tumba Catervatim ruunt* (O25; for two and three voices); *Alleluia Dilexit Andream* (sung for St Andrew, Nicholas, and the Common of the Saints); and the conducti *Fulget Nicholaus* and *Nicholai presulis*. Along with the four monophonic refrain songs for Nicholas in fascicle 11, he is the saint best represented musically apart from the Virgin Mary in F, with nearly half exhibiting connections to the *Benedicamus*. See Masani Ricci 2002, 525–32.

46 • The sixty songs frequently betray associations with the liturgy, most notably with the inclusion of a troped hymn, which, moreover, is musically and textually related to *Benedicamus* song-tropes; see Caldwell 2021.

Table 4.1: Versicle settings related to Nicholas in F

	Incipit	Fols.	Genre	No. of voices	Source melody
1	*Benedicamus Domino*	41v–42v	Organum	3	Clementiam (BD VI)
2	*Clementia[m]*	184r–v	Clausula	2	Clementiam (BD VI)
3	*Beatis nos/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*	250r–252r	?Motet	3	Clementiam (BD VI)
4	*Alpha bovi/DOMINO*	407r	Motet	2	Clementiam (BD VI)
5	*Gaudeat ecclesia presulis*	471r	Conductus	1	—
6	*Nicholae presulum*	471r	Conductus	1	—

seeking forgiveness. The text identifies the festal occasion for the song in general terms, yet is unquestionably Nicholas's feast:

1. Nicholae presulum	1. O Nicholas, gem of bishops,
Gemma Syon speculum	mirror of Syon,
Tuum rege populum	*rule your people,*
Demones preme	*oppress evil spirits;*
Pastor uise seculum	*O shepherd, look at this age*
Uitia deme	*take away its vices.*
…	…
5. Ergo festum colamus[47]	5. Therefore let us celebrate the feast,
DEO BENEDICAMUS.	LET US BLESS THE LORD.
Tuum rege populum	*Rule your people,*
Demones preme	*oppress evil spirits;*
Pastor uise seculum	*O shepherd, look at this age*
Uitia deme.[48]	*take away its vices.*

Gaudeat ecclesia also includes a reference to Nicholas's feast day and its celebration, adding a more ambiguous subjunctive formulation that, due to the rhyme scheme of the strophe, is probably a poetic reworking of the versicle:

1. Gaudeat ecclesia	1. Let the church rejoice,
Presulis sollempnia	revering the solemnities
Colens et preconia.	and praises of this bishop.
Nicholae propera	*O Nicholas, hurry up,*
Nos fove nos libera	*favour us, free us,*
Purga cordis scelera.	*cleanse the wickedness of our hearts.*
…	…
5. Ergo festum colite	5. Therefore, honour this feast,
Laudes Deo dicite	sing praises to God,
DEO BENEDICITE.	LET US GIVE THANKS TO GOD.
Nicholae propera	*O Nicholas, hurry up,*
Nos ama nos libera	*love us, free us,*
Purga cordis scelera.[49]	*cleanse the wickedness of our hearts.*

47 • The scribe erroneously copied the final line of the refrain ('uitia deme') after this line.

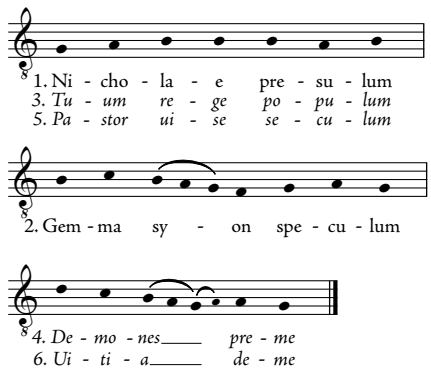
48 • Edited in full and translated in Anderson 1979–, vol. 8, xl; corrected here.

49 • The scribe writes out the final repetition of the refrain in full and changes one word in line 2. Edited in full and translated in Anderson 1979–, vol. 8, xli; corrected here.

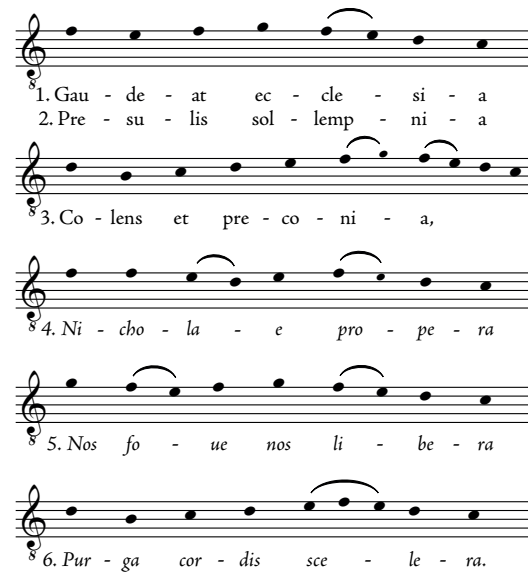
The formulaic final strophe follows a multi-strophe rehearsal of Nicholas's most popular miracles before inviting the community to celebrate the feast while giving thanks to the Lord.

Akin to many works in the final fascicle of F, these two songs exhibit a narrow melodic range and largely syllabic setting, situating them stylistically closer to many of the Latin songs found in the Norman-Sicilian tropers and elsewhere than to the polyphonic conducti transmitted elsewhere in F (including two for Nicholas).[50] Neither melody corresponds to catalogued *Benedicamus* melodies, although other refrain songs in F share melodic material with chants and hymns, suggesting the possibility that these tunes, too, could be borrowed (see Example 4.3(a) and (b)).[51] The simplicity of their musical settings and refrain forms suggests performance practices around the versicle attested to in ordinals and customaries, and in rubrication in festive liturgies. Such sources indicate that soloists sing the strophes and the choir (or a small group of singers) performs the refrain, by contrast to the soloistic practices suggested by the polyphonic settings of the versicle and conducti earlier in F. It is also possible that the songs were to be sung by boy choristers who, from at least the twelfth century at Notre Dame in Paris, were tasked with singing the versicle at Lauds, Vespers, and Compline.[52]

The duplex rank of Nicholas's feast day at Notre Dame meant that his liturgy could be supplied with polyphony (including polyphonic settings of the *Benedicamus*); his liturgy could perhaps also be supplemented with monophonic *Benedicamus* song-tropes, too, just as it was at the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and elsewhere.[53] Nicholas's outsized presence in F in relation to the *Benedicamus* speaks volumes to the saint's customary role within li-



Example 4.3a: F, fol. 471r: *Nicholae presulum*



Example 4.3b: F, fol. 471r: *Gaudeat ecclesia*

50 • See n. 45 for works in F for Nicholas.

51 • See, for instance, Caldwell 2016 and Caldwell 2021.

52 • On the singing of the versicle by choristers, see Wright 1989, 107–9, 66, and 81–83.

53 • Guérard 1850, vol. 1, 74.

turgical and musical practices around the versicle in northern France. That he was a special saint in Paris and at Notre Dame is undebatable, and the poetic texts of songs for the saint in F speak to specifically clerical veneration in the city and at the Cathedral. Yet for the *Benedicamus* in particular, the manuscript provides a mid-thirteenth-century snapshot of how Nicholas and his liturgy repeatedly encountered the singing of the versicle through borrowing and new musical and poetic settings.

The northern French and Norman contexts of this trio of case studies reveal only part of the larger picture for the *Benedicamus* in relation to Nicholas's liturgy and cult. His was a transregional cult: his feast ranked highly at countless institutions and therefore occasioned new *Benedicamus* tropes in numerous places. As a case in point, the trope *Nicholai sollempnia* survives in over a dozen sources (manuscripts and prints), mostly dating from the fifteenth century and mostly from northern and central Europe; a possible twelfth-century incipit of the same text also survives in the Hungarian Codex Albensis (Graz 211).[54] Although most of the melodic settings appear to be related, at least one source transmits the trope with the 'O Christi pietas' melody, creating a situation in which melodic borrowing from Nicholas's liturgy collides with the singing of versicle tropes in his name.[55] In this vein, I turn now to another melody borrowed from his liturgy that was used to sing the *Benedicamus* (and more rarely the *Ite*), and which furnished the base for many *Benedicamus* tropes: the 'Clementiam' melisma. This heavily borrowed tune lays bare the significance, or lack thereof, attached to melodic material in medieval Europe and how processes of borrowing and contrafacture operate in twofold ways by allowing for either the recollection or forgetting of prior musical and ritual contexts.

The mercy of Nicholas: 'Clementiam'

Of all melodies borrowed to sing liturgical versicles in medieval Europe, only one lays claim to inspiring an extensive network of genres and settings, even beyond that of the most widely travelled versicle melody on 'Flos filius eius'.[56] This is because the melisma on 'Clementiam' was borrowed to sing not only the *Benedicamus* but also (if less often) the *Ite*, but was also (in its guise as a versicle melody) set polyphonically with and without textual tropes; monophonically with textual tropes; as a motet tenor for Latin, French, and English motets; and was additionally reworked as a melody for *Benedicamus* song-tropes. Outside of versicles, the 'Clementiam' melisma survives with added prosula texts and was cited in music theoretical contexts and tonaries, labelled alternatively as 'Clementiam' (with its text from the Nicholas responsory) or *Benedicamus Domino*.[57] Across contexts and genres, the

54 • Orthography varies widely for this song, as does the number and order of strophes; see Bergsagel 1990.

55 • Ibid., 12.

56 • Although 'Flos filius eius' features more frequently as a tenor in polyphonic settings, it does not have the same reach across genres as 'Clementiam'. For an overview of the 'Clementiam' melisma and its associated settings and tropes, see Barclay 1977, 48–49. For a study of 'Flos filius eius' across polyphonic contexts, see Dennery 2009.

57 • See above for references in music theoretical sources and tonaries, and for prosula texts see Hofmann-Brandt 1971–73, vol. 1, 108–9, and vol. 2, 25 and 117–18.

melody is sometimes related by means of an attached text to Nicholas, and at other times the connection is missing. This characterises most, if not all, melodies borrowed to sing liturgical versicles since they were used across a range of feasts. The 'Clementiam' melody thus highlights both the specificity of borrowed versicle melodies and its treatment primarily as musical material, seemingly (but not entirely) separated from its liturgical origins.

I have already pointed to features of Nicholas's medieval cult and the reception of his liturgy that support widespread familiarity with his chanted liturgy, the involvement of children in his feast day (who would have sung the 'Clementiam' melisma since it belongs to the choral portion of the responsory), and the theoretical appreciation for his chants. Yet choosing this melisma from among many others in his liturgy suggests something particularly appealing about how it was composed, how it sounded, and how it could be reworked. Of note, too, is the assonance linking 'Cl**e**m**e**nt**ia**m' to the four initial vowel sounds of 'B**e**n**e**d**i**c**a**mus'; this would hardly have been lost on medieval composers, singers, and scribes, who frequently played with assonance and rhyme in versicle tropes.[58] Moreover, the single word 'mercy' itself garnishes tantalising possibilities. The concept of mercy relates to Nicholas's hagiography thanks to its close connection with the healing nature of his relics; it also has currency in musico-theoretical understandings of the mercy provided by music, as in Bernard Silvestris's commentary on Martianus Capella.[59] More specific to *Qui cum audissent*, Johannes Affligemensis notes in his *De musica* (discussed above) that, although composers should avoid the defect of repetition of similar sounds, notable exceptions occur that might be linked to word choice: 'we do not find fault if now and then some appropriate melodic figures are repeated just once, as at the end of the respond *Qui cum audissent*, at "laudantes clementiam"' (*Si autem interdum aliquae decentes neumae semel repetantur, non vituperamus, ut in fine Responsorii* Qui cum audissent, *ubi est* 'laudantes clementiam').[60] Aspects of the borrowed word alone alongside its textual and conceptual associations may have played into its selection not only as a repetitive, melismatic moment in the responsory in the first place, but also as a borrowed melody whose rehearing emphasises the praising of mercy.

Following Johannes Affligemensis, later music theoretical sources confirm the musical appeal of the melisma, while contemporary scholars note its 'textbook' AAB form, discussed further below, in which the octave ascent is twice repeated as the A section followed by a descent in the B section.[61] In the thirteenth-century *Summa musice*, the anonymous writer refers to this form, observing:

> In the creation of new chant the same interval should not be pointlessly repeated…. It should be known, however, that one repetition of an interval or a phrase may be heard with pleasure; it may

58 • See, for example, the discussion of the rhyme scheme of the duplum of *Alpha bovi/DOMINO* mirroring the vowels of its *Benedicamus* tenor in Bradley 2012, 156–57. See also Barclay 1977, 461–66, on *Beatis nos/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*. Both of these pieces are on the 'Clementiam' melisma.

59 • 'Music gives and takes away sounds, furnishes anger, induces mercy' (*Dat musica sonos et adimit, iram suggerit, clementiam suadet*). Westra 1986, 50–1. On the concept of mercy in relation to Nicholas's relics, see Kwasniewski 2005, 31 and 49–50.

60 • See Johannes Affligemensis 1950, 118–19. Translated in Babb 1978, 138–39.

61 • See n. 20 above and Arlt 1983, 37. On reduplication in responsory melismas, see Kelly 1974.

> therefore be repeated once, but not often, as in Alleluia *Surrexit pastor bonus* at the words 'pro ovibus', and in the chant for St Nicholas [*Qui cum audissent* at the word] *Clementiam*.[62]

Notably, *Qui cum audissent* is never transmitted without the melisma on 'Clementiam'. The earliest notated source for Nicholas's notated Office, Munich Clm 19162 (fol. 183v, dated to the tenth century), thought to represent Reginold of Eichstatt's Office, transmits the responsory with the neumes for the continuation of the extensive 'Clementiam' melisma fitted within the space usually reserved for text syllables.[63] The melisma is neither omitted by scribes nor transmitted identically. Instead, the melody takes the form of either AAB or AA'B, the variation occurring in the reiteration or omission of the opening ascending fifth. Example 4.4 compares the melisma in a selection of notated sources across monastic and secular uses and from different times and regions; no compelling reason emerges for the varying form based on use, geography, or chronology (the same is true for the inclusion or exclusion of B flat).[64] Apart from the repetition or lack thereof of the opening fifth gesture in the A sections, the melodic contour of the melisma is stable, with minor variants, especially in the B section. The melody emphasises the fifth mode with octave movement *F–f* and resting points at the end of the A sections on *c*, along with the initial opening fifth *F–c* that overtly asserts the mode.

When borrowed to sing liturgical versicles, the 'Clementiam' melisma undergoes changes, setting the melody in its role as *Benedicamus* or *Ite* apart musically from the well-known responsory. Example 4.5 compares four sources that collate *Benedicamus* melodies in which the scribe indicates either the source chant for versicle melody or specifies Nicholas, thus confirming an explicit link to the responsory; in each of these the melisma is transposed from F- to C-mode and only the earliest versicle melody in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 includes the characteristic opening fifth in the A sections. In this, the Oxford melody is more closely aligned with the form and overall shape of the responsory melisma from Nicholas's Office. Perhaps this can be related to the fact that the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* melody was designated for Nicholas's feast day in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and so the melody conforms more closely to the chant source (as at Évreux). In the collection of versicle melodies in a thirteenth-century missal from the royal abbey of Saint-Denis in Paris (BnF Lat. 1107, fols. 395v–396r), the opening fifth gesture beginning on C followed by the ascent from G to C is underlaid with the textual cue for the melisma's source 'Clementiam', while the versicle text begins only with repeated pitches on G and movement up to *c*.[65] In

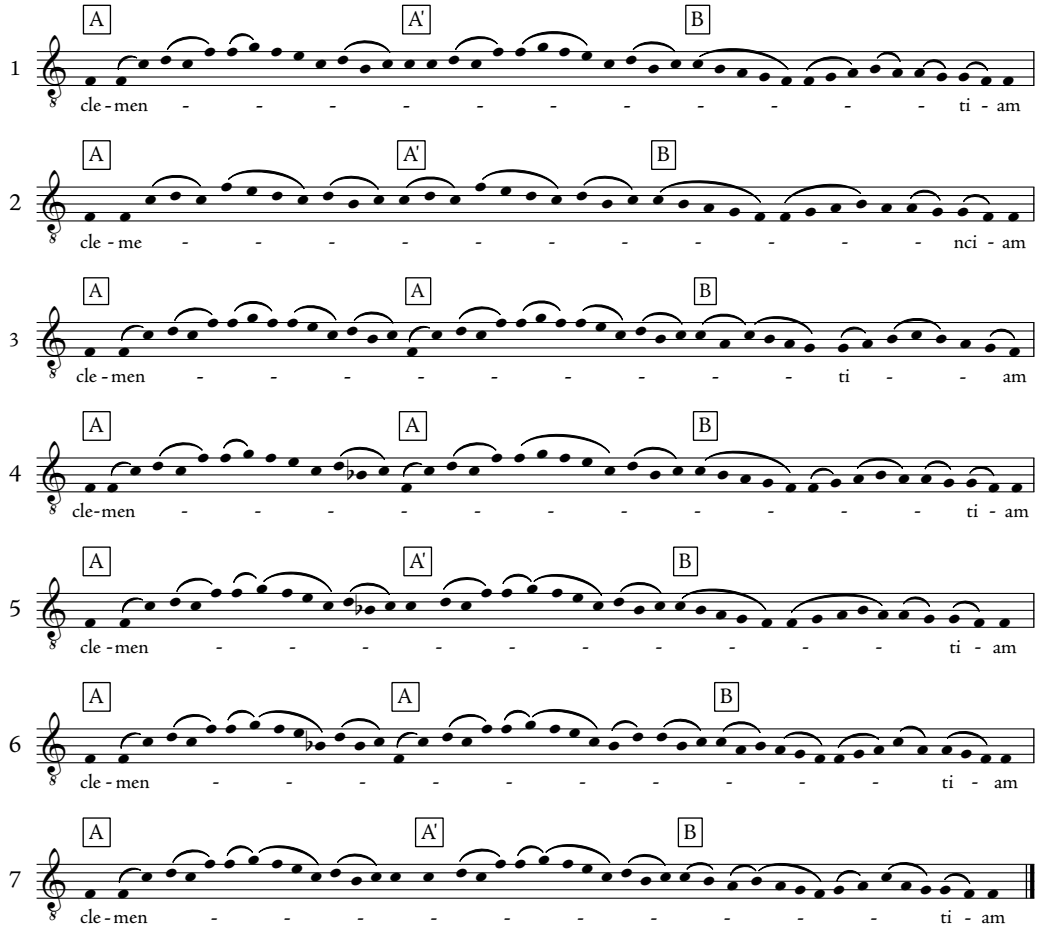
62 • 'Item in formatione cantus novi non apponitur inutiliter repetitio invervalli eiusdem … Sciendum tamen quod intervallum vel clausula repetitione una cum delectatione auditur; semel igitur potest repeti, sed raro, sicut in *Alleluia "Surrexit pastor bonus"*, ibi *pro ovibus*, et in cantu de Sancto Nicholao [*Qui cum audissent*] *clementiam*'. Page 1991, 123 and 199.

63 • Responsory melismas are a hallmark of Reginold of Eichstatt's compositional style and of the Nicholas Office; see Caldaralo 1997 and Altstatt 2021, 13–14 for a discussion of *Qui cum audissent*.
Digital facsimile: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00036884?page=,1 (accessed 18 March 2024).

64 • For a discussion of this melisma, see Arlt 1983, 34–36. The responsory is newly composed; see Holman 1961, 224. I have thus far compared the melisma across sources digitally available through the CANTUS database (as of 30 November 2023).

65 • Digitised at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033022b.r=%22latin%201107%22?rk=42918;4 (accessed 18 March 2024).

Example 4.4: Comparison of 'Clementiam' melisma

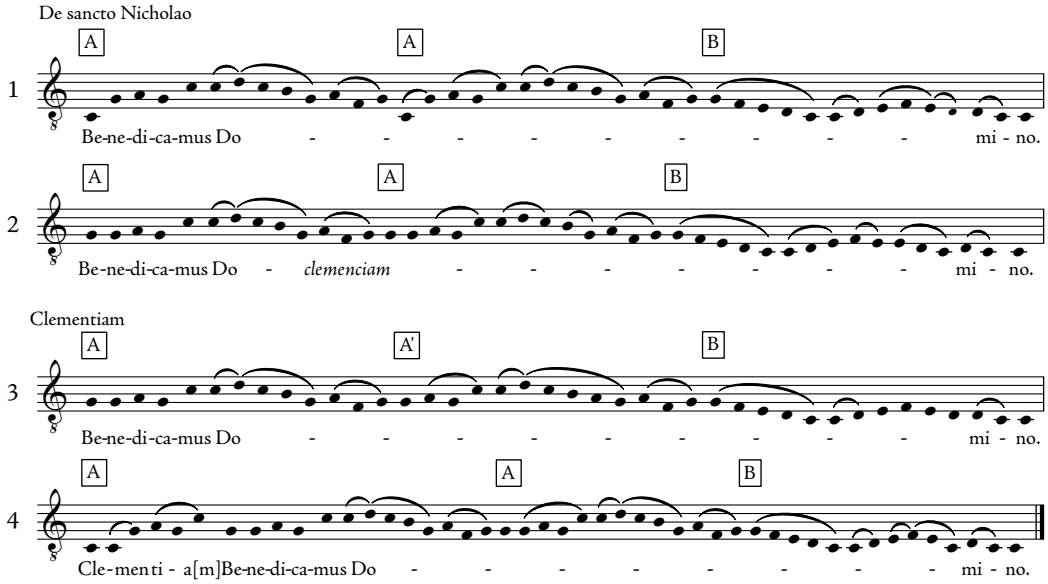


1. BnF Lat. 12044, fol. 223r–v (St-Maur-des-Fossés, monastic, twelfth century)
2. BnF Lat. 1090, fol. 245v (Marseille, secular, twelfth century)
3. Chantilly 50, fol. 310v (Jerusalem, secular, thirteenth century)
4. BnF NAL 1535, fol. 5r (Sens, secular, thirteenth century)
5. Einsiedeln 611, fol. 158r (Einsiedeln, monastic, fourteenth century)
6. BnF Lat. 15181, fol. 372v (Paris, secular, thirteenth century)
7. Klosterneuburg 1011, fol. 13v (Klosterneuburg, monastic, fourteenth century)

this source the scribe seeks to link the versicle melodies to their original chant sources, making the inclusion of the characteristic opening leaps for the 'Clementiam' melisma logical as a rubric, although this combination of melodic and textual rubrication is seemingly unique to BnF Lat. 1107.[66]

66 • The *Ite* melody on 'Clementiam' also includes an incipit for the chant rubric, but in this case eliminates the opening fifth for both the rubric and the versicle melody (fol. 397r).

Example 4.5: *Benedicamus* settings of 'Clementiam'



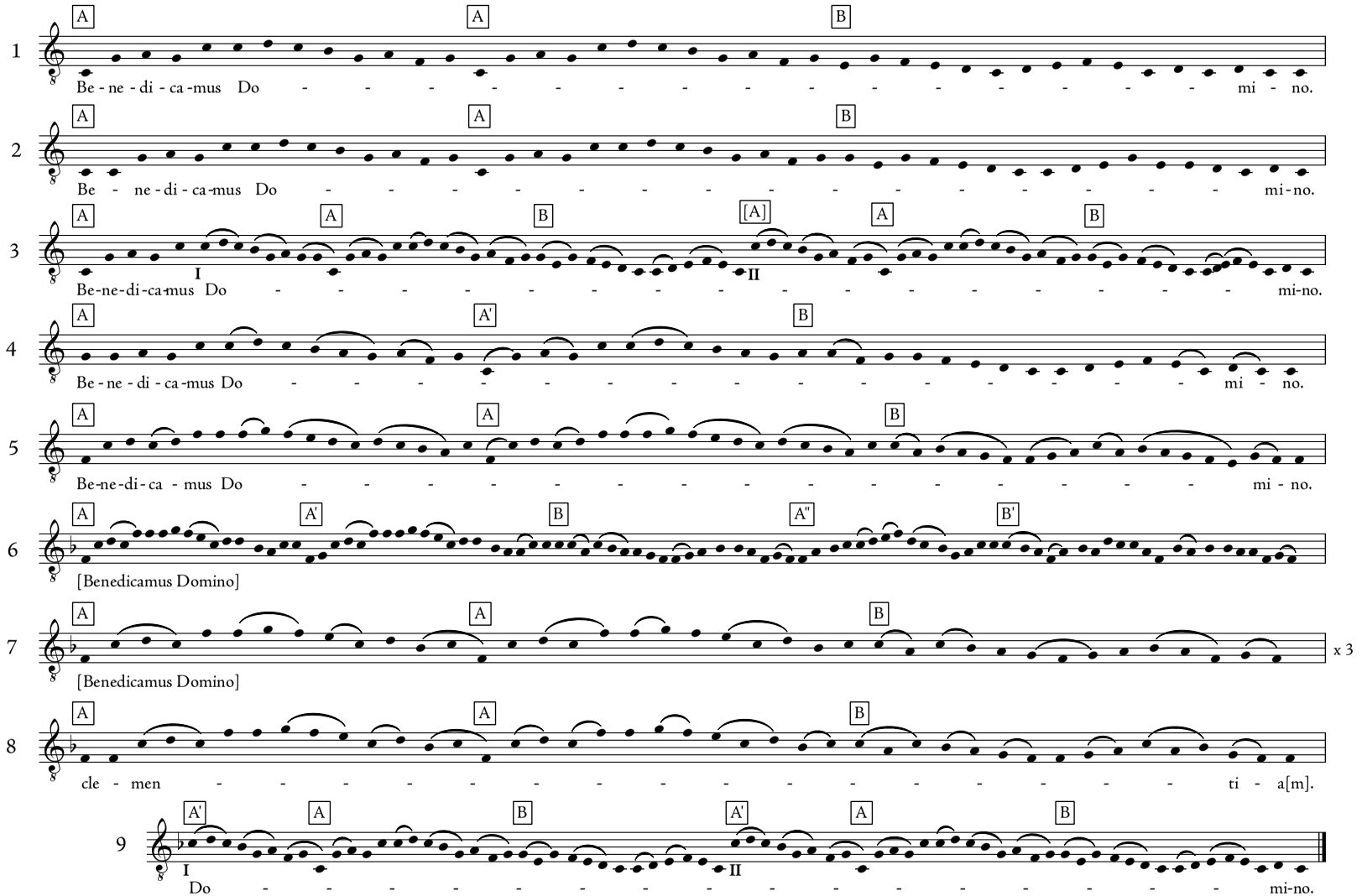
1. Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 165v
2. JRL 24, fol. 14r
3. BnF Lat. 17329, fol. 247v
4. BnF Lat. 1107, fols. 395v–396r

Polyphonic settings of the versicle employing the melisma vary in their treatment of the borrowed melody; some employ the transposed melisma in C-mode and others retain the responsory's F modality (see Example 4.6). The 'Clementiam' melody, in its guise as a *Benedicamus* tenor, uniformly retains the AAB form of the original chant melody, albeit with tenor repetitions occasionally obscuring or ornamenting the underlying form. This is the case in the three-voice organal setting in the thirteenth-century F, W_1, and W_2, and in the tenor of *Alpha bovi/DOMINO* in F (a texting of the discant section of the *Benedicamus Domino* organum), all of which use the version starting on C include the characteristic opening fifth of the chant (in the motet this occurs with the second statement of the *color*), but repeat the melisma beginning from 'Do-' of 'Domino' (indicated with roman numerals).[67] The motet *Virgo parit/Nova salus/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO* likewise features tenor repetition that, while retaining the underlying AAB form, abbreviates the melody by eliminating the repetition of the A section at the restatement of the melisma (indicated as A'' and B' in Example 4.6); as Barbara Marian Barclay observes, the upper voices align with the tenor structure.[68] By contrast, the tenor of *Worldes blisce/BENEDI-*

67 • On *Alpha bovi/DOMINO*, including its concordances and contrafacta, see Barclay 1977, 462–63; Bradley 2012, 151–57; and Llewellyn 2020. For an analysis of the *Benedicamus Domino* organum in F, see Barclay 1977, 433–38.

68 • See Barclay 1977, 511–15.

Example 4.6: *Benedicamus Domino* on 'Clementiam' in polyphonic settings



1. *Beatis nos/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*, F, fols. 250r–252r
2. *Benedicamus Domino*, Mo, fol. 4v
3. *Benedicamus Domino*, F, fols. 41v–42v
4. *Benedicamus Domino*, Calixtinus, fols. 219r–v
5. *Benedicamus Domino*, Munich Clm 2699, fol. 195r
6. *Virgo parit/Nova salus/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*, Hu, fol. 99v
7. *Worldes blisce/*[*BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*], Cambridge CCC 8, fol. Ar
8. 'Clementia[m]', F, fol. 184r–v
9. *Alpha bovi/DOMINO*, F, fol. 407r–v

CAMUS DOMINO states the entire melisma starting on *F* three times, with the opening fifth repeated at each statement of the A section: in this, it is almost identical to the 'Clementiam' clausula in F in pitch and form. Similarly straightforward are the tenors of *Beatis nos/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*, the three-voice setting in Mo, and the tenor of the two-part setting in the fourteenth-century source from Aldersprach, Munich Clm 2699: all three state the melisma in its entirety with its AAB form (beginning on C in F and Mo and *F* in Munich Clm 2699).[69]

Most distant from these thirteenth- and fourteenth-century settings is the two-voice *Benedicamus* in the twelfth-century Codex Calixtinus, which, transposed to C, omits the opening fifth until the second statement of the A material.[70] The opening repetition of the *G* is closest among all the polyphonic uses of the 'Clementiam' melisma to how it appears in monophonic sources for the untroped versicle, while all other polyphonic instances align more closely with the contour of the melisma as found in the responsory. Possible reasons for this might include a preference for the compositional potential presented by tenor movement by fifths and fourths; the rhythmic profiles of the upper voices in note-against-note settings; its potential for a *Stimmtausch* realisation given the octave range; or simply a choice to use any of a well-known melisma's forms.[71] As Example 4.5 above illustrates, the adaptation of chant melisma to versicle melody lacks uniformity across place and time, even though the underlying practice of borrowing 'Clementiam' was stable. Knowing that the *Benedicamus* melody derives from the 'Clementiam' melisma—and surely the composers of these works did—meant they had knowledge of the melody in at least two contexts, potentially with differing tonal centres to choose from, along with formal and melodic variants. In other words, the position of the melisma within a responsory and as a *Benedicamus* melody multiplied compositional possibilities in polyphonic settings.

Significantly, only the *Benedicamus* settings in F, W_1, W_2, Mo, Munich Clm 2699, and the clausula on 'Clementiam' itself have an explicit connection to the liturgy of Nicholas.

69 • *Beatis nos/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO* has elicited a range of scholarly interpretations and labels; as Catherine A. Bradley notes, its presence at the end of fascicle 6 in F following three-voice conducti is appropriate because of its identity as a versicle trope, even though it has a liturgical tenor like a motet. Bradley 2018b, 59, n. 51. See also Everist 2018, 212 (misidentifying the *Benedicamus Domino* as BD V). For an analysis, see Barclay 1977, 461–62. On the setting in Munich Clm 2699, see Barclay 1977, 605–06 and Arlt 1983. On the setting in Mo, see Barclay 1977, 468–69.

70 • For an analysis, see Barclay 1977, 338 and 340–43.

71 • Analysis of the melody's polyphonic potential is outside the scope of this article but see Barclay 1977 and Arlt 1983.

The texted polyphonic settings, on the other hand, do not appear at first to be related to the saint. Instead, they are extended tropes of the *Benedicamus* (apart from the bilingual English/Latin motet *Worldes blisce/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*, unusual in other respects).[72] As Catherine A. Bradley writes, *Alpha bovi/DOMINO* 'is effectively an extension and elaboration of the words "Benedicamus Domino"' thanks to is poetic use of assonance and string of Christological symbols.[73] Equally important, the 'troped organum' *Beatis nos/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO* is built entirely around the syllables of the versicle, as Barclay illustrates, and concludes with 'Domino',[74] and the Marian motet *Virgo parit/Nova salus/BENEDICAMUS DOMINO* concludes its upper voices with 'Benedicamus Domino'.[75] In other words, these texted polyphonic settings on the 'Clementiam' melisma focus on its function as a versicle melody, troping the tenor versicle text rather than highlighting any connection to the original chant context. This aligns with how *Benedicamus* settings on borrowed melodies generally function; the original chant context does not necessarily or exclusively determine how the versicle functions ritually. Just as the monophonic *Benedicamus* on 'Clementiam' was sung at feasts throughout the liturgical year, so too are texted polyphonic 'tropes' of the versicle non-specific in their festal orientation, aligned instead to the versicle itself.

Reworking and retexting

In addition to polyphonic works, at least three clusters of textual tropes associated with the 'Clementiam' melisma began to be copied as early as the eleventh century, in each case exhibiting some textual and ritual distance from Nicholas. These are the song *Eia, pueri iubilo* and the prosula *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* (and its variants/contrafacta), and the *Benedicamus* song for Christmas, *Puer nobis nascitur*. While these families of tropes move further away from the origins of 'Clementiam' in Nicholas's liturgy, there are good reasons in some cases to posit the continued association of melodic material with the saint. Certain characteristics of the melisma's treatment in *Benedicamus* settings and polyphonic textures are also shared with these tropes, including variable tonal centres (and the addition of new tonal centres in G- and D-modes), with a marked preference for a tonal centre on C. The AAB form of the melisma also continues to be privileged in *Eia, pueri iubilo* and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*, aligning with poetic structure and form; in this *Puer nobis nascitur* is at the greatest remove since it reorders the melodic material of the melisma and eliminates the characteristic repetition of the A material.[76] I leave this last work aside since it has been recently examined by Manon Louviot, and focus on the two clusters of works in which the 'Clementiam' melodic material remains in the order of the responsory melisma.[77]

72 • On this motet, see Bukofzer 1936; Barclay 1977, 633–35 and Klinck 2019, 102–03.
73 • Bradley 2012, 157.
74 • Barclay 1977, 461–62.
75 • Ibid., 511–15.
76 • See Louviot 2022, 481.
77 • Ibid.

The earliest textual trope (and possibly the earliest association between Nicholas's liturgy and the *Benedicamus*) is *Eia, pueri iubilo*, transmitted in at least nine manuscript sources from the eleventh century onward; the earliest is BnF Lat. 887 (eleventh century, Aquitaine), and the latest is St. Gallen 546 (early sixteenth century).[78] In his discussion of the relationship between *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* and *Eia, pueri iubilo*, Wulf Arlt compares melodic versions of the latter as it was copied in five manuscripts with decipherable neumes; four of these melodies align with the contours of the 'Clementiam' melisma, including its AAB form (each repeats the initial opening fifth), but with the starting pitches *G*, *C*, *D*, and *F*.[79] The earliest in BnF Lat. 887, however, is the farthest in terms of its melodic relationship, as is the version in St. Gallen 546 that Arlt did not have at hand. Instead of the characteristic rising fifth followed by a fourth to the octave, these two settings rise to a sixth in the initial A section in BnF Lat. 887 and a fifth in St. Gallen 546, with repeating notes before a descent (see Example 4.7).[80] By contrast, the remaining versions feature melodic contours aligning with the 'Clementiam' melisma. It is unclear whether the melodies for *Eia, pueri iubilo* in BnF Lat. 887 and St. Gallen 546 relate to each other and, if related, how they then relate to the more widespread 'Clementiam' melody for the trope.[81]

Perhaps singers and scribes of sources numbered 3–7 in Example 4.7 noted the similarity of the version of *Eia, pueri iubilo* recorded in BnF Lat. 887 and St. Gallen 546 and the melisma they were already familiar with as a *Benedicamus* melody and chose to align it more closely. Alternatively, perhaps the text was primarily associated with the 'Clementiam' melody and BnF Lat. 887 and St. Gallen 546 represent outliers, potentially reflecting the form of the responsory melisma as sung in their respective locales (as occurred at Évreux). It is worth noting that, in St. Gallen 546, *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* and *Eia, pueri iubilo* are copied one after the other with markedly different melodic contours, the former clearly employing the 'Clementiam' melody.[82]

Given the overwhelming musical association with the 'Clementiam' melisma in surviving sources, the connection between Nicholas and the poetic text is worth interrogating.[83] Explicitly for the Feast of the Holy Innocents (as confirmed by rubrication in Madrid 289 and St. Gallen 546), the text highlights the singing of children to praise the Lord:

78 • Most of the sources are cited in Arlt 1970, vol. 1, 169–71, before he was aware of the melodic origins of the trope; Arlt 1983, 33. See also Barclay 1977, 77, who includes St. Gallen 546.

79 • Arlt 1983, 33.

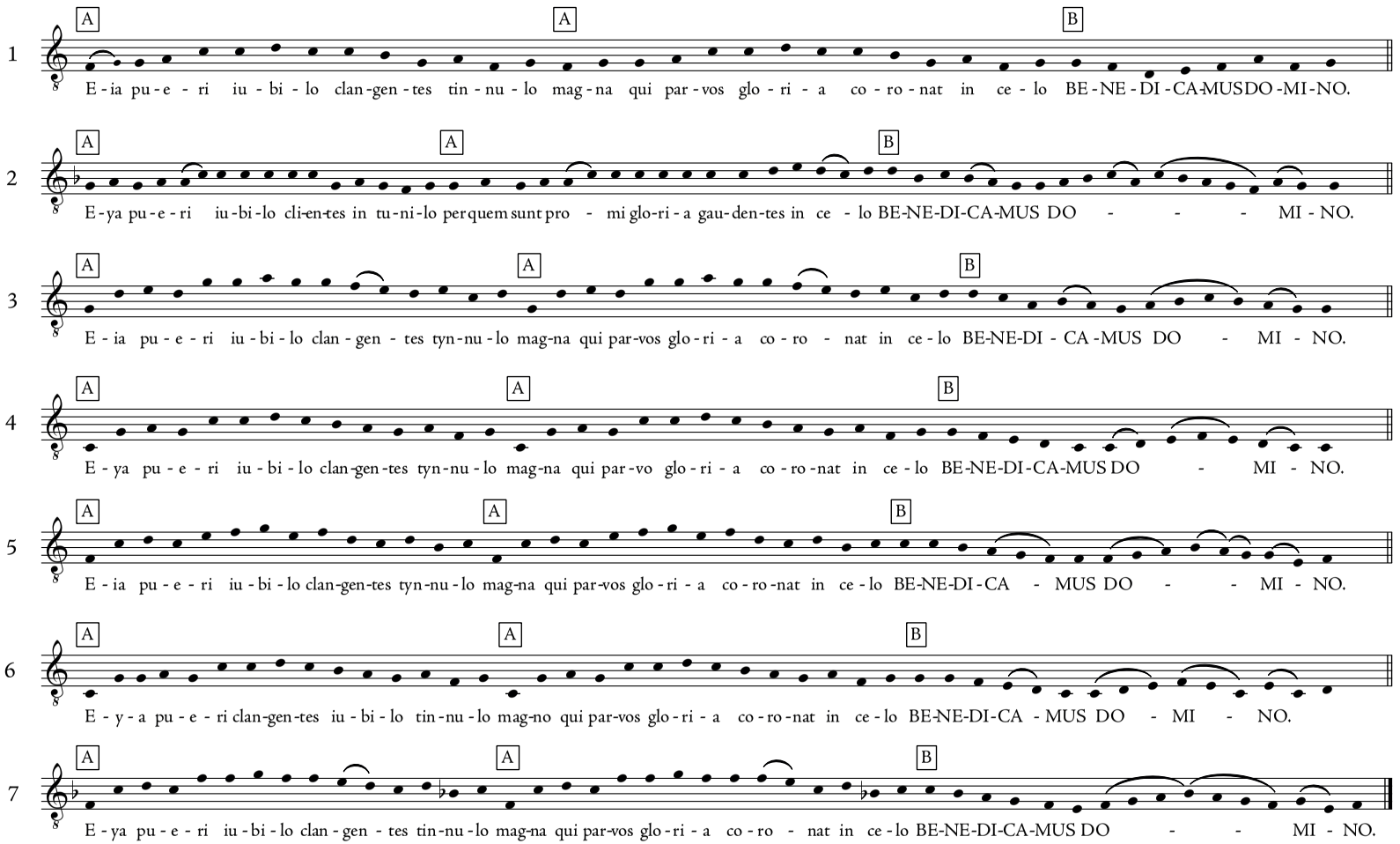
80 • Example 4.7 includes only those sources with readable pitches, thus Madrid 288, fol. 166v (which appears to ascend triadically), and Douai 246 are excluded; the version in Douai 246 appears to be related to BnF Lat. 887.

81 • Barclay 1977, 49, labels the version in BnF Lat. 887 as 'a somewhat varied form of the melisma on *Clementiam*', but also writes that 'the earliest occurrence of the melisma on *Clementiam* as a *Benedicamus* melody appears to be in Par 887' as *Eia, pueri iubilo*.

82 • See also the discussion of the relationship between 'Clementiam' and *Eia, pueri iubilo* in the essay by Sam Barrett in the current volume, Ch. 1

83 • Not all sources include the response, and textual variants are common; transcription based on Madrid 289, fol. 136r. See also the case of *Orthodoxorum coetus clericorum* found in a twelfth-century manuscript from Farfa analysed by Sam Barrett in Ch. 1, which signals a 'body of clerics' as the singers.

Example 4.7: Comparison of melodies for *Eia, pueri iubilo*



1. BnF Lat. 887, fol. 46r
2. St. Gallen 546, fol. 376r (409r)
3. Lucca 603, fol. 243v
4. Madrid 19421, fol. 110r
5. Madrid 289, fol. 136r
6. Limoges 2, fol. 298v
7. Erfurt 44, fol. 41v

Eia pueri iubilo clangentes tynnulo.	Eia, boys who are crying out with joyous sounds
Magna qui parvos gloria coronat in celo.	to the one who crowns the little ones with great glory in heaven,
BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.	LET US BLESS THE LORD.
Leta iuventus resultet in laude consona.	Let the happy youth resound in harmonious praise,
Item proclamat jugiter sub voce modula	and likewise cry out continually with a modulated tone,
Et respondeat DEO GRACIAS.	and respond THANKS BE TO GOD.

As discussed above, real-life *pueri* were routinely tasked with singing the *Benedicamus* during Advent and throughout Christmastide and were also deeply connected to veneration of Nicholas during these same seasons, especially due to the reign of the Boy Bishop. It would not be hard to imagine a singer or composer reaching for a Nicholaian melody when crafting a *Benedicamus* trope to be sung literally and metaphorically by and for *innocentibus*.

In contrast to *Eia, pueri iubilo*, the trope *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* is a prosula: a syllabic text set to the 'Clementiam' melisma, in some cases also with a textual connection to Nicholas. At last count, I have located nearly two dozen manuscript sources recording *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* copied monophonically and polyphonically (two and three voices) beginning in the twelfth century; more will probably come to light.[84] The melody (variably positioned within polyphonic settings) is always unmistakably 'Clementiam', featuring the AAB form (the trope never excludes the initial rising fifth, but occasionally omits its repetition for the second A statement)[85] and centring on, variously, C, F, and D. Although too many sources survive to compare here, Example 4.8 provides a transcription of the monophonic rendering in Grand-Saint-Bernard 7 to illustrate one possible form of the trope and its close melodic alignment with the 'Clementiam' melisma.[86] In this instance, the melisma is repeated for the largely melismatic *Deo gratias* response but with changes; in the second statement of the A material the initial ascending fifth is removed, just as it is in certain versions of the responsory melisma. The B section, too, is altered from its initial statement with text. Similar variations in the treatment of the melisma occur across settings, although the AAB form of the melisma generally aligns with the text, with the B material invariably turning to the saint in question with a vocative acclamation (see Table 4.2, text from Example 4.8).[87] In Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, the intended occasion

84 • No complete list of sourses for this trope exists; an examination of several versions is in Arlt 1983. See also Barclay 1977, 77 and *passim*. For further sources, see Lagergren 2022 and Vlhová-Wörner 2022.

85 • See, for instance, Verona DCXC, fol. 51v.

86 • Edited and transcribed also in Stenzl 1972–, 296.

87 • Verona DCXC, fols. 51v–52r, includes texts for the trope that differ internally (both are for St Augustine): one with notation (for three voices, the 'Clementiam' melody in the tenor) varies from the widely circulating text copied without no-

Example 4.8: Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, fol. 66r–v, rubricated 'De sancto Nicholao'

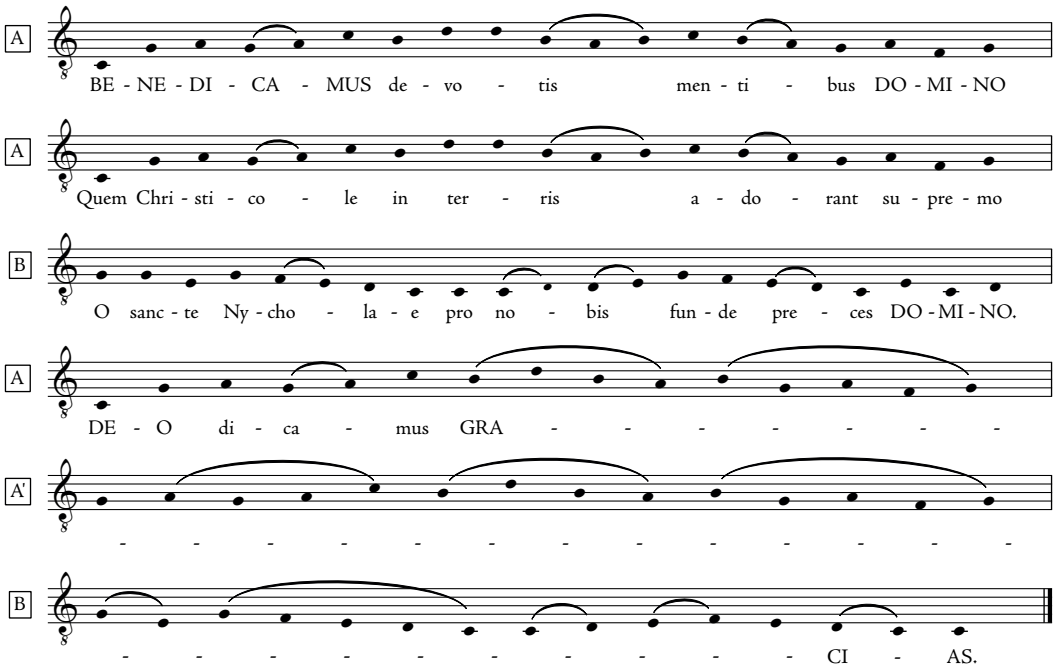


Table 4.2: Poetic and musical structure of *'Benedicamus devotis mentibus*, Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, fol. 66r–v

A	BENEDICAMUS devotis mentibus DOMINO	LET US BLESS THE highest LORD devotedly
A	Quem Christicole in terris adorant supremo	whom Christians in the world adore.
B	O sancte Nycholae pro nobis funde preces DOMINO	O St Nicholas, pour out for us prayers TO THE LORD
A	DEO dicamus GRA-	TO GOD let us give THANKS.
A′		
B	CIAS.	

of Nicholas's feast is exceptionally confirmed by rubrication in the manuscript: the saint is otherwise rarely named in rubrics or the trope.

Other saints (frequently the Virgin Mary) are more often named, leaving the 'Clementiam' melody itself as the sole remaining link to Nicholas. As a trope, and unlike *Eia, pueri iubilo*, *'Benedicamus devotis mentibus* is decidedly flexible, tailored to different saints and feasts seemingly at the whim of scribe or singer. In a c.1300 antiphoner and troper possibly from Hauterive in modern-day Switzerland (Fribourg 6), for instance, the scribe indicates that *'Benedicamus devotis mentibus* could be sung, according to the Franco-provençal rubric, 'to

tation below the final system on fol. 52r; see the relevant folios as Table CXLVI in Gallo and Vecchi 1968. Some sources transmit tropes with the same incipit, but without the 'Clementiam' melody; see, for instance, Freising 4, fol. 76r, cited in Lagergren 2022, 470–71.

whichever (saint) you wish' (*cui tu uudrex*); the trope itself indicates only 'O.S.N.', presumably 'O sancte Nicholae', for whom chants appear elsewhere in the manuscript (see Figure 4.3).[88] The earliest source for the trope, a manuscript copied in the second half of the twelfth century in or near Auxerre (BnF Lat. 10511), notably includes both the Virgin Mary and Nicholas as possible dedicatees (see Figure 4.4).[89] The Virgin Mary was copied first, with the same hand adding 'O sancte Nicholae' directly below; no other textual modifications are needed.



Figure 4.3: Fribourg/Freiburg, Bibliothèque de la Maigrauge / Zisterzienserinnenabtei Maigrauge, 6, fol. 250r, detail of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* with rubrication.
By kind permission of the Abbaye cistercienne de la Maigrauge. Photo © Primula Bosshard, Fribourg

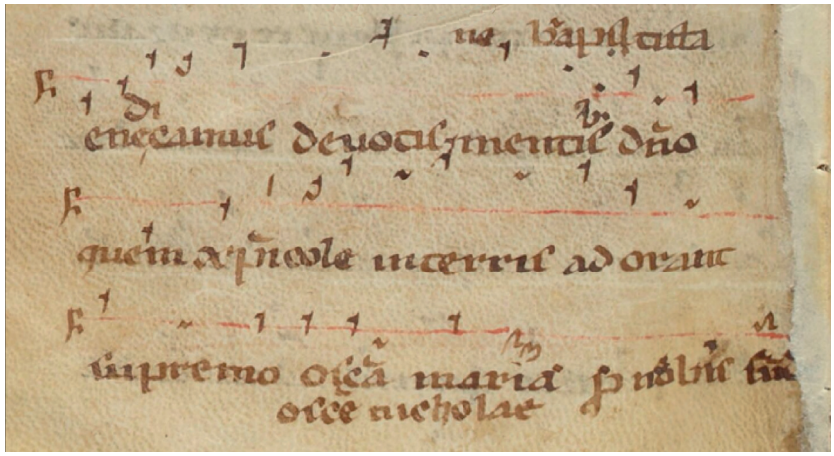


Figure 4.4: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10511, fol. 329v, detail of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*. Reproduced from https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422971d

88 • Fribourg 6, fol. 250r. Leisibach 1977, 85, reads 'wdrex' instead of 'uudrex' (from *voler*, to want). My warmest thanks to Dr Wendy Pfeffer for her assistance with the Franco-provençal rubrics.

89 • See Fassler 2011, 106–9. For a transcription of this version, see the essay by Sam Barrett in this volume, Ch. 1, Example 1.7, stave 3.

In later manuscripts, Nicolas appears less regularly, with other saints proposed as dedicatees. For instance, in two sixteenth-century sources, Brussels II.2631 (possibly from a Clarissan convent in Dordrecht) and St. Gallen 546, several saints are named, none of them Nicholas (nor the Virgin Mary). In the latter, the rubric indicates the trope could be sung for the feasts 'De patronis vel quolibet sancto'; the saints include Saints Gallen, Othmar, Constantius, Remaclus, and Benedict, each with written-out notation and separated by horizontal lines of division (see Figure 4.5). The scribe also copied a texted *Deo gratias* section below the rubric on fol. 375v (408v) and above the staves on fol. 376r (409r), beginning 'Deo dicamus humillimis precibus'. In Brussels II.2631, the scribe similarly wrote out the same music multiple times for different saints, in this case the Virgin, St Francis, and All Saints, but left the *Deo gratias* unnotated.[90]

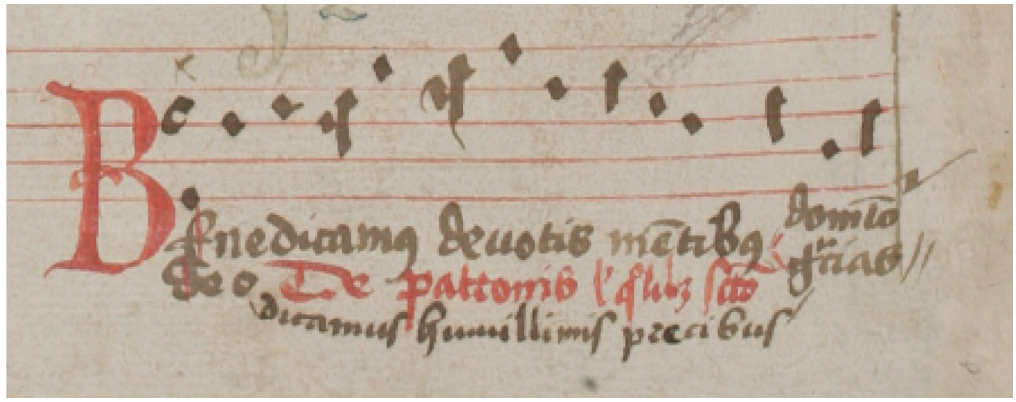


Figure 4.5a: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546: fol. 375v (408v), bottom (opening of *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*). By kind permission of the Stiftsbibliothek, Sankt Gallen

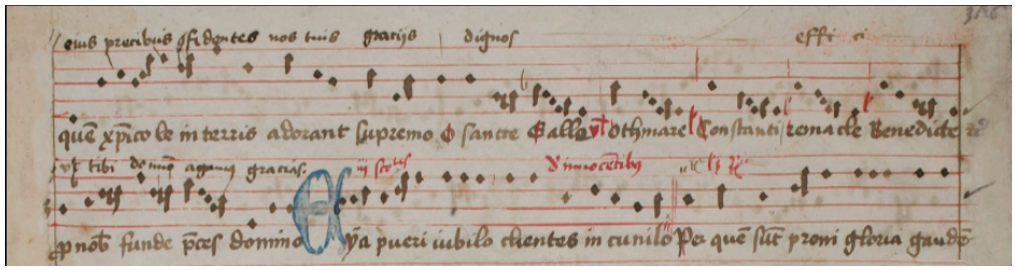


Figure 4.5b: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546: fol. 376r (409r), top (*Benedicamus devotis mentibus* continued). By kind permission of the Stiftsbibliothek, Sankt Gallen

While neither St. Gallen 546 nor Brussels II.2631 notes Nicholas as an option, he is not absent in post-fourteenth-century sources; he is explicitly named in Grand-Saint-Bernard 7, copied in the fifteenth century, for instance (see above, Example 4.8). Yet, while remaining musically attached to the saint through the 'Clementiam' melody, the trope functions much

90 • Brussels II.2631, fols. 62v–63r. For an additional example where two alternative saints are provided as possible dedicatees, here in a fifteenth-century source from Riga, see the essay by Laine Tabora in the current volume, Ch. 13 (Figure 13.1 and transcribed as Example 13.3).

the same as the *Benedicamus* settings of the same melody in that it can be assigned to any number of feasts in the liturgical calendar, including those of local saints. Moreover, *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* follows a similar path to *Benedicamus* settings on borrowed melodies, moving from an explicit acknowledgement and marking of the origins of melodies in the liturgy of a specific saint (for instance, the rubrication of *Benedicamus* melodies with 'Clementiam' and the naming of Nicholas in *Benedicamus devotis mentibus*) to a less explicit connection allowing for festal and ritual flexibility. This overview of the 'Clementiam' melisma in the context of *Benedicamus* tropes underscores the complexity of this musico-poetic and ritual network linked by one highly admired tune. While the transformation of the melisma into *Benedicamus* tropes retained some of its hagiographical association with Nicholas, enabling the saint to be linked aurally to the liturgical versicle even when not directly invoked, at the same time, the melody of the 'Clementiam' melisma was simply good music and proved to be an enduringly popular tune.

Conclusion: A saint and versicle for all seasons

It is impossible to do justice to all the ways in which Nicholas connects to the singing of liturgical versicles in medieval Europe; not only do numerous tropes survive that are not discussed here, but his liturgy also furnished the popular versicle melody drawn from the antiphon *O Christi pietas*. For instance, the *Benedicamus* song-trope cited above, *Nicholai sollempnia*, provides a fascinating window onto central European treatment of the saint in relation to the versicle and sits at the intersection of manuscript and print culture. As this chapter illustrates, it is possible through the lens of music and works connected to a single saint to trace the broader history of liturgical versicles and their musical and textual development over time and place.

This chapter begins to answer questions posed in the introduction—why Nicholas? Why his liturgy? Why certain melodies?—by offering insights into the reception of Nicholas's cult and liturgy, his position in relation to the religious communities who sang versicles, and the status of his chanted liturgy and specific melodies in medieval Europe. What unfolds in this chapter confirms and extends an observation made by Barclay in 1977 that Nicholas figures among the feasts and saints especially honoured with versicle elaborations: indeed, I show that Nicholas might be the most important non-biblical saint within the musical and textual tradition of liturgical versicles for reasons that shift between the practical, ritual, hagiographical, and musical. More research and analysis remains to be undertaken on both individual examples (including the 'Clementiam' melody) and more broadly on processes of borrowing, contrafacture, and reworking, as well as on the link between liturgy and hagiography for saints other than Nicholas. The development of a more extensive and exhaustive catalogue of melodies for the *Benedicamus* will also allow for greater nuance in tracing paths of transmission for melodies like 'Clementiam' and 'O Christi pietas', which, in turn, will shed light on how they were perpetually transformed and reinterpreted to fit new needs and local desires.

5.

The Augustinian Concept of *Iubilus* and Medieval Liturgical Theology

*Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn**

Medieval liturgical theologians drew on the venerable language traditions of theological reflection on Christian doctrine and practice, as well as on a more recent and more technical musical vocabulary, to highlight the unique power of music to raise the human soul above itself. William Durandus's *Rationale diuinorum officiorum*, written in the 1280s, exemplifies the maturation of a long development in which theological and musical terminology had come to overlap:

> Now, the *neuma* or *iubilus* is the ineffable joy or the exultation of the mind on account of eternal things.… And the *neuma* happens on the only or final letter of the antiphon to denote that the praise of God is ineffable and incomprehensible. For the ineffable joy, signified by the *neuma*, which here is experienced in advance, can neither be fully expressed nor fully silenced; for this reason, the Church rightly bursts forth virtually wonderstruck, leaving words behind, singing joyfully with melisma [*iubilando cum neuma*] ….[1]

In passages such as this, Durandus combined a linguistic register speaking of *iubilus* as joyful, wordless, and ineffable praise, a usage traceable to Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*, with more technical terms like *neuma* and *antiphona*, post-dating Augustine and invoking a determinate and widely shared musical frame of reference. Within this frame of reference, pervasive musical forms, and perhaps even melodic repertoires, provide an anchor point of recognisable liturgical and musical experiences routinely invoked by Durandus to tether his rarefied theological reflections to that with which his readers would already be familiar.

The apparently seamless way in which Durandus interweaves musical and theological terms and concepts may appear to suggest a deep convergence between theological speculation and the composition and performance of liturgical music. Throughout the Middle Ages, the term *iubilus* was particularly associated with the melismatic elaborations of the Alleluia and other specific liturgical moments.[2] Sicard of Cremona, writing c.1200, used almost identical language about the *Benedicamus Domino*: '*Benedicamus Domino* is the

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1 • William Durandus, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* V.2.32, from Davril and Thibodeau, eds. 1998, 349: 'Est autem neuma seu iubilus ineffabile gaudium seu mentis exultatio habita de eternis. Ideoque in diebus ieiuniorum et afflictionum non debent fieri, sicut nec in luctu citharizari. Et fit neuma in unica et finali littera antiphone ad notandum quod laus Dei ineffabilis et incomprehensibilis est. Ineffabile namque gaudium, per neuma significatum, quod hic pregustatur nec penitus exprimi nec penitus taceri ualet quare merito Ecclesia, uerbis omissis, iubilando cum neuma quasi in admirationem prosilit…'. Translations from the Latin are by the author unless otherwise noted. Biblical quotations follow the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate.

2 • See Haug 2016.

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final and ineffable praise; therefore we often leave words behind to jubilate with neumes.'[3] However, any attempt at exploring the possible impact on musical practice suggested by the language of liturgical commentaries faces a significant obstacle, emerging from this language itself. James McKinnon has shown that the theological framework invoked by Durandus, with its origins in Augustine's Psalm commentary, had no counterpart or specific reference in concrete liturgical music of Augustine's time.[4] This raises the question of whether later uses of Augustinian language to refer to and explain specific aspects of liturgical music likewise necessarily remained allegorical and without any significance for musical practice. In this chapter, I propose that careful attention to the language used by Augustine, and by medieval liturgical commentators, to speak of the spiritual significance of wordless song may open up fruitful lines of inquiry for historians of theology and devotion as well as for historians of musical practice.

Few modern scholars, beyond a narrow band of historians of theology and liturgy, have found liturgical commentaries worthy of serious and extensive engagement.[5] Medievalists in general have found little of value in these texts, save the evidence they seem to provide of a long tradition of excessive allegorising, with the aim of offering a veneer of after-the-fact justification of extant liturgical elements.[6] Recent musicological scholarship seems to suggest that such excessive allegorising is also at work in the specific context of the Augustinian concept of *iubilus* as applied to melismatic liturgical chant. In a series of studies published in the 1990s, McKinnon demonstrated that Augustine's terminology cannot be taken to refer to any determinate melodic corpus nor to any specific part of the liturgy; on the contrary, the identity between *neuma* and *iubilus* presupposed by Durandus stems from Amalarius of Metz. It constitutes a theological rationale retrospectively applied to a musical development, which itself post-dated, and was entirely independent of, Augustine's earlier elaboration of *iubilus* as the eruption of wordless praise.[7] Amalarius's transposition of Augustine's language to an allegorisation of specific liturgical elements was copied and further developed by subsequent liturgical commentators, culminating in Durandus's monumental synthesis in his *Rationale*. Consequently, there seems to be little reason to assume that Durandus's usage of *neuma* and *iubilus* as synonymous can be taken as evidence of any significant continuity between the theological reflections of liturgical commentaries and the technical frameworks governing the actual composition and performance of liturgical music.

However, if we universalise McKinnon's argument beyond the scope he delineated and treat liturgical theology and musical practice as two entirely separate fields of discourse,

3 • Sicard of Cremona, *Mitralis de officiis* IV.5, from Sarbak and Weinrich, eds. 2008, 255: '"Benedicamus Domino" laus est finalis et ineffabilis. Ideo que sępe uerbis dimissis, cum neumis iubilamus.'

4 • McKinnon 1990 and 1996.

5 • For present purposes, the most significant exception to such neglect of liturgical commentaries as valuable sources is Fassler 2011 and Flynn 1999.

6 • See examples given in Fassler 2011, 17–19.

7 • Most notably in McKinnon 1990 and McKinnon 1996.

important insights may arguably be passed over. As Margot E. Fassler has pointed out, many of the most significant and productive medieval commentators on the liturgy were deeply involved in the practical direction of liturgical music, its composition and performance.[8] Fassler herself has provided a striking example of how attending carefully to liturgical commentators alongside other liturgical and musical sources can enrich our understanding of liturgical and musical practice. Furthermore, liturgical commentators were also often highly perceptive and sensitive readers of Augustine. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to ask whether their usage of Augustinian language in speaking of elaborate and melismatic musical elements of the liturgy might have more to tell us about the principles underlying the practice of liturgical music.

An inquiry into the problems inherent in finding continuities between the language and conceptual structures of theoretical texts and the melodic and harmonic structures of liturgical music finds a natural starting point in the term *iubilus* and its precise meaning. The acceptance of *iubilus* as a particularly problematic term in scholarship since the 1990s contrasts with the long-standing consensus that preceded it. By Durandus's time, as we have seen, it had become axiomatic to identify *neuma*, melismatic song without words, with *iubilus*, the wordless shouts of joy to which the Book of Psalms made frequent allusions, and of which the Church Fathers had written about at length in their biblical commentaries.[9] McKinnon described how, in scholarship on the history of liturgical music prior to the 1990s, a consensus developed assuming an even more specific correspondence: in this reading, Augustine's theological and liturgical notion of *iubilus* referred specifically to the melismatic portion of the Alleluia at Mass.[10] Based on this assumption, Augustine's discussion was taken as evidence of the existence of the Alleluia as a liturgical element already in the fourth-century Church. The reliance on Augustinian terms and concepts by later liturgical commentators from Amalarius onwards was, by extension, understood to indicate the continuous presence of the melismatic Alleluia at Mass from Augustine's own time into the Middle Ages.[11]

The shared understanding of the term *iubilus* was shattered in the early 1990s, when McKinnon presented his refutation of the older consensus. McKinnon, relying on both linguistic and manuscript evidence, showed decisively that the old orthodoxy lacked any foundation in the available evidence. All the evidence for a Mass Alleluia of the requisite form post-dated Augustine by several centuries; and, perhaps even more decisively, the term *iubilus* itself had no specifically musical connotations in the late Roman period.[12] The term denoted the wordless shouts of farm labourers working in unison, or of crowds acclaiming victorious military leaders: a far cry, literally, from the measured, rarefied melodies of melismatic

8 ✦ Fassler 2011, 19–20. For a recent exploration of the possibility that Rupert of Deutz, author of one of the most comprehensive liturgical commentaries from the twelfth century, was involved in composing music, see Schrama 2004.

9 ✦ See McKinnon 2001 and Hiley 2001a.

10 ✦ McKinnon 1990, 61–63.

11 ✦ Ibid., 61–63.

12 ✦ Ibid., 66–68.

chant.[13] Based on this reading, it would seem reasonable to assume that Augustine's account of *iubilus* arose from the need to find some theological significance, however contrived, in a term forced upon him by the Latin translation of the Psalms. This strongly suggested that the extension of this exegetical artifice to refer specifically to liturgical chant, which scholars throughout most of the twentieth century attributed to Augustine himself, was the invention of later liturgical commentators, infamous for their uncritical and retrospective pious allegorising.[14] While McKinnon himself never concluded from this argument that the writings of Augustine and subsequent medieval commentators on the liturgy were of no real relevance to music, the argument as it stands still threatens to drive a wedge between the language of liturgical commentaries and actual musical practice.

My present aim is not, therefore, to question McKinnon's main conclusion concerning the early history of the Mass Alleluia, but to draw attention to what his argument may easily lead us to overlook. McKinnon was indubitably correct in his criticism of the baseless assumption that the patristic *iubilus* was descriptive of a melismatic Alleluia, which was not established in the Mass liturgy as early as the fourth century. It is precisely because his main conclusion is so convincing that we may find ourselves in danger of universalising that argument beyond its proper scope, to conclude that the patristic and medieval tradition of biblical exegesis and liturgical commentary was entirely compartmentalised from the practical aspects of musical composition and practice. McKinnon's work remains a crucial point of reference, not only in musicological scholarship discussing the notion of *iubilus* but also in theological discussions of Augustine's reasoning, and his argument may in this way be made to carry more weight than it was originally formulated to sustain. I would like to suggest that McKinnon's argument contains limitations that—while insignificant for his main concern in tracing the development of the Alleluia of the Mass—leave room for the discussion of alternative ways in which patristic and medieval theological reflection might have been closely integrated into a larger organic whole, in which music could serve both its own intrinsic ends and the overarching ends of medieval Christian life.

To see what these limitations may be, it is necessary to return to the question of language and what the usage of language can tell us. While Augustine's Psalm commentary and later liturgical commentaries include the term *iubilus* in a cluster of cognate terms from a common root, McKinnon seems to be following the earlier scholars he criticised in placing the specific term *iubilus* as the semantic centre of gravity for his discussion; and scholars have subsequently followed McKinnon in the same.[15] The noun *iubilus* is taken primarily to signify a determinate object, that is, the sound of wordless shouts produced by humans engaging in collective practices unrelated to religious observance or musical performance; and cognate terms such as the verb *iubilare* and the verbal noun *iubilatio* are taken to be dependent on the core noun. In the main, *iubilatio* is taken to be synonymous

13 • Ibid., 67–68.

14 • Ibid., 69–70.

15 • See, for instance, Fassler 2011, 18–19, and Harrison 2019, 136.

with *iubilus*, while *iubilare* denotes the act of producing this specific sort of sound in the typical contexts in which such sounds are made. This emphasis on the noun, and the object or product to which it refers, accentuates the semantic leap required to extend this terminology to speak of liturgical chant: if the term *iubilus* primarily refers to a determinate kind of sound, and liturgical chant is a very different kind of sound, then the term *iubilus* can only be applied to liturgical chant in an improper, highly metaphorical way. McKinnon concedes that it remains both licit and convenient for us to follow the medieval convention in using *iubilus* to speak of melismatic chant, but the underlying implication seems to be that there is a semantic rupture between Augustine's use of the term and the purely metaphorical extension introduced by medieval liturgical commentators.[16] The patristic *iubilus*, in short, emerges as only nominally related to the liturgical *iubilus* in the sense exemplified by Durandus above.

If this were an accurate reflection of the language of the sources, there would be little more to say. Attending more carefully to Augustine's precise use of language, however, a contrast can be discerned between the semantic structure centred on the term *iubilus* as sketched out above, and Augustine's preferred terminology. As far as I have been able to ascertain, Augustine used the term *iubilus* on precisely one single occasion, and then in the neuter form of classical Latin rather than the masculine form dominant in medieval discussions:

> *Iubilum* is a certain sound signifying that the heart is conceiving what cannot be said. And whom does this *iubilatio* befit, except the ineffable God? For that is ineffable, which cannot be uttered; and if you cannot utter Him, and ought not remain silent about Him, what remains except that you jubilate, so that the heart may rejoice without words, and the immense extent of joy should not be bounded in syllables?[17]

In every other passage in which this phenomenon was discussed, Augustine exclusively used the cognate terms *iubilatio* and *iubilare*. Later medieval authors included the term *iubilus* with a somewhat higher frequency in their various elaborations and developments of Augustine's line of argument, but the verb *iubilare* and the noun denoting the action, *iubilatio*, remained overwhelmingly predominant.[18] This usage may seem a trivial expression of linguistic taste and aesthetics; however, I will suggest that it reveals a highly significant contrast between the interpretive framework of modern scholarship and the corresponding framework at play in patristic and medieval texts.

To see how this is so, we must start from the basic linguistic point that *iubilus* is a noun denoting a product, and so an object, while *iubilatio*—by contrast—is a noun denoting an

16 • McKinnon 1990, 69–70.

17 • Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* XXXII.2, from Dekkers and Fraipont ed. 1956a, 254: 'iubilum sonus quidam est significans cor parturire quod dicere non potest. et quem decet ista iubilatio, nisi ineffabilem deum? ineffabilis enim est, quem fari non potes; et si eum fari non potes, et tacere non debes, quid restat nisi ut iubiles, ut gaudeat cor sine uerbis, et immensa latitudo gaudiorum metas non habeat syllabarum?'

18 • Illustration, if not proof, of this predominance is found in the fact that a search for words starting with *iubilu-* in the vast corpus of Latin literature searchable through the Cross Database Search Tool of the Brepols online library returns 394 hits, while words starting with *iubila-* are found 3,100 times.

action. This distinction is significant for our present concerns for two interrelated reasons. First, it turns the conceptual structure implicit in McKinnon's argument on its head in a way that blurs the clear distinction between the patristic *iubilus* and the liturgical concept issuing from McKinnon's account. Augustine's preference for the verbal noun *iubilatio* places the human act of jubilation itself, not the sound this act produces, at the conceptual core of his reasoning. This act of jubilation, as Augustine speaks of it, is not defined by the specific kind of sound it produces, so that jubilation could only be used to refer to the act of producing a certain kind of sound; on the contrary, in the passage quoted above, *iubilum* is explicitly defined as the outward sign of an interior act of the heart, so that any sound issuing from the act of jubilating can be justly referred to as *iubilum*. The primacy of the act over the product revealed in the primacy of the verb over the noun provides a platform of potential common ground on which the relation between the patristic loan word from secular and pagan contexts and the liturgical usage signifying sublime melismas reaching towards the transcendent can appear as more than merely nominal.

This common ground between the patristic and the liturgical sense of *iubilus* is arguably significantly strengthened by the way Augustine's discussion closely follows the language of the psalms themselves. Throughout the psalms, the notion of jubilation is encountered most of all as a verb in the imperative, as in the opening *Iubilate domino, universa terra* (Ps. 65:1). Moreover, the exhortation to jubilate is regularly encountered as part of a cluster of imperatives centred on the notion of praise. The Latin text of Psalm 99 (2–4) is a representative example:

> Iubilate Deo, omnis terra; servite Domino in laetitia. Introite in conspectu ejus in exsultatione. Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus; ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos; populus eius, et oves pascuae eius. Introite portas eius in confessione, atria eius in hymnis; confitemini illi. Laudate nomen eius.

These verses situate *iubilare* within the general framework of Augustine's liturgical theology anchored in the fundamental idea of *laudare*, to give praise.[19] Within Augustine's expositions of the underlying message of the Book of Psalms, the term *iubilare* signifies a crucial element in the proper way for human beings to respond in action to the self-revelation of divine love through giving thanks and praise. Perhaps the most striking example of this is Augustine's exposition of Psalm 99, where the difficulties in understanding the unfamiliar term *iubilare* are explicitly and extensively addressed:

> 'What is it, then, to jubilate? For even the very title of this present psalm draws our attention forcefully to this word, since it is named: 'In confession (of praise)'. What is it to jubilate in confession? There is a statement in a certain other psalm which says: 'blessed is the people that understands jubilation' [Ps. 88:16]; it must indeed be something great, which makes people blessed when it is understood… Let us therefore run towards this blessedness; let us understand jubilation, let us not pour it forth without understanding. What use is it to obey this psalm saying 'jubilate to God, all the earth', and not understand jubilation, so that only our voice jubilates and our heart does not jubilate? For the 'sound' produced by the heart is its understanding. I will tell you what you

19 • On Augustine's liturgical theology, see Harrison 2019, 136–51, and Panti 2008, 81–84.

> already know. One who jubilates does not speak words, but a certain sound of joy without words; for it is the voice of a soul distended by joy, expressing its affect as much as it is able, not [of a soul] understanding with the mind. A human being, rejoicing in their exultation on account of certain words that can neither be fully understood nor fully expressed, erupts in a certain voice of exultation without words, so that it seems that they rejoice through the voice itself, but, as if filled with too much joy, they remain unable to articulate in words why they rejoice.[20]

This passage highlights Augustine's urge to explain to his congregation what they are meant to do if they want to take this psalm to heart. To jubilate, to Augustine, was not to emit a distinct kind of sound, but to emit sound as an outward expression of a specific interior act. Moreover, this act was not defined through its product; on the contrary, the product was defined by reference to the specific act that produced it, that is, by the orientation and disposition of the agent towards the source of their joy. True jubilation, then, is defined as the active response of a heart filled with joy to the point of bursting, the sort of joy that transcends the limits of conventional human language and therefore cannot be expressed in words.

It is not incidental that the act of jubilation—in the sense relevant to Augustine's overall argument—must issue from the heart, the innermost core of the human soul, the seat of the very self, as a response to something the heart has conceived but cannot articulate in normal language. Speaking of understanding of the heart, and not of the understanding of the mind, may initially seem counterintuitive, but this expression in fact intimately picks up central features of Augustine's cognitive psychology.[21] Augustine's general concept of human knowing was anchored in the notion of understanding, *intellectus*, defined as the rational soul's grasp of and insight into the intelligibility of the thing understood.[22] Understanding, then, was an act of the soul, in which the soul produced what Augustine called 'an inner word', the soul's own articulation of the intelligibility it has understood.[23] However, it was a fundamental tenet of Augustinian theology that God, who surpasses all understanding, cannot be fully comprehended and articulated by the intellective part of the soul, but only encountered in the innermost part of the soul, that is, in the heart.

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20 • Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* XCIX, from Dekkers and Fraipont, eds. 1956b, 1393–4: 'quid est ergo iubilare? multum enim nos adtentos facit ad hoc uerbum et praesentis psalmi titulus, quia inscribitur: in confessione. quid est, in confessione iubilare? est alterius cuiusdam psalmi sententia dicentis: beatus populus qui intellegit iubilationem; profecto magnum aliquid est, quod intellectum beatos facit. dominus ergo deus noster beatificator hominum, det mihi intellegere quod dicam, det uobis intellegere quod auditis: beatus populus qui intellegit iubilationem. curramus ergo ad hanc beatitudinem, intellegamus iubilationem, non eam sine intellectu fundamus. quid opus est iubilare et obtemperare huic psalmo dicenti: iubilate deo, omnis terra, et non intellegere iubilationem, ut uox nostra sola iubilet et cor non iubilet? sonus enim cordis intellectus est. quod nostis dicturus sum. qui iubilat, non uerba dicit, sed sonus quidam est laetitiae sine uerbis; uox est enim animi diffusi laetitia, quantum potest, exprimentis affectum, non sensum comprehendentis. gaudens homo in exsultatione sua, ex uerbis quibusdam quae non possunt dici et intellegi, erumpit in uocem quamdam exsultationis sine uerbis; ita ut appareat eum ipsa uoce gaudere quidem, sed quasi repletum nimio gaudio, non posse uerbis explicare quod gaudet'.

21 • See Harrison 2019, 136–51.

22 • See, in particular, Burnyeat 1987.

23 • See Lonergan 1997, 13–23.

Praise, the only adequate human response to God's love in Augustinian theology, must therefore likewise issue from the heart.[24]

This notion is expressed with particular clarity in Augustine's sermon on Psalm 150, commenting on the fifth verse 'laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus, laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis': 'praise him on high-sounding cymbals, praise him on cymbals of joy'. Augustine interpreted the image of 'cymbalis bene sonantibus' as a play on the idea that, in the way that two cymbals are struck together to make a sound, so whenever someone is honoured by his neighbour, not by himself, the two give praise to God in honouring one another. The phrase 'cymbals of joy', *cymbalis iubilationis*, was added, Augustine reckoned, to avoid anyone getting the wrong idea and thinking of cymbals as inanimate objects making sound without the involvement of souls: 'for jubilation, that is ineffable praise, does not arise except from the soul'.[25] True praise, then, arises from the depths of the human person and demands the unconditional participation of the whole human person, and in giving expression to such praise from the heart, the heart and the entire person are purified and rendered receptive to the deepest gifts of grace.[26] There is a strong parallel here between the terminology of *iubilatio*, *iubilare*, and *iubilus*, and the verb *laudare* (to praise), the noun *laudatio* (denoting the act of giving praise), and the noun *laus* (the praise given). In all of these cases, the core concept is the act, not the product. It is evident from such passages, therefore, that jubilation is not tied to any specific sound, whether the crashing of cymbals or specific liturgical chants; it is the act of the human soul rendering thanks to God.

This is the necessary context in which Augustine's elliptical claim that 'the sound produced by the heart is its understanding' in the passage quoted above should be understood. It follows from Augustine's reasoning that jubilation goes beyond lip service, requiring understanding and not simply voice. This is in line with Augustine's consistent account of what constituted authentic participation in liturgical worship. True worship required the active participation at the most profound level of the human person. This meant that those who participated in liturgical worship ought to make the words of the liturgy their own by conforming their innermost self to their meaning, by allowing the words of the liturgy to become their own 'inner word'. In a liturgical context, the Church prescribed a certain set of words, centred on Scripture and above all the Psalms, as the context and vehicle of jubilation. However, since such words could 'neither be fully understood nor fully expressed' by human intellect and human language, the human voice could only express the heart's understanding by expanding the syllabic spaces within words with pure song, 'the rejoicing of the voice itself'. The overlap between Augustine's terminology in his Psalm commentary

24 • Harrison 2019, 136–51.

25 • Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* CL, from Dekkers and Fraipont. eds. 1956c, 2196: 'laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus, laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis. cymbala inuicem tangunt ut sonent, ideo a quibusdam labiis nostris comparata sunt. sed melius intellegi puto in cymbalis quodammodo laudare deum, dum quisque honoratur a proximo suo, non a seipso; et inuicem honorantes dant laudem deo. ne quis autem cymbala intellegeret, quae sine anima sonant, ideo puto additum, in cymbalis iubilationis. iubilatio namque, id est ineffabilis laus, nonnisi ab anima proficiscitur.'

26 • See Sønnesyn 2015, 37–38.

and in his wider discussions of human cognition, then, suggests that *iubilatio* is what must happen when the heart encounters something that transcends what can be articulated in an inner word in the conventional way reliant on human language, and only expressed in wordless praise.

True *iubilatio* would not only originate in the very core of the human person; it also required the right disposition and intentionality towards an object supremely worthy of love and joy. Augustine consistently observed the distinction between the generic concept of *iubilatio* he had elaborated and its specific instantiations in various types of socially embodied action. It is important to note that Augustine was well aware that the same basic act could produce different sounds based on the reasons for rejoicing, and that the term was not reserved for Christian worship alone. Christian jubilation might for Augustine have been the most perfect form of the act, but for that very reason it was not the most common. Immediately following the passage commenting on Psalm 99 quoted above, Augustine adds:

> Pay attention to this phenomenon in those who sing but not earnestly; for our jubilation will not be of the same kind that theirs is. For we ought to jubilate in our justification, but they jubilate in their iniquity; and so we [jubilate] in confession, they in confusion. Now, so that you should understand what I say, call to mind something well-known: they certainly jubilate who do some work in the fields, gladdened by the bounty of the harvest, either reapers, or grape-pickers, or those who harvest any kind of produce; and rejoicing in this fecundity and fruitfulness of the earth, they sing in exultation. And in the midst of the songs that they articulate with words, they insert certain voice sounds without words in the elation of the exultant soul, and this is called jubilation.[27]

The core act of jubilation, then, is explicitly disconnected from the specific sound produced: it is the *act* of expressing in wordless song the sort of joy that transcends language that is defined as jubilation. The specific kind of jubilation prescribed in Psalm 99, referred to Augustine as 'our jubilation', was superior to the jubilation of harvesters in that the act of Christian jubilation was performed for the right reasons and aimed towards the right object; but no specific melodic or aural criteria was stipulated, and both the pagan custom of harvest jubilation and the Christian jubilant praise fell under the general definition of the term as stipulated by Augustine.

In this way, Augustine was arguably going far beyond the simple glossing of an obscure word in the psalm text by reference to a certain familiar pagan harvest custom; he was abstracting from this harvest custom a universalised notion of a specific type of act, transposing the established Roman usage of *iubilatio* from constituting the core meaning of the

27 • Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* XCIX, from Dekkers and Fraipont, eds. 1956b, 1394: 'animaduertite hoc in eis qui cantant etiam non honeste. non enim talis erit iubilatio nostra, qualis illorum est; nos enim in iustificatione iubilare debemus, illi autem iubilant in iniquitate; itaque nos in confessione, illi in confusione. tamen ut hoc quod dico intellegatis, immo recordemini rem cognitam, maxime iubilant qui aliquid in agris operantur; copia fructuum iucundati uel messores, uel uindemiatores, uel aliquos fructus metentes, et in ipsa fecunditate terrae et feracitate gaudentes, exsultando cantant; et inter cantica quae uerbis enuntiant, inserunt uoces quasdam sine uerbis in elatione exsultantis animi, et haec uocatur iubilatio'.

term to being merely one exemplification among many of a more generic form of wordless human expression of unspeakable joy. Freed from the constraints of its original context, the semantic range of the term *iubilatio* could subsequently be expanded to include liturgical elements, not denoting specific kinds of sound or melodic content, but identifying a type of liturgical act coming to expression in wordless praise.

This appropriation of *iubilatio* falls, moreover, comfortably into the pattern of Augustine's wider appropriation of pagan thought for Christian purposes. There are multiple examples of Augustine deliberately disengaging a Roman concept from its original context through isolating its abstract definition, before arguing that the application of this concept to Christian doctrine and practice constituted the most perfect consummation of the aspirations intrinsic to the Roman usage of the term.[28] It is precisely this active appropriation of a Roman term that is obscured if we give conceptual primacy to *iubilus* understood as a specific sort of sound uttered in pagan Roman harvest customs. In this sense, *iubilus* could only be applied to liturgical song in a purely metaphorical way, leaving the usage of this term in medieval liturgical commentaries open to accusations of misappropriation and excessive allegorising on the flimsiest of grounds. In contrast, the universalised act of *iubilatio* abstracted from its specific original context could refer a much more directly and properly to the appropriate way for human beings to respond to God's love, and could therefore play an integral and irreducible role in Christian life and worship as conceived within the Augustinian tradition.

It should be made explicit that this linguistic argument strengthens rather than weakens McKinnon's central contention that *iubilus* and cognate terms in patristic theology never were references to specific liturgical chants, whether the Mass Alleluia or any other liturgical element; at the same time, however, this line of reasoning also imposes strict limits on the extent to which McKinnon's argument can be universalised to support a more pervasive dichotomisation between theological speculation on liturgical music in the Augustinian tradition and liturgical music as actually created and sung. The term *iubilus* does not primarily refer to any specific sound at all, but to the outwards expression of *iubilatio*, an act fundamental to authentic participation in the worship of the Church. What the focus on jubilation as an act allows is to see a possible continuity between musical and theological developments where the notion of jubilation does not refer to liturgical singing as it already exists, but to a void in the liturgy that music, perhaps only music, could fill.

To see this more clearly it is useful to return to Augustine's concept of giving praise, *laudare*. The central focus on the act of praise is the backbone of Augustine's overall exegesis of the psalms, which is an expression of his fundamental view on the Christian life as such. In the Augustinian understanding, the fundamental purpose and fulfilment of human life was to love God: this love was both expressed and perfected in the act of praise. The language of the psalms therefore prescribed praise as a fundamental human duty; moreover, the psalms identified jubilation as the ultimate expression of such praise and

28 • See Testard 1958.

singing as its most appropriate vehicle. In his Psalms commentary, Augustine stated quite categorically that jubilation and singing needed to go together: '"sing in jubilation" [a reference to Ps. 32:2–3]. For this is to sing well to God, to sing in jubilation'.[29] Singing was the act of one who loves, according to Augustine.[30] Since the sum of all commandments was the commandment to love God above all, the corporate worship of the Church required musical expression of ineffable joy and praise of the ineffable.[31] In the overarching Augustinian context of praise, then, the concept of jubilation provided determinations for some of the functions liturgical singing should fill within the overall theological and devotional function and purpose of liturgical worship.

In this way, Augustinian theological tradition provided later commentators with linguistic and conceptual resources for thinking about the liturgy, with potentially significant implications for musical practice. Through his active appropriation and transposition of the concept of *iubilatio*, Augustine elaborated a fundamental and flexible concept that later commentators could use to articulate the specific function of particular liturgical forms. The idea of *iubilatio* as wordless, melismatic song expressing the overflowing of joy in the human heart was not an isolated notion glossing an unfamiliar word independently of wider concerns; on the contrary, it was anchored in Augustine's fundamental liturgical theology and cognitive psychology. *Iubilatio* was the ultimate expression of joyful praise, and therefore of the transformative purpose of liturgical praise as such; it was intrinsically linked to the idea that music and singing were an integral part of such praise, and could be wordless but grow organically out of words of particular significance. The term was never keyed to a determinate melodic repertoire, and can therefore not provide much elucidation of *what* was sung in the liturgical contexts to the term was employed. What I would like to propose, however, is that the term carried structured implications about what particular liturgical forms were expected to *do* and the effects they were intended to attain.

I propose, therefore, that subsequent musical developments—such as the ever more elaborate settings of *Benedicamus Domino*—would have been sound and intelligible responses to the liturgical and musical exigencies growing out of the Augustinian theological tradition and Augustine's concept of *iubilatio* as the ultimate expression of the *laus ineffabilis*. Whether or not such musical developments were in fact such responses moves beyond the scope of the current chapter. For such an inquiry, however, it could be significant to point out that later liturgical commentators did not simply parrot Augustine's language in their usage of *iubilatio* and cognate terms; rather, they adopted wholesale the wider conceptual framework within which Augustine had elaborated his own definition of the concept.

Augustine did speak of jubilation as something that could be expressed in song, but it fell to subsequent thinkers to spell out how the notion of jubilation could come to expres-

29 • Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* XXXII.2, from Dekkers and Fraipont, eds. 1956a, 254: 'in iubilatione cane. hoc est enim bene canere deo, in iubilatione cantare'.

30 • Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones ad populum*, Sermo 336, from Migne, ed. 1865, 1472: 'cantare amantis est'.

31 • See Harrison 2019. Augustine's liturgical theology is placed within the context of his overall philosophy of music in Panti 2008, 69–85.

sion in the liturgical rites of the Church. Gregory the Great is a paradigmatic example of someone who recognised in Augustinian theology the pedagogical purpose and power of the liturgy as a school of prayer and a school of Christian life, and took steps to institutionalise and structure the liturgy as a pedagogical framework in practice.[32] Based both on theological reflections and musical theory, Gregory emphasised the pedagogical potential of music, of how singing changed and developed the singer, and how song therefore could be used as a central element of a transformative liturgical practice.[33] This was in turn picked up by later liturgical commentators. Comprehensive commentaries on the liturgy tended to emerge in contexts of reform, written by people active in shaping liturgical rites, from Amalarius during the Carolingian reforms, through to monastic writers such as Rupert of Deutz, to bishops such as Sicard of Cremona and Durandus himself.[34]

What I propose here is a narrative that retains and builds on McKinnon's foundational insights but also suggests how his account is compatible with a real continuity between medieval liturgical theology and medieval liturgical music. The liturgical commentators of the Middle Ages, I wish to suggest, saw themselves the heirs of a tradition of thought about liturgical action within which *iubilatio* played a crucial role; this theological tradition provided resources for informing, and sometimes reforming, actual practice in an institutional setting.[35] Placing the objectified *iubilus* at the centre of gravity and focus runs the risk of leaving the application of the term in a musical context as purely symbolic. This might in turn feed into the rejection of medieval liturgical theology as allegorical castles in the sky (or in heaven?) without any real relation to liturgical music as composed and performed. The writers of liturgical commentaries were rarely if ever writing as dispassionate external observers; on the contrary, they were actively involved in scripting and directing liturgical worship in monasteries and in secular churches, and several of them were highly trained canonists and administrators who by rising to the office of bishop became responsible for the correct celebration of the liturgy in their dioceses.[36] They were often explicit in how they intended their commentaries to allow for a deeper and more transformative participation in the liturgy.[37]

Moreover, liturgical commentators openly invoked patristic precedents and parallels for their theological speculation. Durandus, for instance, explicitly set out to equip priests with traditional wisdom and doctrine, through the internalisation and embodiment of which they could become worthy to represent their flocks before God: the title of his work plays on the double meaning of *rationale* as an account of underlying reasons and as the name given to the ceremonial pouch prescribed in Exodus to be worn by priests (inscribed

32 • See Sønnesyn 2017, 251–52.

33 • For a concise statement of the transformative purpose of medieval liturgy, see especially Pickstock 1998 and Taft 1985; see also Sønnesyn 2017, 251–52.

34 • See, for example, Ward 2018, Boynton 2011, Cochelin 2011, Cowdrey 2004, and Reynolds 1978.

35 • See Fassler 2011, 18–20. See also Ward 2018, Boynton 2011, Cochelin 2011, Cowdrey 2004, and Reynolds 1978.

36 • Fassler 2011, 18–20.

37 • Pickstock 1998, Flynn 1999.

with the words doctrine and truth and the names of the patriarchs as a symbol of the teaching and tradition they should carry within their breasts).[38] Durandus's use of Augustinian language—and the interconnected conceptual structures carried by this linguistic framework—seems a suitable way to offer an authentically patristic rationale for liturgical musical forms.

There may be scope, therefore, for softening the compartmentalisation of theology from music. The theological concept of *iubilatio* as developed in the Augustinian tradition provided a protective perimeter around musical creativity as a necessary element in any liturgical framework worthy of its transformative and transcendent purpose. It was not mimetic of any particular kind of sound, nor tied to any single liturgical moment such as the Mass Alleluia: *iubilatio* was fundamentally an act of praise exceeding the reach of words by the power of music to transcend language. It promised, rather than compromised, compositional and performative freedom as long as the music left scope for an authentic quickening and expression of the heart's understanding. Theological language continued to delineate and consolidate the scope of *iubilatio* as present in the liturgy—both in aspiration and actuality—throughout the period in which the musical developments studied in the current volume were taking place. The central role of such language from Amalarius to Durandus suggests that—whatever the aims and motivations of individual composers and singers—theologians of liturgy continued to hear in the performance of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle concrete manifestations of the transcendent *iubilatio* they took such great pains to keep alive.

38 • William Durandus, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* I.3.17, in Davril and Thibodeau, eds. 1995, 40.

6.
When Did the *Benedicamus* Enter the English Liturgy?

*Samuel Cardwell**

The origins of the versicle *Benedicamus Domino* are somewhat mysterious. The first traces, as Josef Andreas Jungmann recognised, are to be found in early Carolingian France.[1] The *Ordo Angilberti* of c.800 says that the people should leave communion 'laudentes Deum et benedicentes Dominum'. This is not conclusive, since the phrasing evokes Luke 24:53 ('laudentes et benedicentes Deum'), though the alteration to 'Dominum' in a liturgical context is at least suggestive. A more clearcut example, also given by Jungmann, is from the second Capitulary of Theodulf of Orleans, which says that after a Mass for the sick, the priest should say 'Benedicamus Domino, et respondeant omnes: Deo gratias'.[2] Both these examples have the versicle as the dismissal of the Mass; however, Amalarius of Metz's extensive liturgical treatise, the *Liber officialis*, only refers to the *Benedicamus* as a dismissal for the daily Office.[3] Neither Theodulf nor Amalarius make any comment on the versicle, which may indicate that the Carolingian reformers were merely giving their approval to something which had long been part of the liturgy in Frankish territory, as the *Ordo Angilberti* may suggest. It is perhaps surprising, in this case, that it does not appear in the mid-eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary; this might imply that it was something that first arose as a matter of local, informal custom, something that did not need to be written down.

My own suspicion would be that the *Benedicamus* first came into being as a matter of grammar. Although the versicle is not strictly biblical, there are clear scriptural antecedents for the idea of 'blessing the Lord'. As noted above, the phrase is also alluded to in Luke's gospel (Luke 24:53) in the form 'benedicentes Deum'. However, the more obvious sources are psalmic: 'Benedic anima mea Domino' (Ps. 102(3):1), 'Benedicam Domino in omni tempore' (Ps. 32(33):1), and the canticle 'Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino' in the deuterocanonical portion of Daniel 3. It would not have taken a great leap of the imagination to cast these passages, much sung during the Offices, into the first-person plural—from 'Bless the Lord' to 'Let *us* bless the Lord'—and for this to become a standard,

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* The following manuscript sigla are used:

BL Cotton Cleopatra B.viii	London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.viii
BL Cotton Nero A.i	London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i
BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii
BL Harley 3020	London, British Library, Harley 3020
Cambridge CCC 190	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 190
Cambridge CCC 290	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 290
Cambridge CCC 391	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391
Cambridge CCC 411	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 411
Cambridge CCC 422	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422
Oxford Junius 121	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121

1 ✦ Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 2, 435; Robertson 1988, 4.

2 ✦ Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitula ad Presbyteros* (*PL* 105, col. 222C).

3 ✦ Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 4.45 (Knibbs 2014, vol. 2, 620–21).

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143517 ✳

almost unnoticed, part of monastic practice. This probably did happen first in the Frankish realms, given the evidence cited by Jungmann, but precisely when and where it happened will probably remain a mystery.

Despite the influence of the Carolingian reformers, the *Benedicamus* did not spread quickly outside Francia. Jungmann notes that it first appears in Roman sources only in the eleventh century. And in England, it is largely conspicuous by its absence in pre-Conquest sources, even in those produced under clear Continental and post-Carolingian influence. It is not, however, unheard of. The earliest example I can find from an English source is in the *Regularis concordia*, the great clarion call of the Benedictine Reform during the reign of King Edgar (r. 959–75).[4] Masterminded by Æthelwold of Winchester in about 973, the *Regularis concordia* attempted to produce a definitive and comprehensive statement on how monastic life, including liturgical practice, ought to be ordered. The *Benedicamus* appears in this document in quite a peculiar context:

> And whenever, when the evening reading is read, the *caritas* is offered among the brothers, after the reading is finished and with everyone standing up, the Prior says: 'Blessed be the Name of the Lord' and 'Let us bless the Lord', with the others responding as is customary.[5]
>
> *Quotiescumque fratribus caritas interim, dum collatio legitur, prebetur, lectione finite omnibusque surgentibus, dicat prior: 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum' et 'Benedicamus Domino', ceteris ut mos est respondentibus.*

The *caritas* was an extra dispensation of food and drink given on Saturdays—perhaps not quite amounting to a feast (not uncommon in tenth-century monasteries, even those of a reforming bent), but certainly a more generous provision than was offered during the rest of the week.[6] The only appearance of the *Benedicamus* in this document, then, is in a relatively informal setting: not during the Mass or the Office, but to draw Saturday night dinner to a close. We might imagine that the 'customary' (*mos*) rejoinder to *Benedicamus Domino* was *Deo gratias*, as it would be in later tradition, but the *Regularis concordia* does not make this explicit. It is interesting that a text so apparently obsessed with regularity would make such an allowance for custom; whether this is because the versicle was already so common that it did not need to be spelled out, or because it was in such an informal part of the Rule that some variation was considered acceptable.

Of course, the *Regularis concordia* is not a completely comprehensive liturgy, since it does not contain the full text of the Mass. Given the lack of contemporary English evidence for what exactly was said during Mass, we cannot rule out that the *Benedicamus* had made its way from eucharistic practice to the 'semi-formal' setting of the Saturday *caritas*. However, my suggestion would be that in 973 the versicle was still in the process

4 • Kornexl 2014, 399–400. See also Symons 1975; Kornexl 1995.

5 • *Regularis concordia* §26 (Kornexl 1993, 46). The Old English interlinear gloss in BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii is helpful in interpreting the Latin, e.g. 'interim' as the preposition 'ongemang' (among) and 'dum' as the conjunction 'þænne' (when).

6 • Kornexl 1993, 238, citing Bischoff 1967. On feasting in Anglo-Saxon monasteries, see Foot 2006, 236–37. As Foot notes, Æthelwold himself partook in feasting, especially when there were royal and aristocratic guests to entertain (Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita Æthelwoldi*, ch. 12; see Lapidge and Winterbottom 1991, 22–25).

of migrating from Gallican/Carolingian practice into England. Æthelwold's Winchester would be a natural conduit for this process. The *Regularis concordia* was inspired in part by the reforming capitularies of the Carolingians, such as the *Admonitio generalis*; it was even more inspired by the practice of West Frankish Benedictine monasteries, above all of Fleury. The introduction to the Winchester text made a point of saying that it was drawing 'not only on the use of the Roman Church but also on that of the churches of the Franks'.[7] The *Regularis concordia* has been shown to have depended on the *Consuetudines* of Fleury; however, while the practice of the *caritas* is attested at Fleury, the *Consuetudines* do not contain any reference to the *Benedicamus*.[8] So it is not possible securely to attribute the transmission of the versicle to Fleury.

The *Benedicamus* next appears in two texts associated with Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023). I return to the texts themselves below, but wish first to consider Wulfstan and his relationship to the *Regularis concordia*, and the question as to whether Wulfstan adopted from Winchester the practice of the *Benedicamus*. Wulfstan represents what might be called the second generation of the Benedictine reform movement in England, although his education and career before being consecrated Bishop of London in 996 (subsequently elected simultaneously to Worcester and York in 1002) is obscure. Unlike his near-contemporary Ælfric of Eynsham, who was educated under Æthelwold at Winchester, we do not know whether he was a monk before acceding to the episcopate, although given his broad affiliation with the reform movement this seems likely: it was a pillar of the reforms that bishops should be selected out of the monasteries rather than the secular clergy, whom the reformers viewed with suspicion.[9] Although Joyce Hill has noted some of the ambiguities in Wulfstan's status as an heir to the reformers, she ultimately affirms that his thought and intentions were in line with the principles of the reform.[10]

Wulfstan's role in the development of intellectual traditions is rather more ambiguous as concerns the question of his access to sources. It has been noted that during the peak of Wulfstan's writing 'career', he would have been in near-constant movement between London, his two episcopal sees of Worcester and York (with his duties of visitation to churches and monasteries within each diocese), and the courts of Kings Æthelred and Cnut: he was a leading statesman in both regimes, responsible for drafting a great deal of the legislation in the kings' names.[11] Consequently, much of his writing would have been done 'in the saddle' (to quote Andrew Rabin), without consistent access to a single library.[12] In fact, we have a remarkable degree of insight into Wulfstan's mode of working, especially since the recent discovery by Winfried Rudolf of 'jottings' in Wulfstan's hand: hastily written notes containing snippets

7 ✦ *Regularis concordia* §5 (Kornexl 1993, 5): 'non solum Romanę uerum etiam Galliarum [OE *frenciscra*]… aecclesiarum usus…'.

8 ✦ For the *caritas*, see *Consuetudines Floriacenses Antiquiores* §26 (Davril and Donnat 2004, 216).

9 ✦ For Wulfstan's life, see esp. Whitelock 1942; Bethurum 1957, 54–87; Wormald 2004. His interest in liturgy generally is discussed in Jones 2004.

10 ✦ Hill 2004.

11 ✦ Rabin 2015, 25–26.

12 ✦ Ibid., 26.

of sources and turns of phrase that would later find their way into his works, perhaps picked up from libraries visited or correspondence received.[13] We also have access to Wulfstan's *compilationes*, his so-called 'commonplace books', although these are less random jottings and more of a carefully shaped collection of canonical material.[14] This has relevance when it comes to his use of the *Regularis concordia*. We know that Wulfstan corresponded with Ælfric and appears to have relied heavily on the latter for sources, including, perhaps, his reworking of the *Regularis concordia* in his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*.[15] Ælfric's reworking does not include the reference to the *Benedicamus* or indeed to the Saturday *caritas*.[16] And despite making extensive use of Amalarius's *Liber officialis* (a key feature which distinguishes Ælfric from the *Regularis concordia*), Ælfric does not add the *Benedicamus* as an ending to the daily Office.[17] Meanwhile in the Wulfstanian *Compilationes*, excerpts of the *Regularis concordia* do appear, most prominently in the compilations *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* and *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*.[18] Neither the *Benedicamus* nor the practice of the *caritas*, however, are featured in these compilations, nor can I find them anywhere else in places where Wulfstan excerpted from the *Regularis concordia*. Although it is possible that Wulfstan had read the passages of the *Regularis concordia* and/or Amalarius's *Liber officialis* which include those brief references to the *Benedicamus*, there is no reason to think that he had access to those passages while he was writing 'in the saddle'.

This is unsurprising when we come to look at the two Wulfstanian references to the *Benedicamus*. The first example can be found in a short text *De synodo*, which begins with prayers apparently recited at a synod before morphing into a set of instructions for bishops in the vernacular.[19] The Latin prayers offered at the synod are:

> 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende', ter [three times]; 'Gloria patri', ter; 'Kyrie eleison'; 'Pater noster' et 'Ne nos inducas'; 'Adiuva nos, Deus'; 'Adiutorium nostrum'; 'Benedicamus Domino'; 'Benedicite'; benedictio.[20]

This is followed by a collect for bishops. The rather ad hoc character of this set of prayers—more like an informal listing than an established liturgy—is striking. This character becomes more pronounced when comparing the manuscript sources of *De synodo*. The earlier of the two witnesses (BL Cotton Nero A.i, fol. 99r, dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century) does not actually contain the words *Benedicamus Domino*: following 'Adiutorium nostrum' it simply reads 'bened et reliqua'. Quite possibly the 'bened' was

13 • Rudolf 2019; Wilcox 2021.

14 • Bethurum 1942; Sauer 1980; Cross 1992.

15 • Hill 2004, 315.

16 • Jones 1999. The one reference to the practice of the *caritas* (which seems to be a very similar procedure but without any explicit citation of the *Benedicamus*) is for Maundy Thursday (at 130).

17 • On Ælfric and the *Liber officialis*, see Jones 1999, 60–65.

18 • Jones 1998.

19 • Rabin 2020, 114–19.

20 • Ibid., 114. Rabin does not place 'benedictio' in quotation marks and simply translates it as 'a benediction', though I suspect it is most likely referring specifically to the prayer *Benedictio Dei patris omnipotentis*.

originally intended to be expanded as 'benedictio' or as another prayer, such as the 'Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu'. It is only in the second extant witness to *De synodo*—Oxford Junius 121, fol. 15v, from Worcester in the mid-eleventh century, a generation or more after Wulfstan's death—that the *Benedicamus* versicle is spelled out in full.[21] It is possible, then, that the prayer was never part or intended to be part of Wulfstan's original text, but was added by a later scribe expanding a 'bened et reliqua' abbreviation. Although such circumstances make it difficult to establish lines of transmission, they nonetheless suggest that the *Benedicamus* was becoming a more and more natural thing to see in English liturgical contexts by the 1050s.

A second Wulfstanian text, the *Old English Benedictine Office*, is the first English source I have identified to place the *Benedicamus* in an established, formal part of the liturgy. The *Old English Benedictine Office* is not strictly a complete Office, since it lacks Psalm readings, but rather a combination of various texts: a prose commentary on the Office (translated into English by Wulfstan from Hrabanus Maurus); a set of poetic Old English expansions of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Gloria; and a simplified order of service for most of the liturgical hours.[22] The *Benedicamus* appears only in the order for Compline, as the penultimate item, immediately preceding the *Benedictio Dei Patris*. This is where one would expect to find the *Benedicamus*, although it is strange that it features only in Compline and not the other hours. Certainly, if the inspiration for its inclusion was the passage in Amalarius's *Liber officialis*, discussed above, then the *Benedicamus* should appear throughout the *Old English Benedictine Office*.

The manuscript transmission of the *Old English Benedictine Office*, like that of *De synodo*, inhibits definitive conclusions as regards the *Benedicamus*, for which the inclusion or exclusion of a mere two words is at stake. Witnesses to parts of the *Old English Benedictine Office* survive in two manuscripts, but one of these (Cambridge CCC 290, p. 113, second half of the eleventh century) only includes Wulfstan's English prose commentary on the Office. Incidentally, the immediate source for this commentary has been identified in a Wulfstanian 'Commonplace Book' (Cambridge CCC 190), in a section just before the extended compilation from Amalarius and the *Regularis concordia* discussed above. The *Benedicamus*, however, is not mentioned in this 'commonplace book'. As in the case of *De synodo*, only a single source of the *Old English Benedictine Office* contains a mention of *Benedicamus* itself. This source is, once again, Oxford Junius 121 (fol. 54v) from the mid-eleventh century. One wonders, therefore, if the *Benedicamus* versicle (and perhaps the whole of the Latin liturgical 'rundown' attached to the Old English commentaries and paraphrases) was an interpolation by the scribe of Oxford Junius 121 rather than something that can be traced back to Wulfstan or his generation. All that can be said for certain is that the *Benedicamus* was finding its way into the daily Office in England, or at least in Worcester, by the mid-eleventh century at the latest.

21 • Oxford Junius 121 is digitised at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/44360db1-f67e-47c3-8136-6515a090d968/.

22 • Ure 1957.

In terms of music for the *Benedicamus* in England, the earliest example of the versicle recorded with notation seems to be in BL Harley 3020, a composite manuscript whose three parts were gathered together at Glastonbury Abbey at some point in the later Middle Ages.[23] The first booklet is a tenth- or early eleventh-century collection of early Northumbrian materials: Bede's homily on the death of Benedict Biscop, his *Historia abbatum*, and the anonymous *Vita Ceolfrithi*. On fol. 34v, the verso of the last folio of the *Vita Ceolfrithi*, a single, neumed *Benedicamus Domino* has been added. Its melody is that of the 'Flos filius eius' melisma, one of the best-known *Benedicamus* plainchants.[24] Palaeographically, James Carley has assigned this musical addition to the third quarter of the eleventh century, although it may be slightly later.[25] It may be more than coincidental that, on the following page (fol. 35r), there is a fragment from a neumed troper, dated to the early eleventh century, which had evidently been scraped and subsequently reused as a cover in BL Harley 3020.[26] This may give a rough *terminus post quem* for the *Benedicamus*, since it seems possible that the addition of the 'Flos filius' melody was inspired by the musical content of the cover: written after the booklet had been collated, that is, after the leaf from the troper had been scraped and repurposed. Importantly, while the manuscript was collated in Glastonbury, the musical fragment itself was copied by a scribe from St Augustine's in Canterbury.[27] Clearly, by the end of the eleventh century, the *Benedicamus* had spread from Winchester to Worcester, and now to Canterbury.

The first notated English example of a troped *Benedicamus* is, tellingly, found in Oxford Junius 121, which also preserves the unique references to the *Benedicamus* versicle in both the *Old English Benedictine Office* and Wulfstan's *De synodo*.[28] As an addition on the first, blank leaf of the manuscript (fol. 1r), a *Benedicamus* trope—which is apparently unique to this source—is copied with a syllabic melody in unheighted neumes.[29] The first line of text tropes the *Benedicamus* versicle—inserting new text between its two words—and the second line elaborates the response, *Deo gratias*, in the same manner:

23 • Carley 1994. The manuscript is digitised at http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100059909805.0x000001.

24 • The neumes in BL Harley 3020 correspond exactly with the version of the 'Flos filius eius' *Benedicamus* in the early twelfth-century collection of *Benedicamus Domino* chants added in Cambridge CCC 411 by a scribe from Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury. On Cambridge CCC 411 and for a transcription of the 'Flos filius eius' *Benedicamus*, see the essay by Thomas Phillips, Ch. 10 in this volume and Appendix, item 1, respectively.

25 • Carley 1994, 273, n. 44. I am grateful to Dr Colleen Curran and Professor Susan Rankin for personal communications on this issue.

26 • Carley 1994, 273, n. 45.

27 • St Augustine's is suggested tentatively in Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, 356, and Professor Susan Rankin has affirmed to me (pers. comm.) that the *Benedicamus* on fol. 34v is unquestionably from St Augustine's. K. D. Hartzell (cited by Carley 1994, 273, n. 44 as pers. comm.) suggests that the script of the *Benedicamus* has a 'close parallel' in another St Augustine's manuscript, BL Cotton Cleopatra B. viii, fol. 89v (a neumed responsory for the feast of Gregory the Great).

28 • An earlier, unnotated *Benedicamus* trope—which reads 'Benedicamus domino alleluia. Deo gratias omnes dicamus ore corde opere alleluia.'—is preserved in Cambridge CCC 422, p. 506, within the Missal section, copied c.1061, probably in Sherborne, Dorset (see Gittos 2005). I thank Nicholas David Yardley Ball for drawing this source to my attention.

29 • The text is printed as an appendix to the Henry Bradshaw Society edition of the Winchester Troper (Frere 1894b, 144). The trope was catalogued in Huglo 1982, 143, who dated this musical addition to the late eleventh century.

BENEDICAMUS uos [*sic*] regnanti	9p	a
desuper DOMINO	6pp	b
DEO per secula pueri	9pp	a
reddite GRATIAS	6pp	c

(Let us bless the Lord who reigns on high; Boys, render thanks to God throughout all ages)

The scribe is evidently copying from an exemplar: 'uos' here is presumably an error for the non-sensical 'nos', and there is a further mistake at the end of the first line, where the scribe first copied 'gratias' (possibly caused by an eye-skip to the end of the second line). 'Gratias' was here subsequently marked, with dots, as an error, and the correction 'Domino' was inserted above. There is, however, no way of knowing whether this trope was copied from a full-scale liturgical manuscript or from another more informal or fragmentary record. The use of 'pueri'—common to other *Benedicamus* tropes—could suggest that the text with the melody was sung by younger monks (not necessarily children in the modern understanding), or was related to the performance of the *Benedicamus* by boys, as emphasised by Susan Boynton.[30] In terms of the script, this addition is unambiguously post-Conquest: I would suggest around 1080–1100, and certainly later than the mid-century hand of the main text of Oxford Junius 121. It is probably a coincidence that it happens to be in the same manuscript as two of the very few other early English examples of the *Benedicamus*. While the congruence might be taken to suggest that the versicle was more thoroughly established at Worcester by the end of the eleventh century than it was elsewhere in England, the absence of the text from the extensive mid-eleventh-century Worcester breviary in Cambridge CCC 391 argues strongly against this, as does the Canterbury origin of the *Benedicamus* in BL Harley 3020. Finally, given that the *Benedicamus* appears only in this isolated setting, it is impossible to say whether this versicle was intended for use in the liturgy of the Mass or the daily Office, or in both.

Conclusion

The evidence for the emergence of the versicle *Benedicamus Domino* in pre-Norman England is too sparse, and the lines of transmission too vague, to draw very firm conclusions. Nevertheless, a hypothetical timeline could tentatively be advanced as follows:

1) The *Benedicamus* emerges in pre-Carolingian West Francia and is first recorded in early Carolingian liturgical manuscripts.

2) The versicle first comes to England in the tenth century and its first written trace attests to its use in the less formal liturgical setting of the Saturday *caritas*. Perhaps the versicle was introduced by the Fleury-influenced Benedictine reformers, or perhaps it was already in circulation in England before the 970s.

30 • Boynton 2008, 43–48. Boyhood (*pueritia* in Latin, *iugoþ* or *cildhad* in Old English) was schematised in various ways in early medieval England: many authors, including Bede, understood *pueritia* as continuing until the onset of *adolescentia* at 27 or 28 (Porck 2021; Barber 2021; Soper 2023, 25–60).

3) The *Benedicamus* becomes established within the Office, as part of the conclusion of Compline, by the 1010s at the earliest (the period of Wulfstan's work on *De synodo* and the *Old English Benedictine Office*) or by the 1050s at the latest (the date of copying of Oxford Junius 121).

4) Despite the evidence of the *Old English Benedictine Office*, the *Benedicamus* was not thoroughly established as a formal part of the English liturgy even by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period (c.1066). The first musically notated examples of the versicle appear only in the last decades of the eleventh century, in Worcester and Canterbury.

7.

The Performance of the *Benedicamus Domino* according to the *Libri ordinarii* from the Ecclesiastical Province of Salzburg

*Gionata Brusa**

Despite the progress of studies in the field of medieval music, several questions remain unresolved, fully or partially. Who exactly was involved in liturgical singing and in what manner was a piece performed during Mass or Office celebrations in the Middle Ages? How were processions conducted? What role did the lay people play? Did they assist or intervene in the performance? Traditional musical sources (liturgical-musical books such as antiphoners, graduals, etc.) rarely provide a comprehensive answer to these questions. However, this gap can be at least partially filled thanks to the study of a particular type of liturgical manuscript: the *Liber ordinarius*, a veritable 'director's manual' that describes in detail chants and liturgical actions typical of specific places and ages.[1] In this respect, as previously pointed out by Anne Walters Robertson, the study of *Libri ordinarii* can unveil

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* An earlier version of this essay was read at the Joint Workshop of the Research Projects *BENEDICAMUS* and *Corpus Monodicum* ('Current Research on the *Benedicamus Domino*', Würzburg, 17–18 February 2023). I am particularly indebted to Charles Atkinson and Catherine A. Bradley for their many helpful comments and suggestions; they made this essay much better than it would have been otherwise.

The following abbreviations of sigla are used:

Graz 208	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 208
Graz 258	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 258
Graz 409	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409
Graz 756	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756
Graz 1566	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1566
Klosterneuburg 635	Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, 635
Klosterneuburg 983	Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, 983
Klosterneuburg 1014	Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, 1014
Klosterneuburg 1194	Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, 1194
Klosterneuburg 1213	Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, 1213
MuEm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274 ('St. Emmeram Codex')
Munich Clm 9496	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9469
Munich Clm 12635	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12635
Munich Clm 14073	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14073
Munich Clm 14183	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14183
Munich Clm 14428	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14428
Munich Clm 26947	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26947
Munich HStA 163a	Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Klosterliteralien Freising St. Andreas, 163a
Munich UB 157	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. 157
Salzburg M II 6	Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M II 6
San Candido VII a 10	San Candido/Innichen, Biblioteca della Collegiata, VII a 10
St. Paul 83/3	St. Paul, Benediktinerstift, 83/3
Vienna 1482	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1482
Vienna 1874	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1874
Vorau 99	Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 99

1 • A pioneering work in this field is Cattin 1995.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143518 ✳

some elements about the performance of chanting the *Benedicamus Domino*, the manuscript tradition of which provides only sparse and incomplete information.[2]

The *Liber ordinarius* as a book-type results from the effort of a cathedral church, a monastery, a collegiate church, or a well-defined religious community (a monastic or canonical congregation) to set down its liturgical customs in written form. This type of book, which usually consists of a series of liturgical incipits with explanatory rubrics, provides us with details that we might not otherwise find: the degree of solemnity of the various feasts, the colour of the liturgical vestments used, the rites connected with the veneration of relics, the way the bells were rung, the locations and routes of processions, or information about musical practices. As a result, interest in *Libri ordinarii* goes beyond the liturgical sphere and extends to architecture, musicology, art history, and beyond.[3]

Despite the great variability of their contents, it is possible to identify some common features in the *Libri ordinarii*:

1. They describe in great detail the liturgical customs of a specific cathedral, collegiate church, monastery, parish, or congregation.
2. They follow in a precise way the course of the liturgical year, in which the Temporale and the Sanctorale may be integrated or clearly separated. Within the liturgical year they usually describe all the celebrations that are proper to the individual days, both the Office and the Mass; the latter is usually inserted within the hours of the Office, in its usual liturgical place.
3. They usually contain only the incipits of liturgical texts (chants, prayers, or readings), arranged according to their sequence within the relevant celebrations. In addition, there are rubrics—sometimes very detailed ones—whose purpose is to describe the course of the services. A third component, present above all in the Germanic area, is musical notation, which is sometimes provided for the incipits of musical items.
4. Not being a volume used during the actual liturgical service, but only as a work of reference, the *Liber ordinarius* usually looks modest, lacking any embellishment, and is often informally written.

Given the importance of this category of manuscripts, making them available for consultation is a high priority for the scholarly community. With this aim, the project 'Cantus Network. Libri ordinarii of the Salzburg Metropolitan Province' was launched in 2017. This research project, funded by the Austrian National Foundation for Research, Technology, and Development and hosted at the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, aimed to examine the testimonies of the Christian cult of the Middle Ages in manuscript form

2 • Robertson 1988, 5–9, where information is taken from different sources, both monastic and secular. Robertson mentions the ordinals of Bec, Bayeux, Barking Abbey in Essex, Bury St Edmunds, Compiègne Saint-Corneille, Exeter, Farfa, Fleury, York Saint Mary, Laon, Lyon, Marbach, Norwich, Paris Saint-Denis, Sarum, Trier Saint Matthias and Saint Maximin, and Vallombrosa.

3 • The *Libri ordinarii* as liturgical sources are discussed in Foley 1988; Martimort 1991, 51–58; Palazzo 1993, 233–40; Collomb 1995; Bärsch 2005, 2020/2021, and 2023; Lohse 2012 and 2015; and Caspers 2015.

and to describe the liturgical-musical practices of selected ecclesiastical institutions.[4] In this context, the texts of thirty *Libri ordinarii* of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg were transcribed, digitally coded, and published on the project website, www.cantusnetwork.at.[5] This investigation of the performance of the *Benedicamus Domino* builds on this work, and is limited to the *Libri ordinarii* involved in the 'Cantus Network' project. These sources are presented in Table 7.1 below.

Overview of the sources

A search in the online database identified more than about a thousand entries for the words *Benedicamus Domino*. As one would expect, the oldest sources—the Salzburg and the St. Nicholas of Passau *ordinarii* (respectively, Salzburg M II 6 and Vienna 1482), written around the second half of the twelfth century—have the smallest number of mentions. [6] References to the *Benedicamus Domino* then increase exponentially over the century to the 235 mentions of this versicle in the fifteenth-century *Liber ordinarius* of St. Emmeram, a number almost doubled by the time of the late ordinal of Seckau (Graz 1566), written c.1595–1600. The percentage ratio between mentions of the *Benedicamus* for the Mass and those for the Office also ranges between two extremes. The older sources are almost exclusively concerned with correctly defining when the *Benedicamus* is to be sung at the end of the Mass in place of the *Ite missa est*. By contrast, in Graz 1566, our youngest source, just two of the more than 500 references to the *Benedicamus* concern the Mass. (See Figure 7.1).

4 • The project, which was completed in 2020, was led by Karl Franz Prassl (University of Graz) and Robert Klugseder (Austrian Academy of Sciences).

5 • In the age of digital transformation, there is also a technological evolution in methodology in the humanities. Digital Humanities is a naturally interdisciplinary subject that, since its beginnings, has worked as a connecting element between different disciplines. It is therefore not surprising that medieval liturgical and music studies are being influenced by new digital methods. This applies in particular to *Libri ordinarii*, whose highly structured organization and large number of elements are already very similar to XML-roots documents. Methods and results of the project 'Cantus Network' are described in Klugseder 2019, iii–iv and Klugseder 2023, 169–76, while technical and technological issues and solutions are discussed in Steiner 2020.

6 • I do not consider here the oldest *Liber ordinarius* of Seckau, Graz 208, on which see Csanády 2009. Graz 208 is of uncertain origin: copied in the late twelfth century in an as yet unidentified Augustinian abbey within the diocese of Passau, it was only later adapted for the use of Seckau.

Table 7.1: Sources of *Libri ordinarii* from the Ecclesiastical Province of Salzburg c.1150–1600

Manuscript (fols. where relevant)	**Use and date**	**Secondary literature; printed editions; online editions; and digitisations**
Graz 756	Second *Liber ordinarius* for the Augustinian abbey Seckau, copied in 1345	See Lipphardt 1981, 278–79, no. 745; Behrendt 2009b, 2012, and 2013. Printed edition: Behrendt 2009a. Online edition: Brusa 2019g. Digitised at https://unipub.uni-graz.at/urn:nbn:at:at-ubg:2-22634
Graz 1566	Latest *Liber ordinarius* for the Augustinian abbey Seckau, written c.1595–1600	Printed edition: Miklós 2019. Digitised at https://unipub.uni-graz.at/urn/urn:nbn:at:at-ubg:2-30262
Klosterneuburg 635	St. Maria of Klosterneuburg, copied in the mid-fourteenth century, between Klosterneuburg 1213 and Klosterneuburg 983	See Schabes 1930, 7; Lipphard 1981, 306, no. 599; Klugseder 2008; Brusa 2020b. Online edition: Brusa 2019b
Klosterneuburg 983	St. Maria of Klosterneuburg, copied in 1393	Online edition: Brusa 2019d
Klosterneuburg 1014	St. Maria of Klosterneuburg, copied c.1506	Online edition: Brusa 2019e
Klosterneuburg 1213	St. Maria of Klosterneuburg, copied in 1352	Online edition: Brusa 2019c
Klosterneuburg 1194	Passau Cathedral for the parish church St. Martin of Klosterneuburg, late fourteenth-century	Printed edition: Klugseder 2019 (textual variants in the critical apparatus)
Munich Clm 9496	Collegiate church of Sts. Maria and Castulus of Moosburg, written c.1360. Text compiled and transcribed by the dean, Johannes of Perchausen († 15.08.1362)	See Brusa 2020a, lxx–lxxv. Online edition: Brusa 2019f. Digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00113939
Munich Clm 12635	Based on the text of Salzburg M II 6 (Salzburg Cathedral), but adapted to the use of Ranshofen collegiate church, early thirteenth century	Online edition: Brusa and Praßl 2019c. Digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00096537
Munich Clm 14073	Latest, third *Liber ordinarius* of St. Emmeram, probably copied around late-fifteenth century, and later adapted to the customs of the Kastl Reform	See Bischoff 1967, 120; Lipphardt 1981, 336 no. 325; Wunderle 1995, 167–71; Brusa 2021 and Brusa 2023. Online edition: Hiley and Brusa 2019b. Digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00019069

Munich Clm 14183	First of the three *Libri ordinarii* of St. Emmeram, copied during abbot Wolfhard Strauss abbacy (1423–51)	See Lipphardt 1981, 337 no. 323; Neske 2005, 122–24. Printed edition: Hiley and Brusa 2021. Digitised at https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb00035172
Munich Clm 14428	Second of the three *Libri ordinarii* of St. Emmeram. Direct copy of Munich Clm 14183, written in the mid-fifteenth century	See Lipphardt 1981, 337 no. 324; Helmer and Knödler 2015, 88–90. Online edition: Hiley and Brusa 2019a. Digitised at https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb00046471
Munich Clm 26947	Regensburg Cathedral, written c.1340–80	See Lipphardt 1981, 343, no. 684. Printed edition: Hiley and Brusa 2020. Digitised at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00094626
Munich UB 157	Freising Cathedral, dated 1414	See Reuter 2000. Printed edition: Brusa 2020a. Digitised at https://doi.org/10.5282/ubm/digi.102
Salzburg M II 6	Salzburg Cathedral, written c.1198, probably on the occasion of the consecration of the second cathedral	Online edition: Brusa and Praßl 2019a. Digitised at https://manuscripta.at/diglit/AT7400-MII6/0001
San Candido VII a 10 (fols. 28r–49v)	Brixen Cathedral, first or second quarter of the thirteenth century. In San Candido/Innichen shortly after this date	See Baroffio 2006b; Haug, Kraft, and Zühlke 2019, 319. Online edition: Brusa 2019a. Digitised at https://gams.uni-graz.at/o:cantus.brixen/sdef:TEI/get?mode=view:facs&locale=de
St. Paul 83/3	Passau Cathedral adapted to the use of Spital am Pyhrn, copied c.1233	Printed edition: Klugseder 2019. Digitised at https://www.cantusplanus.at/common/rism.php?rism=A-SPL83-3
Vienna 1482 (fols. 75r–94v)	Collegiate chapter church St. Nicholas of Passau, written c.1150–60	See Klugseder 2013, 34–37; Klugseder 2019, l; Klugseder 2020, 167–70. Printed edition: Brusa and Klugseder 2020. Digitised at https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7165632&order=1&view=SINGLE
Vienna 1874	Passau Cathedral, copied c.1364, probably for the parish church St. Veit Krems	Printed edition: Klugseder 2019 (textual variants in the critical apparatus)
Vorau 99	Based on the text of Salzburg M II 6 (Salzburg Cathedral), but adapted to the use of Suben-Vorau collegiate church, early thirteenth century	Online edition: Brusa and Praßl 2019b. Digitised at https://www.cantusplanus.at/common/rism.php?rism=A-VOR99

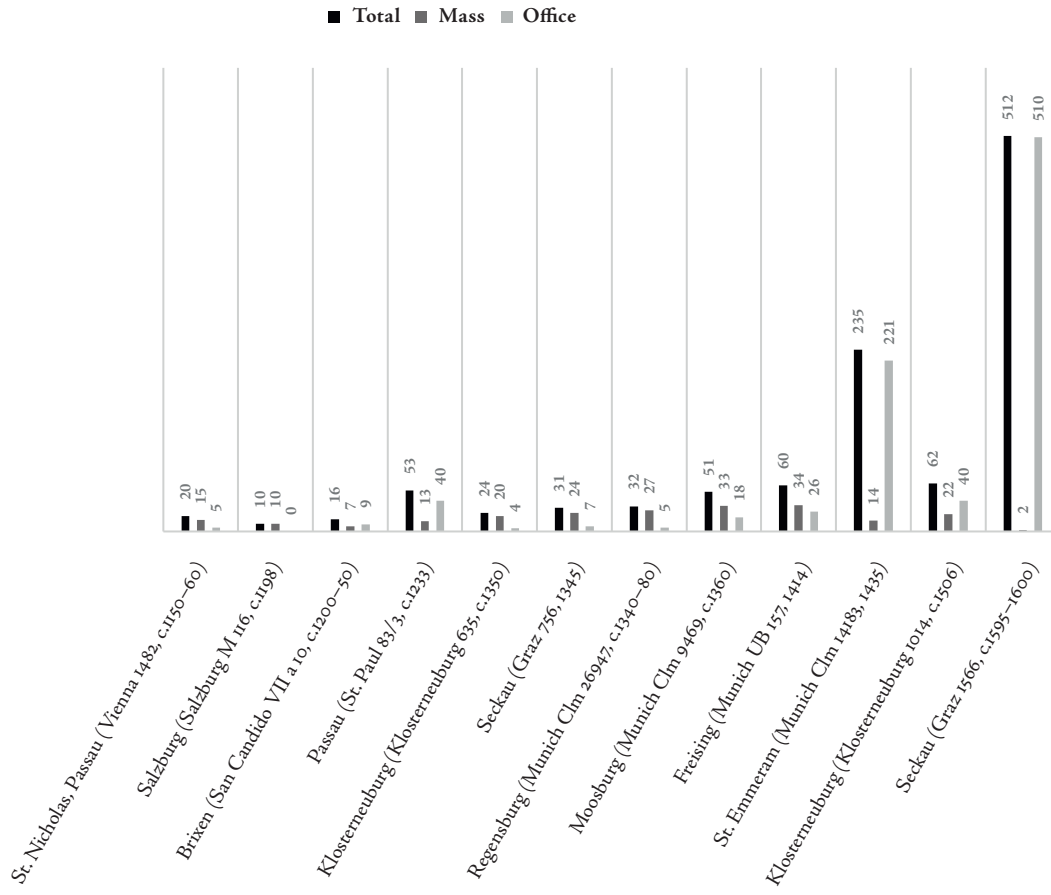


Figure 7.1: Overview of References to the *Benedicamus Domino* in the *Libri ordinarii* of the Ecclesiastical Province of Salzburg c.1150–1600

Where was the *Benedicamus* sung?

A first question addressed by Anne Walters Robertson is where exactly the *Benedicamus* was performed.[7] She answered this question with the help provided by *Libri ordinarii*, identifying three places: a step or steps in the church, the middle of the choir, and the front of the altar. However, in the sources I analysed—despite the great number of *Benedicamus* entries—no such information is ever provided.

Who sang the *Benedicamus*?

Our sources rarely mention who was assigned to the performance of the *Benedicamus*. The oldest sources are completely silent on this matter, and any indications first begin to appear

7 • Robertson 1988, 6–7.

from about the mid-fourteenth century, when an early insight is offered by the Regensburg Cathedral *ordinarius* (Munich Clm 26947), copied c.1340–80. According to this source, three or four were to sing a solemn *Benedicamus* at the conclusion of Second Vespers of the Purification.[8] It is not, however, specified who these three or four were, and the context does not allow this to be determined. Yet, in general—and as already observed by Robertson—the singing of the *Benedicamus Domino* seems to be the task of the *pueri*, with only a very few exceptions.[9] These include the youngest *Liber ordinarius* of Klosterneuburg (Klosterneuburg 1014), where the versicle and its trope *In laude Ihesu* (sung to the melody of the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus*) for First Vespers of Christmas were assigned to the *rectores*.[10] In the latest St. Emmeram *ordinarius* it is specified that the *ebdomadarii* sing the *Benedicamus* for Easter Lauds,[11] and the *cantores* for First Vespers of the Holy Trinity, Second Vespers of the Purification, and the Dedication of a Church.[12] Lastly, in the early sixteenth-century *ordinarius* of Seckau (Graz 1566), the *Benedicamus* for First Vespers of Christmas Eve is said to be performed by a *senior domicellus*.[13] Although boys are undoubtedly the principal target group in chanting the *Benedicamus*, this is specified only in later sources, and among these it is the *Liber ordinarus* of St. Emmeram that is overwhelmingly the most prescriptive. As noted by David Hiley, *duo pueri* were involved in the performance of the *Benedicamus* for almost every major festivity of the liturgical year (Stephen, Pentecost, Holy Trinity, Peter and Paul, the Dedication of a Church, and Denis), often specifically with the singing of the trope *In laude Ihesu* (mentioned for Christmas, the Assumption of the Virgin, St. Emmeram, and All Saints).[14] In the youngest Seckau *ordinarius*, Graz 1566, *duo pueri* sang the *Benedicamus* at First Vespers of the Saturday after the Assumption of the Virgin—where the trope *In laude Ihesu* was also prescribed—while in the other Augustinian abbey of Klosterneuburg the *Benedicamus* was the duty of two boys during the whole week after Christmas and at First Vespers for the Sundays after Easter.[15]

As Robertson has remarked, an important role in the performance practice of the *Benedicamus* was also played by the choir, who sang the response *Deo gratias*, repeating the melody of the preceding *Benedicamus* versicle.[16] In the sources from the province of Salzburg, only the *Liber ordinarius* of St. Emmeram explicitly mentions the presence of the choir in the performance. This occurs on two occasions: at Second Vespers on the feast of the Purification (*A duobus cantoribus cantatur sollemne Benedicamus cum choro*), and at Second Vespers on the Church's dedication feast. I return to the latter case in detail below, since it offers important insights into the way in which the *Benedicamus* was performed.

8 ✦ Hiley and Brusa 2020, 37, no. 151.11.
9 ✦ Robertson 1988, 9.
10 ✦ Klosterneuburg 1014, fol. 14v.
11 ✦ Hiley and Brusa 2021, 40, no. 133.3.
12 ✦ Hiley and Brusa 2021, 80, no. 288.13; 113–14, no. 401.12.
13 ✦ Miklós 2019, 67, no. 228.1.
14 ✦ Hiley 2023, 197–98.
15 ✦ Klosterneuburg 1014, fols. 21v and 73v.
16 ✦ Robertson 1988, 32.

Changes over time

A significant insight offered by a survey of the *Libri ordinarii* of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg concerns the change over time of the treatment of and information given about the same *Benedicamus* at the same ecclesiastical institution. This is strongly evident at St. Emmeram and at Klosterneuburg. At St. Emmeram, First Vespers for the feast of the Holy Trinity is an interesting case. The two older *Libri ordinarii*, Munich Clm 14183 and Munich Clm 14428, contain the same instruction: *Duo cantores cantant sollemne Benedicamus*. However, in Munich Clm 14428, the musical notation with which the word *Benedicamus* is provided in Munich Clm 14183 disappears. The text of the youngest St. Emmeram *ordinarius*, Munich Clm 14073, was later revised and adapted to the use of Kastl, introduced at St. Emmeram in the late fifteenth century. Here this passage was erased and adapted in accordance with the typical style of the reform, adopting its ranking system for the feasts. In Munich Clm 14073 we thus find instead *Benedicamus Domino in septem luminibus*. Another good example of a process of change is observable in St. Maria of Klosterneuburg, where the three older sources (Klosterneuburg 635, Klosterneuburg 1213, and Klosterneuburg 983) were all copied in the fourteenth century in relatively quick succession. These three sources are essentially very similar to each other and form a uniform group with identical contents. The core content is also contained in the younger manuscript Klosterneuburg 1014, but this last witness reflects the development of the liturgy within the religious community of Klosterneuburg, which reached its climax in 1485 with the canonisation of one of the monastery's founders, Leopold III. In the first three manuscripts a *Benedicamus solemne* sung by boys (*Benedicamus Domino sollemne pueri cantent*) is prescribed for Second Vespers on the feast of the Ascension. In Klosterneuburg 1014, by contrast, the rank *sollemne* is transformed into the indication *cum tribus alleluia*, the *pueri* become two unidentified persons, and the phrase changes from the active verb form to the passive (*Benedicamus Domino cum tribus alleluia <a> duobus cantetur*).

Melodies

Concerning the melodies to which the *Benedicamus* was sung, the *Libri ordinarii* of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg do not offer as valuable indications as those of Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille, studied by Robertson. As she observed, 'these books provide helpful clues to the chants on which the *Benedicamus* melismas are based. For example, the Saint-Denis ordinaries record *Benedicamus ut Preciosus* at first vespers on the feast of the octave of Saint Denis (16 October)'.[17] Nevertheless, it is certain that there were several different available melodies to which the *Benedicamus* could be sung in the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg. According to the *Liber ordinarius* of Brixen Cathedral (San Candido VII a 10), Second Vespers for Christmas and for the feast of St Stephen were to be concluded with the singing of a *Benedicamus quale volueris* (whichever

17 • Robertson 1988, 16.

Benedicamus you want).[18] This indicates that there were multiple *Benedicamus Domino* melodies from which to choose. One expedient used is to provide the verse with musical notation; this is particularly frequent in one of the oldest sources, the Salzburg Cathedral *ordinarius* Salzburg M II 6, where on seven occasions we encounter neumes above the word *Benedicamus*, always, however, in the context of its use at the conclusion of the Mass. The phenomenon of notated melodies is also observable in the Seckau *ordinarius*, Graz 756, which although copied in 1345 still uses adiastematic neumes 'in campo aperto'. The most organized Seckau source, Graz 1566, is also the most recent. But here the visual mnemonic reminder of *Benedicamus* melodies through notation is replaced by that of the hierarchical classification of the feast. This designation of melody according to feast is common in *Libri ordinarii* for the chants of the Kyriale. For ordinary days the *Benedicamus* is defined as *feriale*. Other days, especially the feasts of the Sanctorale, are ranked according to the type of saint: thus there is a *Benedicamus de martyribus*, one *de confessoribus*, or *de virginibus*, or even *de apostolis*. The feasts of the Dedication of a Church, of Saint Michael and his Octave, and of the Transfiguration are marked with a *Benedicamus angelicum*. The remaining *Benedicamus* are indicated by means of the incipit of the well-known trope *In laude Ihesu*, sung to the similarly widespread melody of the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus*. Indications to sing *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* occur on the feasts of the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Christmas, Epiphany, and the Sunday of Septuagesima.[19]

Tropes

Unsurprisingly, it is the well-known and widely-disseminated trope *In laude Ihesu* that appears with great frequency in the later sources, namely in the Seckau *ordinarius* Graz 1566, Klosterneuburg 1014, and in the three St. Emmeram *Libri ordinarii* (Munich Clm 14183, 14428, and 14073). In one of the reworkings in Munich Clm 14073, reflecting the use of Kastl, *In laude Ihesu* is prescribed for the feast of Corpus Christi in a variant and established adaption of this text, as *In laude panis*. Other manuscripts are silent on the question of *Benedicamus* tropes, with the exception of the *Liber ordinarius* of the Cathedral of Brixen (San Candido VII a 10). Here, in three instances, textual incipits are given following the word *Benedicamus*. Although they are not accompanied by any kind of rubric that clarifies their function, they are evidently tropes. The tropes are all to be sung at Second Vespers: *Benedicamus Deus adoratur* in the Octave of Epiphany (San Candido VII a 10, fol. 35r); *Benedicamus sata tria* for the Purification (fol. 37r); and *Benedicamus voce resonantes* for Pentecost (fol. 46r). I have so far been unable to identify either of the tropes *Deus adoratur* or *Voce resonantes* in manuscripts from Brixen or elsewhere, but it should be noted that there are no surviving sources from Brixen earlier than the fourteenth century.[20] *Benedica-*

18 • San Candido VII a 10, fol. 32r.

19 • More rarely in other *Libri ordinarii* we find other adjectives: for example, *ut bini* (in Klosterneuburg sources) and *sollemne* (in Klosterneubug and St. Emmeram sources).

20 • The incipit of the trope *Voce resonantes* is also attested in a *Liber Ordinarius* copied around 1407 for the Kollegiatstift of St. Andreas in Freising (Munich HStA 163a, fol. 36v), here for Second Vespers on Christmas. This source also informs us

mus sata tria, on the other hand, is known in the form of conductus or sacred song in two twelfth-century antiphonals now in Graz from the Abbey of St. Lambrecht.[21]

A special case in St. Emmeram

The information about the melodies and performance practice of the *Benedicamus* conveyed by the *Libri ordinarii* of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg is not so extensive. Nevertheless, the exceptional example in St. Emmeram concerning the performance of the *Benedicamus* for Second Vespers of the Church's Dedication feast, mentioned above, offers a remarkably specific insight into the performance of the *Benedicamus*.[22] This is a unique example where the musical notation is given in full, both for the versicle *Benedicamus* and its response *Deo gratias*, thus allowing us to identify its melody as that of the well-known 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus*.[23] The same text concerning the *Benedicamus* appears in all three copies of the St. Emmeram *Liber ordinarius* and it is notated in Munich Clm 14183 and Munich Clm 14073, but not in Munich Clm 14428. Remarkably, all three sources offer unusually precise details about the way in which this *Benedicamus* melody is to be performed (which are rather difficult to comprehend in Munich Clm 14428, given the lack of accompanying notation).[24] The melisma on the vowel '-o' in 'Domino' and in the response on the first '-a' in 'gracias', are subdivided, and it is specified that different portions of the melisma are to be performed *in alternatim* (alternately) by the choir (*chorus*) and a group of *cantores* (see Figures 7.2 and 7.3).

This is a clearly a special type of performance practice for the *Benedicamus*, prescribed for a major celebration, and which most likely differs from the common daily musical practice. Nevertheless, this rare notated example offers an unusually specific amount of information concerning how different persons might have been present in the singing of the *Benedicamus*, and about the role of the choir, which here does not simply act as an echo in the *Deo gratias* response, but interacts with the *cantores* throughout, also in the performance of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle.

(on fol. 39v) that the *Benedicamus* was replaced by an Alleluia with prosula on the Septuagesima Sunday: '*Benedicamus Domino* cum eius nota quod est tale Alleluia V. *Exultet iam ecclesia* cum reliquis versibus ut in antiphonario habetur, quam prosam duo aut plures canonici canere debent. Et hoc sic intelligas: quod cum Septuagesima post Purificacionem evenerit tunc nichil dicitur ad suffragia et inmediate sequitur predictum Alleluia pro *Benedicamus* cum eius nota'.

21 • The manuscripts in question are Graz 258, fol. 2r (with textual variant 'Sancta pia fert Maria'), and Graz 409, fol. 273r. In both manuscripts, the text was added in empty space in the fourteenth century. See Dreves 1895, 101, no. 14; Anderson 1972, 355 and 359; Caldwell 2022, 109. Cultural links between the Episcopal See of Brixen and St. Lambrecht are documented as far back as 1164, when Hartmann, the bishop of Brixen, consecrated the new abbey church a few months before his death (see Gelmi 2015, 63). I thank Alessandra Ignesti for sharing this valuable information.

22 • Hiley and Brusa 2021, 113–14, no. 401.12.

23 • See the musical transcription of the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* in Robertson 1988, 21, no. 9 and the essay by Mary Channen Caldwell in this volume, Ch. 4. I thank Agnieszka Budzińska-Bennet for this identification. The importance of this passage in the text of St. Emmeram was first underlined by David Hiley (see Hiley and Brusa 2021, xiii; Hiley 2023, 197–98).

24 • Precisely, the *Benedicamus* is to be found in Munich Clm 14183, fol. 117v; Munich Clm 14428, fol. 136r; Munich Clm 14073, fol. 91r.

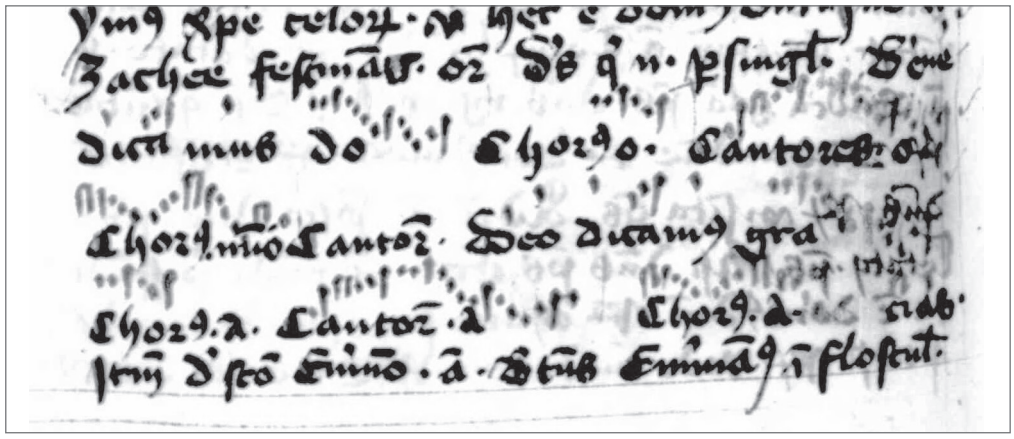


Figure 7.2: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14183, fol. 117v (detail).
© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

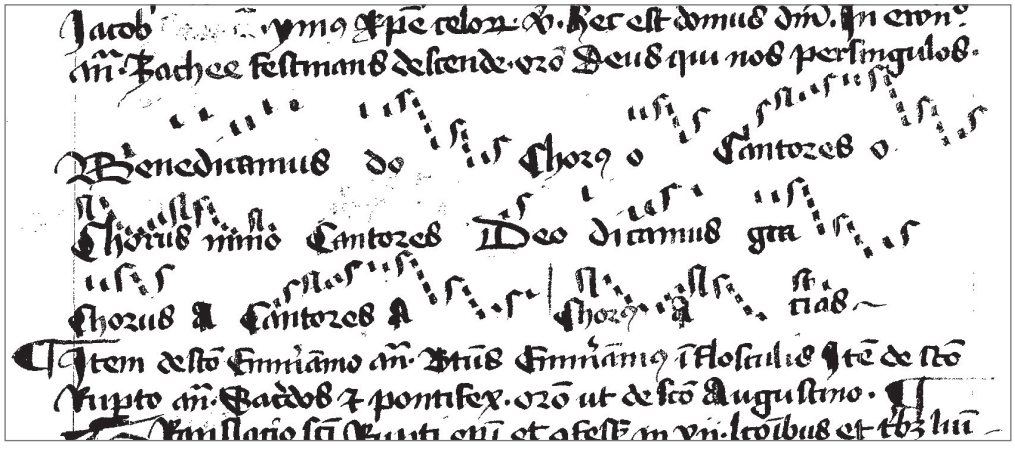


Figure 7.3: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14073, fol. 91r (detail).
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Since it is so very rare in a *Liber ordinarius* to copy a chant in full and, moreover, with musical notation, this could mean that the execution of the *Benedicamus* in question was a recent or particularly prized innovation at St. Emmeram. Ian Rumbold identified the hand of Munich Clm 14183—the earliest copy of the St. Emmeram *Liber ordinarius* dating back to 1435—as that of Hermann Pötzlinger, who at that time probably held the position of assistant at the monastery school of St. Emmeram.[25] Pötzlinger is well known as the copyist of the 'St. Emmeram Codex' (MuEm), a collection of mostly polyphonic music, some of which was composed in the environment of the University of Vienna.[26] The question arises, therefore, as to whether this performance practice for the *Benedicamus* was something for which Pötzlinger himself may have been responsible and therefore decided to document explicitly in the *Liber ordinarius*.

25 • Rumbold 2021.

26 • Rumbold and Wright 2009.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated the special status of *Libri ordinarii* as sources to inform understanding of the medieval performance practice of chant in the liturgy. *Libri ordinarii* reveal just how colourful and nuanced these practices could be, far from common perceptions of the medieval liturgy as monolithic and grey. Although relatively slight, the specific information that *Libri ordinarii* from the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg provide concerning the *Benedicamus Domino* allows a more nuanced picture of the performance of this versicle to emerge. This has facilitated the identification of particular *Benedicamus* melodies and trope texts. It has emerged that the *Benedicamus* could be assigned to multiple different performers (*pueri*, *cantores*, *rectores*, etc.) in various combinations, and—in the case of St. Emmeram—its melody could be sung in *alternatim*, with the choir interacting with and responding to *cantores*, and participating not only in the response, but also in the versicle itself.

EARLY PLAINCHANT PRACTICES



8.
Early *Benedicamus Domino* Minitexts in the Margins: New Discoveries

*Giulio Minniti**

Michel Huglo's foundational study on early organa and *Benedicamus Domino* settings is characterised by the sheer variety of manuscripts he surveyed. In particular, Huglo drew attention to many musical additions in the empty spaces of non-musical manuscripts, observing that 'Often … new compositions were added on the available leaf of any manuscript'.[1] Building on Huglo's study, Anne Walters Robertson characterised the early history of plainchant melodies for the *Benedicamus Domino* in a similar way:

> Although music for the monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* is first found in manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries, the examples are invariably added by late tenth- or eleventh-century scribes. The very nature of the early sources suggests that the chant was just beginning to be written down, for the monophonic *Benedicamus* are usually entered haphazardly in small groups within patristic rather than liturgical manuscripts. Not until the eleventh century are *Benedicamus Domino* chants sometimes contemporaneous with the books in which they are notated.[2]

Indeed, the *Benedicamus Domino* is one of several types of liturgical items—together with newer alleluias, sequences, and hymns, Mass Ordinary chants, and Office chants for new or local saints—that by the tenth and early eleventh centuries did not yet have a stable place in music books. A principal space in which such genres could be written down, therefore, was in the empty flyleaves or margins of non-musical books: here they were often alien additions, lacking any meaningful connection with the contents of their host manuscripts.

A statistical assessment of the sources of Huglo's 116 *Benedicamus* tropes (monophonic

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The following manuscript sigla are used:

BAV Reg. lat. 845	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 845
BnF Lat. 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 887
BnF Lat. 1085	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1085
BnF Lat. 1603	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1603
Brussels 9850–52	Brussels, KBR, 9850–52
Florence Ash. 71	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 71
Montpellier H. 484	Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de médecine, H. 484
New Haven 442	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 442
Oxford Auctarium T 2 28	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium T 2 28
Oxford Bodl. 218	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 218
Rome 1348	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele II', Sessoriano 1348
St. Gallen 72	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 72
St. Gallen 390	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 390

1 • 'Souvent, ces compositions nouvelles sont ajoutées sur le feuillet disponible de n'importe quel manuscrit.' Huglo 1982, 118; see also 98 and 112.

2 • Robertson 1988, 10.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143519 ✳

and polyphonic) and plainchant melodies confirms this and shows how the *Benedicamus Domino* became a regular feature of music books only from the twelfth century. All six of Huglo's sources copied in the tenth century preserve their *Benedicamus* melodies as marginal additions. Of Huglo's seventeen sources copied in the eleventh century, *Benedicamus* melodies are marginal additions in eleven. In the twelfth century, however, there are eighty-three sources in which *Benedicamus* melodies are integral to the manuscripts in question, and only seven in which they are added in the margins. The somewhat random and haphazard marginal records of *Benedicamus* melodies—which scribes probably perceived as new or not part of an established tradition—have caused the earliest written melodies to be overlooked by musicologists, since they are transmitted outside standard musical sources. That Huglo was still able to assess so many of these marginal musical additions comes as no surprise given the encyclopedic breadth of his scholarship, his restless surveying of archives and catalogues, and, I must assume, how well known he was among the community of medieval scholars at large, cultivating a far-reaching web of relationships that allowed him to receive notice of things otherwise impossible to track down.[3]

The 'MINiTEXTS' and 'Voiced' twin projects (hereafter simply indicated as the MINiTEXTS Project), led by Professor Ildar Garipzanov at the History Department of the University of Oslo, have now begun scraping the tip of this iceberg.[4] The projects systematically inventory and analyse all marginalia unrelated to a book's main contents and added before around 1000 in books produced in the ninth century or earlier: these unrelated, alien marginalia are dubbed minuscule texts or, more colloquially, 'minitexts'. The project sourced a pool of more than 5,000 manuscripts written up to the year 900 from the indispensable catalogues of E. A. Lowe and his pupil Bernhard Bischoff, as well as from some other lists.[5] These manuscripts have all been scanned in search of minitexts: at the time of writing 3,700 minitexts have been collected, from 85 per cent of the pool of manuscripts.[6]

The project findings include nine previously unknown minitexts from ten different manuscripts that pertain to the early history of the *Benedicamus Domino*.[7] Of these nine, three are non-musical documents in which the words *Benedicamus Domino* (twice alongside *Deo gratias*) appear and six are sources of neumated *Benedicamus* settings that are not in Huglo's catalogue. Of these six musically notated sources, three preserve two different *Benedicamus* melodies and one records three, making for a total of eleven new

3 • Huglo mentions his communications with the renowned palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff on two different occasions (1981 and 1990). See Huglo 1990, 245.

4 • MINiTEXTS (2022–27) is funded by a European Research Council Advanced Grant (no. 101018645).

5 • Lowe 1934–66 and Bischoff 1998–2014. Poorly preserved fragments and all palimpsests were discarded from evaluation.

6 • This cut-off date of c.1000 was necessary both to ensure feasibility and to maintain a mostly Carolingian historical focus. Some leeway is allowed in the palaeographic assessment of minitexts and doubtful hands that appear on the verge of the tenth and eleventh century are included rather than excluded. Nonetheless, several of the *Benedicamus* minitexts discussed here were discarded from the project since they were clearly written after 1000.

7 • It is, of course, possible that further *Benedicamus* minitexts may come to light. Reynolds 1979 edited and commented one non-musical minitext, but he did not address the mention of the *Benedicamus* in it.

neumated *Benedicamus*, three of which can be identified as known *Benedicamus* melodies.[8] Taken together, these previously unsuspected *Benedicamus* documents are the focus of the present essay. They are here presented in turn, proceeding from the more straightforward sources and melodies to the more complex ones.[9]

Non-musical *Benedicamus* minitexts from the ninth and tenth centuries

1. BnF Lat. 9386, fol. 189r.

Host source: Gospels, western France, 866–900 (Bischoff 2014, no. 4576).
***Benedicamus* minitext:** western France, 900–1000 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project).
Digital reproduction: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423840t/f387.item

In the centre of the final flyleaf of a Gospel book, written in *scriptio continua*, is the text 'benedictus deus amen benedicamus domino deo gracias'. Little can be ascertained about the reasons why a scribe should write such an isolated entry: this could be anything from a mere pen trial to a desire to record a text with a propitious quality, as a kind of charm. That this *Benedicamus* minitext was written at the end of a Gospel book may support the latter possibility.[10]

2. BnF Lat. 1603, fols. 5v–6r, and Montpellier H. 484, fols. 110v–111r.

Host sources: BnF Lat. 1603, a collection of liturgical texts, St-Amand, 780–820 (Bischoff 2014, no. 4035); Montpellier H. 484, patristic works, north-east France, 841–60 (Bischoff 2004, no. 2875).
***Benedicamus* minitexts:** St-Amand, 881–900 (Bischoff 2014, no. 4035) and north-east France, 881–920 (Bischoff 2004, no. 2875).
Digital reproductions: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52519448h/f18.item and https://ged.biu-montpellier.fr/florabium/jsp/nodoc.jsp?NODOC=2013_DOC_MON1_MBUM_72

With only minor differences and written at about the same time, imprecations against the devil of around 300 words in total ('Breviculus contra duciaticum') appear in blank spaces in two different ninth-century manuscripts: one a collection of liturgical texts, the other containing patristic theological works. The added marginal texts take the form of numerous requests to God, angels, and archangels and accusations against the devil. These are punctuated by more or less verbatim quotations of Mass chants, including 'Benedicamus Domino, Deo gratias'.[11] Interestingly, it is this versicle-response formula that concludes the

8 • One has been identified by Nicholas David Yardley Bell in a recent study; see Ball 2024.

9 • A minor issue involves what meaning the word 'patristic' has in relation to these *Benedicamus* minitexts; it is at once too specific and somewhat inaccurate: too specific because it appears to imply that musico-liturgical *Benedicamus* settings have something in common with patristic literature, which is not the case; inaccurate because only some of these minitexts occur in the works of the Church Fathers, as it will be seen. Although less succinct than 'patristic manuscripts', the expression 'blank spaces of Carolingian non-musical manuscripts' describes more aptly the places where the earliest *Benedicamus* settings are found.

10 • On the use of Gospel books for protective, quasi-magical purposes see Arthur 2018, esp. 89, 157–58.

11 • The other Mass chant texts, adapted to the strong reiterative style of invocations, read as follows (reported in order of appearance, with semicolons distinguishing one section from another): *Aius aius aius sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus*

second and final imprecation, perhaps mirroring its liturgical position at the end of Mass. In any case, the appearance of the *Benedicamus* in this unusual imprecation can be interpreted as a testimony to its common employment at Mass in northern France around 900.

3. BAV Reg. Lat. 845, fol. 94r–v.

> **Host source:** collection of Carolingian canons, ?Reims, 851–75 (Bischoff 2014, no. 6735). ***Benedicamus* minitext:** ?Reims, 875–950 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project). Digital reproduction: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.845

On the blank penultimate folio of a collection of Carolingian canons probably made in Reims, a scribe added a tract on the diaconate in the late ninth or the first half of the tenth century, not much later than the work of the manuscript's main scribe. The unexpected 'ud [*sic*] dixi' (fol. 94r, line 14) frames the document as a plausible autograph, 'perhaps originally delivered as pedagogical instruction, or as a liturgical allocution to ordinands to the diaconate'.[12] Midway through, the author writes the following:

> The assembly must await the voice of the deacon, because no one must recede from the service until he has heard the voice of the deacon [pronounce] either 'Benedicamus Domino' or 'Ite missa est', 'Ite recedite missa est', 'subaudis vestra deprecatio ad Deum'.[13]

This document is yet another precise testimony to the utterance of *Benedicamus Domino* at Mass, in this case from a well-versed liturgist, probably of the major Carolingian centre of Reims, in the late ninth or the first half of the tenth century. It seems plausible that the response *Deo gratias* is not mentioned because it is performed by the congregation, rather than the deacon. Likewise, the fact that this author uses 'aut' (either) to separate the formula *Benedicamus Domino* from three other formulas of dismissal appears to point to the different times of the liturgical year as the base for either *Benedicamus* (Advent and Lent) or *Ite* (most other occasions). Perhaps the author did not make this further detail explicit, given how commonplace the distinction already was by that time. In his extensive monograph on the early history of Mass, Joseph Andreas Jungmann reports two other instances of similar *Benedicamus* utterances, providing a reference only for one of them:

> the *Ordo Angilberti*, of about the year 800, in describing the order of Communion on high festivals, mentions that after the completion of Mass, the people left praising God and *benedicentes Dominum*.[14]

Deus sabaoth; *Christus natus Christus passus Christus resurrexit*; *Kyrie eleison Christe eleison Kyrie eleison osanna alleluia alleluia alleluia*; *Alleluia alleluia alleluia aius aius aius sanctus sanctus sanctus iskyros Kyrius aius*.

12 • Reynolds 1979, 99. As noted above, Reynolds does not address the mentions of either *Benedicamus* or *Ite*.

13 • 'Vocem diaconi debet populus expectare quia non debet ullus recedere de officio usque dum audit vocem diaconi aut Benedicamus Domino aut Ite missa est, Ite recedite missa est, subaudis vestra deprecatio ad Deum.' The word *officio* here means duty, service (that is, the Mass the author is talking about), and not 'Officium' in the sense of the liturgy of the hours.

14 • Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 2, 435.

The minitext tract on the deaconate is, therefore, an early reference to *Benedicamus Domino* at Mass.[15] Together with the *Ordo Angilberti*, it expands the chronology for the use of the *Benedicamus* in the Mass recently reported by William F. Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer as a 'liturgical practice' that 'can be traced back to the late eleventh century'.[16]

Musical *Benedicamus* minitexts from the tenth and eleventh centuries

1. St. Gallen 72, p. 336.

Host source: Acts of the Apostles and St Paul's epistles, St. Gallen, 840–70 (Bischoff, 2014, no. 5545).
***Benedicamus* minitext:** St. Gallen, 1025–1100 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project).
Digital reproduction: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0072/336/0/.

On the upper and lower margins of the final page of a mid-ninth century St. Gallen manuscript, there are two neumated *Benedicamus Domino* that can be dated to the second half of the eleventh century.[17] The two hands are contemporary, the first slightly more calligraphic in appearance. The melodies also share a moderately ornate style and a similar rising cadence on the syllables '-mino' of 'Domino' (probably the whole-tone ascending movement *F*–G–G or C–*D*–*D*). The scribe working in the lower margin erased two different attempts to provide neumes on the '-mus' of 'Benedicamus' without arriving at a definitive correction: it appears as if he attempted to translate a melody from memory or voice to parchment, ultimately giving up. In fact, it is entirely possible that these two minitexts might have been written on the same occasion by two different singers who were notating their *Benedicamus* melodies *ab initio*. On the left margin of the same page and perpendicular to the text orientation, a later hand wrote the incipit of the trope *Benedicamus flori orto de stirpis Jesse*, without musical notation. The later addition of this *Benedicamus* trope text was surely prompted by the earlier *Benedicamus Domino* melodies present on the same folio. The melody otherwise invariably associated with the trope *Benedicamus flori orto* cannot, however, be related to either of the notated *Benedicamus*, but is rather that of the well-known 'Flos filius eius' *Benedicamus*, discussed in the next section.

2. New Haven 442, fol. 253v.

Host source: *Decretales* of Pseudo Isidorus, western France, 851–75 (Bischoff 2004, no. 3586).
***Benedicamus* minitext:** 1040–80 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project).
Digital reproduction: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2017751 (image 512 of 513)

On the back flyleaf of a collection of Carolingian canon law documents from France is a quite neatly written *Benedicamus* provided with Aquitanian notation. The textual hand

15 • Amalarius's early ninth-century reference to a *Benedicamus* versicle pertains to the Office. See the discussion of Amalarius in Robertson 2001.

16 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, ix.

17 • On the initial flyleaf of the same manuscript, 'Benedicamus Domino' appears again in a later minitext written in a crude twelfth-century hand, not as a versicle but as the concluding invocation at the end of a unicum hymn-like composition with adiastematic East Frankish neumes.

can be dated to the mid-eleventh through early twelfth century, but the shapes of neumes and their heightening—still roundish, lacking stiffness, and not precisely heightened on the vertical axis,[18] as one would expect for Aquitanian notation later in the eleventh century and especially into the twelfth—allow narrowing the dating for this minitext in the central decades of the eleventh century, c.1040–80.[19] The matter of chronology is significant here, since this minitext now becomes a very early witness (if not the earliest) to the common borrowed *Benedicamus* melody on the melisma 'Flos filius eius' from the verse *Virgo Dei* of the responsory *Stirps Jesse*. Margot E. Fassler has charted the history of this responsory, identifying its origins in the circle of Fulbert of Chartres and linked to new celebrations for the Nativity of Mary elaborated in the 1020s.[20] A distance of around twenty to sixty years from the proposed creation of the 'Flos filius' melisma in Chartres to its appearance as a *Benedicamus* in this minitext seems chronologically plausible.

3. Brussels 9850–52, fol. 3r.

Host source: psalter, Brittany, 881–920 (Bischoff 1998, no. 737).
***Benedicamus* minitext:** 900–1000 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project).
Digital reproduction: https://opac.kbr.be/LIBRARY/doc/SYRACUSE/17287069.

On a single added flyleaf of a fragmentary psalter, a single scribe in the later part of the tenth century copied—together with two other chants of non-Roman origin—three *Benedicamus Domino* entries, their melodies progressively more melismatic.[21] Since this minitext is the subject of a recent study by Nicholas David Yardley Ball, I refrain from detailed discussion here.[22]

4. Rome 1348, fol. 140v.

Host source: Canons of the Council of Aachen, Nonantola, c.816–24 (Bischoff 2014, no. 5344).
***Benedicamus* minitext:** 900–1000 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project).
Digital reproduction: https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/en/risultati-ricerca-manoscritti/-/manus-search/cnmd/68921.[23]

Found on the back flyleaf of a ninth-century source of canonical regulations produced in the Emilian abbey of Nonantola, just east of Modena, this minitext is the earliest *Benedicamus* that can securely be localised to Italy, owing to the origins of the manuscript itself and because of the musical notation that was used to notate it, which is characteristic of the same abbey. The melody is made up of about twenty-five notes, which enact a distinctive arch,

18 • See, for example, the *finalis* pitch *D*, initially set on the dry-point line but at times hovering quite a bit below it.

19 • Further assessment of the textual hand by the palaeographer David Ganz deemed our proposed dating 'perfectly reasonable' (pers. comm. 14 March 2024). I am greatly indebted to Professor Ganz for his evaluation.

20 • Fassler 2000.

21 • These are *Cum venerimus ante conspectu* (https://cantusindex.org/id/a00233) and, on fol. 4r, *In nomine Domini Dei nostri* (https://cantusindex.org/id/202443), usually recorded in later sources as processional antiphons for penitential times.

22 • Ball 2024.

23 • The reproduction can be accessed by scrolling down to click on 'Digital Resources'.

rising to a melodic peak on the syllable '-ca' of 'Benedicamus' and progressively descending again from there. This *Benedicamus* was written after a different scribe wrote portions of two rather rare responsories, one for a Confessor and another specific to St Sylvester, patron of Nonantola.[24] This gives the impression that the added *Benedicamus* may have embellished the Office for the patron saint of the abbey.[25]

5. Oxford Auctarium T 2 28, fol. 42v.

Host source: Solinus, *Collectanea*, western France, 875–900, in Fleury by 950 (Bischoff 2004, no. 3781).
***Benedicamus* minitexts:** 950–1050 (dating assigned by MINiTEXTS project).

The blank page (fol. 42v) of a late ninth-century manuscript containing Solinus's *Collectanea rerum mirabilium*—probably written in the Loire valley but in Fleury by the mid-tenth century—was a locus for many different additions over a long period of time. After the book arrived in Fleury, and possibly until the mid-twelfth century, items such as a drawing of a human figure, erased text, pen trials, and chant melodies were added, among them ten different iterations of *Benedicamus Domino* (see Figure 8.1).

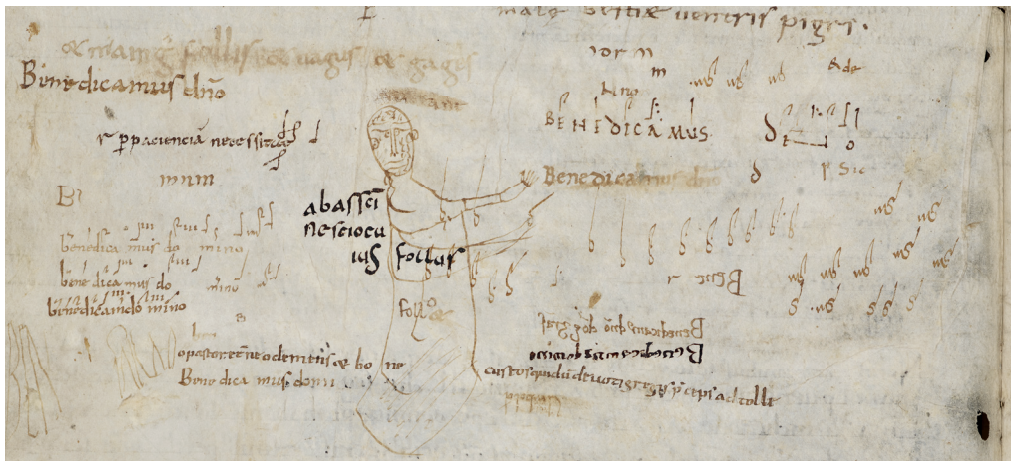


Figure 8.1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium T 2 28, fol. 42v (detail).
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, reproduced with permission

Five of the *Benedicamus Domino* texts lack neumes and appear to be straightforward pen trials. Three of these were written in mirror direction, their scribes clearly experimenting with this technique.[26] Of the mirror-writing attempts, only one continues to conclude *Deo gratias*, the end result reading more like 'Do ggras'.

Of the four *Benedicamus* provided with the unmistakable Fleury stylisation of West Frankish neumes, the three on the left record the same melody, characterised by pitch

24 • The two responsories are *Ecce vir prudens qui aedificavit*—which terminates at *pe*[*tra*] (Cantus ID 006619)—and *Infantulus dum esset beatum Syl*[*vester*], ending on the first syllable of the saint's name (Cantus ID 006958).

25 • Due to a lack of available digital reproductions I could not cross-check this *Benedicamus* melody against Nonantolan antiphoners to ascertain if it might adopt part of the melody for a St Sylvester responsory as sung in Nonantola.

26 • Two other scribes wrote two further mirrored *Benedicamus* settings on the facing page, fol. 43r.

repercussions on the stressed syllables '-ca' and 'Do-'. Copied by an initial scribe, two different and progressively later scribes recopied the same entry.[27] Given that this minitext can be safely attributed to the abbey of Fleury, in which the monastic rule of Benedict was the norm, it is not far-fetched to think that the two later scribes copied the first *Benedicamus* on the left during the time each had this book with him for private study of Solinus's encyclopedic text.[28] This may have been a penmanship exercise upon reaching the end of the text. The same process and culture of accumulation probably accounts for the outburst of all sorts of the instantiations of the *Benedicamus* on this single page.

The other neumated *Benedicamus*—probably written earlier than the three on the left and datable on palaeographic grounds to c.950–1025—probably records Huglo's D-mode melody no. 116 (see the comparison in Figure 8.2). If it is accepted that this minitext omits the last two cadential notes *C–D* on the syllables '-mi' and '-no' of 'Domino'—perhaps because of how obvious such a cadential gesture would have been—then the relationship with Huglo no. 116 seems unlikely to be a coincidence. This minitext is at least contemporary, and indeed probably pre-dates, the earliest source that Huglo mentions for this melody (BnF Lat. 887, made in Aquitaine after 1029–31).[29] More generally, I have observed several instances of chants whose previous oldest attestation was in eleventh-century Aquitanian musical books, but for which newly discovered minitexts in earlier non-musical books from French regions north of Aquitaine at once offer a witness to these chants that is both chronologically earlier and geographically provocative, suggestive of a Frankish rather than Aquitanian origin.[30] The same can now be argued for this *Benedicamus Domino* melody.

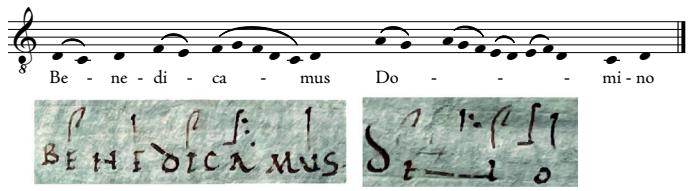


Figure 8.2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium T 2 28, fol. 42v (detail; original image split in two to align with transcription).
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, reproduced with permission

6. Florence Ash. 71, fol. 11v.

Host source: Homilies, southern France, 867–900 (Bischoff 1998, no. 1213).
***Benedicamus* minitexts:** 980–1020 (Bischoff 1998, no. 1213)

Several chants with carefully heightened Aquitanian notation are copied on a blank page (fol. 11v) of a ninth-century collection of homilies: a responsory verse for one confessor with

27 • The third scribe did not leave enough space for the neumes on the 'Do-' of 'Domino' and did not complete the melody.

28 • See Contreni 2020, 451 ('For most of the year, then, monks were expected to read at least twenty hours each week and during Lent at least twenty-six hours').

29 • I take the *terminus post quem* of BnF Lat. 887 from Jacobsson 2012, vol. 1, 25.

30 • The most notable instance so far is the *Inventio crucis* offertory *Veniens vir splendidissimus*, known from fewer than twenty sources, the oldest of which is from mid-eleventh-century Aquitaine. Three previously unnoticed tenth-century neumated minitexts in non-musical Carolingian books from northern France allow for a different understanding of this irregular offertory, on which I am preparing a study. For another assessment of *Veniens vir*, among other similar chants, see Nardini 2017.

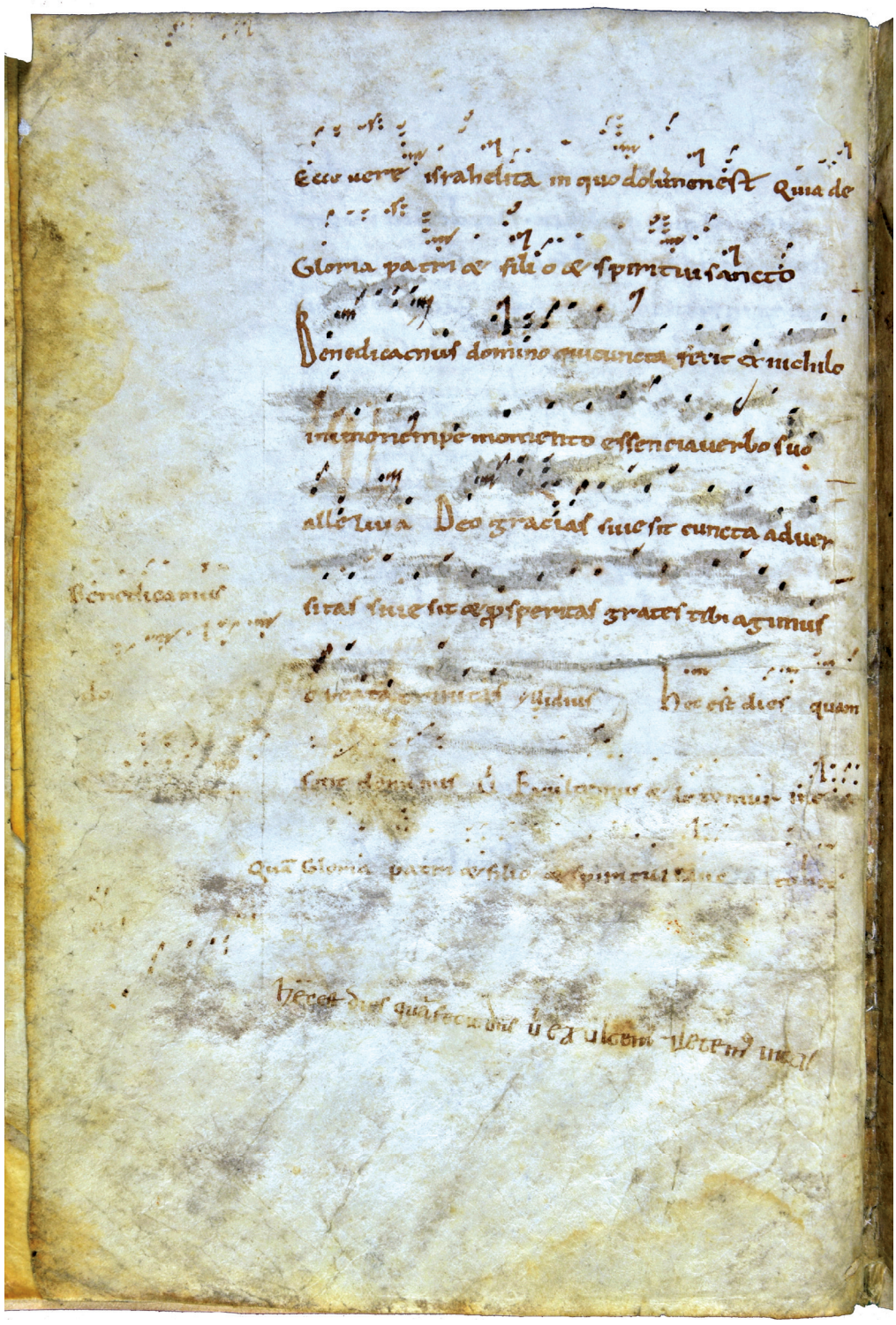


Figure 8.3: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 71, fol. 11v.
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doxology; a troped *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias*; a responsory with verse and doxology for a generic Sunday *per annum*; and, in the left margin, another and partially effaced *Benedicamus Domino* (see Figure 8.3). The responsory verse (incipit *Ecce vere Israhelita*) is one for the new responsory *Ecce vir prudens*, which has an early, exclusively Aquitanian diffusion before appearing in Iberia (as it is often the case for Office chants of Aquitanian origin).[31] The short responsory found at the bottom of the page, *Haec est dies* for Lauds of a generic Sunday *per annum*, is more difficult to account for.[32] It is also found without musical notation in the contemporary Aquitanian abbreviated antiphoner of St-Martial (BnF Lat. 1085), and provided with neumes in the Hartker antiphoner (St. Gallen 390). However, the melody of the minitext differs from Hartker's and from all sources I have been able to consult, in which the melody is little more than the recitation expected of short responsories. In the minitext, it has a more ornate and expansive melodic profile, exceptional for the genre. Perhaps the unusual qualities of this melody for *Haec est dies* were the very reason that it was written down. More broadly, it seems significant that these particular chants were written on one and the same blank page: as also in the previous source from Nonantola, they probably served the common purpose of enriching the Office.

The troped *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* in the centre of the page are consonant with this function as well. The melody here was erased and overwritten to permit minor corrections to pitches (and the neumes follow the direction of the erasures).[33] I propose a hypothetical reconstruction of this early *Benedicamus* trope in Example 8.1—the sole melody in this chapter for which a secure transcription could be attempted—to facilitate analysis of this minitext.[34] The opening 'Benedicamus Domino' and 'Deo gratias' of each part of the trope share an identical and moderately ornate melody (the only minor differences are those that accommodate the different versicle and response texts). The two parts of the trope also seem to share their final phrase: the music accompanying 'Alleluia' (line 5) at the end of the *Benedicamus* trope (whose pitches are, admittedly, difficult to interpret with certainty) and 'O beata trinitas' (line 10), which closes the *Deo gratias* trope. The internal musical material of the respective versicle and response tropes (accompanying lines 2–4 and lines 5–8) is, however, melodically independent. The two different melodies

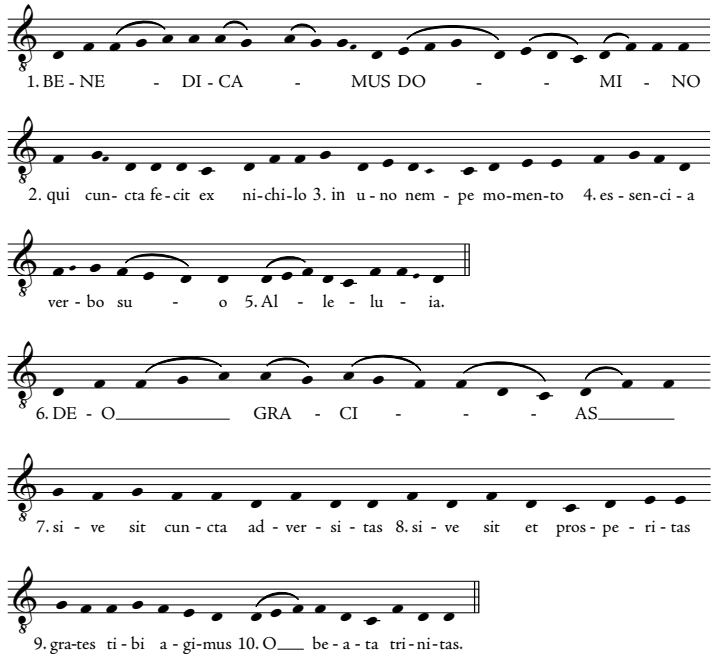
31 • See the respective Cantus Database entry at https://cantusindex.org/id/006619.

32 • See https://cantusindex.org/id/006799.

33 • The original neumes of the initial layer are often mere millimetres away from the definitive ones, a detail not apparent from the reproduction. This proves that the original neumes were erased to improve diastematic precision.

34 • Several details suggest a chant in D mode, and once D is allowed to be the initial and final pitch of both sections, other nearby neumes can be oriented around its vertical axis. Orienting the neumes around the *finalis* D not only produced a probable melody, but any other *finalis* would have introduced problems, such as leaps of an augmented fourth (with a G *finalis*) and/or uncharacteristic melodic turns (with an E or F *finalis*). Text lines 3–4 have been the 'locus difficilior': the scribe's more approximate heightening of neumes over this syllabic passage means that some neumes may be one pitch too high or too low. Likewise, 'Domino' in text line 1 is problematic for the same reason. My solution here hinges on the similar melodic cell on 'gratias' in text line 6, diastematically clearer thanks to the mostly stepwise descent preceding it. I warmly thank Sam Barrett for his feedback on the matter. On the challenges of transcribing tropes with adiastematic Aquitanian notation, see Treitler 2003, 256–57.

Example 8.1: Florence, Ash. 71, fol. 11v. Hypothetical transcription of *Benedicamus Domino* trope



are now syllabic, with arching melodic profiles. Poetically, the *Benedicamus* section of the trope has consistent eight-syllable lines, chiefly in iambic dimeter, whereas the *Deo gratias* response trope lacks a formal metre or regular pattern. As typical of tropes, both parts of the texts emphasise prominent vowel sounds of the pre-existing chant, in this case the '-o' of 'Domino' and '-as' of 'gratias':

1.	BENEDICAMUS DOMINO	8pp	a	Let us bless the Lord
2.	qui cuncta fecit ex nichilo	8pp	a	who made everything from nothing
3.	in uno nempe momento	8p	a	truly in just one moment
4.	essencia verbo suo	8p	a	through [his] essence, his word
5.	alleluia	4p	b	alleluia.
6.	DEO GRATIAS	5pp	c	Thanks be to God
7.	sive sit cuncta adversitas	9pp	c	be it all adversity
8.	sive sit et prosperitas	8pp	c	be it all prosperity
9.	grates tibi agimus	7pp	d	we thank you
10.	O beata trinitas	7pp	c	O blessed Trinity.

Moving mostly in tones or thirds within the limited span of a sixth, the entire chant unfolds so plainly that it could be seen as an exceptional notated trace of an otherwise largely unwritten *Benedicamus* tradition, as proposed by Anne Walters Robertson, or one

on the borderline between orality and script.[35] It seems probable that it was not the simple melodic material, but rather the trope texts for both versicle and response and—to date—uniquely known in this source, that prompted the written record.[36]

Finally, on the left margin of the same page a different but contemporary Aquitanian scribe added another *Benedicamus Domino*, without any trope text or *Deo gratias* response. The faded ink and lack of clear melodic signposts make transcription of this *Benedicamus* melody difficult: at most one can say that the melody has a long melisma on the 'Do-' of 'Domino'—about thirty-five notes are visible—characterised by melodic repetition and pitch repercussions. This *Benedicamus* is similar in style to melody no. 407 in Huglo's catalogue, but it is not the same melody.

Conclusions

The written history of singing *Benedicamus Domino* begins in the margins of non-musical books because the practice itself was marginal, 'undeserving' of the central status in music books that by the tenth century was the prerogative of the prized, even sacralised oldest layers of Romano-Frankish chant.

Over a time-span of around two centuries, c.875–c.1100, the minuscule texts discussed here cover a historiographic trajectory that gets us from the margins progressively closer to the time when coherent *Benedicamus* collections eventually became a regular feature of music books. Our earliest minitexts come from a time before any *Benedicamus* had ever properly been written down with musical notation: the imprecations against the devil and the diaconate tract in which the textual expression *Benedicamus Domino* does not stand out as more relevant than any other factor. The latest (and graphically most elegant of the minitexts presented) is the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus* that shows how, by c.1040–80 a defined corpus of *Benedicamus* melodies began to develop. Across these two extremities, the documents from St. Gallen and Fleury and the one now in Brussels tell of the accumulation of *Benedicamus* melodies that later resulted in dedicated sections of books gathering several *Benedicamus* together: the source now in Brussels is particularly eloquent in this regard, carrying as it does three discreet melodies, the one identifiable melody standing as a proof of early circulation and within a collection of *Benedicamus* melodies. Lastly, the documents from Nonantola and the one now in Florence testify to the embellishment and enrichment of the liturgy of the hours, using blank spaces to record unusual and local responsories together with *Benedicamus* chants.[37]

35 • Robertson 1988.

36 • This is true whether the chant is an autograph or the scribe was collecting it from other sources such as *libelli*. On the circulation of tropes across the margins of manuscripts and *libelli*, see Huglo 2004 and Minniti forthcoming.

37 • A third, rich source of similar musical minitexts should be noted here (known to Huglo, and thus excluded from the present sources): Oxford Bodl. 218, fol. 166r. Written in southern England, it contains two *Ite* (one troped), a troped *Deo Gratias*, an untroped *Benedicamus*, and a unicum responsory with verse for St Scholastica. The hands are all different but contemporary, dated by Bischoff to 980–1020; the main text is a mid-ninth century commentary by Bede on Luke (Bischoff 2004, no. 3783).

As for the cultural environment in which this tradition 'from the margins' may have come to be, this brief overview can only provide partial answers. A monastic origin is clear at least in the three minitexts of safe attribution to the abbeys of Fleury, Nonantola, and St. Gallen, but to assess the origins of others (and also of other early *Benedicamus* sources in Huglo's catalogue) would be a work exceeding the present scope. The goal of embellishing the liturgy, however, is clear enough. In this respect the cultivation of sung *Benedicamus* melodies appears to have many things in common with that of tropes, a practice that is as contemporaneous as it is tightly bound to the expansion of sung *Benedicamus*: could Andreas Haug's remark that 'tropes seem to have begun in monasteries' apply to the *Benedicamus*, too?[38] And just like tropes, the *Benedicamus* also appears to be a Frankish tradition.[39] Jungmann's evaluation, expounded from the two earliest references to the *Benedicamus*, is similarly corroborated by the geographical localisation in France of all the presented minitexts, with the sole exceptions of the one from Nonantola and the later one from St. Gallen.[40]

All in all, *Benedicamus Domino* is an important example of how, in order to probe deeper into the early layers of Western plainchant, one must face this paradox: keys to unlock new directions can lie in small, badly written, and haphazard-looking minuscule texts in hundreds and hundreds of non-musical early medieval books that more often than not are at once out of the sight of musicologists, and overlooked by the scholars studying those books. Yet the humble, unassuming minuscule texts they carry are as important for the history of the *Benedicamus Domino* and other similar liturgical items as the carefully curated collections in later musical books.

38 • Haug 2018, 271.

39 • Ibid., 286–90.

40 • Jungmann 1951–55, vol. 2, 435–37: 'Although there are apparently no signs of it [the *Benedicamus*] in Roman sources before the year 1000, we find traces of it considerably earlier in Frankish territory... [in] about the year 800' (at 435).

9.
Benedicamus Plainchant Melodies and their Relationships with Kyrie Source Melodies

*Marit Johanne Høye**

According to Barbara Marian Barclay 'the *Benedicamus* versicle was sung to hundreds of melodies during the Medieval period—melodies derived largely from melismas of Responsories and from Kyries', with an early tradition of *Benedicamus Domino* settings 'in which preexistent musical material such as Kyries and *neumae* from Responsories served as *Benedicamus* melodies'.[1] Many of the Kyries which were used as *Benedicamus* melodies date from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[2] Early scholarship on the Kyrie repertoire from this period distinguished distinctive melodic variations between regions.[3] More recent studies of Kyrie melodies and of a closely related genre, the sequence, have illuminated interesting aspects of melodic variability within early monophonic chant repertories, discussing implications regarding melody transmission, traces of oral transmission, and the relationship between different manuscript sources and traditions.[4] In this chapter I examine *Benedicamus* melodies based on Kyrie chants, demonstrating the various ways in which the interrelationship between a *Benedicamus* and its source melody can be understood, considering the transmission of *Benedicamus* plainchant melodies within the context of kinds of melodic variability in the Kyrie repertoire.

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* The following manuscript sigla are used:

Apt 17	Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne Trésor, 17
BL Add. 23935	London, British Library, Add. 23935
BnF Lat. 1107	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1107
BnF Lat. 1139	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1139
BnF Lat. 17329	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17329
BnF Rés. 1750	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Départment de la musique, Rés. 1750
Cambrai 61	Cambrai, Le Labo, 61
Cambridge CCC 473	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473
Drachenfels Missal	Königswinter, Kathedral Pfarrei St Remigius, s.n. ('Drachenfels Missal')
Heidelberg 7	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. X, 7
JRL 24	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Lat. 24
Leipzig 391	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina, Thomas 391
Madrid 289	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 289
Madrid 19421	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 19421
Moosburger Gradual	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, cim. 100 (= 2° Cod. 156)
New York Barnard 1	New York, Columbia University, Barnard College Library, 1
Oxford Bodl. 775	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775
Padua 1340	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1340
Reims 264	Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 264
St. Gallen 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546
St-Mihiel 73	St-Mihiel, Bibliothèque municipale, 73
Utrecht 417	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 417
Worcester Antiphoner	Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160 ('Worcester Antiphoner')

1 • Barclay 1977, xvi and 36.

2 • Ibid., 50.

3 • See Bjork 1977 on Aquitaine; Tello Ruiz-Pérez 2006 on Spain; and Høye 2008 on northern France.

4 • See Høye 2016 and Høye 2020.

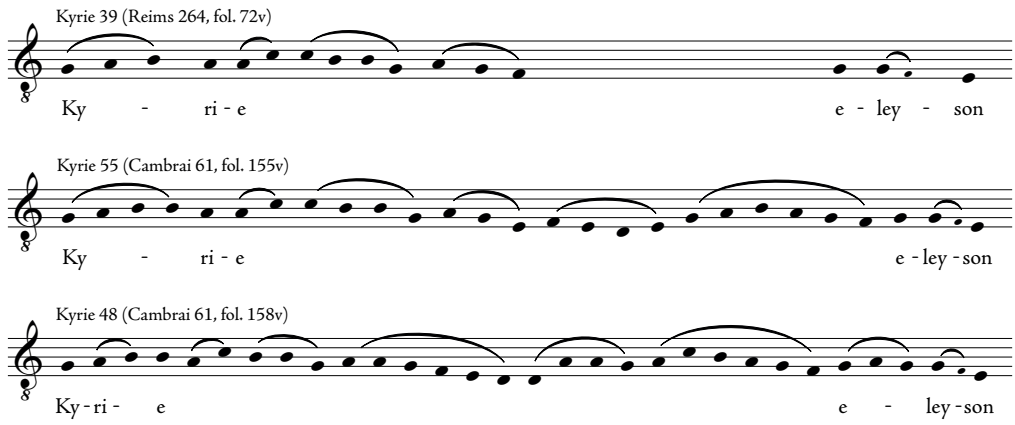
✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143520 ✳

Melodic variability of Kyrie melodies

I have previously examined individual Kyrie chants and their melodic variability in manuscripts across Europe.[5] Two findings are particularly significant for the current study. First, in the case of the specific melody Kyrie 68, a few manuscripts, and most notably the early sixteenth-century collection of chants in St. Gallen 546, have been shown to transmit two versions of the melody that differ in their regional adherence when notated in the same manuscript.[6] Kyrie 68 displays Germanic melody variants when notated melismatically, without any additional Latin text, in St. Gallen 546, while Kyrie 68 with the syllabic Latin text *Rex pie, rex regum* is notated with Anglo-French variations.[7] Second, distinct Kyrie melodies can be shown to share similar opening phrases and display regional variants and traditions. Example 9.1 gives the first phrase of three Kyrie melodies—Kyrie 39, Kyrie 48, and Kyrie 55—as notated in northern French manuscripts, making apparent the close melodic relationship between these melodies. Example 9.2 gives the first phrases of the same Kyrie melodies as notated in Leipzig 391. In this German manuscript, the first phrase of both Kyrie 39 and Kyrie 55 has a local, variant version of the opening motive: G–*a*–*c*, rather than G–*a*–*b*. Kyrie 48, however, is also recorded in Leipzig 391 with the same G–*a*–*b* opening as in the northern French manuscripts.

Although the opening G–*a*–*c* motive can be found for Kyrie 48, it is quite rare.[8] Thus, the west Frankish melodic opening motive G–*a*–*b* of Kyrie 48 could be considered a more consistent feature of the melody, since it did not so often change (as did the shared opening of Kyrie 39 and Kyrie 55) when transmitted in a new region. The persistence of the west

Example 9.1: Opening of Kyrie 39, Kyrie 55, and Kyrie 48 in northern French manuscripts



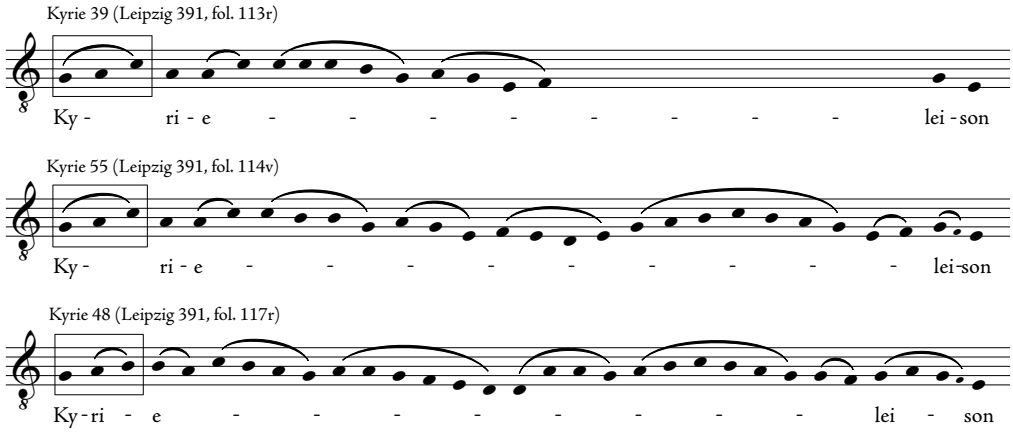
5 • Høye 2020 and Høye 2018.

6 • All Kyrie numbers in this chapter are those established in Melnicki 1954.

7 • See Høye 2020, 204–07. The terminology distinguishing the Latin-texted Kyries discussed in this essay and Kyrie tropes is discussed in Bjork 2003, 15–19.

8 • Kyrie 48 is notated in numerous German manuscripts (see Melnicki 1954, 95–96). The east Frankish melody opening of Kyrie 48 is, however, transmitted in the northeastern French manuscript St-Mihiel 73 (fols. 200v–201v) and Apt 17 (fol. 240r) as well as in four German sources.

Example 9.2: Opening of Kyrie 39, Kyrie 55, and Kyrie 48 in Leipzig 391



Frankish opening motive for Kyrie 48 is not surprising, given that this is a typical west Frankish Kyrie melody.[9] Kyrie 39, on the other hand, is believed to be of east Frankish origin, because the melody first circulated in this area. While Kyrie 55 may have originated in the west Frankish area—or, more likely, in Aquitaine—Kyrie 55 and Kyrie 39 have for some time been considered as two versions of essentially the same chant, with Kyrie 55 as an Aquitanian redacted version of Kyrie 39.[10] The close melodic relationship found between Kyrie 39 and Kyrie 55 in the transmission of their opening motive, which separates this pair of melodies from Kyrie 48, further supports this notion.

Benedicamus melodies and Kyries in St. Gallen 546

In addition to Leipzig 391, St. Gallen 546 transmits all three Kyries 39, 48, and 55. In this Swiss manuscript also, Kyrie 48 retains its west Frankish melodic opening motive G–*a*–*b*, while Kyrie 39 and Kyrie 55 both open with the German variant, G–*a*–*c*.[11] In St. Gallen 546, Kyrie 48 is notated melismatically (on fol. 3v), as well as with three different Latin texts: all four versions are consistent in their use of the west Frankish melodic variant.[12] St. Gallen 546 additionally transmits a collection of monophonic *Benedicamus* melodies (on fols. 375v–376v), and several of the melodies in this collection are based on Kyries. A *Benedicamus* melody with Kyrie 48 as its source melody, *Benedicamus* 51, is notated together with two other *Benedicamus* melodies that have well-known Kyries as their source melodies: *Benedicamus* 21 on fol. 376v is based on Kyrie 102, and *Benedicamus* 22 on fol. 376r is based on Kyrie 18.[13]

9 • The earliest record of Kyrie 48 is in two tenth-century sources from England (Cambridge CCC 473 and Oxford Bodl. 775), and the Kyrie melody soon became widespread in the northwest Frankish repertoire. The melody was later transmitted in the east Frankish area and was widely disseminated. Høye 2008, 149–50. See also Melnicki 1954, 95.

10 • Høye 2008, 109.

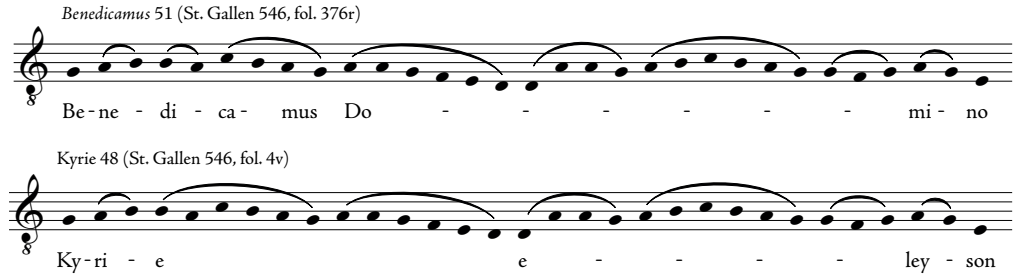
11 • St. Gallen 546, fols. 4v–5r (Kyrie 39, also with Latin texts *Rex Deus aeterne* and *Omnipotens genitor*) and fol. 7v (Kyrie 55).

12 • Kyrie 48 with Latin texts *Kyrie vas pietatis* on fol. 1v, *Kyrie sacerdos* on fol. 1v, and *Kyrie fons bonitatis* on fols. 2v–3r.

13 • All *Benedicamus* numbers in this chapter are those in Barclay 1977 (established in the catalogue of *Benedicamus* melodies, representative of the repertoire from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, at 50–93).

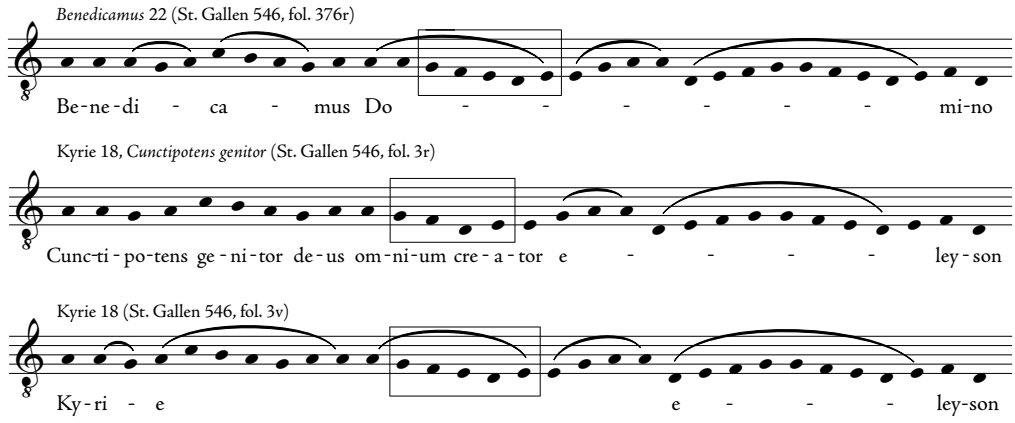
Example 9.3 shows the close relationship between *Benedicamus* 51 and its source melody, Kyrie 48, as they are both notated in St. Gallen 546. *Benedicamus* 51 shares its opening with

Example 9.3: *Benedicamus* 51 and its source melody (opening of Kyrie 48) in St. Gallen 546



all four versions of Kyrie 48 recorded in the same source, with the west Frankish incipit *G–a–b*. Kyrie 18 is also notated in St. Gallen 546, both melismatically and with the Latin text *Cunctipotens genitor*. In contrast to Kyrie 48, however, the two versions of Kyrie 18 in this source differ: the melismatic Kyrie 18 melody contains German melodic variants while Kyrie 18 *Cunctipotens genitor* follows the Anglo-French tradition. This is similar to the transmission of Kyrie 68 in St. Gallen 546, as mentioned above. Such melodic variations suggest that the St. Gallen 546 Kyrie melodies with and without Latin texts perhaps arrived via different intermediary sources or with different regional influences. In St. Gallen 546, the *Benedicamus* melody based on the opening of Kyrie 18 closely follows the melismatic Kyrie in the same source, that is, with German melodic variants (see Example 9.4). The transmission of different regional variations of a Kyrie melody depending on whether the melody is recorded with or without associated Latin texts seems to be a feature particular to St. Gallen 546 and several other manuscripts.[14] I shall return below to *Benedicamus* melodies based on Kyrie 18 and their records in other manuscripts, before concluding with a discus-

Example 9.4: *Benedicamus* 22 and its source melody (opening of Kyrie 18) in St. Gallen 546



14 • Kyrie 18 is transmitted in a similar manner in Utrecht 417 (fol. 47v) and Kyrie 68 also in Cambrai 61 (fol. 156v).

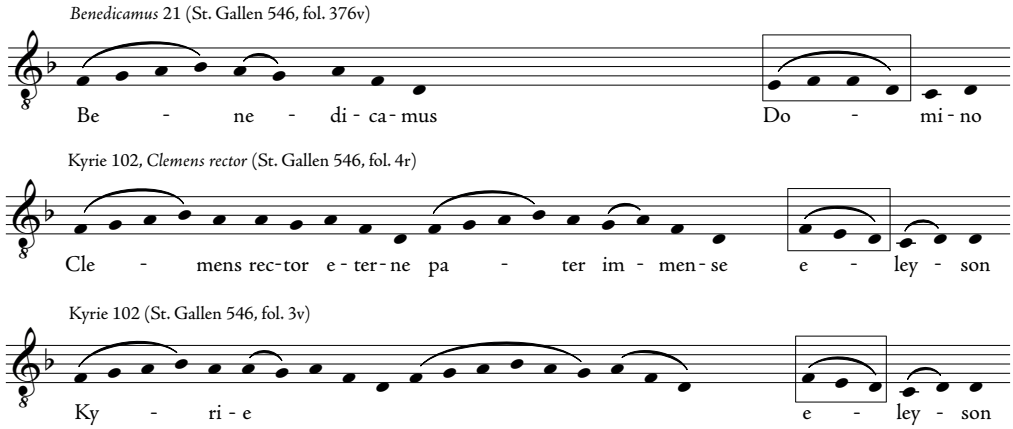
sion of a newly discovered *Benedicamus* melody that is sourced from what seems to be a local Kyrie. First, I examine the particular circumstances of St. Gallen 546 in the context of another *Benedicamus* melody (*Benedicamus* 21) based on a well-known Kyrie (Kyrie 102 *Clemens rector*), which is again recorded in several versions in this manuscript.

Benedicamus 21 and Kyrie 102 (*Clemens rector*)

Benedicamus 21 takes Kyrie 102 as its source melody. The Kyrie melody is recorded in St. Gallen 546 both melismatically and with the Latin text *Clemens rector*, the melodic phrases of which—in this instance—are closely related. It is, however, somewhat surprising to find this particular Kyrie in a Swiss manuscript at all: Kyrie 102 is a typically west Frankish Kyrie that was widely disseminated in this region but only rarely transmitted in the east Frankish area. In fact, Margaretha Landwehr Melnicki gives St. Gallen 546 as the single concordance for this melody outside west Frankish lands.[15] Based on the Kyrie and *Benedicamus* melodies examined in St. Gallen 546 so far, we have already established the likelihood of a western influence on this Swiss manuscript.

The *Benedicamus* melody based on the opening of Kyrie 102 is shorter than the Kyrie instantiation of this melody in St. Gallen 546. In addition, the *Benedicamus* departs from its source melody on the syllable 'Do-' of 'Domino' (see Ex. 9.5). Moreover, in contrast to the scarce transmission of Kyrie 102 in the German-speaking area, the *Benedicamus* melody based on this Kyrie circulated more widely in this region.

Example 9.5: *Benedicamus* 21 and its source melody (opening of Kyrie 102) in St. Gallen 546



The transmission for *Benedicamus* 21 is as follows:

England

Worcester Antiphoner, fol. 132r
JRL 24, fol. 14r

15 • Melnicki 1954, 105.

France

Madrid 19421, fol. 110v
BnF Lat. 1107, fol. 396r
BnF Lat. 1139, fol. 62r
BL Add. 23935, fol. 435r

Italy

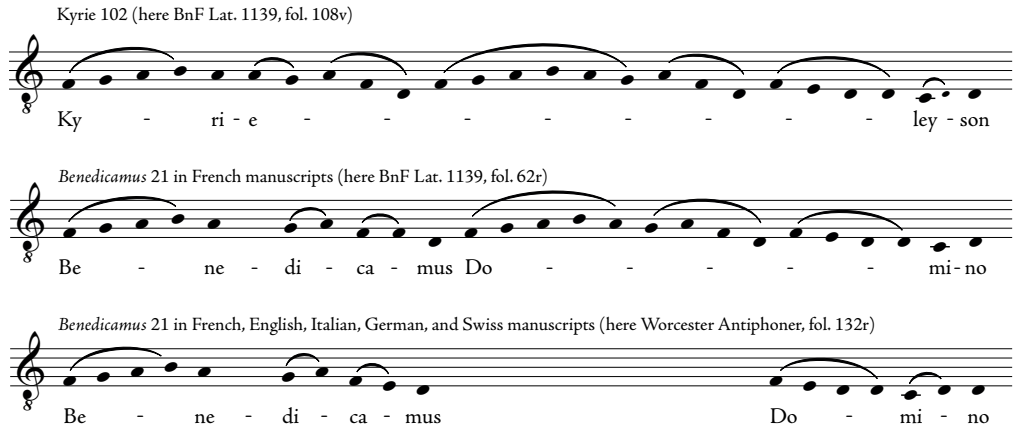
Padua 1340, fol. 161r
BnF Rés. 1750, p. 9
New York Barnard 1, fol. 278r

German-speaking Lands

Moosburger Gradual, fol. 162r
St. Gallen 546, fol. 409r
Heidelberg 7, fol. 156r
Drachenfels Missal, fol. 140v

Benedicamus 21 is transmitted within several German manuscripts, in addition to the English, French, and Italian concordances that have been identified for this melody.[16] Example 9.6 shows how the *Benedicamus* chant notated in German, Swiss, Italian, English, and French manuscripts is a shorter version of the opening phrase of Kyrie 102. One Aquitanian and two northern French transmissions of this *Benedicamus* melody, however, transmit the full first phrase of Kyrie 102.[17]

Example 9.6: Opening of Kyrie 102 (*Clemens rector*) and *Benedicamus* 21



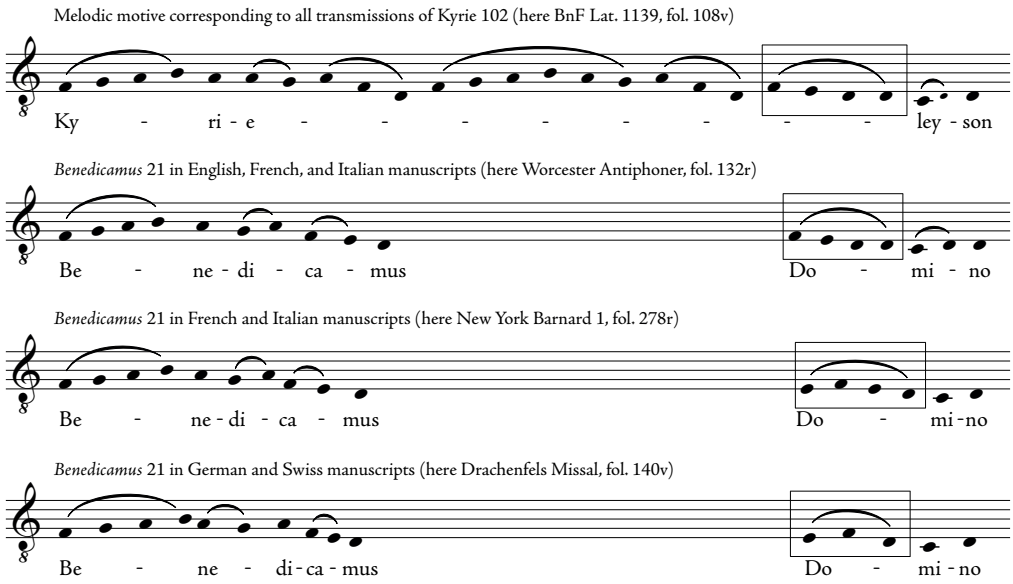
Overall, one has the impression of a *Benedicamus* melody that was, or became, rather independent of its source melody: only four of the thirteen manuscripts listed above transmit

16 • See Huglo 1982, 150, nos. 111 (long version of melody) and 118 (shortened version of melody); Barclay 1977, 60 (no. 21); Robertson 1988, 22, 40 n. 67, and 42 (here no. 13, *Benedicamus* 'Clemens').

17 • These sources are, respectively, BnF Lat. 1139, BnF Lat. 1107, and Madrid 19421.

both the *Benedicamus* and its Kyrie source melody.[18] Furthermore, two of the four manuscripts that transmit both *Benedicamus* 21 and Kyrie 102 give a short version of the *Benedicamus* melody, while the related Kyrie is notated with its usual length.[19] *Benedicamus* 21 also had a greater dissemination and was wider in its geographical reach than the original Kyrie melody from which it borrowed. The three German manuscripts are among the nine of the thirteen manuscripts listed above that transmit only the *Benedicamus* melody and not its Kyrie source melody. The last section of the melody shows another feature that slightly separates *Benedicamus* 21 from its source melody. While the transmission of Kyrie 102 is quite consistent with respect to melodic motives near the end of the first phrase, small variations are found over the syllable 'Do-' of Domino in the *Benedicamus* melody (see Ex. 9.7). The variants at this point in the *Benedicamus* melody cannot be identified as

Example 9.7: Regional variants of *Benedicamus* 21



specific either to French, Italian, or Germanic traditions. Nevertheless, it is significant that such variants are not found in the transmission of the source melody Kyrie 102.

Benedicamus 22 and Kyrie 18 (*Cunctipotens genitor*)

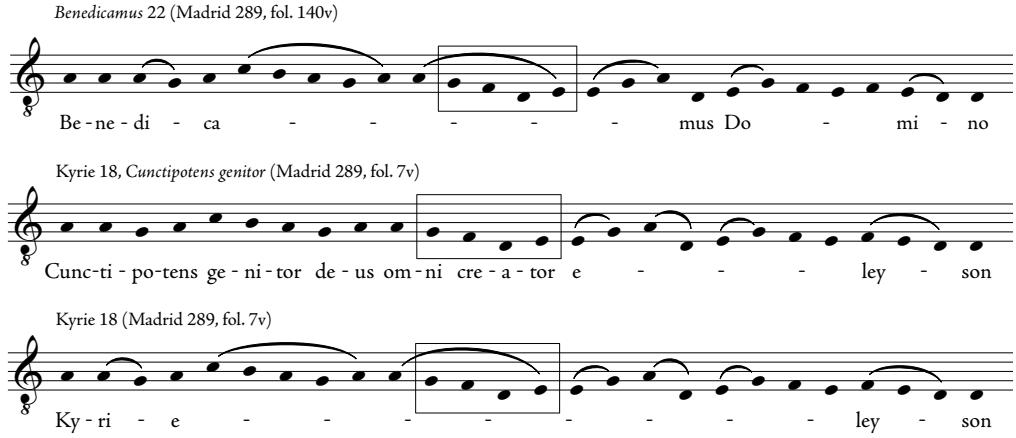
To return to the case of the *Benedicamus* melody based on the opening phrase of Kyrie 18, discussed above in the context of St. Gallen 546. In this source, the *Benedicamus* followed the melismatic version of the Kyrie source melody, exhibiting Germanic features, rather than the Latin-texted version of the same Kyrie melody. Other manuscripts, such

18 • Worcester Antiphoner, Madrid 19421, BnF Lat. 1139, and St. Gallen 546.

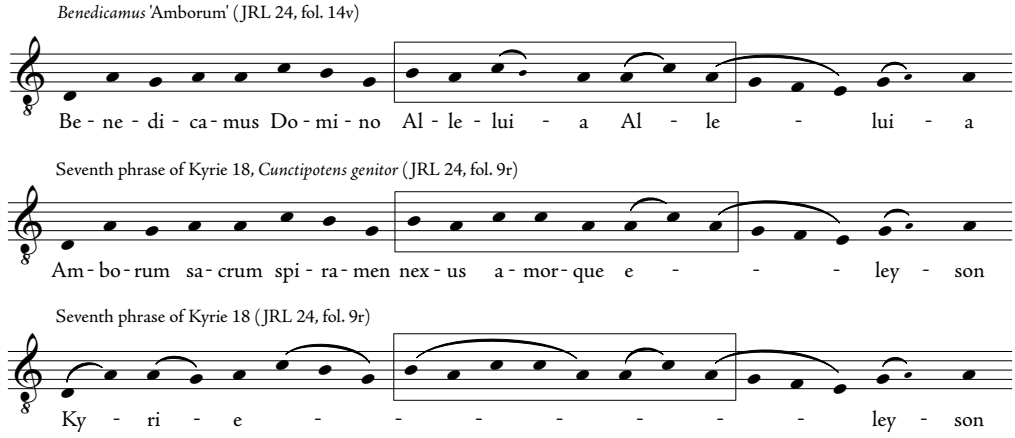
19 • Worcester Antiphoner and St. Gallen 546 transmit a shorter *Benedicamus* melody while BnF Lat. 1139 and Madrid 19421 transmit a *Benedicamus* melody of similar length to the Kyrie source melody.

as Madrid 289 and JRL 24, transmit Kyrie 18 with the same melodic variant when notated melismatically as well as with the Latin text *Cunctipotens genitor*. The transcriptions in Examples 9.8(a) and 9.8(b) show how both manuscripts also transmit a *Benedicamus* melody

Example 9.8a: *Benedicamus* 22 and its source melody (opening of Kyrie 18) in Madrid 289



Example 9.8b: *Benedicamus* 'Amborum' and its source melody (seventh phrase of Kyrie 18) in JRL 24



that is practically identical to source melody Kyrie 18. Notably, the *Benedicamus* in JRL 24 (Ex. 9.8b) includes Alleluia acclamations to achieve the same length as the source melody, while two French manuscripts—BnF Lat. 1107 (fol. 396r) and BnF Lat. 17329 (fol. 248v)—transmit melodic phrases of the same length, but without the Alleluia acclamations.

The two *Benedicamus* melodies shown in Examples 9.8a and 9.8b are not the same, however, since they use different sections of the Kyrie source melody. *Benedicamus* 22 is based on the opening of the chant, while the *Benedicamus* melody known as *Benedicamus* 'Amborum' adopts phrase 7 of Kyrie 18 as its source melody.[20] Frank Ll. Harrison describes

20 ⋆ Robertson 1988, 26. See also Budzińska-Bennett 2022, 439–40 and 444, on the plainchant melody 'Amborum' in con-

a practice where the *Ite missa est* is sometimes derived from the Christe section of the Kyrie.[21] Barclay suggests, however, that this practice could have been limited to England and notes that melodies for the *Ite missa est* and *Benedicamus Domino* in the earliest sources were drawn from the opening Kyrie section.[22] This is supported by William F. Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer, who observed that a systematic use of the Christe section as source melody for the *Ite missa est* is a peculiarity of Sarum manuscripts, with some concordances also found in Spanish manuscripts.[23] Two of the Christe phrases listed as sources for *Ite missa est* in their catalogue were also used for *Benedicamus Domino* melodies.[24] Kyrie 18, on the other hand, is the only Kyrie listed where a phrase from the second and final Kyrie section is also used as source melody for *Ite missa est* and *Benedicamus Domino* chants.[25] Although few, these *Benedicamus* melodies based on the Christe section of Kyrie 47 and Kyrie 67 and on the seventh, 'Amborum', phrase of Kyrie 18 demonstrate that it was also possible to make use of sections other than the opening of a Kyrie as sources for *Benedicamus* melodies.

A *Benedicamus* with a unique Kyrie source melody

The final *Benedicamus* melody to be discussed in this study gives further evidence to support the idea of a practice whereby not only Kyrie incipits but also internal phrases of these source chants were adopted as *Benedicamus* melodies. This *Benedicamus* melody—which has not, to date, been included in any published catalogues of the versicle and is known only in a single source—uses Kyrie 147 as its source melody and presents several unusual features. According to Melnicki, Kyrie 147 is itself also unique: the chant is notated only in a German manuscript of the thirteenth century, Heidelberg 7.[26] Figure 9.1 shows fols. 158v and 159r of Heidelberg 7, where Kyrie 147 is notated on the bottom half of fol. 158v, continuing on fol. 159r and immediately followed by its related *Benedicamus*.

Kyrie 147 appears to have the melodic pattern ab[a] cb[c] db[d], in which the three middle phrases of each tripartite Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie section share the same melodic material (b). Phrases 3, 6, and 9—the final phrase of each tripartite section, which usually repeats the melody of the section's first phrase (i.e. phrases 1, 4, and 7)—are not, however, actually written out. This is in accordance with how such Kyries are often notated.[27] In addition, for the first Kyrie and the Christe, the middle phrase (b) is annotated with the text 'tertium ut primum', a clear indication that the third phrase of each section should repeat the first. On

nection with the lower voice of a polyphonic *Benedicamus*. Barclay described *Amborum sacrum spiramen/Benedicamus Domino* as a 'curious two-part piece' where the text of Kyrie 18, phrase 7, forms the first of fourteen lines (Barclay 1977, 241–57).

21 • Harrison 1958, 57.

22 • Barclay 1977, 10 n. 15.

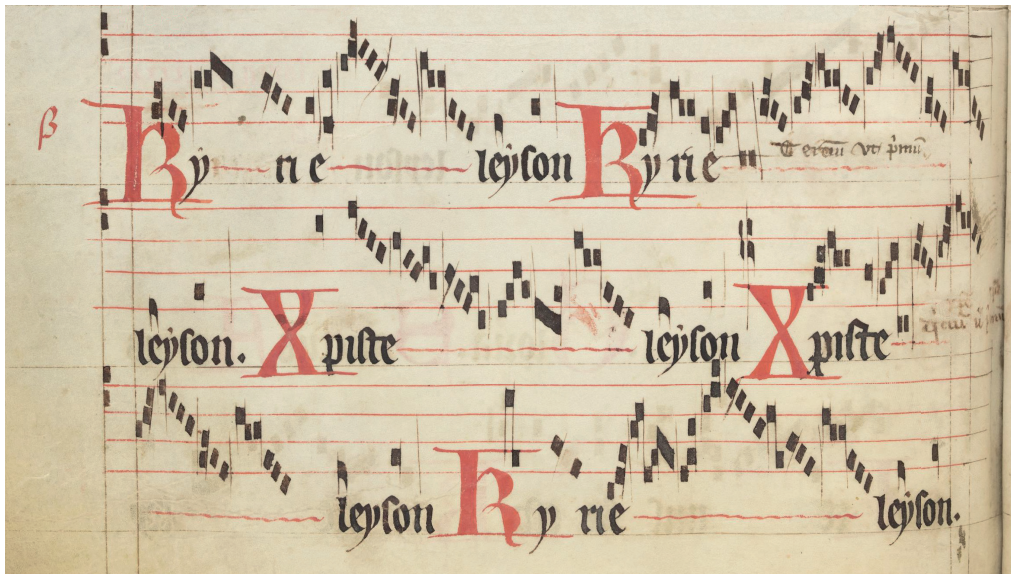
23 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xxii.

24 • Ibid., melody no. 448 based on Kyrie 47, and melody no. 449 based on Kyrie 67.

25 • Ibid., xxiv.

26 • Melnicki 1954, 110.

27 • On the various formats of Kyrie chants in medieval sources, see Bjork 2003, 19–21.



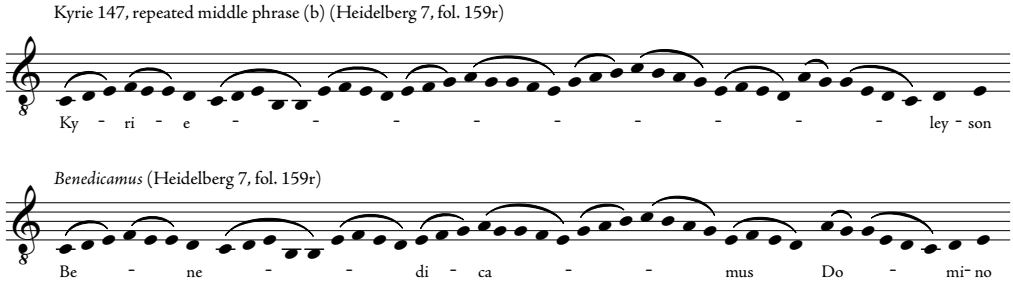
(a) fol. 158v



(b) fol. 159r

Figure 9.1: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. X, 7: (a) fol. 158v, bottom (the unique Kyrie 147) and (b) fol. 159r, top (the unique Kyrie 147 continued and the unique *Benedicamus* based on the repeated middle (b) phrase of Kyrie 147).
Reproduced from https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.9289

Example 9.9: The unique Kyrie 147, repeated middle (b) phrase, and its related *Benedicamus* in Heidelberg 7



fol. 159r, the last notated 'Kyrie eleison' is immediately followed by a *Benedicamus Domino*, which shares exactly the same melody as the last notated phrase of the preceding Kyrie (see Ex. 9.9). Yet, owing to the short-hand notation in the manuscript—in which the expected third phrase (a repetition of the first phrase) of each section is not written out—the last notated phrase of Kyrie 147 is actually the repeated middle phrase (b) shared between the two outer Kyries and the Christe (and which here did not carry any added instruction to repeat the first phrase of the section).[28] The unique *Benedicamus* that adopts the unique Kyrie 147 melody as its source chant is thus based on an internal phrase, rather than an opening or concluding phrase of a section.

This is so far the only known example of a *Benedicamus* melody based on one of the middle phrases of a Kyrie chant. There is also a very close relationship between this *Benedicamus* melody and its Kyrie source, or perhaps, more specifically, the notation of this particular *Benedicamus* and its Kyrie source within this particular manuscript. It is possible that the use of the Kyrie's internal b phrase for the *Benedicamus* was an error resulting from the manuscript's short-hand notation, and that the scribe should have adopted the melody of the outer phrase of the final tripartite Kyrie preceding the *Benedicamus*.[29] Yet whether intentional or not, this example supports the possibility of a written tradition within this specific context. It seems to be a case where a scribe created a *Benedicamus* from a Kyrie, already in use in this institution, but which is not attested elsewhere and whose melody may therefore have been a local creation.

Conclusions

This study has revealed a variety of approaches to the use of Kyrie melodies as *Benedicamus* source melodies. It has shown that some *Benedicamus* melodies are nearly identical to their source melody and display features of that same melodic tradition when transmitted in the same manuscript source. By contrast, other *Benedicamus* melodies seemingly became more remote from their source chant, circulating in shortened versions with variants

28 • One further Kyrie, Kyrie 171, is similarly shaped and appears in the same format in Heidelberg 7, on fols. 148v–149r. Like Kyrie 147, Kyrie 171 only gives the two first phrases of the first Kyrie, and the Christe section, and with similar annotations: 'Primum et tertium' and 'secundum' over the first and second phrases of these tripartite sections, while the final Kyrie section has no such annotations. There is no need for any annotation in this case because the three final Kyrie phrases of Kyrie 171 are notated in full. This is by far the more common way to notate the final Kyrie section, since the very last Kyrie acclamation often carries a prolonged, or extensively repeated, version of the seventh phrase to mark the closing of the chant. In addition, the lack of any annotation for the last Kyrie section of both Kyrie 147 and Kyrie 171 suggests that Kyrie 147 was supposed to be copied as Kyrie 171 was: that is, with all three phrases of its last Kyrie section notated in full. For some reason this did not happen, and instead a *Benedicamus Domino* was notated in the space intended for the final Kyrie phrase, but based on the melody of the preceding phrase.

29 • Another Kyrie notated in Heidelberg 7 (fol. 156r) also displays scribal errors in the notation of its melodic phrases. Kyrie 39 is widely transmitted with melodic repeated pattern aaa bbb ccd and is notated in Heidelberg 7 with three Kyrie phrases (phrases 1, 7, and 9) and one Christe phrase (phrase 4). Phrase 9 is here notated immediately following phrase 1, while phrase 4 and phrase 7 are notated further down the page, after the opening of a Gloria that continues onto fol. 156v. Later annotations give numbers 1–4 for each phrase to prescribe the correct order of the melodic phrases, in an effort to clarify how this Kyrie should be sung.

not known in the source melody, as in the case of *Benedicamus* 21 and Kyrie 102. This study has also revealed interesting examples in which *Benedicamus* plainchants adopted, not the opening phrase of a pre-existing Kyrie melody, as was typical, but rather drew on other, internal phrases of Kyrie chants. Finally, it has been established that—just like Kyrie chants and sequences—*Benedicamus* melodies also display melodic variability in their transmission that is suggestive of regional differences and traditions, and which is significant for a more general understanding of chant transmission in the Middle Ages.

10.

A Norman *Benedicamus Domino* Tradition in the Twelfth Century: New Insights from St Albans Abbey

*Thomas Phillips**

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 4 (hereafter Oxford Laud Misc. 4) is the earliest surviving processional in England, dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century.[1] Despite its small size and modest appearance it represents the height of scribal collaboration and efficiency in the St Albans scriptorium in the mid-twelfth century. It was produced at the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans through a joint effort by four scribes, two of whom wrote the rubrics, and one of these two notated the entire manuscript.[2] There are no lacunae, so it can be considered a 'complete' processional, contrary to what Richard Pfaff previously suggested; he proposed that the limited number of processions included in the Sanctorale—as well as no processions included for any Sunday between Trinity and Advent—points to there having been one, or even two, complementary volumes necessary to cover the entire liturgical year.[3] Yet Gisèle Clément has put forward that processional books need not account for every saint in the calendar and, in Aquitanian processionals in particular, only

* The following manuscript sigla are used:

Ba	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
BL Royal 2 A.x	London, British Library, Royal 2 A.x
BL Royal 2 B.iv	London, British Library, Royal 2 B.iv
BnF Lat. 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 887
BnF Lat. 1107	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1107
BnF Lat. 17296	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17296
BnF Lat. 17329	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17329
BnF Lat. 17716	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17716
Cambridge CCC 411	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 411
Évreux 89	Évreux, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 89
Helsinki 107	Helsinki, National Library, F.m.III. 107
JRL 24	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Lat. 24
London WA 37	London, Westminster Abbey Library, 37
Madrid 289	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 289
Madrid 19421	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 19421
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de médecine, H. 196
New York ML M.926	New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M.926
Oxford Class. Lat. 112	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. Lat. 112
Oxford Laud Misc. 4	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 4
Oxford Laud Misc. 358	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 358
Paris Arsenal 114	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 114
St. Gallen 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546
Tournai 476	Tournai, Bibliothèque capitulaire, 476
Worcester Antiphoner	Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160 ('Worcester Antiphoner')

1 • Hartzell 1971, 118; Van Dijk 1958, 85.

2 • For more on the production of Oxford Laud Misc. 4, including text and music scribes, dating, and provenance, see Phillips forthcoming.

3 • Pfaff 2009, 167–68.

⁎ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143521 ⁎

a selection of saints is included; in monastic processionals this selection only includes the most important feasts.[4] The same selective process can be observed in the compilation of the Sanctorale in Oxford Laud Misc. 4.[5] It is difficult to imagine a companion to that manuscript dedicated entirely to ordinary processions. Given how much music in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 has been drawn from other material that would also have been preserved in any missal or gradual, it is likely that the material for all other ordinary processions throughout the year could have been similarly assembled on an ad hoc basis. Therefore, Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is 'complete' insofar as it contains all the material that was initially intended to be written down in this codex, including the collection of *Benedicamus Domino* melodies.

During the eleventh century, collections of *Benedicamus* melodies were often found in liturgical books such as tropers, prosers, and graduals, and by the twelfth century this had extended to antiphoners and processionals.[6] At the back of Oxford Laud Misc. 4 are eighteen monophonic *Benedicamus* chants, immediately followed by an incomplete set of *Ite missa est* chants.[7] It is worth noting that the two other twelfth-century liturgical-musical manuscripts from St Albans—the gradual-troper-sequentiary BL Royal 2 B.iv and the gradual Oxford Laud Misc. 358—which would have been likely candidates in which to record *Benedicamus Domino* chants, include no such reference to the *Benedicamus*. The significance of this comes down to one scribe that all three manuscripts share. Rodney Thomson identified a scribe in numerous St Albans manuscripts, 'Scribe B', whom he believed to have acted as the chief scribe of the scriptorium around the middle of the twelfth century.[8] Matthew Ward proposed that the evidence of Scribe B's output was indicative of certain duties carried out by the cantor, whose role is described in most medieval customaries.[9] I have further developed Ward's argument for Scribe B's cantorial status in the context of his involvement in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, as well as in other manuscripts in which his work has previously gone unnoticed. As a result I have come to the tentative conclusion that Oxford

4 • Clément 2017, 70 and 253.

5 • Feasts included in the Oxford Laud Misc. 4 Sanctorale are: St Alban, Nativity of St John the Baptist, SS Peter and Paul, Translation of St Benedict, St Peter's Chains, Invention of St Alban, Assumption of Mary, Beheading of St John the Baptist, Nativity of Mary, Exultation of the Cross, Nativity of St Matthew the Evangelist, St Michael, SS Simon and Jude, All Saints, Nativity of St Martin of Tours, Dedication of a Church. All of the aforementioned saints and feasts are of a certain rank as reflected in various St Albans calendars (Wormald 1939, 31–45) and were to be celebrated either as principal feasts, feasts in copes, or feasts in albs. All of the extant twelfth-century St Albans calendars have been dated no later than 1150, so it is not possible to know if any of these ranks had been altered by later abbots. Nevertheless, the Sanctorale in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 probably represents some of St Albans' most important feasts at a particular time in the third quarter of the twelfth century.

6 • Robertson 1988, 10.

7 • Oxford, Laud Misc. 4, fols. 163r–166v. The book is missing two folios at the end, which cuts short the eleventh melody in the *Ite missa est* collection.

8 • Thomson 1982, vol. 1, 29.

9 • Ward 2012, 51–56; It should be remembered here that documents such as customaries are prescriptive as opposed to descriptive: they provide only an idealistic interpretation of how to manage the liturgy and those who performed it. The extent to which particular institutions implemented these precepts must be judged on an individual basis. See Cochelin 2005, 29–66, in which she explains the difference between these texts as *normatifs* and *descriptifs* in the context of the customary of Bernard of Cluny.

Laud Misc. 4 was not only a cantor's book—cantor here meaning singer—it was *the* cantor's book, the book of the monastic official in charge of the scriptorium and who is likely to have been the scribe who notated it: Scribe B.[10] Of course, the processional is more than an appropriate location for *Benedicamus* chants, since in addition to their use in the Mass and Office liturgies, they were also commonly sung at the conclusion of processional rites after Lauds and First Vespers.[11] Indeed, Oxford Laud Misc. 4 contains processions to be sung both before the Mass and after the Office hours of certain feast days; in some places chants have been specifically assigned to the procession after Vespers.[12] It may be that the multifunctional nature of this particular processional—which was used for the Mass, Office, and processions, both inside and outside the walls of the abbey—is the reason why the *Benedicamus* chants were notated here instead of in Royal 2 B.iv and Oxford Laud Misc. 358, the liturgical contents of which are far more limited in scope.[13]

In this chapter I predominately intend to facilitate further work on the identification and dissemination of *Benedicamus* melodies, especially in England. In my research, I have found all eighteen melodies from Oxford Laud Misc. 4 in other manuscripts through a combination of my own comparative work and consulting pre-existing literature on closing versicles; I provide transcriptions of all eighteen melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 in the Appendix.[14] I have identified eleven of these eighteen *Benedicamus* melodies with source chants. The aim of this chapter is to situate the *Benedicamus* collection in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 within the wider context of the *Benedicamus Domino* tradition in England, and Europe more broadly. To do this I have identified and consulted a number of comparable monophonic collections (listed in Table 10.1). These include an early twelfth-century collection recently discovered by Susan Rankin, which was added to a tenth-century psalter from Christ Church, Canterbury, making it the earliest known collection of *Benedicamus* chants in England.[15] The manuscripts in Table 10.1 all originally come from various Benedictine institutions across England, Normandy, northern France, and Sicily, which covers a large enough area of Europe for an understanding of how widely disseminated some *Benedicamus* melodies are, as opposed to the presumably more local traditions particular to each institution, or within institutional networks. Table 10.2 offers an overview of the

10 • Scribe B wrote part of, rubricated most of, and notated all of Oxford Laud Misc. 4. There is also evidence of Scribe B working in tandem with another scribe to rubricate the manuscript, one whose work is indicative of a novice scribe. See Phillips forthcoming.

11 • Robertson 1988, 1.

12 • 'for the procession to the cross that follows after Vespers for the whole week' (*ad processionem que fit post vesperas tota ebdomada ad crucifixum*), Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 89r.

13 • Not all processionals contain such an extensive provision of musical material for the liturgical year as Oxford Laud Misc. 4. Further, in contrast with other monastic orders that created and promulgated their own processionals, no such standardised book exists within the Benedictine Order, so it should not be assumed that *Benedicamus* melodies are always found in processional manuscripts from Benedictine institutions (Huglo 2001).

14 • Where possible, references are made to the following melodic catalogues: Harrison 1965; Barclay 1977; Huglo 1982; Robertson 1988; Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006.

15 • This collection of *Benedicamus Domino* chants was presented during Rankin's fourth lecture of the Lyell Lecture Series at Oxford University on 12 May 2022.

Table 10.1: Monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* collections in sources before c.1250

Manuscript	Date	Provenance	No. of *Benedicamus* melodies shared with Oxford Laud Misc. 4
Cambridge CCC 411	first quarter of 12th c.	Christ Church, Canterbury	8
Évreux 89	13th c.	Lyre	15
Madrid 289	mid-12th c.	Palermo	4
Madrid 19421	third quarter of 12th c.	Catania	5
JRL 24	mid-13th c.	Exeter (Sarum)	7
BnF Lat. 1107	mid-13th c.	St-Denis	5
BnF Lat. 17296	mid-12th c.	St-Denis	1
BnF Lat. 17329	mid-13th c.	St-Corneille	5

Table 10.2: Overview of concordances for Oxford Laud Misc. 4 *Benedicamus Domino* melodies

No. in Oxford Laud Misc. 4	Cambridge CCC 411	Évreux 89	Madrid 289	Madrid 19421	JRL 24	BnF Lat. 1107	BnF Lat. 17296	BnF Lat. 17329
1	×	×	×	×	×	×		×
2	×	×			×			
3				×				
4	×	×		×	×	×		×
5	×	×	×	×				
6		×		×				
7	×	×	×		×			
8		×						
9		×						
10		×						
11		×						
12		×	×		×			
13	×	×				×		×
14		×						
15								
16	×							
17	×	×			×	×		×
18		×			×	×	×	×

concordances for *Benedicamus* melodies in sources beyond Oxford Laud Misc. 4 to make apparent the broader transmission patterns of these melodies. I am most interested in the early transmission of the *Benedicamus* in notated manuscripts, and so no source later than the mid-thirteenth century is included in this study. Through the identification of the melodies recorded in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, I provide new insights into established layers of *Benedicamus Domino* chant transmission and the types of chants from which melodies were borrowed at St Albans Abbey in the mid-twelfth century.[16]

Norman influence in the *Benedicamus Domino* tradition at St Albans

The *Benedicamus* versicle was afforded special musical licence which resulted in a vast repertoire of chant melodies, some of which enjoyed great popularity across Europe, and others of which achieved only local prominence, or were known only within a particular institutional network.[17] The collection of *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is closely related to that in a thirteenth-century antiphoner from Lyre Abbey, Évreux 89.[18] Out of the eighteen *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 fifteen are also in Évreux 89, while the earlier English source Cambridge CCC 411 shares only eight *Benedicamus* melodies with Oxford Laud Misc. 4. It is rare for two collections to be so closely aligned in their choice of *Benedicamus* melodies, which is precisely why the similarities between Évreux 89 and Oxford Laud Misc. 4 are so extraordinary. The reasons why both manuscripts contain such similar collections are not difficult to understand and become less surprising when contextualised.

Lyre Abbey was founded in 1042 by William Fitz-Osberne and its first seven abbots all came from St-Évroult. It can therefore be assumed that the libraries of both institutions developed in parallel with one another and that exemplars would have made their way from St-Évroult to Lyre.[19] In 1130, however, a monk called Raoul from Bec became abbot of Lyre, bringing with him many books from Bec's library, insisting that St-Évroult's customs were replaced with Bec's.[20] The monks of Lyre were displeased with Raoul's reforms and later, after Raoul's abbacy, reverted to having their abbots come from St-Évroult.[21] It seems that, despite the majority of Lyre's abbots having come from St-Évroult, Bec's customs were not so decisively disposed of in the years after Raoul's abbacy: Dom Hesbert classifies three thirteenth-century manuscripts from Lyre as belonging to 'the Bec group' (*Groupe Le Bec*), although Évreux 89 was not included in his study.[22]

16 • This chapter serves as the English counterpart to Anne Walters Robertson's study of *Benedicamus* melodies associated with St-Denis and St-Corneille.

17 • Robertson 1988, 4; Bradley 2022, 417.

18 • I am indebted to Mary Channen Caldwell for bringing this source to my attention.

19 • Nortier 1966, 124.

20 • Ibid., 125.

21 • As discussed by Gazeau 2007, vol. 1, 65, 183–90, 237–39. Eleven out of twelve of Lyre's abbots from 1042 to 1307 were from St-Évroult.

22 • Hesbert 1975, 438.

Current understandings of the musical tradition of St Albans are most often attributed to the seminal work published by David Hiley on medieval English liturgies.[23] Hiley's analysis of the sequence, alleluia, and Mass Ordinary repertoires demonstrates a strong relationship between St Albans and Bec, with the former's musical repertoire being largely adopted from the latter's.[24] Karl Drew Hartzell proposed that St Albans' liturgical and musical traditions depended on three main sources: Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, Bec's musical repertoire, and other sources that he referred to only as 'diversified'.[25] Finally, Ward noticed a relationship between the Ordinary trope repertoires of St Albans and St-Évroult, but dismissed this as a result of 'a severe lack of surviving sources with Ordinary tropes from Normandy and England at this time, [rather] than with direct connections between these centres….'[26] It is clear that St Albans was engaged in adapting numerous musical traditions to their own liturgy, and, as summed up by Pfaff, the details of such a variety of musical traditions, 'none of them decisive or capable of full explanation, point to a considerable, and continuing, degree of what we may call liturgical curiosity at St Albans'.[27]

Based on prior studies by Hesbert, Hiley, Hartzell, and Ward, the relationship between Lyre and St Albans can best be explained through Bec as an intermediary. Both Lyre and St Albans were greatly influenced by Bec in the twelfth century, which ultimately accounts for the relationship between Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89. In the light of the evidence of Lyre's long history with St-Évroult, despite Bec's influence, and the fact that the *Benedicamus* collection in Évreux 89 shows such a close affinity with the one in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, Ward's suspicion of a St Albans–St-Évroult relationship may have been well founded. That being said, without any evidence of a *Benedicamus* collection in either a Bec or St-Évroult manuscript, it is impossible to confirm which of these institutions' *Benedicamus* traditions is more closely linked to St Albans. Évreux 89 is central to this discussion of *Benedicamus* melodies preserved in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, but to truly understand the extent to which the melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 were known in England and across Europe at this time, other manuscripts are brought into the discussion as necessary.

The organisation of *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4

Anne Walters Robertson observed that earlier collections of *Benedicamus* melodies tended to be presented without the aid of rubrics that would name the levels of feasts or Office hours at which the melodies were to be performed.[28] This statement is supported by the four twelfth-century sources in Table 10.1 (Cambridge CCC 411, Madrid 289, Madrid 19421, and BnF Lat. 17296); the number of melodies in these collections ranges from six to

23 • Hiley 1980; see also Hiley 1993, 580–84.
24 • Hiley 1980, 3–4.
25 • Hartzell 1971, 239.
26 • Ward 2012, 229–30.
27 • Pfaff 2009, 165.
28 • Robertson 1988, 3.

twenty-one, all without accompanying rubrics. Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is an exception to this trend, as an early *Benedicamus* collection that is rubricated and clearly organised according to its liturgical function.

The eighteen melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 are organised into six categories: 'on principal feasts' (*In Principalibus Festis*); 'for St Stephen' (*De Sancto Stephano*); 'from Easter to Pentecost' (*A Pascha usque Pentecosten*); two separate groups of chants to be sung on feasts celebrated 'in albs' (*In Albis*); and lastly, 'for St Nicholas' (*De Sancto Nicholao*). It is probably not a mistake that there are two groups of melodies to be sung for feasts in albs, since the first group has added 'Alleluias', whereas those in the second do not; this was perhaps a means of differentiating between the two sets of melodies. These six categories demonstrate that *Benedicamus* melodies were organised at St Albans according to the ranks of feasts, specific saints' days, and liturgical season. This is a level of specificity unlike any other collection of its time. The closest parallel is, once again, Évreux 89.

Not only do Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 share fifteen *Benedicamus* melodies, but they exhibit very similar organisational principles. Évreux 89 categorises by rank and Office hour: 'on principal feasts' (*In Festis Principalibus*); 'on non-principal feasts' (*In Festis non Principalibus*); 'in albs' (*In Albis*); 'during the Resurrection on principal feasts' (*Per Resurrectionem in Festis Principalibus*); and 'on feasts in albs' (*Festis in Albis*). Apart from the chants assigned specifically to Stephen and Nicholas in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, then, both sources organise their melodies according to the same categories. Both sources also contain two groups of chants to be sung on feasts celebrated in albs, but Évreux 89 makes it plain that one group of melodies is for feasts during Easter, and the other for feasts at all other times of the year. All the chants to be sung during Easter in Évreux 89 have added 'Alleluias'; it is believed to have been common practice to adapt *Benedicamus* chants for Easter with the addition of one or more 'Alleluias'.[29] This is reflected in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, with each Easter *Benedicamus* having been provided with between one and three 'Alleluias'. Immediately after the Easter chants in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 are two chants to be sung for feasts celebrated in albs with added 'Alleluias' (nos. 11 and 12). Both of these melodies are also in Évreux 89 to be sung during Easter on feasts celebrated in albs. Applying the above logic to Oxford Laud Misc. 4 would mean that melodies 11 and 12 are also related to the Easter period. Melodies 6–10 are considerably more elaborate than 11 and 12 and would thus be appropriate for use on the higher feasts throughout Easter to Pentecost, including those celebrated in copes. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the two simpler melodies, 11 and 12, were used for feasts during the same season for feasts of the lower rank, *in Albis*.

In addition to Évreux 89, other thirteenth-century manuscripts—such as JRL 24, BnF Lat. 1107, and BnF Lat. 17329—exhibit a variety of ways to arrange *Benedicamus* melodies. Unlike Évreux 89, rubrics in BnF Lat. 1107 and Lat. 17329 identify the source melismas on which the *Benedicamus* melodies are based, while JRL 24 indicates both the source

29 • Harrison 1958, 74; Robertson 1988, 56.

melismas *and* the ranks of feasts for which they are to be performed.[30] Robertson rightly states that the survival of collections such as those in BnF Lat. 1107 and Lat. 17329 acts as strong evidence in support of a highly developed organisational system that was in practice well before the mid-thirteenth century.[31] Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is proof of Robertson's hypothesis, demonstrating that some institutions had already begun to organise their *Benedicamus* melodies in musical manuscripts with rubrics as early as the mid-twelfth century. Unfortunately, Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is—to date—the only known source from the twelfth century to demonstrate such explicit organisational developments in notated *Benedicamus* collections. We still lack any further evidence of such sophistication and care in ordering and labelling *Benedicamus* chants before the thirteenth century, but it seems likely that this was indeed a more widespread practice and tradition.

Notwithstanding the evidence of organised *Benedicamus* collections from the third quarter of the twelfth century, one can begin to understand the rationale behind the sequencing of collections earlier than the one in Oxford Laud Misc. 4. In Cambridge CCC 411, just as in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, for example, 'Flos filius', 'In perhenni', and the unidentified melody no. 4 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 are the first, second, and fourth melodies in Cambridge CCC 411 (see Table 10.2 above). The shared sequence of these melodies may well be a coincidence, but it raises the question as to whether or not a source as early as Cambridge CCC 411 already bears traces of a deliberate and established organisational method of compilation for *Benedicamus* chants, which is reflected, at least in part, in the later Oxford Laud Misc. 4. In total, Cambridge CCC 411 shares eight of its *Benedicamus* melodies (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 17, 21) with Oxford Laud Misc. 4 (here nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 13, 16, 17), each in similar positions within the context of their respective collections. In Cambridge CCC 411 the more melismatic melodies are found earlier on in the collection, with each consecutive melody becoming increasingly simpler. We have no way of knowing which feasts were assigned to specific chants but it can be assumed that the more ornate melodies were reserved for feasts of a higher rank, as in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, or as was common elsewhere, for the hours of First Vespers, Lauds, and Second Vespers.[32] The last six *Benedicamus* chants in Cambridge CCC 411 are much simpler, with their melismas never exceeding six notes. The same pattern can be seen in five *Benedicamus* chants towards the end of the collection in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 (nos. 13–17), all of which make up the second group of melodies to be sung on feasts in albs, the lowest-ranked group in the Oxford Laud Misc. 4 collection. All of this suggests that Canterbury organised their *Benedicamus* melodies by descending solemnity.

It is clear, therefore, that as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century *Benedicamus* collections in England were compiled with some degree of organisation. By the mid-twelfth century the expansion of the *Benedicamus* repertoire resulted in the codification of

30 • As discussed by Harrison (1958, 74–76; 1965, 37–38); Robertson (1988, 14–31; 1991, 191–95).

31 • Robertson 1988, 52.

32 • Ibid., 4.

Benedicamus melodies in notated books; thus it became more common for *Benedicamus* collections to be contemporaneous with the book in which they were notated. Despite all this, some collections still lacked the rubrics that identified either the source melody or level of feast for which the *Benedicamus* melodies were intended (as evidenced by BnF Lat. 17296, Madrid 289, and Madrid 19421). Oxford Laud Misc. 4 represents a transitional period in the notating of the *Benedicamus* in contemporaneous manuscripts by sorting the *Benedicamus* melodies into categories relating to the ranks of feasts, specific saints' days, and liturgical season, thereby anticipating conventions, previously identified only in the thirteenth century, of organising *Benedicamus* collections in notated manuscripts. The next section of this chapter turns to focus on the melodies themselves, exploring the chronological position of Oxford Laud Misc. 4 within the dissemination of certain *Benedicamus* melodies.

The transmission of the *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4

The *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 mostly conform to trends in the wider repertoire concerning the types of host chants from which melismas are borrowed and retexted as *Benedicamus* melodies: seven come from responsories, two are drawn from antiphons, and one is from an alleluia.[33] One melody, which has not previously been identified with a source chant in other collections and catalogues, is in fact based on a hymn melody. All eighteen melodies are presented here in the same order as they appear in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 (see Appendix).[34] The transcriptions provided in the Appendix may enable future studies to identify further concordances in manuscripts beyond the scope of this study.

Six of the chants in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 are among the most widely transmitted *Benedicamus* melodies across the entire *Benedicamus* corpus: 'Flos filius', 'In perhenni', 'Quorum vallatus', 'O Christi pietas', 'Clementiam', and one melody (Oxford Laud Misc. 4 no. 4) without a known source chant.[35] Despite there being no known source chant for melody no. 4, it was nevertheless widely disseminated in *Benedicamus* collections and has been traced back to the eleventh century.[36] The 'Flos filius' melisma comes from the responsory *Stirps Jesse* for the Nativity of Mary and its use as a *Benedicamus* can also be traced back to the eleventh century for the highest feasts on Lauds and Vespers.[37] This melody is the only *Benedicamus* to appear twice in the St Albans collection (as nos. 1 and 6),

33 • Other typical genres are Kyries and sequences, but none of the *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 with which I have identified source chants borrow from these two genres.

34 • Slurs indicate ligation and small note-heads signify liquescent neumes. The top corners of fols. 161r–166v have been badly damaged, resulting in a few missing notes from melodies 1, 11, 14, and 15. Fortunately, Évreux 89 contains the notes missing from melodies 1, 11, and 14, and melody no. 15 is recorded in full as an *Ite* later in Oxford Laud Misc. 4. Notes within brackets have been taken from either Évreux 89 or elsewhere in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 to fill in any gaps in the melodies.

35 • As discussed by Robertson (1988; 1991, 187–95). The melody without a source chant (Oxford Laud Misc. 4, no. 4) is referred to elsewhere as 'Huglo no. 411', which refers to Huglo 1982, 150–54.

36 • Huglo 1982, 122.

37 • Robertson 1988, 11.

the second time for use from Easter to Pentecost. Madrid 289 (fol. 140v) and Madrid 19421 (fol. 110r) also include a version of the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus* with a final 'Alleluia', just as in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, suggesting widespread adaptation of this melody for Easter.

'In perhenni' comes from the Trinity responsory *Honor virtus*. 'In perhenni' was first identified as a monophonic *Benedicamus* melody by Frank Ll. Harrison in the Exeter Sarum gradual JRL 24.[38] This has long been considered to be the earliest known source containing the melody as a monophonic *Benedicamus*, and by the late thirteenth century it was used as a *Benedicamus* on the Continent.[39] Its presence not only in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 but also in Cambridge CCC 411 means that this melody was in circulation as a *Benedicamus* chant by the first quarter of the twelfth century, about a century before its appearance in the Exeter Sarum gradual. It is unclear as to where 'In perhenni' first appeared as a *Benedicamus Domino* but the surviving evidence certainly indicates its popularity in England and from an early date.

Prior to this study 'Quorum vallatus' had been identified as a *Benedicamus* only in sources dating from the thirteenth century onwards, such as BnF Lat. 1107 and Lat. 17329. Much like 'In perhenni', the melody of 'Quorum vallatus' can now be understood to have been in use as the source melody for concluding versicles by the early twelfth century in England: it appears as a *Benedicamus* in Cambridge CCC 411, and later as both a *Benedicamus* and an *Ite* in Oxford Laud Misc. 4. By the thirteenth century at St-Denis, it had also been adapted for the *Requiesca(n)t in pace*.[40]

'O Christi pietas' is another staple of the *Benedicamus* repertoire and, similarly, has only been identified in sources from the thirteenth century on.[41] Its appearance in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 makes this one of the earliest notated occurrences of 'O Christi pietas' as a *Benedicamus*. Évreux 89 also contains the *Benedicamus* 'O Christi pietas', but the text underlay is slightly different from the one in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, which was the version in wider circulation. Variations in both the text underlay and melodies themselves are to be expected, especially in the earlier period of the written *Benedicamus* tradition, and are probably due to the much older unwritten tradition that preceded it. Even though notated *Benedicamus* melodies are first found in manuscripts from the tenth century, they are already mentioned in customaries and ordinaries from the ninth century.[42] Variations in practice seem bound to occur across different sources and institutions, reflecting a scribe or a performer's decisions in aligning the *Benedicamus Domino* text with pre-existing melismatic music (see Example 10.1).[43]

38 • Harrison 1965, 38.

39 • Anderson 1969, 166.

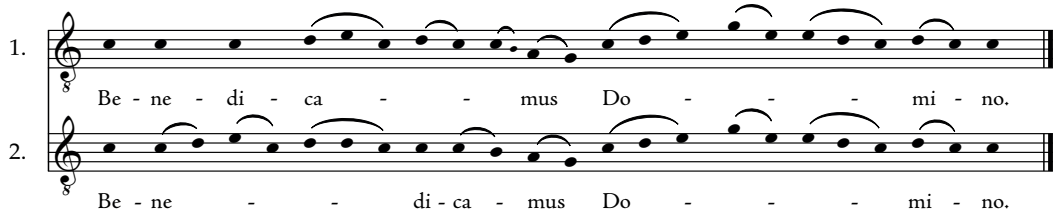
40 • For Matins and Lauds on the anniversaries of the deaths of the Kings Philip Augustus, Robert II, and Charles the Bald, as well as Abbot Suger. As discussed by Robertson 1988, 4; 1991, 213–14.

41 • Robertson 1988, 42.

42 • Ibid., 3.

43 • 'O Christi pietas' in Évreux 89 is notated a fifth below in Oxford Laud Misc. 4. It is here transposed up a fifth for the purposes of comparison.

Example 10.1: Alternative text underlay for 'O Christi pietas' *Benedicamus* in (1) Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 165v; (2) Évreux 89, fol. 11v



The 'Clementiam' melisma, taken from the St Nicholas responsory *Qui cum audissent*, was used in a variety of liturgical contexts throughout the Middle Ages.[44] In other institutions across Europe, 'Clementiam' was assigned to a variety of feasts in addition to St Nicholas (including Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of Mary, and All Saints), and by the thirteenth century it was used at Second Vespers on feast days of the highest rank.[45] It is therefore unsurprising to see 'Clementiam' among the St Albans collection; however, its restrictive use in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 solely for the feast of St Nicholas is perhaps unusual in the wider context of its ubiquity. Évreux 89 can perhaps elucidate this matter. 'Clementiam' is one of the few *Benedicamus* melodies not included in the Évreux 89 collection on fols. 11v–12r, but instead has been integrated into the Office of St Nicholas (fol. 192v).[46] It is possible that by the thirteenth century *Benedicamus* melodies that were exclusive to only one feast were integrated into the feast itself, instead of being presented within a *Benedicamus* collection of more multifunctional melodies.[47] Oxford Laud Misc. 4 perhaps represents an earlier practice of collating in one place all known *Benedicamus* melodies regardless of the versatility of one melody compared to another. Despite how common it was for other institutions to use the 'Clementiam' melisma as a melody for multiple feasts, due to its popularity, Lyre reserved it exclusively for St Nicholas, just as St Albans did.

'Clementiam' is the only *Benedicamus* in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 to show signs of melodic alteration, specifically on 'Do-'. In the melody as it is presented in the above transcription, on the ninth note of the melisma, there is a *pes* (*c*–*g*), followed by a *porrectus* (*a*'–*g*–*c*'), but upon further inspection, the *c* in the *pes* and *c*' in the *porrectus* are changes made to the original melody. The additional notational hand looks not too dissimilar to that of the main scribe, but the alterations made to the melody are easy to distinguish from the intentions of the original scribe. There are marks showing where ink has been scraped off in two places where the additional hand has renotated the melody. Taking the scraped-off ink into consideration, it is possible to reproduce what the original scribe had written down (see Example 10.2). Instead of repeating the ascending interval of a fifth from the beginning

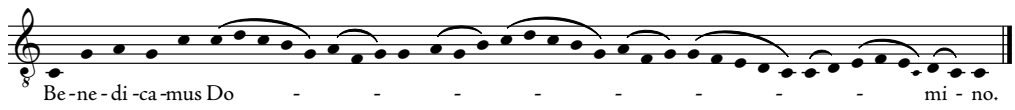
44 • See Mary Channen Caldwell's essay in the present volume, Ch. 4

45 • As discussed by Barclay 1977, vol. 1, 48–49; Robertson 1988, 33–35.

46 • On 'Clementiam' in Évreux 89, see Caldwell, Ch. 4 above.

47 • Two other feasts in Évreux 89 (St Stephen, and SS Peter and Paul) include *Benedicamus* melodies not presented in the *Benedicamus* collection on fols. 11v–12r.

Example 10.2: Original layer of notation for 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 165v



of the chant, the scribe notated the *g* twice, and the last note of the *porrectus* was *b'* instead of *c'*. On the one hand, it could be said that the *b'* was an error on the part of the main scribe, since this version of the melody is not the same as the melody in wider circulation; in fact, it is exceedingly rare. On the other hand, the second scribe—who changed the *b'* to *c'*, erased the initial *g*, and reconfigured the *virga* (*g*) into a *pes* (*c*–*g*)—may simply have altered the melody to conform to a more familiar version of the chant. The original scribe of Oxford Laud Misc. 4 obviously knew a version of the melody similar to the one known to the monks of Lyre, because the last note of the *porrectus* in the melisma drops down by a semitone, a feature of this melody not seen elsewhere.[48] The concordances in Table 10.2 suggest a flexible melodic transmission of 'Clementiam' as it is notated in a variety of different ways in each manuscript. At St-Denis (BnF Lat. 1107 and BnF Lat. 17296) and Exeter (JRL 24) the melody is notated without the interval of a fifth at both the beginning of the chant and once again on 'Do-', whereas at Lyre and St Albans, the initial interval of a fifth is notated only at the outset of the chant. The version transcribed in the Appendix, with the fifth notated in both places, includes the changes made by the second scribe, but Example 10.2 shows the version recorded in the original layer of notation.[49] Multiple versions of the 'Clementiam' melody were evidently known at St Albans, whose singers had different musical preferences, as indicated by the corrections made to this *Benedicamus* in Oxford Laud Misc. 4.

The second and only other saint to be specially assigned a *Benedicamus* melody in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is St Stephen (no. 5). There is evidence in ordinaries from other institutions for the use of *Benedicamus* melodies on the feast of St Stephen, and *Benedicamus* elaborations are especially prominent, in general, during the Christmas season. Nevertheless, the specific provision of a *Benedicamus* for the feast of St Stephen in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, and the particular melody assigned to this feast, is uncommon amongst other *Benedicamus* collections. The *Benedicamus* melodies 'Posuisti' and 'Secundum ordinem', drawn from the common alleluias for confessors and martyrs 'Posuisti' and 'Juravit dominus' respectively, functioned in the same way as their source chants as common *Benedicamus* chants for feasts of the same categories, including St Stephen.[50] I have found the melody in use at St Albans elsewhere only in Évreux 89, where it is likewise specifically assigned to St Stephen. In Évreux 89 this melody has been integrated into the Office of St Stephen (fol. 26v), just as

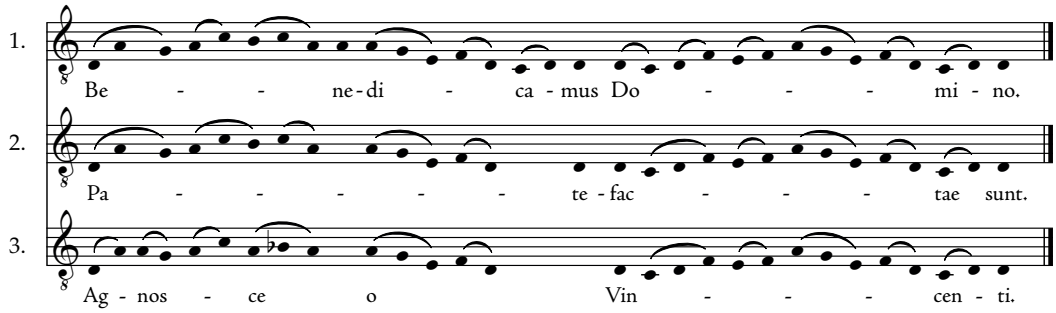
48 • Évreux 89 notates the melody a fourth above Oxford Laud Misc. 4.

49 • See the more comprehensive analysis of the different melodic versions of the 'Clementiam' melisma in Caldwell, Ch. 4 above.

50 • Robertson 1991, 191.

the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* was in the St Nicholas Office. I have discovered the source melody for this *Benedicamus* for St Stephen, which is recorded elsewhere in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 (on fol. 13r) among the series of responsories to be sung during the procession on the feast of St Stephen. The *Benedicamus* melody borrows the incipit of the responsory *Patefactae sunt* and the same melody makes a third appearance in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 as an *Ite*, under the same rubric.[51] The melody is not, however, one of the standard chants frequently associated with the *Patefactae sunt* responsory. It seems that, at St Albans, a melody from the feast of another martyr was borrowed and contrafacted: the music of the St Vincent responsory *Agnosce o Vincenti* was here set to the St Stephen responsory text (see Example 10.3).

Example 10.3: (1) *Benedicamus* no. 5 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fols. 163v–164r; (2) *Patefactae sunt*, Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 13r; (3) *Agnosce o Vincenti* (Évreux 89, fol. 54r)



As a source of *Benedicamus Domino* melodies, St Vincent's was perhaps the most popular saint's feast. Four *Benedicamus* melodies based on responsories from the feast of St Vincent have previously been identified: 'Alacriter' from *Valerius igitur*, 'Quorum vallatus' from *Beatus Dei athleta*, 'Occumbere' from *Gloriosi Domine*, and 'Vernabantur' from *Christi miles*.[52] The incipit of *Agnosce o Vincenti* adds a fifth responsory melody to this list.[53] Just like *Benedicamus* 'Quorum vallatus', the *Benedicamus* 'Agnosce o Vincenti' was also widely disseminated, more so than previously understood. The melody—albeit without knowledge of its source chant—was catalogued by Barclay, who listed its sources only as Madrid 289 and Madrid 19421. In addition to its use at St Albans, the melody is also found in Cambridge CCC 411, indicating that it was already in circulation in England as a *Benedicamus* chant by the early twelfth century. What remains a mystery is this melody's intended use at these other institutions due to the lack of rubrics that would otherwise have accompanied them. No doubt this melody had its origins in the feast of St Vincent, but were St Albans and Lyre the only institutions to adapt the melody of *Agnosce o Vincenti* to *Patefactae sunt*, thus reassigning the chant to St Stephen instead?

51 • Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 166v.

52 • Robertson 1988, 18–26.

53 • This melody is catalogued in Barclay 1977, vol. 1, 62, melody no. 27, but no source chant has been provided.

There is no evidence in manuscripts from St Albans to suggest a reason for a special relationship between Stephen and Vincent, other than their shared status as deacons and protomartyrs. Yet further inspection of the texts *Patefactae sunt* and *Agnosce o Vincenti* reveals a textual relationship which could account for the adoption of the Vincent responsory melody in *Patefactae sunt*. Both responsories share the themes of triumph and the coronation of the saints upon their arrival in heaven. Although all saints are crowned in heaven, this is not always explicitly mentioned in the responsory texts of saints' Offices. Stephen is welcomed through the open gates of heaven (*Patefactae sunt ianua caeli*), named first of the martyrs 'and therefore crowned triumphant in Heaven' (*et ideo triumphat in caelis coronatus*). Vincent is similarly promised a crown, prepared for him in heaven (*ipsi tibi coronam preparatam servat in caelis*) because he is 'victorious in punishments' (*victorem in poenis*). Since, as Hiley proposed, St Albans received plainchant exemplars directly from the Continent, it is probable that the melody of *Agnosce o Vincenti* was sung to the text of *Patefactae sunt* from at least the mid-twelfth century in Normandy, and probably before that date.[54]

In addition to the melodies discussed above (nos. 1, 2, 4–6, 13, 17, 18), there are seven further melodies shared between Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 (nos. 7–12 and 14). Five of these melodies are exclusive to Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 (nos. 8–11 and 14). The remainder of the *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 are preserved in a number of comparand manuscripts (nos. 3, 7, 12, 15, and 16; see Table 10.2 above). Three of the five *Benedicamus* melodies that are exclusive to Évreux 89 and Oxford Laud Misc. 4 have no known source chant (nos. 8, 11, and 14). The two other melodies have not previously been identified with source chants (nos. 9 and 10) and I identify possible source chants for both of these melodies here.

Benedicamus melodies exclusive to Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89

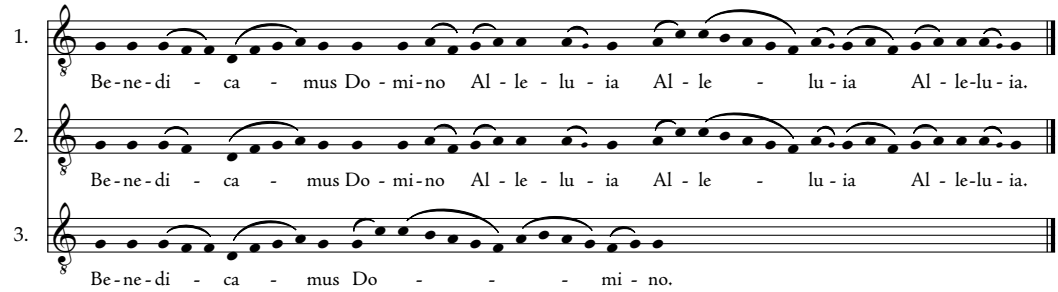
While the version of *Benedicamus* no. 8 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 is exclusive to these two sources, a variant of this melody exists in a printed source, the *AM*.[55] Certainly, the monks of Solesmes consulted many manuscripts dating back to the ninth century, this melody being among them, but there are substantial differences between the melody in *AM* and those in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 (see Example 10.4). The melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 are nearly identical, the only difference being the presence of an *oriscus* on '-di-' in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, whereas the source consulted for *AM* is significantly different. Only the setting of the word 'Benedicamus' is the same across all three sources. Regardless of the age of this melody in *AM*, this is another example of the potential for local variations of a shared melismatic passage.

Melodies 11 and 14 are two of the few chants in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 affected by the damaged folios at the back of the manuscript, which is why the respective melodies in

54 • Hiley 1980, 9.

55 • *AM*, 1246; Barclay 1977, vol. 1, 85, melody no. 92.

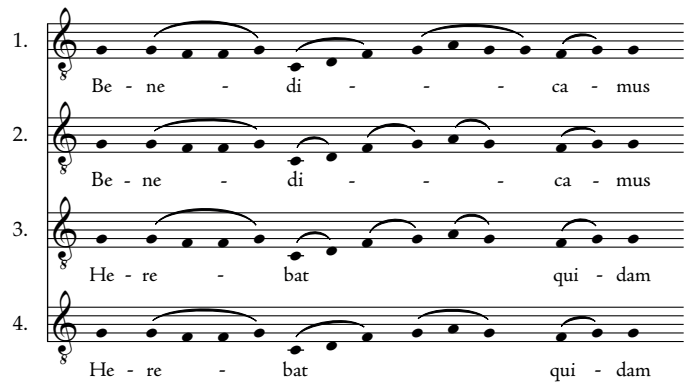
Example 10.4: Comparison of (1) *Benedicamus* no. 8 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 164r–v; (2) Évreux 89, fol. 12r; (3) *AM*, p. 1246



Évreux 89 have been used to complete the missing parts in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 (see Appendix). Both melodies are to be sung for feasts celebrated in albs in both manuscripts, but in Évreux 89 they are further specified to be sung at Lauds. At St Albans no. 14 is also sung as an *Ite*. Évreux 89 does not contain any *Ite* melodies, perhaps owing to the fact that antiphoners preserve only the chants used in the Office liturgy, but based on the similarities between Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89, it is possible that Lyre adapted a number of melodies to both the *Benedicamus* and *Ite*, including Oxford Laud Misc. 4 no. 14.

Melody no. 9 resembles the beginning of the Trinity responsory *Benedicamus patrem*. The first word of each chant, 'Benedicamus', is set to the same melody (see Example 10.5).

Example 10.5: (1) *Benedicamus* no. 9 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 164v; (2) the responsory *Benedicamus patrem* (from BnF Lat. 17296, fol. 167v); (3) *Herebat quidam* in Oxford Laud Misc 4, fol. 154r; (4) *Herebat quidam* in New York ML M.926, fol. 50v



There already exists a *Benedicamus* melody which has been drawn from this responsory, but from a different part of the melody: not the incipit, but the melisma accompanying the text 'In saecula'. 'In saecula' was used as a *Benedicamus* melody as early as the mid-twelfth century on the Continent, as evidenced by its appearance in BnF Lat. 17296 (on fol. 171r). It does not, however, appear in *Benedicamus* collections in England until the thirteenth century, when it is found in JRL 24 (on fol. 14r). This could mean that two *Benedicamus* melodies based on different parts of the same responsory were in circulation at the same time, but within different institutional networks. Alternatively, the incipit of the *Benedicamus patrem* responsory might not necessarily have been understood to be the source of the *Benedicamus Domino* melody found in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89, especially since this incipit was an opening formula used in many other responsories.

The opening phrase of *Benedicamus patrem* is shared, among others, with the responsories *Hi sancti viri* for St Denis, *Summe Dei presul* for St Nicholas, *Ecce dies venient* in Advent, *Ecce concipies* for the Annunciation of Mary, and—as commonly sung at St Albans—*Herebat quidam* for St Alban himself. The Sanctorale of Oxford Laud Misc. 4 records the responsory incipit for *Herebat quidam* (see Example 10.5 above). This is the eighth responsory from the Office of St Alban in the version which survives in the mid-eleventh-century St Albans manuscript, New York ML M.926.[56] Until now it has been impossible to transcribe any of the responsories in New York ML M.926 due to it being notated in Anglo-Saxon neumes. John Bergsagel claimed to have found the original music of one antiphon and two of the responsories from the Office of St Alban in New York ML M.926, including *Herebat quidam*, in a thirteenth-century fragment of a breviary, Helsinki 107. Yet my examination of the music in Helsinki 107 in comparison with the neumes in New York ML M.926 reveals that the responsory melodies bear little or no resemblance to one another.[57] The relationship between *Herebat quidam* in New York ML M.926 (fol. 50v) and Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is much stronger. Each chant melody has been ligated slightly differently: the syllable '-bat' of 'herebat' in New York ML M.926, for example, is notated using a *scandicus* followed by a *torculus*, whereas in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 the same syllable has two *pedes* followed by a *clivis*. Yet this does not necessarily change the overall melody, and the rest of the melody has been notated using the same neumes in both manuscripts. Comparing the melodic contour of New York ML M.926 to the pitch content in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 shows the two melodies to be identical.

Unlike in New York ML M.926, *Herebat quidam* is not assigned to either the feast day or Invention of St Alban in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, but instead specified as an entrance responsory to be sung during the procession on three other feast days: St Peter's Chains, the Beheading of St John the Baptist, and SS Simon and Jude.[58] The use of this opening melodic formula for so many other responsory texts, in addition to *Herebat quidam* at St Albans which would have been sung on multiple occasions throughout the year, means that *Benedicamus patrem* cannot necessarily be understood as the source chant in this case. Indeed, this opening melodic formula is as far as the similarities between *Benedicamus domino* and *Benedicamus patrem* go. The melody on the word 'Domino' in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 departs from any known mode 8 melody with this opening formula. Therefore, it must be concluded that *Benedicamus* no. 9 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is either based on another mode 8 responsory unknown to us at present or newly derived from a common opening formula in this mode.

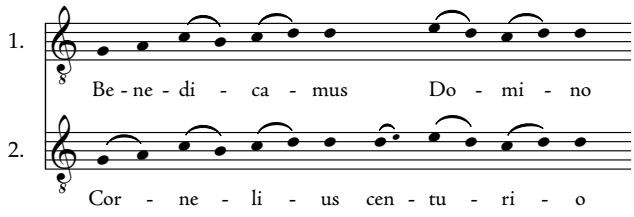
Benedicamus no. 10 has yet to be assigned a source chant as the *Benedicamus* collection in Évreux 89 has not been examined until now. The melody in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 strongly

56 • Hartzell 1975, 20–61.

57 • Bergsagel 1972, 267; 1975, 11–12; For more on transcribable music from the Office of St Alban, see Phillips forthcoming.

58 • The singing of chants in honour of the patron saint of the church 'at the entrance' (*ad introitum*) was a standard liturgical practice in many institutions, such as Bec (Dickson 1967, 3–8), Chartres (Wright 2000, 348), and Osney (Morris 1999, 50).

Example 10.6: (1) *Benedicamus* no. 10 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fols. 164v–165r; (2) antiphon *Cornelius centurio*



resembles the melody of the St Peter antiphon *Cornelius centurio* (see Example 10.6).[59] Compared to responsories, antiphons are rare as sources for *Benedicamus* melodies. In the collections of BnF Lat. 1107 and JRL 24, with twenty-six and thirty melodies respectively, the sources of only three *Benedicamus* have been identified as antiphons.[60] Similarly, only two *Benedicamus* melodies have been drawn from antiphons in Oxford Laud Misc. 4.

New concordances and source chants for Oxford Laud Misc. 4 *Benedicamus* melodies

The last five *Benedicamus* melodies to be discussed in this chapter are of interest in different ways from those studied above: three of the melodies have not been identified with a source chant (nos. 3, 7, and 12), whereas the two other melodies are drawn from pre-existing plainchants (nos. 15 and 16). Excluding melody no. 3, nos. 7, 12, 15, and 16 all appear in several known *Benedicamus* collections included in Table 10.2, as well as a number of additional sources mentioned below. Despite the dearth of evidence for the dissemination of melody no. 3 in sources other than Oxford Laud Misc. 4 it is still worthy of consideration here.

For those Oxford Laud Misc. 4 *Benedicamus* melodies that cannot be identified as borrowings from source chants, no. 3 was identified by Barclay in Madrid 19421 (fol. 110v), a Norman-Sicilian troper from the mid-twelfth century, but nowhere else. The two known sources of this melody, Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Madrid 19421, therefore, both point to a Norman circulation for this *Benedicamus* from the twelfth century on. No. 7 is preserved in Cambridge CCC 411 (fol. iiir), Madrid 289 (fol. 140v), and JRL 24 (fol. 14v), and in the latter it is specifically categorised as a chant to be sung 'in Paschal time' (*in paschali tempore*). The melody in Madrid 289 is pitched a fifth lower. In all four manuscripts the melody is followed by the word 'Alleluia', twice repeated but with a different melody for each iteration. The melodies of the 'Alleluias' exhibit strong melodic concordances with one another, indicating a consistent transmission of this melody with two final 'Alleluias'. No. 12 is the simplest melody in the St Albans collection. It was catalogued by Barclay, but she was unaware of its presence in a number of earlier sources included in her study.[61] According to Barclay this melody is found only in one manuscript source, a fourteenth-century troper-sequentiary from St. Gallen, as well as in *AM*.[62] In addition to these sources it is also present in Évreux

59 • The responsory *Cornelius centurio* has previously been identified as a *Benedicamus*. See Robertson 1988, 19.

60 • *Crux fidelis* and *O Christi pietas* (BnF Lat. 1107 and JRL 24), and *Pax aeterna* (BnF Lat. 1107).

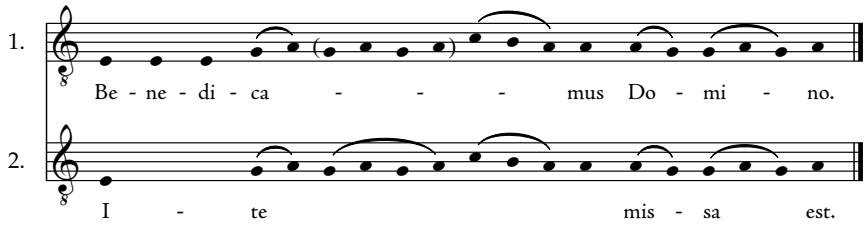
61 • Barclay 1977, vol. 1, 86, melody no. 93.

62 • St. Gallen 546, fol. 376r (three settings); AM, 1249.

89 (fol. 12r), Madrid 289 (fol. 140v), and JRL 24 (fol. 14v). Its use can be traced as far back as the eleventh century, as attested by its appearance in the Aquitanian troper BnF Lat. 887 (fol. 157v), to be performed on Maundy Thursday. Évreux 89, JRL 24, and the St. Gallen manuscript all assign this melody to be sung during Easter; its Easter association in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Madrid 289 is assumed due to the addition of 'Alleluias'.[63] The earliest source, BnF Lat. 887, is alone in reserving this melody for Maundy Thursday. What this suggests is that *Benedicamus* no. 12 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 was a popular simple melody that was sung primarily for Easter, but also during the penitential season of Lent.

The two remaining Oxford Laud Misc. 4 melodies with source chants reinforce the general consensus that the *Benedicamus Domino* was granted special musical licence, hence the richness of sources from which *Benedicamus* melodies are drawn. *Benedicamus* no. 15 comes from the Alleluia *Missus est angelus Gabriel* for the Annunciation of Mary, specifically the melisma over the word 'Joseph'. This is one of the more popular *Ite* melodies, whose alleluia source chant dates back to the eleventh century, and also served as a cantus firmus in two fourteenth-century motets.[64] Oxford Laud Misc. 4 apparently preserves the only known adaptation of this melody as a *Benedicamus*. The Oxford Laud Misc. 4 *Benedicamus* is almost identical to the *Ite*, but due to a tear in the folio the notes *g–a'–g–a'* are missing (indicated by brackets in Example 10.7). This example underlines the shared melodic currency of *Ite* and *Benedicamus* melodies, not only within Oxford Laud Misc. 4 itself but also more generally.

Example 10.7: (1) *Benedicamus* no. 15 in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 165v; (2) *Ite*, Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 166v



I propose that *Benedicamus* no. 16 is borrowed from a hymn melody, or at the least, an opening melodic formula commonly associated with hymn texts. In particular, in the thirteenth-century Worcester Antiphoner, this opening formula features in two hymns, *Hostis herodes* and *Iam ter quarternis*, and also as a *Benedicamus*.[65] Notably, these two hymn texts were also sung at St Albans, as evidenced by their appearance in the twelfth-century breviary London, BL Royal 2 A.x (*Hostis herodes*, fol. 66v; *Iam ter quarternis*, fol. 69v), but there is no accompanying music to prove that they were sung to the melody that was in use at Worcester.

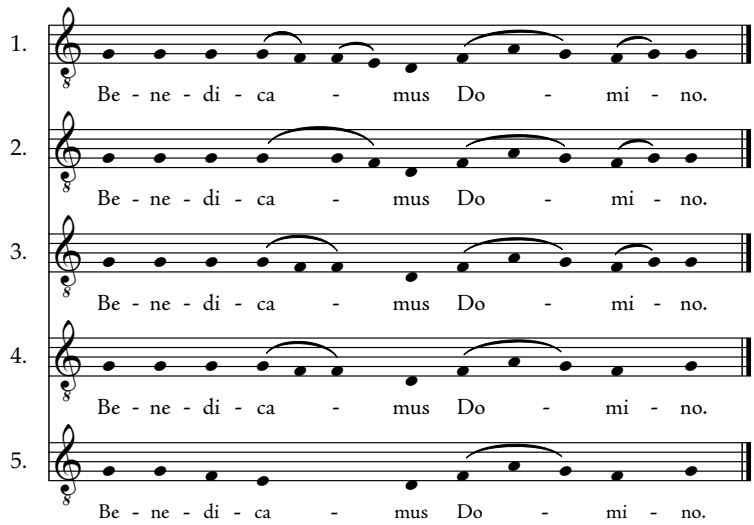
63 • As discussed above, p. 183.

64 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xii. *Ave regina/Mater innocencie/[Tenor]* by the Italian music theorist and composer Marchetto of Padua, in Oxford Class. Lat. 112 (fol. 62r–v), and in the anonymous Mass of Tournai (*Se grace n'est a mon maintien/Cum venerit/Ite missa est*), Tournai 476 (fol. 33v).

65 • Mocquereau 1922, 7 (*Iam ter quarternis*), 57 (*Hostis herodes*), 132 (*Benedicamus Domino*); Barclay 1977, vol. 1, 84.

Oxford Laud Misc. 4 no. 16 has previously been identified as a *Benedicamus* in just four sources, dated between the late twelfth and seventeenth centuries.[66] In fact, this melody was sung at Canterbury (Cambridge CCC 411) as both an *Ite* and *Benedicamus* as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. According to Eifrig and Pfisterer, this melody has a rather unstable transmission history as an *Ite*, with considerable melodic variations across a number of manuscripts.[67] This melodic instability is also apparent in the *Benedicamus* settings in use at St Albans, Canterbury, and Worcester, as well in concordances identified by Eifrig and Pfisterer, and Michel Huglo (see Example 10.8). All five *Benedicamus* melodies slightly differ from one another, but all can be said to have derived from the same melodic formula, common also to the aforementioned hymn texts. Due to the popularity of this melody as an *Ite*, it is highly likely that it was also sung in this liturgical context at St Albans and was included within the folios of the *Ite* collection in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 that are now missing.

Example 10.8: Variations of *Benedicamus* no. 16 in (1) Oxford Laud Misc. 4, fol. 165v; (2) Cambridge, CCC 411, fol. iiir; (3) *WA*, p. 132; (4) BnF Lat. 17716, fol. 14v; (5) Paris Arsenal 114, fol. 271r



What can now be understood is that Oxford Laud Misc. 4 no. 16 was in use as a *Benedicamus* as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century and—by analogy to its use as an *Ite* melody—it is likely to have been widely sung as a *Benedicamus* throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England and across Europe.[68] Current research on concluding versicles has identified only one other case of a hymn melody that has been adapted to the *Benedicamus* and *Ite*, and in a manuscript copied in the late fourteenth

66 • Huglo 1982, 154; Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 97.

67 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 96–98, melody nos. 412, 412a, 412b, and 412c.

68 • Further evidence of its versatility and presumable popularity is given in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xii. The melody is found in Mo and Ba as the tenor of the anonymous thirteenth-century motet *L'autre jour par un matinet/Hier matinet/Ite missa est*.

century.[69] The identification of this melody in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, Cambridge CCC 411, and *WA* suggests that hymns were considered suitable chant sources for *Benedicamus* melodies already as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. This invites further consideration of hymns as plausible sources for other unidentified versicle melodies.

Conclusions

The preceding analysis has shown that the *Benedicamus Domino* collection preserved in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 is representative of a transitional phase in the notation of *Benedicamus* chants that occurred sometime between the early and mid-twelfth century. The survival of thirteenth-century collections from St-Denis, St-Corneille, Lyre, and Exeter reflects—as proposed by Robertson—the probable earlier existence of a systematic method of organising *Benedicamus* melodies. Yet concrete evidence of such explicit organisational principles in earlier collections was wanting in sources from Canterbury, Catania, and Palermo. Oxford Laud Misc. 4 from St Albans stands as a lone but significant early witness to a transition, in both England and in Europe more broadly, from unrubricated to rubricated *Benedicamus* collections, in which there was an increasing level of organisational specificity.

The *Benedicamus* melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 largely reflect Norman chant traditions through their relationship with Évreux 89. It is unlikely that St Albans and Lyre had any direct contact with one another during the twelfth century, but it can be said with more certainty that St Albans probably received an exemplar containing *Benedicamus* chants from another Norman institution—St-Évroult or Bec, for example—which laid out its collection in the same way as was adopted in Oxford Laud Misc. 4. The large number of melodies shared between Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 is itself exceptional in the broader context of *Benedicamus* collections, supporting the claim for the circulation of a specifically Norman repertoire of *Benedicamus* melodies. It is conceivable that the five melodies so far identified only in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and Évreux 89 were particularly, perhaps exclusively, popular among Norman-French, and Norman-influenced centres, but no other Norman *Benedicamus* collections have as yet come to light to confirm this hypothesis.

St Albans does not boast the largest of *Benedicamus* collections, but its melodies, and the way in which they have been collected, remain nothing short of remarkable. The source plainchants of four of Oxford Laud Misc. 4's *Benedicamus* melodies are newly identified here: no. 5 ('Patefactae sunt'), no. 9 ('Benedicamus patrem'), no. 10 ('Cornelius centurio'), and no. 16 ('Hostis herodes'). Three of these melodies (nos. 5, 9, and 10) are elsewhere known as *Benedicamus* only in Évreux 89. Oxford Laud Misc. 4 no. 16 ('Hostis herodes') is now the second of only two known cases of a hymn melody that has been adopted as a *Benedicamus*, thereby expanding the variety of chant forms that can be associated with the *Benedicamus Domino*. Additionally, the transmission histories of three well-known *Bene-*

69 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 42, melody no. 204. The melody is attributed to the hymn *A solis ortus* and is preserved as both a *Benedicamus* and *Ite* in London WA 37 (1383–84).

dicamus melodies—no. 2 ('Honor virtus'), no. 13 ('Quorum vallatus'), and no. 17 ('O Christi pietas')—have been reassessed in the light of their appearance in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 and earlier sources like Cambridge CCC 411, thereby deepening understandings of their popularity and stability within the *Benedicamus* repertoire.

Incorporating the melodies found in Oxford Laud Misc. 4 into a more comprehensive catalogue for the *Benedicamus Domino*, and using them as a basis for further study, will no doubt offer answers to some of the questions that remain open here. These include the possible identification of source chants for seven melodies in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, further investigation of what seems to be a distinctively Norman *Benedicamus* tradition, and the ways in which this tradition and its associated practices were propagated throughout Anglo-Norman England.

APPENDIX

Benedicamus Domino melodies at St Albans in Oxford Laud Misc. 4

No. in Oxford Laud Misc. 4	Rubric	Source of melody
1	In Principalibus Festis	Responsory *Stirps Jesse* Melisma on 'Flos filius ejus' (from Verse *Virgo Dei*)
		
2	In Principalibus Festis	Responsory *Honor virtus* Melisma on 'In perhenni'
		
3	In Principalibus Festis	—
		
4	In Principalibus Festis	—
		
5	De Sancto Stephano	Responsory *Patefactae sunt* (contrafact of *Agnosce o Vincenti*) Incipit
		
6	A Pascha usque Pentecosten	Responsory *Stirps Jesse* Melisma on 'Flos filius ejus' (from Verse *Virgo Dei*)
		
7	A Pascha usque Pentecosten	—
		

Feast of source melody (Benedicamus catalogue no.)	**Mode**	**Concordances (with sources in Table 10.1)**
Nativity of Mary (Barclay no. 32; Huglo no. 117)	2	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89; Madrid 289; Madrid 19421; JRL 24; BnF Lat. 1107; BnF Lat. 17329
Trinity (Barclay no. 83; Huglo no. 412)	8	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89; JRL 24
(Barclay no. 7)	4	Madrid 19421
(Huglo no. 411)	7	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89; Madrid 19421; JRL 24; BnF Lat. 1107; BnF Lat. 17329
St Stephen (St Vincent) (Barclay no. 27)	1	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89, Madrid 289; Madrid 19421
Nativity of Mary	2	Évreux 89; Madrid 19421
(Barclay no. 73; Huglo no. 303)	6 (transposed)	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89; Madrid 289; JRL 24

8 A Pascha usque Pentecosten —



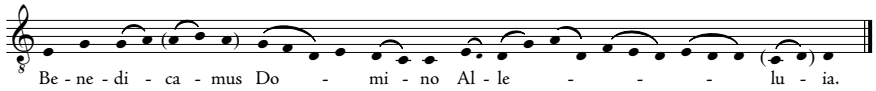
9 A Pascha usque Pentecosten ?Responsory *Benedicamus patrem*
Incipit



10 A Pascha usque Pentecosten Antiphon *Cornelius centurio*
Incipit



11 In Albis —



12 In Albis —



13 In Albis Responsory *Beatus Dei athleta*
Melisma on 'Quorum vallatus'



14 In Albis —



15 In Albis Alleluia *Missus est angelus Gabriel*
Melisma on 'Joseph'



16 In Albis Hymn *Hostis herodes*
Incipit



	(Barclay no. 92; Huglo no. 410)	8	Évreux 89
	?Trinity	8	Évreux 89
	St Peter	7	Évreux 89
	—	1	Évreux 89
	(Barclay no. 93; Huglo no. 401)	8	Évreux 89; Madrid 289; JRL 24
	St Vincent	1	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89; BnF Lat. 1107; BnF Lat. 17329
	—	1	Évreux 89
	Annunciation of Mary	2 (transposed)	—
	(Barclay no. 89; Huglo no. 403)	8	Cambridge CCC 411

17	In Albis	Antiphon *O Christi pietas* Incipit



18	De Sancto Nicholao	Responsory *Qui cum audissent* Melisma on 'Clementiam'



St Nicholas (Barclay no. 77)	6 (transposed)	Cambridge CCC 411; Évreux 89; JRL 24; BnF Lat. 1107; BnF Lat. 17329
St Nicholas (Barclay no. 68; Huglo no. 302)	5 (transposed)	Évreux 89; JRL 24; BnF Lat. 1107; BnF Lat. 17296; BnF Lat. 17329

FEMALE COMMUNITIES



11.

Benedicamus Domino and the Order of Saint Clare in Fourteenth-Century Brussels

*Martha Culshaw**

Brussels 1870 is a capitularium and collectarium written during the fourteenth century at a monastery of Urbanist Clarissan nuns in Brussels.[1] It is an unusual source because of its numerous attestations of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle with musical notation. This chapter presents the contents of Brussels 1870, with an emphasis on the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle, and with an eye to the manuscript's Franciscan-Clarissan context. Close analysis of Brussels 1870 and its contents reveals that (a) the nuns followed the liturgical practices of the Franciscan First Order, specifically in observing the rite of the Roman Church and the Franciscan calendar; (b) the nuns were highly musically literate; and further that (c) the Office liturgy and its music were important to the community. The importance of the nuns' liturgical-musical life is consistent with the Urbanist rule and thus with conventional monastic liturgical practice. Preliminary comparison of the Urbanist rule's prioritisation of the liturgy and its chant, reflected in Brussels 1870, with the more accommodative chant practices of the Franciscan friars raises the question if there were distinct liturgical-chant cultures defining enclosed Clarissan women and mendicant friars respectively.

The Brussels 'Nazareth' Monastery

The Brussels monastery, also known as the 'Nazareth' monastery, was founded in 1343 with the patronage of William van Duvenvoorde (1290–1353), who was a great supporter of the mendicant orders and had a particular devotion to the Order of Saint Clare's patroness and purported foundress, Saint Clare of Assisi. [2] According to the history documented in Brussels 1870 itself, three Clarissan nuns came from Neuss and three from Luxembourg in October 1345 to begin the new foundation.[3] The monastery grew rapidly: it is estimated that by 1361, its population had increased to twenty-five members.[4] The monastery was well-endowed and attracted candidates from families of the noble class, such as the Brabants.[5] Franciscan friars served the nuns as their confessors and chaplains since the 'Nazareth' foundation's beginning.

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* The following manuscript sigla are used:

Brussels 1870	Brussels, KBR, 1870
New York Plimpton 034	New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton 034

1 • The manuscript is digitised at https://uurl.kbr.be/1824352.

2 • Juvyns 1967, 6. Traditional historiography of the Franciscan Order attributed the foundation of the Poor Clares to Clare of Assisi. Contemporary scholarship, however, dismisses this idea, attributing the foundation of the Order to the Roman Curia, namely Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia, who later became Pope Gregory IX, the pope who canonised Francis of Assisi and was the protector of the Franciscan Order. See Alberzoni 2004; Grundmann 1995; Knox 2008, 19–86; Mooney 2016; Roest 2013, 11–36; Zarncke 1972 [1930].

3 • Juvyns 1967, 13; Roest 2013, 43.

4 • Juvyns 1967, 97.

5 • Ibid., 53. See 53–61 for information on the convent's relations with important noble families.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143522 ✳

'Nazareth' monastery and the Urbanist Rule

The monastery observed the Urbanist rule, which was issued to the Order of Saint Clare in 1263 by Pope Urban IV. The rule was the fruit of the papal Curia's efforts to regularise and enclose what first began in 1218 with a few houses of religious women in central Italy. Before the Curia's intervention, these houses lived an unconventional religious life in comparison to traditional monastic communities and were dedicated to poverty and not necessarily enclosed. At the initiative of the papal Curia, however, they were brought under a set of constitutions to be observed alongside the Benedictine rule and formed the first papally-founded order of religious women. Initially, they were known as 'order of poor ladies of the Spoleto valley or of Tuscany' (*pauperum dominarum de Valle Spoleti sive Tusciae*); but around 1228, by which time Clare of Assisi's community of San Damiano had been incorporated into the papal order, papal curial documents consistently referred to the order as the Order of San Damiano. In 1263, the Urbanist rule was issued to the order, replacing the constitutions issued in years previous, in an attempt to bring it into greater uniformity and officially established the order as the Order of Saint Clare, after Clare.[6]

The Urbanist rule, like the constitutions it supplanted, outlined an enclosed and monastic life. Consistent with traditional monasticism, the Urbanist rule attributed importance to the liturgy and its music, which was taken up by the Brussels nuns as evidenced by the contents of Brussels 1870. The Urbanist rule required chanted recitation of the liturgical hours and permitted musical instruction.[7] Although this may not seem significant or

6 • These houses came to the attention of the papal Curia through the papal legate Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia, who encountered the communities while on a legation to central Italy. The Curia, seeing these houses' vulnerability to accusations of heresy and the intervention of authorities local to them, brought them under papal authority, issuing a set of constitutions to be observed in addition to the Benedictine rule. The houses were thus established as an official 'religio', forming the first papally-founded order of religious women. Throughout the thirteenth century, Cardinal Ugolino incorporated more and more houses under papal authority, including the community of San Damiano in Assisi, founded by Clare of Assisi, Francis of Assisi's first female follower. The Order then became known as the 'Order of San Damiano', after Clare's community, in whom the Curia had a vested interest in incorporating and promoting as its 'flagship' house. This was in the interest of bestowing on the Order of San Damiano the prestige of Clare's community, owing to Clare's and San Damiano's connection to Francis of Assisi and the friars, and to secure the Damianite Order's *cura monialium* by the friars. See Alberzoni 2004, 29–64; Knox 2008, 19–55; Mooney 2016; Roest 2013, 11–36.

7 • 'Concerning the Divine Office to be rendered to the Lord, both in the day as well as in the night, let it be observed that those [nuns] who know how to read and sing should celebrate the Divine Office according to the custom of the order of the Friars Minor, however, with dignity and modesty.' (*'De divino officio tam in die quam in nocte 'Domino persolvendo, quod hee* [*sic*] *que legere et canere noverint, secundum consuetudinem ordinis fratrum Minorum, cum gravitate tamen et modestia, divinum officium debeant celebrare*; Guiraud 1901, 213). Also, on musical instruction: 'If there are any young women or older ones abundant in talent, if it should seem good to the abbess, let her allow these ones to be instructed, assigning to them one who is suitable and skilful, through whom they might be instructed in singing as well as in the Divine Office.' (*Si alique juvencule vel grandiores capaces ingenii fuerint, si sibi videbitur, abbatissa eas instrui faciat, magistram eis deputans ydoneam et disertam, per quam tam in cantu quam in divinis officiis instruantur*; ibid.). The section of the Urbanist rule permitting chanted recitation of the hours quotes the section on the Divine Office in the *forma vitae* issued by Innocent IV to the Damianite order in 1247 (the rule was not received well by the Order, and hence he absolved the Order from observing it in 1250; see Roest 2013, 48–51). This section from Innocent's *forma vitae* originates in turn from the *forma vitae* or constitutions composed by Cardinal Ugolino and issued to the papal order in 1219. The difference between Innocent's (by extension, the Urbanist rule) and Ugolino's versions is that Innocent IV replaces

atypical of a monastic rule, preliminary consideration of the Urbanist rule's prioritisation of liturgical chant in comparison with the mendicant friars' chant practices reveals that the Urbanist rule and the friars prioritised liturgical chant differently. While chanted performance of the Office seems to have been of primary importance in the Urbanist rule, the Franciscan friars adapted their chant practices to accommodate their mendicant lifestyle; namely, by simplifying their chanted Office, quickening the tempo of the chants, and shortening the lengths of solemnising pauses.[8] This was intended to accommodate the liturgical hours to the ever pressing academic and apostolic duties of the increasingly clericalised order. This preliminary observation of the differences between a more monastic approach to the Divine Office and its chant by the Urbanist rule and the friars' adaptable approach to singing the Divine Office raises the question whether there were distinct liturgical-musical cultures defining the enclosed Clarissan women and the mendicant friars, and is a subject for further research. With regard to Brussels 1870, close analysis of its contents reveals that while the nuns followed the liturgical practices of the Franciscan Order by adopting the Roman rite and the Franciscan calendar, the liturgy and its music were of considerable importance to the nuns of the Nazareth monastery, consistent with their observance of the Urbanist rule.

Brussels 1870

Brussels 1870 is one of two manuscripts known to have originated from the Nazareth monastery in Brussels. The other manuscript is a processional, New York Plimpton 034, dated to 1351, and penned by the same main scribe of Brussels 1870, Johannes de Havere.[9] A colophon stating the identity of Johannes de Havere appears on fol. 2v of Brussels 1870: 'Jo-

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Ugolino's reference to the Benedictine rule, which Ugolino refers to by the words 'regular Office' (*officium regulare*) with a reference to the Franciscan Order, mandating the nuns to say the Office 'according to the custom of the Order of the Friars Minor' (*secundum consuetudinem ordinis Fratrum minorum*). This change of wording in Innocent's *forma vitae* is part of his 'Franciscanisation' of the rule. See Roest 2013, 49. For a comparison of Innocent's and Ugolino's *formae vitae*, see Federazione s. Chiara 2003, 38–39.

8 ✦ This mode of chant performance was initiated by the Roman Curia and taken up by both the Franciscans and the Dominicans. See Van Dijk 1952, 16–17. It should be noted that, unlike the Urbanist rule, neither of the friars' *regulae*, that is, the *Earlier Rule* of 1221 or the *Later Rule* of 1223, utilise vocabulary with overtly melodic connotations in their sections on the Divine Office. Whereas the Urbanist rule uses the Latin words 'canere' and 'in cantu' to refer to the nuns' recitation of the liturgical hours, the friars' *regulae* use the verb 'dico, dicere', which most critical editions of the friars' *regulae* translate as 'to recite'. In the friars' *Ordinationes divini officii*, furthermore, the verb 'dico, dicere' is typically reserved for the melodically simpler chants, like the psalms and antiphons, whereas 'canto, cantare' and its derivatives are employed for the more melodically complex chants like the responsories. It is interesting, then, that the friars *regulae* consistently use the verb associated with simplified chant performance, and one wonders if the verb's use is reflective of their overall liturgical chant culture and their adaptable approach to chant performance. For the sections in the *Earlier Rules* (*Regula non-bullata*) and *Later Rules* (*Regula bullata*) on the liturgy, see Menesto et al. 1995, 187–88 and 174–75. For the *Ordinationes divini officii*, see Golubovich 1910, 55–81.

9 ✦ The manuscript is digitised at https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/catalog/cul:vx0k6djk9. Plimpton comprises 36 folios and contains chants for processions, including those for Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, the feasts of Francis and Clare, the Office of the Dead, and Corpus Christi, and also includes an addition by a later hand (fols. 33r–36v). For a full inventory of Plimpton 034, see Boynton and Culshaw 2019.

hannes de Havere of Thanusia, servant of the first confessor wrote. In the year of the Lord 1348. May you pray for him in the love of God' (*Johannes de hauere de thanusia seruus primi confessoris prescripsit. Anno domini. Millesimo. trecentesimo. xlviii. Oretis pro eo amore dei*).

Brussels 1870 comprises 155 folios in total, and its contents—mostly chapters and collects—are outlined in Table 11.1: chapters and collects for the temporale (fols. 9r–57r); the sanctorale (fols. 57r–81r); for the Common of Saints (fols. 81r–85r); and for various saints at different points throughout the manuscript. In addition to various chapters and collects, other items of note include: a calendar (fols. 3r–8v); a litany (fols. 29v–33r); the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (fols. 87r–95r); tables of antiphons (fols. 98r–105r); lessons from the Common of Saints (fols. 106r–134v); lessons from the Common of Saints from Easter until Pentecost (fols. 135r–137v); the Office of the Dead with notated chants (fols. 138r–144r); a history of the Brussels monastery (fols. 144v–145r); and the legend of Saint Appolonia (fols. 146r–147v).

Table 11.1: Contents of Brussels 1870 (adapted from Natvig 2000, 65; bold indicates presence of musical notation)

Folios	Contents
1v–2v	**Notated *Benedicamus Domino* (untroped and troped)**
3r–8v	Calendar
9r–57r	Temporale
57r–81r	Sanctorale
81r–85r	Common of the Saints
85r–86v	Dedication of a Church and commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary
87r–95r	Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary
95r–97v	Collects of various saints and lessons of the Office of St Prisca
98r–105r	Tables of antiphons
105v	Chapters and collect of St Joseph
106r–134v	Lessons from the Common of Saints
135r–137v	Lessons from the Common of Saints, paschal season
138r–144r	**Office of the Dead, with notated chants**
144v–145r	History of the convent
145v	Antiphon for pestilence, later hand
146r–147v	Legend of St Appolonia
149v–152r	**Notated *Benedicamus Domino* tropes for various feasts**
152v–155r	Chapters and collects for various saints; notated ***Benedicamus Domino* tropes for St Louis de Toulouse, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and St Lawrence**

Benedicamus Domino versicles in Brussels 1870

In addition to its textual contents, Brussels 1870 contains numerous attestations of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle with musical notation. The number of notated versicles total thirty-seven, listed in Table 11.2. Table 11.2 indicates the folio on which each versicle

Table 11.2: Notated *Benedicamus Domino* items in Brussels 1870

Folios	Item no. on folio	Feast (if indicated in rubric or evident from text content)	Untroped or troped	Source melody (no. in Barclay 1977)
1v	1		untroped	n/a (newly-composed 2-voice polyphony)
	2		untroped	n/a (newly-composed 2-voice polyphony, reworking of item 1)
	3	Iohanne Evangeliste	troped	32
	4		troped	32
2r	1		untroped	32
	2		untroped	76
	3		untroped	83
	4		untroped	43
	5		untroped	21
	6		untroped	55
	7		untroped	54
	8		untroped	107
	9		untroped	93
2v	1	Beatae Mariae Virginis	troped	32
	2		troped	32
	3		troped	32
149v	1	De sancta trinitate	troped	32
	2	De sancta Barbara	troped	32
	3	De sancto Anthonio de Padua	troped	32
	4	De sancta Clara	troped	32
150r	1	De sancto Francisco	troped	32
	2	De sancta trinitate	troped	32
	3		troped	32
150v	1	De sancta Margareta	troped	32
	2	Epiphania Domini	troped	32
	3	De sancto Bonaventura	troped	32
	4	De ascensione	troped	32
151r	1		troped	32
	2		troped	32
	3	Mariae Magdalenae	troped	32
151v	1	Assumptionis Mariae	troped	68
	2	Mariae Magdalenae	troped	56
	3	Mariae Magdalenae	troped	68

Folios	Item no. on folio	Feast (if indicated in rubric or evident from text content)	Untroped or troped	Source melody (no. in Barclay 1977)
152r	1	De sancta Barbara	troped	68
153v	1	Louis de Toulouse	troped	32
	2	De mille virginibus	troped	68
155r	1	De sancto Laurentio	troped	32

occurs, the item number or sequence on this folio, the feast or saint attached to each versicle; whether or not the versicle is troped; and its source melody. Of the thirty-seven versicles, twenty-six are troped. Of these troped versicles, twenty-two are set to the 'Flos filius' melisma, four to 'Clementiam', and one to the parent melody *Benedicamus qui ascendit in altum*. On fol. 2r are nine untroped versicles, and on fol. 1v there are two versions of the same untroped, two-voice *Benedicamus* setting, an apparently freely-composed (rather than plainchant-based) example of so-called 'simple' polyphony. The polyphonic setting, in which the voices move chiefly in contrary motion, is first copied in a successive notation, with the melody of the second voice immediately following after the first. A second version of the same piece—whose two voices maintain the same overall shape, but are now much narrower in their overall range—is then copied directly beneath the first version, and now in score, its two voices on separate staves and vertically aligned.[10]

"Franciscan" elements in the (non-notated) texts of Brussels 1870

Among the non-noted, text-only contents of Brussels 1870 are features that demonstrate the nuns' adoption of the liturgical practice of the Franciscan First Order, unsurprisingly so given their affiliation with the friars who were their chaplains. The most obvious examples are the collects for saints from the Franciscan calendar in the Sanctorale: chapters and a collect for the feast of Anthony of Padua (fol. 66r); a collect for Clare of Assisi (fol. 73r); chapters and a collect for Francis of Assisi (fols. 77v–78r); a collect for Elizabeth of Hungary (fol. 80r); and collects for the feast of the Stigmata of Francis of Assisi (fol. 95r–95v). There is also a rubric for the translation of Francis of Assisi (fol. 65v). Franciscan saints also appear in the litany: Francis of Assisi and Anthony of Padua on fol. 31r, and Clare of Assisi on fol. 31v as a later addition in the margins.[11]

In addition to saints from the Franciscan calendar, Brussels 1870 contains incipit statements characteristic of liturgical books of the Franciscan First Order, likewise indicating

10 • Brussels, KBR, 1870, fol. 1v. See the discussion and transcriptions in Natvig 2000, 65–66.

11 • Welch 2015, 177, identifies the following saints' feasts as 'of greatest interest to an investigation of Franciscan spirituality in the liturgy': Francis of Assisi, canonised in 1228; *dies natalis* 4 October, Translation 25 May, Stigmata: 17 September; Anthony of Padua, canonised in 1232; *dies natalis* 13 June; translation 15 February, canonisation 30 May; Clare of Assisi, canonised in 1255; *dies natalis* 12 August, Translation 2 October; Elisabeth of Hungary, canonised in 1235; *dies natalis* 19 November; Louis of Toulouse, canonised in 1317; *dies natalis* 19 August; Louis IX, King of France: canonised in 1297; *dies natalis* 26 August.

the nuns' Franciscan liturgical practice.[12] The first of these incipits occurs on fol. 9r, immediately after the calendar, and it states: 'For the honor of the omnipotent God and of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, the capitularium and collectarium of the order of sisters of Saint Clare begins, according to the ordo of the Holy Roman Church' (*Ad honorem omnipotentis dei et beatissime uirginis marie incipit capitularium et collectarium ordinis sororum sancte clare secundum ordinem sancte romane ecclesie*). A similar rubric appears on fol. 138r for the Office of the Dead: 'The vigils of the dead begin according to the custom of the Roman Curia' (*Incipiunt uigilie mortuorum secundum consuetudinem romane curie*). And again, for the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary on fol. 87r: 'The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary begins according to the custom of the Roman Curia' (*Incipit officium beate marie uirginis secundum consuetudinem curie romane* […]). Together with the manuscript's inclusion of Franciscan saints, these incipits attest that the nuns followed the liturgical practices of the Franciscan First Order.

'Franciscan' features of the musical contents of Brussels 1870

Within the *Benedicamus Domino* versicles of Brussels 1870 there are tropes for important saints of the Franciscan calendar, indicating the monastery's specifically Franciscan liturgical practice. These saints are Anthony of Padua and Clare of Assisi (fol. 149v); Francis of Assisi (fol. 150r); Bonaventure (fol. 150v); and Louis of Toulouse (fol. 153v). Close reading of the texts of the versicle tropes, specifically those for Francis and Clare, display textual representations of the saints typical of their depictions promulgated within the Franciscan Order. For example, the text for Clare praises her virtue, a portrayal typical of hagiographic sources, especially those emanating from and influenced by the Roman Curia, which was intent on promoting Clare as the patron of the Second Order and, in doing so, portraying her as an ideal monastic woman in its project of regularising the Order of Saint Clare.[13] The text for Francis centres on his stigmata, the dominant depiction of the saint within the First Order and in the propagation of his cult overall.[14]

The predominance of the versicle set to 'Flos filius' (twenty-two out of the thirty-seven total number of *Benedicamus* melodies in Brussels 1870) is interesting in the light of a potential musical relationship between chants of the Francis office by Julian of Spire and the parent chant of 'Flos filius', the responsory *Stirps Jesse*. This could suggest that these versicles had a certain Franciscan resonance, although further investigation is required to confirm this. In previous research, I noted a series of melodic relationships with the Francis Office of *Stirps Jesse* and argued that the Office's use of musical intertextuality reinforced its portrayal of Francis via its texts.[15] In the light of this musical intertextuality within the Francis Office and the possible ramifications in building a certain image of the Francis-

12 • Ibid., 12. Welch's discussion focuses on missals, but I have additionally noted these incipit statements in other types of Franciscan liturgical books in addition to Brussels 1870.

13 • See Knox 2008, 49–54.

14 • Holloway and Welch 2010, 76.

15 • See Culshaw 2020, 81–107.

can Order's saintly founder, one could ask if the effect of the Office's musical and textual relationships carried over to the nuns' performance of the versicles set to 'Flos filius' and served to reinforce their communal identity as based in the image of the Franciscan Order's founder. In support of this proposition is the evidence in Brussels 1870 of the Franciscan First Order's influence on the nuns' liturgy and the fact that the communal identity of the Franciscan Order, more than any other religious order of the Middle Ages, was heavily based on the cult of its founder. As it stands, however, this proposition remains solely hypothetical because of the predominance of the 'Flos filius' melisma in the *Benedicamus* repertoire overall: further investigation of the liturgical chant repertoire in Franciscan and Clarissan liturgical manuscripts is required in order to draw a firm conclusion.

Musical literacy

While various features of both the non-musical and musical contents of Brussels 1870 attest that the nuns followed the liturgical practices of the Franciscan First Order, other features indicate that the liturgy and its music was important to the nuns, consistent with their observance of the Urbanist rule. Certain features of the notated *Benedicamus Domino* versicles in Brussels 1870 betray a high degree of musical literacy existing at the Brussels monastery, which in turn indicates the importance of the liturgy and its music to the Brussels nuns.

In order to assess the degree of the nuns' musical literacy as evidenced in Brussels 1870, it is worth defining musical literacy itself. In discussing the musical education of young girls in the setting of English monasteries, Anne Bagnall Yardley established a schema dividing musical literacy into four levels.[16] The first and most basic level is the ability to sing relatively well and know from memory the chant repertoire, including psalm tones, litanies, and antiphons. The second level involves a comprehensive knowledge of the liturgical-musical repertoire, such that one has mastered the psalm tones by heart and is able to intone chants, as well as the ability to choose chants appropriate for liturgical feasts. This level also involves facility in consulting liturgical books and the ability to read music at least as an mnemonic aid. The third level involves not only the ability to read notated music but also a knowledge of the system of hexachords and mutation, as well as the ability to teach and explain musical concepts. The fourth and most sophisticated stage comprises the ability to sing and compose polyphony.

Based on Yardley's schema and from what is apparent in Brussels 1870, namely from the presence of notated music, the most evident conclusion regarding the level of the Brussels nuns' musical literacy is that some nuns (perhaps many) had the ability to read music. Furthermore, many of the versicles are inscribed by more than one hand, suggesting that they may have been penned by the nuns themselves. Yardley's schema does not account explicitly for the ability to copy notated music, but these circumstances suggest that there were nuns who achieved at least the third level and thus were relatively highly musically literate.

16 • Yardley 2008, 51–52.

Looking at the troped versicles, specifically their texts, which are catalogued and transcribed in full in Table 11.3, it seems that some of the nuns may have had an elementary knowledge in creating tropes. A preliminary search for concordances to the versicle trope texts reveals that they are all unica, except for the three tropes on fol. 2v (*Benedicamus flori orto*, *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*, and the related *Benedicamus in laude patris*, all sung to the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus*) and *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* (on fol. 153v, item 2, sung to the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus*).[17] Most of the tropes are created as prosulae through the addition of syllabic texts to pre-existing plainchant melismas. In total, the vast majority of these prosulae—twenty-two in total—adopt the 'Flos filius' melody.

Table 11.3. *Benedicamus Domino* trope texts in Brussels 1870 (in various hands)

Folio	Item no. on folio	Text
1v	3	Benedicamus iohanni evangeliste filio marie adoptivo dicente domino
	4	Benedicamus in laude principis populorum [remaining text illegible]
2v	1	Benedicamus flori orto de stirpe yesse die hodierna quem produxit virga virgo domino.
	2	Benedicamus in laude ihesu qui sue matri marie benedixit in eternum domino.
	3	Benedicamus in laude patris quem Christus dedit discipulis suis dicens hoc est corpus meum domino
149v	1	Benedicamus in laude unitrinoque deo vivo vero ac bono in natura domino.
	2	Benedicamus amore cuius barbara dioscori [*sic*] regis filia palmam victorie assumpsit benigne domino.
	3	Benedicamus beato anthonio de padua viro sapientia perlustrato domino.
	4	Benedicamus in laude donatricis magnarum virtutum deo ditate clare domino.
150r	1	Benedicamus in laude patris nostri Francisci crucifixi signis insigniti domino.
	2	Benedicamus in laude Spiritui Sancto a patre et filio procedenti domino.
	3	Benedicamus in laude filii dei cuius resurrectio[remaining text illegible].
150v	1	Benedicamus in laude margarete martiris gemme castitatis mentis et corporis domino.
	2	Benedicamus cum parens alma tenet in palma regem qui reges vexit in hac luce stella duce domino.
	3	Benedicamus in laude seraphici doctoris Bonaventure fratris minoris domino.
	4	Benedicamus ascendenti in celum cum angelis elevatis manibus sacra die hodierna domino.
151r	1	Benedicamus templum sanctificanti et hoc intranti detur remissio venia petenti domino.
	2	Benedicamus in laude marthe a cristo propriis manibus et frontone sepulti domino.
	3	Benedicamus in laude iesu qui magdalene marie benedixit in eternum domino.
151v	1	Benedicamus sinceris cordibus filio et matri assumpte in celi solio supremo O sancta maria fer opem nobis semper a domino. 2nd text: deo trino uno medullis intimis dicamus et nostre nature in celum assumpte psallimus. O sancta maria in evum tibi et deo gratias.

17 • None of the troped texts can be found either through text search tools of the *CANTUS Database* (https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/search-all) or of the *Cantus Index: Online Catalogue for Mass and Office Chants* (https://cantusindex.org/).

	2	Benedicamus omnes et pangamus cum iubilo magdalene maria amoris pocula haurit hodie in celesti solio. O patrona per te sit nobis gratia a domino.
	3	Benedicamus [illegible] opere domino et invocemus preelectam Christi ihesu dicendo. O maria Magdalena fac tu atrahaveri [*sic*] prece ad dominum.
152r	1	Benedicamus illustre Barbare de radice yesse peccatoris consolatrici et venie. O fulgens martyrio regina posce nobis veniam a domino.
153v	1	Benedicamus in laude Ludowici preclare sanctitatis episcopi tolosani domino.
	2	Benedicamus devotis mentibus domino quem cristicole in terris adorant supremo. O sancte virgines pro nobis fundite preces domino.
155r	1	Benedicamus in laude laurentii martyris propter deum in craticula assati domino.

Fourteen of these 'Flos filius' prosulae open with the well-established and widely-attested formula 'Benedicamus in laude', which is then continued with reference to the specific saint or feast in question. *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* (fol. 2v, item 2) and *Benedicamus in laude patris* (fol. 2v, item 3) are the best-known tropes to use this formula, and are witnessed in other sources. The same opening is evident in several unica in Brussels 1870, such as *Benedicamus in laude unitrinoque* (fol. 149v, item 1), *Benedicamus in laude donatricis* (fol. 149v, item 4), and *Benedicamus in laude patris* (fol. 150r, item 1), although the versicles for SS Clare and Francis have been transposed up a fifth. (It should also be noted that the text for St Francis extends its borrowing of the opening formula to include the word 'patris', opening with the phrase 'Benedicamus in laude patris'.)

If the troped versicles set to the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus* melody do not utilise the opening textual formula 'Benedicamus in laude', they often employ an ablative or dative singular form of the Latin word(s) that supplant(s) 'in laude'. For example, the prosula beginning 'Benedicamus amore' (fol. 149v, item 2) replaces 'in laude' with 'amore', the ablative singular form of the word 'amor, amoris', which has the same number of syllables (three) as 'in laude'. Similarly, *Benedicamus beato Anthonio* (fol. 149v, item 3) uses the dative singular form of 'beatus' in place of 'in laude' (but one should note that the masculine singular ablative and dative forms of 'beatus' are the same). A similar example of this kind of textual adaptation occurs in *Benedicamus Iohanni evangeliste* (fol. 1v, item 3), where 'iohanni' as the dative singular form of 'iohanne' replaces 'in laude'. These prosulae frequently return to and rework the same melodies, notably 'Flos filius', and they follow simple textual formulas adopted to their borrowed chant melodies. It is possible that the prosula texts, chiefly created for a single melody and also reworking some established poetic formulas for *Benedicamus* tropes, were the work of the nuns themselves, indicating that some of the nuns had a relatively high degree of musical understanding.

Lastly, the polyphonic setting of the *Benedicamus* versicle copied twice on fol. 1v indicates that some of the nuns were at the fourth and highest level of Yardley's schema, being able to sing—and perhaps also to notate—polyphony. The fact that this polyphonic setting was written twice, in two different ways—first with its voices copied successively and then in a more explicitly polyphonic notation in score—and in two different versions is striking. This suggests an understanding of and experimentation with various notational

techniques for polyphonic works, as well as the compositional ability to undertake reworking and adaptation of two-part polyphony. It is possible that there was no written exemplar for this composition from which the nuns were copying, but rather that this piece of polyphony was written down *ab initio*, from memory or as a transcription of a polyphonic performance, and then adapted in a version that reduced its musical range. As Mary Natvig observed, the first, successively-notated version of the polyphony is known from other sources, but the second is—to date—unique to Brussels 1870.[18] Commenting on the close and shared range of the two voices in the second version, optimal for female voices, Natvig speculated that this adaptation could have been made by a nun at the Brussels monastery.[19] These circumstances would similarly attest to a high degree of musical literacy at the monastery, which might even exceed that in Yardley's fourth category, underlining the importance to the nuns of music, and music's potential to adorn the liturgy. Overall, having deduced that many of the nuns at Brussels were highly literate musically, occupying the third and probably the fourth category of Yardley's schema of musical literacy, it is clear that there was a vibrant liturgical-musical culture at the monastery, consistent with the nuns' observance of the Urbanist rule.

Conclusions

The detailed presentation of the contents of Brussels 1870 offered above reveals the adherence of the Nazareth monastery's liturgical practice to the liturgical practice of the Franciscan Order. The primary evidence of this is the attestations of saints from the Franciscan calendar and the presence of incipit statements characteristic of Franciscan liturgical books. I hypothesised the influence of the Franciscan Order's promulgation of the cult of Francis as *alter Christus*, positing musical intertextuality via the troped *Benedicamus* versicles set to 'Flos filius' and the Francis Office, as a means to root the sisters' religious identity in the cult of Francis of Assisi. Further investigation of Franciscan and Clarissan notated manuscript sources is needed, however, in order to verify this. Analysis of Brussels 1870's musical contents, in the light of Yardley's schema defining musical literacy, also revealed that the nuns had a high degree of musical literacy, indicating a vibrant liturgical-musical life at the monastery consistent with the Urbanist rule that they observed. Brussels 1870 is thus a window into fourteenth-century Clarissan liturgical-musical culture. It invites further investigation of this period, which has for the most part been neglected by scholarly inquiry in favour of the order's history during the thirteenth century and the fifteenth century or the period of Observant reform.

18 • Natvig 2000, 65.

19 • Ibid.

12.

Echoes from the Viennese Nunnery St Maria Magdalena: Situating *Benedicamus Domino* Chants between Shared Tradition and Local Practice in the Later Middle Ages*

David Merlin

In this chapter I examine the contents of liturgical books that survived the destruction of a convent some five hundred years ago. They represent a rare and significant vestige of the repertoire of *Benedicamus Domino* chants performed within a religious community in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (and most probably beyond). This example of micro-history sheds light on the musical life of a medium-sized women's convent and aims to investigate its tradition in the context of a European network of shared musical practice, as well as the existence of endemic musical creativity. The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse the repertoire of *Benedicamus Domino* of the Viennese nunnery of St. Maria Magdalena, and more precisely, to identify concordances through comparison with existing studies and catalogues, as well as with a group of manuscript sources assembled here. This serves as a basis to establish which melodies were widespread locally, regionally, and trans-regionally. The chapter follows in the wake of recent studies dedicated to the phenomenon of the *Benedicamus Domino* in women's communities by Hana Vlhová-Wörner (St. George's Convent, Prague), Agnieszka Budzińska-Bennett (Clarist convents in southern Poland), David Catalunya (the Nunnery of Las Huelgas, Spain), Karin Lagergren (the Brigittine Order, Sweden), and Manon Louviot (the *Devotio moderna* in the Low Countries).[1] It complements and expands

* The following manuscript sigla are used:

Augsburg UB 57	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, III.1.8° 57 ('Kirchheimer Cantionale')
BAV Pal. lat. 552	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 552
Berlin 209	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. 4° 209
Erlangen 464	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, 464
Kassel 101	Kassel, Murhard'sche Bibliothek und Landesbibliothek, theol. 2° 101
Munich Cgm 716	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 716
Munich Clm 5023	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5023
Novacella 139	Neustift/Novacella, Stiftsbibliothek, 139
Novacella 15063	Neustift/Novacella, Stiftsbibliothek, 15063
Prague X G 23	Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, X G 23
St. Gallen 392	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 392
St. Gallen 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546
Udine 93	Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 93
Vienna 1915	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1915
Vienna 1931	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1931
Vienna 1932	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1932
Vienna 4337	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4337
Vienna 4724	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4724
Vyšší Brod 20	Vyšší Brod, Knihovna cisterciáckého kláštera, 20
Wilhering IX.8	Wilhering, Zisterzienerstift Bibliothek und Musikarchiv, IX.8
Wolfenbüttel 3136	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 3136

1 • The essays referred to are collected in the special issue of the journal *Early Music* (50, 2022) edited by Catherine A. Bradley: '*Benedicamus Domino* as Female Devotion'. I would like to express my gratitude to Catherine A. Bradley for

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this new research on *Benedicamus Domino* in female communities in the Middle Ages by examining the tradition of a nunnery located in a geographical and cultural area that has not yet been considered in this context.

Historical overview of the convent of St. Maria Magdalena in Vienna

In 1225, Cardinal Konrad von Urach travelled through Bavaria, Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia. Documents attest his presence on 1 April in the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz near Vienna and on 26 June in Prague.[2] Very probably, he spent some time in Vienna between the two legs of the travel. His chaplain, Rudolf von Worms, canon of St. Mauritius in Hildesheim, was the initiator of the Order of Saint Maria Magdalena, which was founded the year before and approved by Pope Gregory IX on 10 June 1227.[3] The establishment of a convent dedicated to St. Maria Magdalena near the city gates of Vienna was most probably connected to the presence in town of these two men.[4]

The Order of Saint Maria Magdalena (*Ordo Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae de poenitentia*) served the conversion of sinful women and offered marginalised social groups such as prostitutes, servants, and mendicant women the opportunity to change their destiny and live a religious life. Falko Neininger claims that it is 'quite conceivable that the Order of Saint Maria Magdalena was primarily intended to provide for the care of dismissed clerics' concubines'.[5] Initially, the order followed the Cistercian rule, but in 1232 Pope Gregory IX introduced the Augustinian rule, which is attested again in 1327.

The Viennese convent of St. Maria Magdalena is first mentioned in a charter dated to 1230. In 1234, the Archbishop of Salzburg Eberhard II made a generous donation for twelve Masses to be celebrated every month. Before 1352, the church and the choir were vaulted; the convent had a cloister and its own cemetery.[6] By the middle of the fifteenth century, the church had, in addition to the main altar, seven side altars in honour of Mary, Mary Magdalene, Ehrentrude, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Martha, and Corpus Christi. Moreover, the convent had a boarding school for girls, a bathing room, and owned two public baths. St. Maria Magdalena was often chosen by the nobility and the citizens of Vienna as the recipient of testamentary bequests and donations for suffrage Masses.[7] Moreover, a relevant source of income was the sale of benefices for the hospital for elderly people. In 1518,

the support offered in the preparation of this text and to Alessandra Ignesti for fruitful conversations on the sources of the *Benedicamus Domino*.

2 • Cf. Neininger 1994, 237–39 and 443–47.

3 • On the Order of Saint Maria Magdalena see Elm 1993 and Suso Frank 1997; on its foundation see also Neininger 1994, 145–46.

4 • On the Convent of St. Maria Magdalena in Vienna see Schedl 2009, 145–60 and illustrations 55–56; Czeike 1995, 172; Perger/Brauneis 1977, 186–89.

5 • Neininger 1994, 145 (my translation).

6 • For a discussion of the architectural aspects of the Convent St. Maria Magdalena see Schedl 2009, 148–50.

7 • See Schedl 2009, 151–58; and for the records of the archive of the Bürgerspital in Vienna, see Csendes 2018, 45, 77, 105, 109, 125, and 135.

the nuns acquired half of the Auhof in Hacking, an estate in the neighbourhood of Vienna, the other half of which they had owned since 1498.[8] Therefore, it can be assumed that St. Maria Magdalena was a wealthy and flourishing community during the later Middle Ages.

In 1434, a visitation took place, the protocol of which still survives (discussed below). In 1463 St. Maria Magdalena was placed under the jurisdiction of the Viennese Augustinian nunnery of St. Jakob auf der Hülben and became itself an Augustinian nunnery before 1480. In 1526, twenty religious women and ten lay sisters lived there. In 1529, the convent was destroyed during the ravages of the first siege of Vienna by the army of the Ottoman Empire. The community was able to evacuate but the convent was never rebuilt. For some years, the nuns lived in other convents in Vienna until, in 1533, they were incorporated into the Viennese Augustinian nunnery of St. Laurenz, and their property was absorbed into the assets of this convent.

Even if the architectural vestiges are irretrievably lost, two depictions of the convent of St. Maria Magdalena survive from the late Middle Ages. The first is the so-called 'Albertinischer Plan'.[9] This is a pen drawing realized around the year 1460 and based on a model from c.1421 or 1422. This plan includes all of the religious institutions of Vienna, and St. Maria Magdalena is depicted as a church with two adjoining buildings outside the city walls. The second is the woodcut made by Niklas Meldeman in 1530, which depicts the town of Vienna during the siege by the Ottoman army in a kind of fish-eye perspective, *avant la lettre*.[10] This is not a topographically accurate reproduction of Vienna, but it clearly shows the church of the convent of St. Maria Magdalena and the devastated buildings around it.

Manuscript sources related to St. Maria Magdalena, Vienna

The survival of several sources from the convent of St. Maria Magdalena, as well as some of other provenance relevant to this institution, provides the ideal basis for a survey of its musical tradition as a music historical case study.

The incorporation in the Augustinian nunnery of St. Laurenz signified the end of the existence of the community of St. Maria Magdalena as an independent institution, but at the same time it represented the fundamental step that made it possible for certain liturgical manuscripts to survive. There is reason to think that these manuscripts continued to be used for a long time; moreover, they were certainly still part of St. Laurenz's book collections at the end of the eighteenth century. In fact, the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) preserves three sources for the liturgy

8 • See the pertinent article on Wien Geschichte Wiki: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Auhof_(Ort). All websites accessed 3 April 2024.

9 • Wien Museum, Inv. Nr. 31.018; online reproduction on the website of the Vienna Museum: https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/22-albertinischer-plan-nach-einer-vorlage-von-ca-142122/; see also the website https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Albertinischer_Plan_(1421/1422).

10 • Wien Museum, Inv. Nr. 48.068; online reproduction on the website of the Vienna Museum: https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/125187; see also the website https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Rundansicht_von_Wien,_Niklas_Meldeman_(1530).

of the hours that were in use in St. Maria Magdalena: the codices 1915, 1931, and 1932. These manuscripts arrived at the former Imperial Library in 1783, when the nunnery of St. Laurenz was secularised. An outline of the history and content of these manuscripts is offered in the catalogue of medieval musical manuscripts of the Austrian National Library edited by Robert Klugseder, who ascribed these sources to St. Maria Magdalena.[11] In what follows, they are discussed in chronological order.

The diurnal Vienna 1932 is the oldest musical-liturgical source from St. Maria Magdalena. Folio 28v has the annotation *Orate pro me propter deum Soror Margret Deo gracias*. Klugseder postulated that Sister Margaret could be the same nun who was prioress in 1439, therefore proposing a dating for this manuscript around that year. If not precisely 1439, a dating in the fourth or fifth decade of the fifteenth century seems probable. Vienna 1932 is a very thin book consisting of twenty-eight folios of parchment measuring c.167×124 mm. It contains short responsories for the daily hours (fols. 1r–22r) and twenty-three *Benedicamus* melodies (fols. 22r–26v) as well as those for other versicles (fols. 26v–28r). The response 'Deo dicamus gratias' is consistently omitted in this manuscript, with the exception only of the troped *Benedicamus*, *Apostolorum sollemnia* on fols. 25v–26r, where it is included because of the presence of the trope text. Folio 25r records another troped *Benedicamus*: *In laude Ihesu qui sue matri Marie*. Vienna 1932 was clearly well used for a long time: very heavy traces of use are evident on all pages, as well as on the binding; faded passages of script were rewritten at a later date (fols. 1r–5v and 22r–23r); later additions are present at many points (fols. 1r, 9v, 27r, and 28v); and accidentals were added by different hands (fols. 7r, 9r, and 23r; see Figure 12.1).

The manuscript Vienna 1931 is a breviary from the fifteenth century consisting of sixty-two sheets of parchment measuring c.159×109 mm. A particularity of this manuscript is the provision of rubrics in German. It contains primarily antiphons, hymns, and versicles for the lesser hours, Vespers, and Compline; moreover, it also contains a lection with notation, two litanies, and collects. The book is made up of diverse parts, and many different hands were responsible for text and notation, also employing different mise-en-page. It is evident that the pages have been trimmed. Considering that the binding probably dates to the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century, it is conceivable that this book was the product of joining together independent fascicles containing text and melodies for the liturgy of the hours. Added flats and naturals are present in the notation (for instance on fols. 16r and 47v). As in the case of Vienna 1932, some clues suggest that Vienna 1931 was used for a long time: its pages and binding similarly bear heavy traces of use; and there are sixteenth- and seventeenth-century additions (fols. 12v and 62r, and fols. 38r–39v respectively). Vienna 1931 transmits just a single *Benedicamus* with notation: it is an addition in the upper margin of fol. 51v, made by the copyist of this page, probably at the same moment she wrote the main text or shortly after (most probably this manuscript, too, was written in St. Maria Magdalena). Folio 51v records rubrics in German and Latin incipits of texts for Compline

11 • Klugseder 2014, cod. 1915: 158–60; cod. 1931: 163–65; cod. 1932: 165–67; illustrations 48, 50, and 51.



Figure 12.1: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1932, fol. 23r

on Marian feasts, St Augustine, All Saints, and the feast of the Dedication of a Church. Corresponding to the words *Benedicamus Domino Deo gratias*, a red line starts from the text and elongates into the outer margin, linking up with the drawing of a hand whose index finger, in turn, extends several centimetres to a box in the upper margin of the page in which the *Benedicamus* is noted on three red lines. This added melody is transmitted identically in both other extant liturgical manuscripts from St. Maria Magdalena.

The diurnal Vienna 1915 is the youngest source of the group, but there are no clues as to its exact date. Nevertheless, the fact that it was trimmed (many rubrics are cut off) but the binding dates from the (early) sixteenth century could be a clue to its origins in the fifteenth century. Some additions in the bottom margins seem to date to the fifteenth century as well (fols. 15v–16r and 40r). Vienna 1915 is the thickest book of the three and consists of eighty-seven parchment folios measuring c.177×130 mm. Like the other two manuscripts, it shows heavy traces of use, even if it survives in better condition. The first part of the manuscript contains short responsories for the daily Office (fols. 1r–45r), while the second transmits mixed contents, including Gloria and *Deo gratias* chants in different modes, as well as various antiphons. There are nineteen notated *Deo gratias* chants on fols. 60v–63v, most probably responses to the *Ite missa est* dismissal versicle sung by the priest at Mass (which would, understandably, not have been included in a music book for the nuns). I could identify concordances for only eleven of these nineteen melodies in the catalogue by William F. Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer.[12] The various chants at the end of the manuscript were written by many copyists, in one case using Messine-German Gothic notation (*Regina celi letare*, fol. 86v). More hands added accidentals in different shapes and colours (for example, on fols. 50v and 55v); on some pages a sharp signals *b* natural (as on fols. 51v, 52r–v, and 79v–80r). The rubrics are written in German or in Latin. It is noteworthy that all the leaves of the manuscript have the same red ink ruling, formed by four staves and a single line in the lower margin. This suggests that the manuscript was conceived as a repository, compiled at different times and (re-)bound later. Remarkably, the last note of a piece can be elongated and provided with decorative ornaments at both ends in the form of plumes. The same kind of decoration is also present in Vienna 1931 (fol. 47v), confirming the provenance of these two sources in the same institution. Vienna 1915 contains a group of twenty-one different *Benedicamus* melodies with notation on fols. 46v–57v. This includes two tropes: *In laude Ihesu qui sue matri Marie* (fol. 43v) and *Ad honorem virginis pie Margarete eximie* (fol. 52r, whose melody is then immediately recopied, without its trope text). Moreover, on fols. 79v and 81r two different hands notated twice the same *Benedicamus* with the trope *Marie Magdalene sollemnia sacra canit ecclesia* (discussed in detail below). Vienna 1915 therefore transmits a total of twenty-four *Benedicamus* items, with twenty-two different *Benedicamus* melodies (two of which are duplicated). In this manuscript—and unlike Vienna 1932—the response 'Deo dicamus gratias' is always notated, even if only partially.

12 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006.

The three manuscripts are noted in square notation and were written within a period of less than a century; even if Vienna 1915 could date to the beginning of the sixteenth century, it surely pre-dates the destruction of the convent in 1529. All three are small in size, have a limited number of pages, and transmit mixed contents, thus providing evidence of a living performance practice. Vienna 1915 and Vienna 1931 contain several texts for the feasts of most importance to the order—Saints Augustine and Maria Magdalena—as well as rubrics in German. According to Klugseder, the use of the vernacular is an element that confirms the utilisation of the manuscripts in a female convent, and 'the repertoire of the[se] codices … is reminiscent of the collections of "secondary office chants" called *Pharetra*, which were produced in many monasteries of the Melk Reform after the Council of Basel'.[13] Indeed, similarities with the liturgical book typology of *Pharetra* are evident: small size, modest appearance, mixed contents, and presence of musical notation. This could indicate a trend of musical manuscripts for personal use in the liturgy that was more widespread than just within the Benedictine order and, in particular, also in nunneries.[14] A peculiar scribal feature can be detected on the folios containing the *Benedicamus* chants in Vienna 1915. A quadratic form is used for descending notes in every combination (the only exception is a *climacus* on fol. 47r noted with rhomboid notes). The hands responsible for the two *Benedicamus Marie Magdalene solemnia* clearly differ in this respect, as the first copy of this chant uses also rhomboid shapes.

Certainly, these manuscripts were brought by the nuns within the walls of Vienna when the convent was evacuated. They were subsequently carried with them during their movements until 1533 when they arrived at St. Laurenz. The numerous additions and the heavy traces of wear on all three manuscripts are elements that confirm their continued use, long after the destruction of the convent in 1529 and probably until at least the seventeenth century. This is evident by some additions in Vienna 1931, whose inner back cover has the annotation 'Beatus Laurentius', a possible note of ownership, probably dating to the eighteenth century. The repertoire of *Benedicamus* melodies transmitted in these books is discussed in detail in the next section.

In addition to the manuscripts described above, another source is of relevance for the present investigation. Vienna 4724 originates from the library of the Viennese Augustinian male Convent of St. Dorothea and contains, among others, three texts related to St. Maria Magdalena: a fifteenth-century copy of the *Constitutiones sororum poenitentialium Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* of 1227 (fols. 311v–317v, in *bastarda*); the *Constitutiones sororum Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* (fols. 320r–328v, in Gothic); and the above-mentioned protocol of the visitation that took place in 1434 (written in Middle High German and titled *Charta reformationis monasterii S. Mariae Magdalenae Viennensis*, fols. 330r–342v).[15] The first two

13 • Klugseder 2014, 166.

14 • The utilisation by several successive generations of nuns, as well as the presence of diverse contents, musical notation, numerous additions, and texts in the vernacular, are aspects that also recur in a group of breviaries and private prayerbooks for the choir service of the Cistercian tradition; see Tabora 2023a.

15 • The three texts are edited in Duellius 1723, 169–80, 182–98 and 200–15 (exemplar consulted: Vienna, Österreichische

texts are, respectively, the statute issued by Pope Gregory IX and (possibly a copy of) the customs of the Viennese nuns written in the fourteenth century. The *Benedicamus* is mentioned in the *Constitutiones* of the Viennese nuns, in a chapter with prescriptions for the liturgy of the hours (*De officio ecclesie*, fols. 322r–323r):

> Ferialibus diebus dicant nocturnum secundum feriam, laudes secundum feriam. Post *Benedictus* dicant *Ky[rie] Christe el[eyson] Kyrie, Pater noster et ne nos [inducas], Per dominum nostrum, Benedicamus domino deo gratias*. In dominicis diebus et in festis novem lectionum dicant nocturnum de die cum his laudibus: *Dominus regnavit, Jubilate* et cetera.
>
> On weekdays [the nuns] should sing the Matins according to the day, Lauds according to the day. After the *Benedictus* they should recite the *Kyrie eleyson*, the *Pater noster*, an *oratio* [the prayer is indicated by the concluding formula *Per Dominum nostrum*], and [sing the] *Benedicamus Domino deo gratias*. On Sundays and feasts of nine lessons they should recite the Matins of the day with at Lauds [the Psalms]: *Dominus regnavit, Jubilate*, etc…

Unfortunately, the portion of the text pertaining to Sundays (beginning with *in dominicis diebus*) concludes with the incipits of two Psalms and the indication 'et cetera', providing no additional information regarding the ritual performance of the *Benedicamus*. Finally, of further note among the sources originating from St. Maria Magdalena is a manuscript obituary (c.1452–1542) now preserved in Burg Kreuzenstein near Vienna.[16]

The *Benedicamus Domino* repertoire of St. Maria Magdalena

Sources transmitting noted *Benedicamus* melodies or information regarding the use of the versicle have been presented above. I now offer a deeper insight into the repertoire of *Benedicamus* chants at St. Maria Magdalena. Comparisons with published studies and catalogues make it possible to situate the tradition of the Viennese nuns in the broader trans-regional context, as well as to identify melodies that are possibly the result of their own creativity. First, it is necessary to make a comparison between the collections of *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915 and Vienna 1932, to determine whether melodies were added, excluded, or modified in the decades separating the oldest source (Vienna 1932) from the most recent (Vienna 1915). (The single melody transmitted in Vienna 1931 is discussed below, as *Benedicamus* 7). Secondly, I present external concordances for these melodies and identify variants.

For the *Benedicamus* within the sources from St. Maria Magdalena, I document as variants very small melodic differences in order to highlight just how consistent was the transmission of melodies within the very same institution. However, when identifying these melodies and comparing them with external concordances, small differences—such as passing notes—are not noted as variants. This term, rather, is reserved for the presence of several divergent notes, or clear differences in neumatic groupings (often impacting the text underlay).

Nationalbibliothek 74.H.18). The protocol of the visitation is also edited in Schedl 2009, 285–92; it provides some details on the convent's musical life. (I intend to study aspects related to musical practice handed down in these documents in a future publication.)

16 • Burg Kreuzenstein, Cod. 28001; see Fuchs 1913, vol. 5, 285–96 (quoted in Schedl 2009, 159).

A comparison of the *Benedicamus* chants in Vienna 1932 and Vienna 1915 clearly shows that, although they do not contain exactly the same melodies, the two manuscripts are nonetheless somewhat related. Figure 12.2 visualises the correlations in the *Benedicamus* repertoire in both sources. Circles indicate that the melody is identical, while rectangles signal the presence of variants. Lines join connected melodies in the two manuscripts (which is invariably the case, excepting the group *Benedicamus* 5–7 and *Benedicamus* 18). The letter 'T' indicates a transposition, and the lily symbol the presence of a trope. Brackets grouping two numbers mean that the incipits of two melodies are identical.[17]

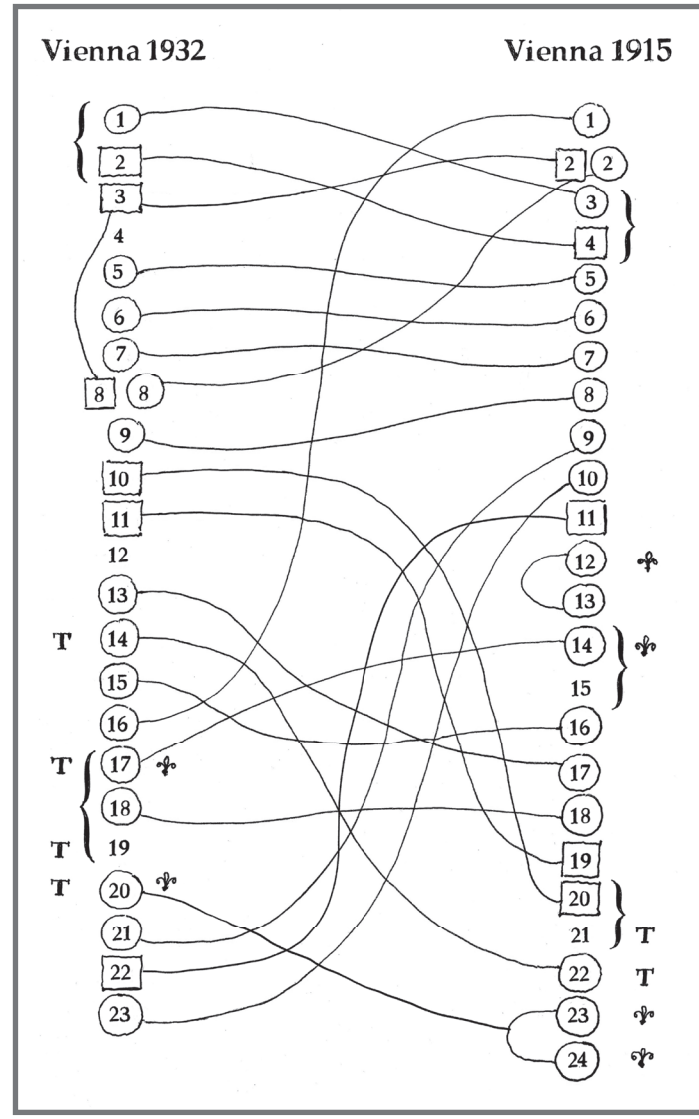


Figure 12.2: Interrelations between *Benedicamus Domino* chants in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1932 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1915

After a comparison of the repertoire within the walls, so to speak, of the institution, the next step was to situate these chants within a trans-regional, shared tradition. In order to find out if the *Benedicamus* melodies of St. Maria Magdalena had been catalogued as well as to check the concordances with other sources and delineate their geographical spread, I consulted—besides the recent scholarship on the *Benedicamus* in female communities, discussed above—the works published by Frank Ll. Harrison in 1965 (nine melodies from one manuscript),[18] by Barbara Marian Barclay in 1977 (107 melodies from around twenty manuscripts),[19] by Michel Huglo in 1982 (44 melodies from

17 • Figure 12.2 was drawn by the artist and comic books author Elena Migliorini, to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

18 • Harrison 1965.

19 • Barclay 1977, esp. 52–93.

110 sources),[20] by Anne Walters Robertson in 1988 (26 melodies from two manuscripts),[21] as well as by William F. Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer in their 2006 catalogue of *Ite missa est* melodies (45 melodies using 41 manuscripts, but crucially including only *Benedicamus* melodies thought to be used in the Mass, that is, in place of the *Ite missa est*).[22] Since Eifrig and Pfisterer did not present an index of the melodies, I used the index realised with alphanumeric coding published online by Giacomo Baroffio.[23]

Concordances between the Viennese manuscripts and existing *Benedicamus* catalogues are presented in the Appendix. The first three columns list the *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1932, with the respective folio numbers and rubrics, while the fourth column indicates the mode of the melody. The following three columns are reserved for the younger manuscript, Vienna 1915; any differences in mode are indicated in the seventh column. Dashes signal that the melody or information about it is lacking, or that no concordance can be found. The final three columns are reserved for concordances with melodies catalogued by Barclay, Huglo, and Eifrig and Pfisterer.[24] A numeral in parentheses following the relevant melody number in each catalogue indicates the number of sources of that melody given in that catalogue (in the case of Eifrig and Pfisterer, concordances with *Ite* melodies are indicated as well). In the following discussion, I refer to the *Benedicamus* numbers in the first column, which correspond to the position of the melody in the earliest source, Vienna 1932.

Comparisons up to this point have not been sufficient to identify the geographical spread of all the *Benedicamus* sung at St. Maria Magdalena. The fact that a melody is not catalogued does not necessarily mean that it had a very small spread, or even that it was used exclusively within the Viennese convent. In order further to investigate the question of the geographical spread of melodies without concordances in published catalogues, I have made comparisons with other late medieval manuscripts containing notated *Benedicamus* from the German-speaking area, which have not previously been considered (see Table 12.1). All use (Messine-)German Gothic notation and are available in digital reproduction on the websites of their respective libraries. In addition, I have consulted two manuscripts included in Eifrig and Pfisterer's *Ite* catalogue, but there considered only as concerns *Benedicamus* melodies for use in the Mass: St. Gallen 392 (?St. Gallen, fifteenth century) and St. Gallen 546 (St. Gallen, before 1513).[25]

Comparisons undertaken with the manuscripts in Table 12.1 made it possible to identify concordances for almost all the *Benedicamus* used in St. Maria Magdalena Vienna. However, definitive results concerning the geographical spread of a melody are subject to fluctuations based on the consideration and discovery of new sources and concordances. Below, the *Bene-*

20 • Huglo 1982, esp. 134–63.

21 • Robertson 1988.

22 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006.

23 • The index of the melodies edited in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006 is published in Baroffio 2006a.

24 • The concordances with melodies included in Harrison 1965 and Robertson 1988 are small in number and thus referred to only as relevant.

25 • For descriptions and digital reproductions of both manuscripts see https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/.

Table 12.1: Selected sources of *Benedicamus Domino* chants from the German-speaking lands

Siglum	Provenance	Century or date	*Benedicamus* No. of items	Folios	Secondary literature
Augsburg UB 57	Ostschwaben	16th (1st half)	c.10	43v–44r; 59r–67r	Schneider 1988, 683–87
Erlangen 464	Kloster Heilsbronn	15th (2nd half)	7	5r, 9v, 14v, 17r, 19v, 27v, 31v	Fischer 1936, 43–46
Munich Clm 5023	Kloster Benediktbeuern	1495	13	280r–281r	Hamm/Kellman 1982, vol. 2, 237
Munich Cgm 716	Kloster Tegernsee	15th (final third)	4	205v	Schneider and Petzet 1984, vol. 5, 93–99
BAV Pal. lat. 552	Heidelberg	15th (2nd half)	13	104v–106v	Montuschi 2014, 314
Novacella 139	Augustinian male convent Neustift/Novacella	1490–1500	14	221v–224r	Stampfer/Schretter-Picker 2021, 346–51
Novacella 15063	Augustinian male convent Neustift/Novacella	15th (2nd half)	1	194v	Stampfer and Schretter-Picker 2021, 342–45
Vienna 4337	?Franken [University of Vienna]	14th	14	104r–105r	Klugseder 2014, 344

dicamus chants are divided into four groups and discussed in turn: melodies widespread on a European or trans-regional level; variants of widespread melodies; melodies with concordances on a regional level; and melodies with a single known external transmission or without any concordances at all. Within each group, the melodies in Vienna 1932 are discussed in the order they appear in this source (which is also the order in the Appendix).

1. Widespread melodies

The ninth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1932 is in the first mode, begins on the recitation pitch (*a*), and is clearly structured in two parts with a middle cadence on the note *E* (in two arches: *a–c–E | E–a–D*). This melody is the eighth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915, where despite the same melodic reading (except for a single passing note) the syllables of text are apparently misplaced (here the word change from '-mus' to 'Do-' occurs before the medial cadence on *E*). This *Benedicamus* uses the melody of Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor* (Melnicki no. 18) and is widely attested as *Ite missa est* (with 47 concordances, but none with the same rubric as in Vienna).[26] It shows only slight differences from Huglo no. 109, and in comparison with Barclay no. 22 it has more passing notes and divergent note groupings. Not to mention its numerous concordances as an *Ite* melody, and considering the sixteen concordances reported by Huglo and Barclay, this was surely a widespread *Benedicamus* melody.

An even better-known *Benedicamus* chant is *Benedicamus* 11, borrowing the melody of Kyrie *Clemens rector* (Melnicki no. 102).[27]

26 • Melnicki numbers refer to Melnicki 1954.

27 • See also the discussion of these two *Benedicamus* melo-

In Vienna 1915, this is the nineteenth *Benedicamus*, it begins on *D* instead of *F*, and has a *C–D pes* instead of a single note on the penultimate syllable. In comparison to the versions of this *Benedicamus* in published catalogues, some pitches differ (and some note groupings differ from those in Barclay no. 21). This melody is noted in St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376v) with the rubric *ad laudes infra octavas*.

Benedicamus 14, which is identical to the twenty-second *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915, is nothing more than a short recitation pitch on *c* with a *pes a–c* on the stressed syllable ('-ca-') and a final cadence on *a*. This melody is identical to that in the *Missale Vallumbrosianum* printed in Venice in 1503 (fol. 22r).[28] It is the transposition of a melody in *E* mode. In fact, the same melody in *E* mode (recitation pitch *G* with cadence on *E*) is present in Eifrig and Pfisterer's catalogue, with eight concordances, five of which even have the same rubric as in Vienna (*in feriis*). Moreover, the *E*-mode version is present in St. Gallen 392 (p. 71) and St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376v; both sources omitted by Eifrig and Pfisterer). Considering the simplicity of the melody and the fact that it is attested in two different modes, it is plausible to postulate that this *Benedicamus* was, in fact, widespread, but orally transmitted and seldom noted.

Benedicamus 17 is one of the four troped *Benedicamus* in use in St. Maria Magdalena and is present as the fourteenth melody in Vienna 1915. This *Benedicamus*, in the second mode, is noted in the younger manuscript with a *D* final, whereas in the older Vienna source it is transposed to *a*, presumably better to suit the range of the nuns' voices. These sources present a slight but particular variant of a widespread melody: the incipit is identical to Barclay no. 32, then a few pitches change and note groupings differ.[29] This is the very well-known *Benedicamus* melody borrowing the melisma on 'Flos filius eius' from the responsory *Stirps Jesse* for the Nativity of Mary.[30] Its trope *In laude Ihesu qui sue matri Marie benedixit in eternum* (the response begins with the words *sit laus deo*), recently investigated by Manon Louviot, is almost equally well known, widely disseminated in many regions of Europe as monophonic *Benedicamus* and also used in polyphonic compositions up to the seventeenth century.[31] This troped *Benedicamus* is included in many manuscripts I consulted, and there transmitted at different transpositions: it is on *D* in St. Gallen 392 (p. 70; a single note differs), and St. Gallen

dies and their source Kyries in the chapter by Marit Johanne Høye in this volume, Ch. 9. On the prevalence of these two melodies in Iberian sources, see the chapter by Michael O'Connor, Ch. 17.

28 • *Missale monasticum secundum consuetudinem Ordinis Vallisumbrose* (Venice: Lucantonio Giunta, 1503), CNCE 48565 (https://edit16.iccu.sbn.it). The Vallombrosian monks are a branch of the Benedictines founded in 1036 by St John Gualbert at Vallombrosa in Tuscany.

29 • Besides the catalogues listed in the Appendix, this melody is no. 10 in Robertson 1988 and is similar to melody no. 16 in Harrison 1965.

30 • Barclay 1977, 11–41; see also Robertson 1988, *passim*.

31 • The trope is edited in Plocek 1985, vol. 1, 102–03 and vol. 2, 32, with a melody in D (second mode); Böse/Schäfer 1988, no. 191: only the first three verses, without *sit laus deo*. See Louviot forthcoming.

546 (fol. 375v; a few melodic differences); on *F* in Novacella 139 (fol. 222v), and Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 280r); finally, with textual and melodic differences as well as transposed to *a*, it is also found in Augsburg UB 57 (fol. 64r).[32]

Benedicamus 22 is based on Kyrie *Orbis factor* (Melnicki no. 16). The reading in Vienna 1932 has fewer notes than Huglo no. 114. Eifrig and Pfisterer give four concordances for this melody, all attesting a different liturgical destination (on Sundays or for Marian feasts). In St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376v; not included in Eifrig and Pfisterer), where the melodic reading is slightly different, the liturgical designation is 'de virginibus[,] virgine [et] vidua'. Furthermore, this melody is noted in Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 280v) as well as in Novacella 139 (fol. 222v, where the flat seems to have been specified by the original notator). This widespread *Benedicamus* with multiple concordances in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland corresponds to the eleventh *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915. Interestingly enough, in the younger manuscript from St. Maria Magdalena the melody is transposed to *E*-mode and a later hand consistently added naturals before the pitch *b*. This *E*-mode variant of the melody is not included in published catalogues but was evidently well known in Central Europe. In fact, it appears identically in Erlangen 464 (fol. 5r, an addition dating to the fifteenth century), and with a slightly more elaborate melody in BAV Pal. lat. 552 (fol. 105r).

2. Variant versions of widespread melodies

For the following melodies concordances can be found only with an *Ite missa est* melody, or the particular *Benedicamus* melodies are not catalogued but are recognisable as variants of apparently widespread melodies.

Benedicamus numbers 5, 6, and 7 are melodically closely related to each other. In fact, *Benedicamus* 6 and 7 can be considered variants of *Benedicamus* 5; in particular, *Benedicamus* 7 represents a drastically shortened version of *Benedicamus* 6. These melodies are noted identically in the two Viennese manuscripts.[33] Moreover, they appear in the same order in both sources and have identical or very similar rubrics. A difference is, however, that the rubrics in Vienna 1932 allow *Benedicamus* 5 and 7 to be sung on a greater number of occasions. This means that, over time, these chants were used differently even within the same institution. As mentioned above, *Benedicamus* 7 is also the only melody noted in the manuscript Vienna 1931.

Benedicamus 5–7 are noted in the same order in St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376r), where their melodies are also identical (except the exchange of two pitches—*a* and *F*—at the end of the

32 • In St. Gallen 546 the rubric reads *in omnibus Festivitatibus Ma[riae] V[irginis] ad processiones*, allowing thus the utilisation on Marian feasts as in Vienna, but specifically for processions. Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006 present a single concordance for this melody in St. Gallen 546 but with the wrong folio number and an erroneous rubric.

33 • In Vienna 1932, the syllables 'Benedi-' of the second *Benedicamus* of the group lack musical notation.

second melody), but their accompanying rubrics differ in all three cases. *Benedicamus* 5 and 7 are noted in Munich Cgm 716 (fol. 205v; the only difference is the presence of a *clivis* and *pes* instead of a *climacus* and *punctum* on the syllables '-le-' and 'lu-'), as well as in Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 281v; with just a single variant note in each melody, which for *Benedicamus* 7 is the finalis: *F* instead of G).

Benedicamus 5, 6, and 7 are, however, given in a different version in published catalogues. *Benedicamus* 5 is recognisable as a minor variant of Huglo no. 401, and compared to Eifrig and Pfisterer no. 414c has *puncta* instead of *pes* or *clivis* (transmitted also only in the manuscript Kassel 101 from Fritzlar dating to the fifteenth century). *Benedicamus* 6 recalls Barclay no. 93 and Huglo no. 401. In summary, it can be said that these three related *Benedicamus* melodies in the St. Maria Magdalena sources represent variants of a widespread melody, variants shared within sources from the German-speaking lands.

Benedicamus 13 (identically recorded as the seventeenth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915) perfectly matches melody no. 146A/3 in Eifrig and Pfisterer: an *Ite missa est* transmitted in St. Gallen 546 (whose accompanying rubric—*dominicibus diebus*—corresponds with the Vienna use). Moreover, it is very similar to Eifrig and Pfisterer no. 146A/1, which is widely attested as *Ite* (19 concordances). Evidently, this tune was little used as *Benedicamus*, which as Eifrig and Pfister no. 146A/2 represents a unique *Benedicamus* instantiation in a single source for this well-known *Ite* melody.

Benedicamus 15 (identically recorded as the sixteenth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915) consists of two parts: the first is a variant of Huglo no. 112, which has a correspondence in only one manuscript, the early fourteenth-century noted Cluniac Breviary from Saint-Victor sur Rhins, in the Loire region.[34] The second part is identical to Huglo no. 116 (except for a single passing note), a melody with concordances in eight manuscripts from France, Aquitaine, and Sicily dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Despite its partial concordances, *Benedicamus* 15 is not found in published catalogues. In the absence of concordances for the entire chant, the question must remain open as to whether the fusion of two known melodies into a single *Benedicamus* is a local practice or not. Yet since the partial concordances are with much older manuscripts and from distant regions, it seems probable that the combination of these two well-known *Benedicamus* melodies could have been a more widespread practice.

The function of *Benedicamus* 18 at St. Maria Magdalena was quite specific. In fact, according to the rubric *In secundis vesperis de virginibus IX lectionum*, it was used for feasts of Virgin Saints of medium rank, which corresponded in the calendar of the Diocese of Passau to

34 • Huglo 1982, 148.

around ten possible days.[35] In Vienna 1915, this *Benedicamus* is not only noted identically but also in the same position. The melody is based on the Kyrie Melnicki no. 132, and as an *Ite* was widespread (ten concordances in Eifrig and Pfisterer); however, it was apparently little-used as a *Benedicamus*. With some variants, it is noted in St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376v).[36] Here the rubric is quite different: *in adventu ad laudes [et] de b[eata] M[aria]*.

Benedicamus 21 corresponds to the ninth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915 (the only difference being a *clivis F–E* on '-ca-' instead of the *torculus*), and represents a variant of a widespread melody, with over thirty concordances in Eifrig and Pfisterer's group of four melodies, no. 427. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that only in a fourteenth-century German Kyriale (Wolfenbüttel 3136) is this melody introduced by the rubric *apostolorum*, thus sharing the same liturgical function at St. Maria Magdalena. Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 280v) and Novacella 139 (fol. 222v) transmit a reading of this *Benedicamus* that is identical to that in the Viennese sources. BAV Pal. lat. 552 (fol. 104v) presents a variant of this melody with eight extra notes on the syllable 'Do-', which does not correspond to any of the four melodies in Eifrig and Pfisterer's group.

For *Benedicamus* 23, which corresponds to the tenth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915, I have identified two concordances: Novacella 139, where it appears in an identical version on fol. 222v and with a rubric prescribing its use for the same category of feasts (*de confessoris*), and Vienna 4337 (fol. 105r), where the melody on the word 'Domino' is noted a fourth lower, which is most probably a copying error. *Benedicamus* 23 represents a variant of *Ite* no. 309 in Eifrig and Pfisterer's catalogue, the differences being not only a *torculus* instead of a *clivis* on 'Be-' and a *pes subbipunctis* instead of a *clivis* on '-mus', but also the second pitch *b* (instead of *a*) on 'Be-', which results in an more distinctive incipit, comprised of a rising third answered by a falling fourth. Since *Ite* no. 309 has more than fifty concordances, *Benedicamus* 23 is surely a variant of a widespread melody. Moreover, transposed to begin on *c* and with some melodic variants, Eifrig and Pfisterer identified four concordances as a *Benedicamus* for *Ite* no. 309, to which can be added St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376v). In the *F*-mode version of this *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915, a later hand consistently added flats before every pitch *b*, as well before the note *E* when the melody descended to C (thus not in the final cadence). A flat sign for the subfinalis when the melody descends to the plagal tetrachord is unusual: this issue raises questions about transposition and the perception of the musical scale in the later Middle Ages.

3. Regional melodies

For five *Benedicamus* in the St. Maria Magdalena sources, I have identified concordances only in other manuscripts from the German-speaking region.

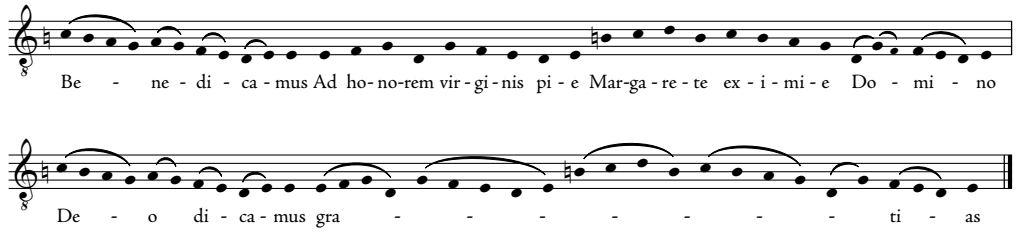
35 • Calculated using the reconstruction of the calendar of the Passau Diocese in the late Middle Ages in Karnowka 1983, 25–45; Vienna was under the jurisdiction of Passau until 1469.

36 • Cf. Barclay 1977, 71, with erroneous reference to fol. 409v.

Benedicamus 12 in Vienna 1932 is absent from the younger St. Maria Magdalena manuscript and seems to have been a little-used melody: Eifrig and Pfisterer list two sources, and Barclay only one (in St. Gallen 546, where the melody is on G instead of *F*).[37] The concordances in Eifrig and Pfisterer are the manuscripts Udine 93 (Aquileia, fifteenth century) and Wilhering IX.8 (Passau, Cistercian, 1420). Since the rubrics are, respectively, *dominicis diebus* and *dominicis diebus in quadragesima*, the consistent use of this melody on Sundays, albeit with differentiations, is notable. According to the rubric in Wilhering IX.8, the melody can be sung only a few days a year, while rubrics in Udine 93 and, to an even greater extent, in the St. Maria Magdalena sources, permit frequent use. Despite the limited number of known concordances for this *Benedicamus*, it is apparent that it circulated within a geographical area that extended from the east to the west of the southern German-speaking region, and including the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

The twelfth and thirteenth *Benedicamus* chants in Vienna 1915 are the same melody (absent from Vienna 1932), first notated with the trope text *Ad honorem virginis pie Margarete eximie* (see Example 12.1) and then, melismatically, without this text. In both

Example 12.1: *Benedicamus Ad honorem virginis pie Margarete*, Vienna 1915, fol. 52r–v



versions, a younger hand added natural signs for the pitch *b*. This troped *Benedicamus* is not included in any catalogue, but was widespread in the southern German-speaking region. It is, for example, included in Novacella 15063 (fol. 194v) and Novacella 139 (fol. 222v) with identical melodies and a version of the trope text for St Catherine. In St. Gallen 392 (p. 70) it appears with a trope for the Holy Virgin Mary and its melody transposed up a fourth, on *a*. Other concordances are in St. Gallen 546 (fol. 375v) and Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 281r): in both manuscripts the melody is identical. In Munich Clm 5023 the names Margaret and Catherine are written one above the other, while in St. Gallen 546 the text of the trope is *Ob honorem dedicationis huius templi consecrati domino*. This same trope for the dedication is also found on fol. 59r of Augsburg UB 57, while on fol. 61r of the same book the melody is transmitted with the text variant *apostoli pii Johannis*. The incipit of this melody was added in the lower margin of fol. 9v in Erlangen 464 with a generic text—*virginis pie N[omen]*—to which the name Elizabeth was then added.

37 • Barclay 1977, 83, again gives an erroneous folio number for St. Gallen 546 (the correct folio is 376v, not 409v).

Benedicamus 16 resembles the Kyrie melody Melnicki no. 212 and seems to have been known in Central Europe. It corresponds to the first melody in Vienna 1915, where the same notes are grouped in only a slightly different way. The version of this melody reported by Eifrig and Pfisterer has a simplified final cadence, and they identified three concordances with manuscripts dated to the fifteenth century, originating from Passau (Wilhering IX.8, fol. 118v), Aquileia (Udine 83, fol. 15v), and Bohemia (the Cistercian manuscript Vyšší Brod 20).[38] In all of these sources the rubrics are consistent with both Viennese books, locating this melody in the first part of the year (*in adventu*). This melody is also noted in Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 281v), but probably in *F* (the clef is missing) and with some divergent intervals.

Benedicamus 20 (the twenty-third and twenty-fourth melodies with a unique text variant in Vienna 1915, discussed below) carries the trope text *Apostolorum sollemnia*, which was quite widespread in the southern German-speaking region and beyond. Its melody, catalogued by Bruno Stäblein in 1956, is that of the so-called *Stimmtausch* Hymn, whose music was associated with many different hymn and *Benedicamus* trope texts in sources from the early twelfth century on.[39] The two phrases of this melody, which respectively ascend and descend through the octave, can be combined in two-part polyphony. In the St. Maria Magdalena sources, this works well for the second repetition of the melody, in which both text-lines have eight syllables ('corde pio et animo | benedicamus Domino'). In the first and third statements of the melody, however, the hypermetry of the verse is corrected musically by the reiteration of the first note (see Appendix, no. 20).

Stäblein identified three sources of the '*Stimmtausch* Hymn' with the *Apostolorum sollemnia* trope text (BAV Pal. lat. 552, fols. 105v–106r; St. Gallen 546, fol. 375v [not fol. 408v]; and Vienna 4337, fol. 104r). A reading of the melody on C, identical to that in the St. Maria Magdalena sources, is found not only in St. Gallen 546 and with slight differences in Vienna 4337, but also in St. Gallen 392 (p. 70). In BAV Pal. lat. 552 (where the opening pitches on 'Apostolorum' were copied a third too high), the melody is on C, and although only a few pitches are different, their groupings diverge radically. Additional sources unknown to Stäblein include Novacella 139 (fol. 223r) and Munich Clm 5023 (fol. 280r; with some divergent pitches), where the melody is transposed to begin on *E*. The text of *Apostolorum sollemnia* was also added in the lower margin of fol. 17r in Erlangen 464, and is accompanied by rudimentary neumes (actually dots in red ink), which are arranged with a vague diastemacy and make it possible to recognise, at least at the outset, the same melodic profile.

38 • The reference to the folio is missing in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006.

39 • Stäblein 1956, 532–28, at 534. On the use of this melody for multiple different *Benedicamus* tropes in the repertoire of the monastery of Benedictine nuns of St. George's in Prague, see Vlhová-Wörner 2022, 424 and Table 1.

The fifteenth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915 (absent from Vienna 1932) shares its incipit with the fourteenth *Benedicamus* in this source (corresponding to *Benedicamus* 17 in Vienna 1932) and represents a strong shortened variant of the preceding melody. Both versions were used for Marian feasts; the rubrics are *Von unser lieben Frawn* (for the longer version in Vienna 1915) and *De sancta Maria* (for the shorter melody in Vienna 1915). This melody is transmitted in Novacella 139 (fol. 222v) on *F* with the rubric *minus*, as well as in St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376v) with the rubric *in festis Beatae Mariae Virginis et Corpore Christi*.

4. Local or unique melodies

Seven *Benedicamus* melodies and one variant trope text in the St. Maria Magdalena sources are currently known either uniquely from these books or with only a single identified concordance.

Benedicamus 1 and 2 in Vienna 1932 (corresponding to the third and fourth *Benedicamus* melodies in Vienna 1915) are absent from published catalogues. *Benedicamus* 1, however, is recorded in Novacella 139 (fol. 221v) with an identical rubric, its only melodic difference being a passing note. After the words *Benedicamus Domino* follow five repetitions of the word Alleluia. The third and the last Alleluias have the same melody, producing an overall ABCDC form. A partial concordance for *Benedicamus* 2 is also found in Novacella 139 (fol. 222r): the notes on the word 'Benedicamus' vary (here *D/a–b/G/a/F–E–D*), but then the reading coincides; the melody is provided with the rubric *medium [festum]*. In Vienna 1932, the 'reuse' of the incipit of *Benedicamus* 1 for *Benedicamus* 2 might be seen as a copying error, but there are good reasons to think it is not. First, this pair of *Benedicamus* melodies sharing the same incipit was recopied in the more recent Vienna 1915 and there are no corrections in either source. Second, the melody of *Benedicamus* 2 is noted twice in St. Gallen 392 (pp. 76 and 77), with minimal variants between the two records, as well as in comparison with both St. Maria Magdalena manuscripts.[40] Third, the version of the melody handed down in St. Maria Magdalena (as the second *Benedicamus* of the pair) and St. Gallen is a *Stimmtausch* melody, in which the melody accompanying the eight-syllable line 'Alleluia, Alleluia' can be superimposed as a polyphonic voice on the melody accompanying the opening, eight-syllable 'Benedicamus Domino' exclamation. The *Benedicamus* transmitted in Novacella 139 could be a later version, adapted when the memory of any polyphonic *Stimmtausch* performance practice was lost: Novacella 139 replaces the original incipit with a clear first-mode intonation and a *climacus* ending on the finalis that seems to anticipate the final cadence.

Differences between *Benedicamus* 2 in Vienna 1932 and the fourth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915 are minimal, consisting only in the placement of the syllable '-luia' in the first 'Alleluia'. The text underlay in the younger manuscript seems to work better for a two-voiced

40 • These melodies in St. Gallen 392 are discussed and edited in Budzińska-Bennett 2022, 439 and Example 3 (at 443).

performance and could therefore be the result of an adaptation made while copying from the older manuscript. This suggests that this melody was still sung in *Stimmtausch* polyphony at the end of the Middle Ages.

Benedicamus 3 is duplicated in a variant version as *Benedicamus* 8 in Vienna 1932 (and it is this latter version that is recorded in Vienna 1915, as the second *Benedicamus* in this source). *Benedicamus* 3 opens with the melody of Kyrie Melnicki no. 149, but continues differently. In *Benedicamus* 3 the melody accompanying '-dicamus Domino' is repeated for the final Alleluia. Similarly, in *Benedicamus* 8 the melody accompanying '-dicamus' is reiterated at the end of the chant. Since only a single concordance with an *Ite missa est* (in the fifteenth-century Bohemian manuscript Prague X G 23, with the rubric *quando placet*) can be found for these melodies, they possibly represent a local adaptation of a little-used *Ite*.

Benedicamus 4 is the second melody in Figure 12.1. In this fifth-mode melody flat signs have been added not only to the note *b*, but also to *F*. In the latter case, this serves to emphasise fifth intervals by signalling *F* natural. *Benedicamus* 4 is not present in Vienna 1915, but a concordance can be found in St. Gallen 546 (fol. 376r, with the rubric *aliud*), where the melody shows some melodic variants, in particular passing notes.

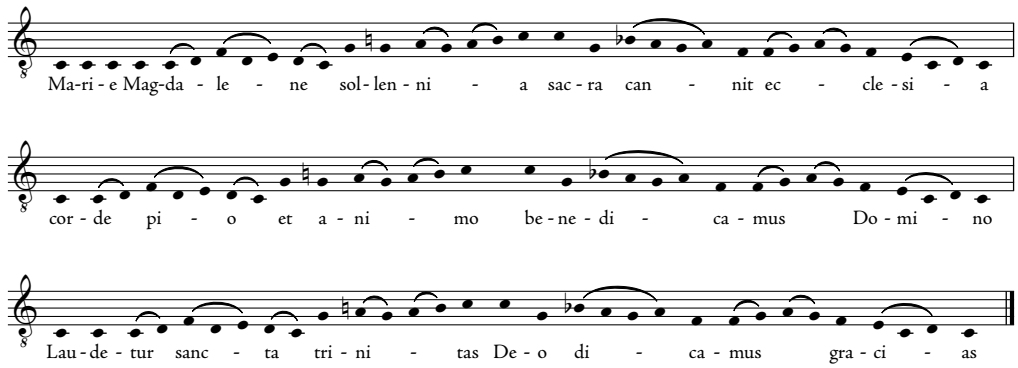
Benedicamus 10 presents an interesting case. This melody in plagal *F*-mode is the twentieth *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915. Note groupings on the syllable '-ca-' and five notes in the melisma on the syllable 'Do-' differ between the two St. Maria Magdalena manuscripts. The *Benedicamus* in the younger manuscript can thus be considered a slightly expanded version of this melody. The melody's incipit (on 'Benedicamus') matches *Benedicamus* no. 311 in Eifrig and Pfisterer, which they identify as a *Benedicamus* only in the manuscript Berlin 209 (Cistercian, Silesia, seventeenth century), but as *Ite* in eight manuscripts. Missing the *clivis a–F* on the syllable '-ca', the *Benedicamus* no. 311 is additionally transmitted in Vienna 4337 (fol. 104v).

Vienna 1915 presents a pair of related *Benedicamus* melodies, as its twentieth and twenty-first melodies, which are two versions of *Benedicamus* 10. The twenty-first *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915 represents a drastically shortened and a transposed version of the preceding melody in this source. On *c*, this shortened *Benedicamus* reproduces only the incipit of *Benedicamus* 10 and its first neume on 'Do-', but the melisma descending to the plagal ambitus is missing. (This second version of *Benedicamus* 10 in Vienna 1915 is also much shorter than Eifrig and Pfisterer's *Benedicamus* no. 311). The transposition to the upper fifth can be interpreted as an adjustment for female voices of the original melody in *F*. In the absence of concordances, *Benedicamus* 21 in Vienna 1915 should be considered a product of the musical creativity of the St. Maria Magdalena nuns.

Benedicamus 19 has the same incipit as *Benedicamus* 17, based on the famous 'Flos filius eius' melody. However, in Vienna 1932 the melody is transposed to begin on *a* and consists of just fourteen pitches: it is so curtailed that it is little more than an intonation in the second mode. I have not identified any concordances for this form of the melody, which is possibly, therefore, a local, even Viennese, adaptation. Again, the transposition to the upper fifth corroborates the hypothesis of an adjustment for female voices of the original second-mode melody in *D* beginning with the typical *clivis D–A* descending to one of the deepest notes of the gamut.

A remarkable local variant of the incipit of the troped *Benedicamus* 20, *Apostolorum sollemnia*, is preserved in Vienna 1915: here the word 'Apostolorum' is replaced by 'Marie Magdalene' (and the rest of the trope, including the response trope *Laudetur sancta trinitas*, is then identical; see Example 12.2 and compare with Appendix, no. 20). The melody

Example 12.2: *Marie Magdalene sollemnia*, Vienna 1915, fols. 79v–80r



is also identical to that in Vienna 1932, including the note groupings, with one exception: as the first line of text in Vienna 1915 contains more syllables, these were fitted to additional repetitions of the melody's first note. In Vienna 1915, the *Benedicamus Marie Magdalene sollemnia* is copied twice (as the twenty-third and twenty-fourth *Benedicamus* in this source; fols. 79v and 81v); the only differences between the two records are the spelling of the third word ('solennia' [*sic*] versus 'sollempnia'), the addition by a different hand in the second copy of the word ' l[a]ete' above 'sacra', and the presence of naturals for the three iterations of *b* that ascend to *c* in the first copy of the trope. In both copies, flats for the three iterations of *b* that descend to *a* are noted. The presence of the flats and the adjustment of the opening of melody to accommodate extra syllables with extra pitch repetitions suggest that this *Stimmtausch* melody was not performed polyphonically in two voices. Since no concordances are known, the trope dedicated to the eponymous saint of the convent is surely a variant created by the Viennese nuns.

Conclusions

Several factors point to the extreme longevity of the use of the St. Maria Magdalena manuscripts investigated here. Taking into consideration their survival during a change of location, as well as the absorption of the original community of St. Maria Magdalena into the Augustinian community of St. Laurenz, and the fact that these manuscripts were produced between the first half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, but were still in use in the sixteenth or even seventeenth century, Vienna 1932 and 1915 represent a magnificent example of the *longue durée* of liturgical sources.

In Vienna 1915, the first fifteen *Benedicamus* melodies are ordered more or less according to the liturgical year, followed by the Sanctorale and melodies for Marian feasts. Then the order is interrupted: we find the rubrics *octava nativitatis*, *dominicalis*, and *maius festivale*. In Vienna 1932, on the other hand, no order is discernible at all, and even the two Marian melodies are not grouped. That these two manuscripts arrange their *Benedicamus* melodies in a very different order—which is neither that of liturgical solemnity nor calendar—remains curious: it is counter-intuitive for the practical use of these manuscripts during the liturgy. The most probable explanation is, therefore, that the manuscripts were prepared for personal use and not copied from an official or standardised model.

Vienna 1932 contains twenty-three *Benedicamus* chants, while the younger Vienna 1915 contains twenty-two different melodies (plus two that are doubled), of which nineteen are (almost) identical to Vienna 1932. For one of these shared melodies, Vienna 1915 presents a unique variant of the *Apostolorum sollemnia* trope text for the '*Stimmtausch* Hymn' melody (*Benedicamus* 20 in Vienna 1932), which opens by naming the saint of the Order (copied twice as the largely identical twenty-third and twenty-fourth melodies in Vienna 1915). It is therefore possible to state that Vienna 1915 transmits three different melodies that are not to be found in the earlier manuscript and thus were not previously part of the corpus: its *Benedicamus* 12—which is duplicated as *Benedicamus* 13, without its trope text—as well as 15 and 21, which are both shortened versions of neighbouring *Benedicamus* melodies (14 and 20 in this source, also present in Vienna 1932). On the other hand, Vienna 1932 contains three melodies (*Benedicamus* 4, 12, and 19) that were not copied in the later manuscript. To summarise, the repertoire shows great stability as well as some innovation (most notably the Magdalenian trope for the '*Stimmtausch* Hymn' melody), and the exclusion of chants that were probably no longer in use.

Of a total of twenty-six *Benedicamus* melodies—twenty-three in Vienna 1932 plus three melodies, the trope text *Ad honorem*, and the variant trope text *Maria Magdalene sollemnia* transmitted only in Vienna 1915—the general trends of the repertoire of St. Maria Magdalena can be summarised as follows: five melodies are widely disseminated on a pan-European or trans-regional level; eight are variants of well-known *Benedicamus* or *Ite* chants; five melodies circulated predominately or exclusively within the German-speaking region, and eight *Benedicamus* melodies are currently known either uniquely from St. Maria Magdalena or only in a single external source. These eight melodies are *Benedicamus* 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, and 19 in Vienna 1932 as well as *Benedicamus* 21 in Vienna 1915.

In the make-up of the St. Maria Magdalena corpus, then, we can recognise, on the one hand, thirteen melodies with a wide circulation, which are present in manuscripts originating from across Europe, and thus part of an trans-regional tradition. On the other hand, eight *Benedicamus* melodies, that is almost a third of the corpus as a whole, were less well-known and less widely disseminated or possibly even unique to St. Maria Magdalena. Interestingly, Vienna 1932 opens its collection with four of these lesser-known melodies, which may suggest they were identified as of regional or local significance.

There are many concordances between the St. Maria Magdalena books and manuscripts from the southern German-speaking region, in particular with the extensive collection of *Benedicamus* melodies in St. Gallen 546. The intersection of a significant portion of the Viennese repertoire with that of Novacella 139 is a relevant finding, as the latter originates from an Augustinian convent in the Alpine region.

It is worth emphasising that, although some *Benedicamus* melodies are not included in currently published catalogues, this means only that these melodies were absent from the sources included in these catalogues and/or considered relevant according to their internal criteria (which is particularly important to remember in the case of Eifrig and Pfisterer's selective inclusion of *Benedicamus* melodies in their *Ite* catalogue). Comparison with a wider range of sources, particularly those from German-speaking lands (as listed in Table 12.1), has proved crucial in establishing that many of the melodies absent from published catalogues were, in fact, regionally disseminated. As for the melodies for which only one concordance has as yet been found, it is still reasonable to assume that these were less widely disseminated melodies. For those *Benedicamus* that remain, to date, unique, it is plausible to conclude that they were composed or adapted in-house. Nevertheless, future research that takes account of further manuscripts, especially from women's monasteries as well as from little-studied regions of Europe, could bring to light new concordances.

The presence of just four troped *Benedicamus* out of a total of twenty-nine *Benedicamus* items (the twenty-six melodies plus the three duplicate items in Vienna 1915: its *Benedicamus* 13, and 23 and 24) is a very small proportion in comparison to other manuscripts, such as St. Gallen 546 or the books from St. George's Convent in Prague. This indicates a limited penetration of the phenomenon of troping in the repertoire of the Viennese nuns. Alternatively, it is conceivable that the extant books represent an evolution of the repertoire from earlier sources that have not survived and which contained tropes that were rejected here.

The well-known 'Flos filius eius' trope *In laude Ihesu* is found in both manuscripts, while the *Benedicamus* trope *Apostolorum sollemnia*—what seems to be a regional text set to the widely-disseminated '*Stimmtausch* Hymn' melody—is not included in the main section (including the *Benedicamus* collection) in Vienna 1915, but was copied in a subsequent layer of the manuscript, with a reworked version of its text in a local variant for the eponymous saint of the order (*Marie Magdalene sollemnia*). The trope *Ad honorem* is only transmitted in Vienna 1915 and thus appears to be another innovation to the repertoire of *Benedicamus* settings made during the fifteenth century, perhaps suggesting that the nuns' interest in tropes increased, rather than decreased, over time.

An element of interest is the fact that two *Benedicamus* in Vienna 1915, *Ad honorem* and *In laude Ihesu*, are both present in two versions each: with and without their trope texts. These are *Benedicamus* 12–13 and 14–15 respectively, and the neighbouring position of the two conceptually similar pairs shows an element of design in the arrangement of the corpus. Another element of interest in Vienna 1915 is the fact that these two pairs of melodies share the same melodic incipit, and that the second melody represents a shortened version of the first. Again, the proximity of these melodies seems to reflect a plan for the placement of the melodies. Furthermore, the fact that they were used for the same type of festivities and that both shorter versions are absent from Vienna 1932 reveals an interest in variety in Vienna 1915 that represents a development in the provision of *Benedicamus* melodies at St. Maria Magdalena. The nuns apparently wished to provide both troped and untroped versions of the same chant as well more extensive and shorter versions of the chant melody.

Rubrics in the two Viennese manuscripts do not consistently correspond. The rubric *Summum festum* for *Benedicamus* 3 in Vienna 1915 permits its more frequent use during the year than does the rubric *Paschalis* in the older manuscript. The contrary applies to *Benedicamus* 8, with the rubric *Ad summum festum* in Vienna 1932, but only to be used *De nativitate et dedicatio* in the younger manuscript. This is the case for a total of six melodies within the repertoire of St. Maria Magdalena (*Benedicamus* 1, 8, 9, 13, 20, and 21). These circumstances demonstrate that the same melody could change its liturgical function within one and the same community over the course of time.

Concordances outside the St. Maria Magdalena books often reveal different liturgical functions for these melodies. For example, *Benedicamus* 5 and 7, though melodically identical in St. Gallen 546, carry different rubrics (and this is also the case for *Benedicamus* 11, 13, and 20, and for almost all of the melodies catalogued by Eifrig and Pfisterer that survive in multiple sources). This underlines the fact that melodies disseminated within a particular region were not always used in the same way within the liturgy in different locations, even if their melodies remained extremely stable.

The evidence of the *Stimmtausch* melodies in the St. Maria Magdalena sources point in different directions as regards their potential for polyphonic realisation. In Vienna 1915, the fourth *Benedicamus* is preserved in a version that seems to facilitate its performance in two-voice polyphony, while the addition of initial pitches and the prescription of accidentals for the twenty-third and twenty-fouth *Benedicamus* (the Maria Magdalena adaptation of *Apostolorum sollemnia*) seems to deny this possibility.

Within the corpus of *Benedicamus* chants of St. Maria Magdalena special attention is given to 'female feasts': alongside the *Benedicamus* for the 'male feasts' of the Commune Sanctorum (a total of four for apostles, martyrs, and confessors), there are three *Benedicamus* for the feasts of holy virgins, the repurposed trope for Mary Magdalene, and three *Benedicamus* for the Virgin Mary.

In this chapter I have sought to identify which of the melodies surviving from the Convent of St. Maria Magdalena were part of a regional or trans-regional repertoire. Particular variants—perhaps regional, local, or indeed in-house—of melodies transmitted

in sources across different European regions have been identified, as well as the melodies that were possibly unique to this community. In the absence of known concordances for such melodies, it is possible that these ways of singing the *Benedicamus* were the result of the nuns' creativity *in situ*. The coexistence of widespread, lesser known, and potentially locally composed or at least locally adapted *Benedicamus* chants reveals a lively musical culture that relied on both in-house production and imported, well-known, and often ancient melodies. The overall picture is simultaneously one of both creative centre and absorbing periphery. This study of the *Benedicamus* melodies sung by the community of nuns at St. Maria Magdalena in Vienna confirms the continued relevance of investigating the circulation of the repertoire in female communities and enhances still emerging understandings of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle as 'a significant locus … of female music-making'.[41]

41 • Bradley 2022, 418.

Benedicamus Domino chants in Vienna 1932 and Vienna 1915 and their concordances

Vienna 1932			final/ mode	Vienna 1915			Barclay no. (and no. of concordances)	Huglo no. (and no. of concordances)	Eifrig and Pfisterer no. (and no. of concordances)
no.	fol.	rubric		no.	fol.	rubric			
1	22r	Paschalis	*D*/I	3	48r	Summum festum	—	—	—



2	22v	—	*D*/I	4	49r	Med[ium] fest[um]	—	—	—



3	23r	—	*E*/III	2		De nativitate domini et dedicatio	—	—	variant of 213 (1 *Ite*)



4	23r	—	*F*/V	—	—	—	—	—	—



5	23r	Dominicis diebus et IX lectionum	G/VIII	5	49v	[N]ovum [*sic*] [lecti]onum	variant of 93 (1)	minor variant of 401 (12)	414c (1)



Vienna 1932			final/ mode	Vienna 1915			Barclay no. (and no. of concordances)	Huglo no. (and no. of concordances)	Eifrig and Pfisterer no. (and no. of concordances)
no.	fol.	rubric		no.	fol.	rubric			
6	23v	IX lectionum	G/VIII	6	50r	No[vem] lectio[num]	variant of 93 (1)	minor variant of 401 (12)	—
7	23v	Trium lectionum et in feriis	G/VIII	7	50r	Triu[m] lectio[num]	variant of 93 (1)	minor variant of 401 (12)	—
8	23v	Ad summum festum	*E*/III	2	47r	De nativitate domini et dedicatio	—	—	variant of 213 (1 *Ite*)
9	24r	Medium festivale	*D*/I	8	50v	[F]estivale	variant of 22 (4)	109 (6)	157 (47 *Ite*)
10	24r	Festivale maius	*F*/VI	20	56r	Ma[ius] festi[vale]	—	—	incipit = 311 (1)
				21	57r	Aliud shortened; *c*/VI	—	—	—

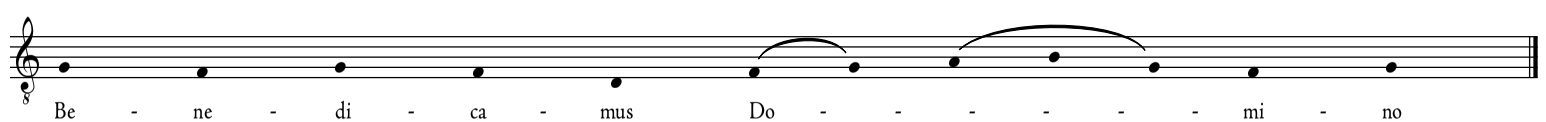
Vienna 1932			final/ mode	Vienna 1915			Barclay no. (and no. of concordances)	Huglo no. (and no. of concordances)	Eifrig and Pfisterer no. (and no. of concordances)
no.	fol.	rubric		no.	fol.	rubric			
11	24v	Dominicale et IX lectionum	*D*/I	19	55v	[Domi]nicalis [et] IX lectio[num]	variant of 21 (6)	variant of 118 (10)	variant of 144 (16)



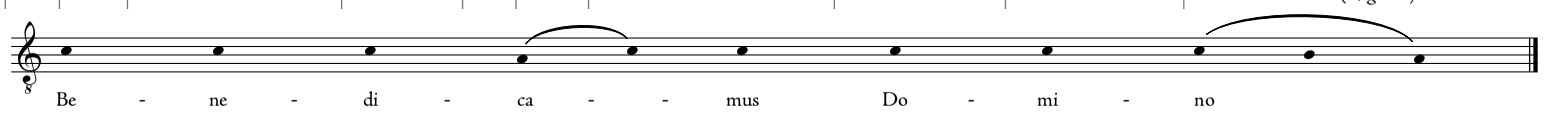
12	24v	Item in secundis vesperis IX lectionum et in primis III lectionum [et] in secundis vesperis dominice	*F*/VI	—	86 (1, on G)	—	—	—	306B (2, on *F*)



13	24v	In secundis vesperis dominicale	G/VIII	17	55r	In s[ecundis?] vel per [annum?]	—	—	146A/3 (1 *BD*, 19 *Ite*)



14	24v	In feriis	recitation *c*—*a*	22	57v	—	—	—	225Ba (8, *g*—*e*)



Vienna 1932			final/ mode	Vienna 1915			Barclay no. (and no. of concordances)	Huglo no. (and no. of concordances)	Eifrig and Pfisterer no. (and no. of concordances)
no.	fol.	rubric		no.	fol.	rubric			
15	25r	In octava nativitatis et de trinitatis [*sic*]	*D*/I	16	54v	[I]n octava Na[ti]vitatis	—	variant of 112 (1) and 116 (8)	—



16	25r	In adventu domini	*E*/IV	1	46v	In adventu domini	—	—	variant of 202 (3)



17	25r	De virgine Marie [*sic*] *In laude Ihesu*	*a*/II	14	53v	Von unser lieben Frawn *In laude Ihesu*; *D*/II	variant of 32 (7+5 troped)	variant of 117 (26)	variant of 110 (1)
				15	54v	De sancta Maria without trope text; shortened; *D*/II			—

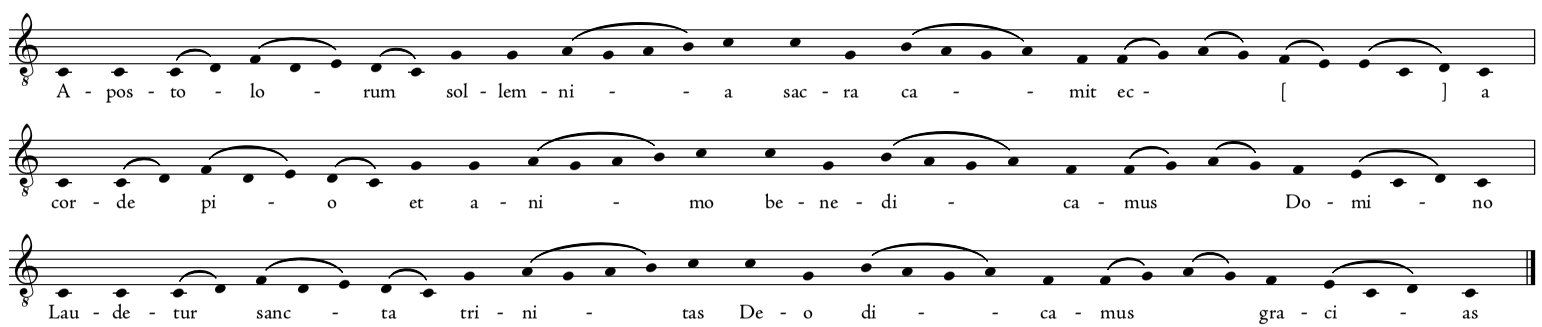


18	25v	In secundis vesperis de virginibus IX lectionum	*F*/VI	18	55v	—	variant of 71 (1)	—	304 (10 *Ite*)



Vienna 1932			final/ mode	Vienna 1915			Barclay no. (and no. of concordances)	Huglo no. (and no. of concordances)	Eifrig and Pfisterer no. (and no. of concordances)
no.	fol.	rubric		no.	fol.	rubric			
19	25v	De virgine Maria	*a*/II	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	25v	De apostolis *Apostolorum sollemnia*	C/V	23	79v	Von sand Maria Magdalen conversio [*sic*] *Marie Magdalene sollemnia*	—	—	—
				24	81v				
21	26r	Alia	G/VIII	9	51r	De [apo]stolis	—	—	variant of 427a+b (15+16)







Vienna 1932			final/ mode	Vienna 1915			Barclay no. (and no. of concordances)	Huglo no. (and no. of concordances)	Eifrig and Pfisterer no. (and no. of concordances)
no.	**fol.**	**rubric**		**no.**	**fol.**	**rubric**			
22	26r	De martyribus	*D*/I	11	51v	[De] mart[yrib]us *E*/III	29 (2)	114 (4)	161A/B (4)
23	26v	De confessoribus	*F*/VI	10	51v	[D]e confes[sor]ibus	—	—	variant of 309 (52 *Ite*)
	—		*E*/III	12	52r	De v[irgi]nibu[s] *Ad honorem*	—	—	—
	—		*E*/III	13	52v	[D]e vir[gin]ibus (= melody of *Ad honorem*, without trope text)			

13.

The Unique Collection of Monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* Melodies and Tropes from Medieval Riga

*Laine Tabora**

During the thirteenth century, it became customary to collect melodies for the *Benedicamus Domino* in separate manuscript sections. Compilations of *Benedicamus* formulas found specific placements within various missals, psalters, breviaries, and processionals. Frequently, the *Benedicamus* melodies were organised according to specific liturgical celebrations, often accompanied by rubrics clarifying the feasts for which each melody was intended. One such collection has been preserved from the Cistercian nunnery St. Mary Magdalene in Riga. Riga was one of the largest cities in medieval Livonia, a historical region on the frontier of Latin Christendom (the present-day territory of Latvia and Estonia). As a result of conflicts, political changes, and social transformations in the post-medieval history of Livonia, few liturgical sources have survived. Among these, an even smaller number bear witness to the musical practices within religious institutions of the region.

Despite the scarcity of liturgical manuscripts from Livonia, sources originating from Riga provide us with limited but significant insights into liturgical and musical customs. So far, few liturgical sources with musical notation from late medieval Riga exist. These include the Riga Missal (*Missale Rigense*), dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and used in the Cathedral of Riga, as well as manuscripts from the former Cistercian nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene in the same period.[1] The nuns' books—currently preserved in libraries in Uppsala and Vilnius—comprise fourteen liturgical manuscripts, among which are three breviaries, nine books of hours (of which five contain musical notation), a hymnary and collectary, and a psalter.[2] Seven of these handwritten books contain musical notation. Given the limited quantity of sources attesting to the liturgical practices of reli-

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* This study is based on the preliminary results of a doctoral thesis carried out at the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome.

The following manuscript sigla are used:

Brussels II.2631	Brussels, KBR, II.2631
Psalterium Davidis	Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, RS F 22–96
Riga Missal	Riga, Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskā bibliotēka, 1
St. Gallen 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546
Uppsala 436	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 436
Uppsala 438	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 438
Uppsala 486	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 486
Wrocław 401	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 401

1 • On the Riga Missal, see Prānis 2018.

2 • For a detailed study of these manuscripts, see Tabora 2021 and 2023a. During the Thirty Years War (1618–48), the manuscripts of the former Cistercian nunnery were confiscated and moved from Riga to Uppsala. There are, to date, thirteen known liturgical codices from the Cistercian nunnery in Riga in the collection of the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek. The Psalterium Davidis from the nuns' collection is currently kept in the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. For more information on the history of the Riga Cistercian Books, see Strenga et al. 2021.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143524 ✳

gious communities from medieval Livonia, compared to the abundance of sources in other regions of Europe, a unique *Benedicamus* Domino collection—preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscript Uppsala 438—is therefore of particular interest.

In this chapter I undertake a detailed analysis of the *Benedicamus* melodies in Uppsala 438, along with the text and melodies of four *Benedicamus* tropes. I seek to determine the origins of these melodies, investigating to what extent they have roots in a broader musical tradition and how far they may reflect peculiarly local practices in Riga. Additionally, I aim to illustrate the correlation between musical elements and the liturgical celebrations for which they were intended. Lastly, I explore the implications of these findings for understanding the liturgical practices within the Cistercian nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene in late medieval Riga.

The *Liber horarum* Uppsala 438 in context

Manuscript Uppsala 438 is one of nine books classified as a book of hours (*liber horarum*) designed for monastic use. It is one of the five books of hours out of the nine that contain musical notation. Akin to other private prayer books from Riga, it is a small, portable handwritten book, modest in terms of illustrations and decorations. Unlike its counterparts, however, it is written on paper. Uppsala 438, moreover, is the only known manuscript from the Cistercian nunnery to contain a note about its scribe, indicating that the writer was most likely male. The *Benedicamus Domino* collection includes (on fol. 128v) a special request to users of the book: 'Orate pro scriptore fr[atr]e v[est]ro unu[m] p[ater] n[oster]'. Uppsala 438 is a prayer book of a miscellaneous nature. Similar to other books of the nuns' collection, it combines Office forms from the Proper of the Temporale and the Sanctorale, as well as votive Offices and supplementary devotional prayers. Its contents, therefore, reveal its use in individual and communal liturgical celebrations among nuns. In addition, the musical notation in the monastic book of hours confirms that certain parts of the book's content were performed chorally.[3] This can be seen, for example, in the recurring musical elements in Cistercian books from Riga: the Invitatory—Psalm 94 (95)—is fully notated in all five books, and alleluia antiphons for Easter season are present in three. At the same time, these books also contain unique material that is not common to other Cistercian books from Riga: hymns and hymn incipits, an antiphon, and the extensive *Benedicamus* collection in Uppsala 438.[4] While the five prayer books belonging to the Mary Magdalene nunnery share common features in appearance and content, Uppsala 438 differs in the arrangement of some elements.[5] The most remarkable difference, however, is

3 • See Tabora 2023b.

4 • There are: two Marian hymns in Uppsala 486, the chant *Rector coeli nos exaudi* in the breviary Uppsala 436, and a hymn for the feast of the Ascension in the Psalterium Davidis.

5 • Most of the books of hours present a common sequence of elements. Books of hours usually begin with the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Officium parvum Beatae Mariae Virginis*), one of the most characteristic elements of the genre. In all the Riga Cistercian books of hours, with the exception of Uppsala 438, the Little Office is placed at the beginning of the manuscript.

its musical collection of *Benedicamus* formulas, which is wholly unique among the surviving books from Riga.

The *Benedicamus Domino* collection in Uppsala 438

The final pages of Uppsala 438 (fols. 119v–130v) contain 103 musical references to monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* versicles. There are indications that the aim of this compilation was not necessarily to document the nuns' musical practice. These include frequent inconsistencies in the incipits of the same melody, often notated incorrectly and with evident haste. It seems, therefore, that the compilation was rather a reminder for individuals already familiar with the melodies through repetition and memorisation, and for whom an approximate cue for the melody in question sufficed. In addition to the *Benedicamus* versicles, eight melodic incipits of two hymns (*Iam lucis* and *Rerum Deus*) are provided in a similar manner. The placement of the hymn incipit *Iam lucis* immediately following the *Benedicamus Domino* suggests that the closing versicle was also used at the end of a Mass directly connected to the canonical hour, in this case, Prime.[6] Out of the 103 melodic indications for the *Benedicamus* versicle, just eight distinct melodies can be identified, of which only six are notated in full. Among these, there are four tropes for important feasts of the nunnery—Marian feasts and saints of the Order (St Benedict and St Bernard)—and for other major feasts of the liturgical year (the Dedication of a Church, the Holy Trinity, All Saints, and the Nativity of Christ).

The melodic incipits or cues are organised by rubrics, which have the appearance of a calendar, following a *de tempore* system (organised according to the liturgical year) and specifying the liturgical occasion and the feast day associated with each melody. The rubrics cover the period after Pentecost, from the Holy Trinity to St Ambrose on 4 April. Additionally, melodic incipits are provided at the end of the collection for the Common of Saints (including apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins) for Sundays and for Easter time, with additional troped *Benedicamus* settings for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, St Benedict, and St Bernard. However, inconsistencies in the order of the feasts disrupt the sequence of the liturgical calendar and closer examination reveals that the collection is incomplete. This is probably due to later dismantling and reassembly of the folios, whose sequence is incorrect in the current state of the manuscript.[7]

I now examine in turn each of the eight *Benedicamus* melodies and four tropes in Uppsala 438. In some instances, the limited and sometimes careless nature of the notation provided in this manuscript poses a challenge, allowing only partial identification of the melodies.

6 • Carl-Allan Moberg described this collection of incipits as a 'melodic catalogue of hymns'; Moberg 1947, 285.

7 • In order to respect the liturgical calendar, the folios, as currently numbered, should be reordered as follows: fols. 119r–v, 120r–v, 121r–v, 123r–v, 125r–v, 126r–v, 124r–v, 129r–v, 127r–v, 128r–v, and presumably fol. 130r–v, 122r–v.

Identifying *Benedicamus* melodies in Uppsala 438

Among over 103 melodic indications just eight distinct melodies have been discerned. These melodies, along with their related celebrations, are presented in the Appendix. For each melody, the incipits of *Benedicamus* chants as recorded in Uppsala 438 are given alongside complete melodies where possible. These melodies are numbered and ordered according to their frequency within the *Benedicamus* collection, with the most popular melodies first. Plainchant sources, including references to modern catalogues by Barbara Marian Barclay and William F. Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer, are noted.

In all but one case, *Benedicamus Domino* 1 is associated with the liturgical celebrations of martyrs and confessors. Notably, this melody was also employed for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. A general rubric *De confessoribus* provides a complete *Benedicamus Domino* melody, emphasising its distinct association with this typology of liturgical feasts. A slightly different melodic incipit (the second version in the Appendix) accompanies the rubrics *Cathedra petri*, *Gregorii pape*, and *Fabiani et Sebastiani*. However, given that these incipits differ only in the last note, it is more likely that the scribe made an error and meant to refer to the same melody. The versicle, associated with martyrs and confessors, aligns with chants previously identified in comparative studies. It presents a slightly varied melodic version that corresponds to the well-known *Benedicamus Domino* and *Ite missa est* melody (see the comparison in the Appendix).[8]

Benedicamus Domino 2 is associated with various liturgical celebrations, predominantly those falling under the third rank, observed with *officium plenum* and Mass, commonly referred to as *semiduplex*, *simplex*, or *plenum officium*.[9] All the rubrics for these festivities provide only the incipit, while the fully-notated melody is located under the rubric *De dominica*. Indeed, this melody is identified in various sources as the Sunday tone.[10]

According to the rubrics, *Benedicamus Domino* 3, based on the 'Clementiam' melisma, was used for the most significant festivities of the nunnery.[11] It corresponded to the liturgical rank of *Summum festum* and feasts of *Duodecim lectionum* as indicated in the calendar, except for St Birgitta. However, it is important to highlight that other liturgical sources from the Riga nunnery emphasise the considerable prominence of St Birgitta's cult within the community. The Swedish saint was commemorated on two separate dates: 6 October and 23 July. The *Benedicamus* collection confirms that her commemorative day was celebrated with the same melody as other significant days

8 • The melody is similar to no. 117 in first mode in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, with some variations. It is no. 36 in Barclay 1977 and no. 116 in Huglo 1982.

9 • Tabora 2021, 128

10 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 26; cf. melody no. 146B.

11 • Tabora 2021, 126–31.

within the nunnery.[12] However, the collection contains only a partial version of this *Benedicamus*, at most its first six pitches, and an incipit indicated for St Bernard's feast is the longest version. Nevertheless, the melodic incipit has the distinctive opening of the 'Clementiam' melody, which is employed in full in two completely notated tropes in the same collection: *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* and *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha*, which will be discussed later.

Benedicamus Domino 4 is associated with the feast days of apostles, primarily with their vigils. This *Benedicamus* is also used for the festive days of SS Joseph, Elizabeth, Catherine, and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, as well as for St Stephen the Protomartyr, all of which were celebrated as high-ranking festivities in the nunnery. In three cases (*Elysabeth vidue*, *Katherine virginis*, *In vigilia Andree*), the melodic incipit starts on *D*. This is evidently an error that probably occurred during the copying process.[13] The complete version of this melody is situated within one of the two rubrics *De apostolis*, here starting on *F*. A potential melodic correspondence for this melody can be discerned in the melisma 'In perhenni seculorum tempora' of the responsory *Honor virtus*.[14] It is also a melody known as the Sunday tone, which is still used in the Cistercian liturgy to this day, demonstrating its enduring tradition.[15]

Benedicamus Domino 5 is primarily associated with liturgical feasts dedicated to virgins. The Cistercian female community of Riga had a special devotion to holy women, commemorating many of these days as high-ranking feast days. However, the melody is also intended for use during various periods within the octave of Christmas, including SS Thomas, Silvester, and the octave of St John, as well as during the octave of Epiphany. Additionally, this melody is linked to the feast of Corpus Christi and its octave.[16] According to other sources, this *Benedicamus* tone was sung during the duplex feasts, a custom evidently followed by the Cistercian nuns of Riga.[17] However, this fully notated melody requires clarification in terms of melodic recognition. Although the *Benedicamus* incipit remains consistent across all rubrics, it differs from the incipit in the fully notated melody. The initial melodic design in all the incipits is G–*a*–*c*–G–*a*–G, while the complete version of the melody displays an inaccurate *F*–G–*b*–G–*a*–G (see the Appendix). Most likely, the scribe started to write the melody from the wrong pitch. The melody can be reconstructed by relying on the indicated tones in the incipits. The

12 • Ibid., 142–43.

13 • All three incipits, starting on *d*, are located between fols. 126r and 127r.

14 • Barclay 1977, 83. See also Ch. 10 in this volume by Thomas Phillips.

15 • See Ordo Cisterciensis and Stift Heiligenkreuz 2015, 40.

16 • The use of the *Benedicamus* melody in the octave is specified in the rubric on fol. 119v: 'idem ut supra in octavam corporis'.

17 • Robertson 1988, 33; the melody is also encountered as Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus settings, further confirming its popularity. See Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, xxiii.

reconstruction of the melody further facilitates the identification of contrafacta: the slightly altered melody of *Benedicamus Domino* corresponds to the widely-known incipit of the antiphon *O Christi pietas* for St Nicholas. However, a variation in the descending interval can be observed in the initial intonation. It is noteworthy that the melodic correspondences of *O Christi pietas* feature the interval of a third, while all *Benedicamus* incipits in Uppsala 438 indicate a fourth. The interval of a fourth in the Uppsala 438 melody suggests a possible variation from the East. This is also the profile of the melody as recorded in Wrocław 401, a Cistercian antiphoner dated c.1295 from Lubiąż, in south-western Poland, here with the text of the antiphon *Gaude solum slezie* for Hedwig, Matron and Duchess of Silesia (see the comparison in the Appendix).

For *Benedicamus Domino* 6, only two melodic incipits can be identified, but they do not correspond exactly to each other. In both renditions, the relationships between the melodic degrees do not align precisely. However, they most probably represent the same *Benedicamus* tone. The two incipits can be classified as ferial recitation tones used for post-octave *feriales* and for Sundays following Epiphany. Similar melodic incipits often illustrate the most common simple tones, classified as weekday tunes, which can appear in various forms.[18]

Benedicamus Domino 7 and 8 were used during Easter time. The seventh melody is presented in its complete version with a more ornate style. A corresponding melody, which does not seem to be based on a source chant, can be identified for *Benedicamus Domino* 7.[19] The second of these melodies associated with Easter, *Benedicamus Domino* 8, is also independent of any source chant. It is a prominent and widely-recognised melody in the tetradus mode, which circulated in various versions.[20]

In summary, six out of the eight different *Benedicamus* chants identified in Uppsala 438 are fully notated. *Benedicamus Domino* 1, 3, 4, and 5 borrowed pre-existing melismas, while *Benedicamus Domino* 2, 7, and 8 are recognisable as variations of *Benedicamus* versicles known elsewhere in Europe. These variations demonstrate characteristic melodic traits of eastern and northern regions. *Benedicamus Domino* 6 is a simple recitation formula that took various forms and is too incomplete and generic to be identified with any specific *Benedicamus* chant.

Benedicamus Domino tropes in Uppsala 438

Folio 130r of Uppsala 438 presents two tropes relating to feasts of the Virgin Mary. Notably, the first trope, *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*—a common and widespread *Benedicamus*

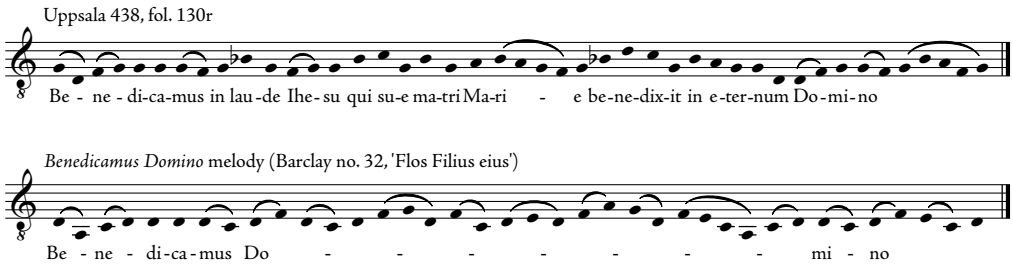
18 • See, for example, Huglo 1982, no. 202.

19 • Barclay 1977, no. 64.

20 • Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, no. 414c; Barclay 1977, no. 93; Huglo 1982, no. 401. Evidence of this melody can also be traced in the modern Cistercian edition for the days of the Easter octave; see Ordo Cisterciensis and Stift Heiligenkreuz 2015, 41.

trope for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin—is exclusively notated accompanying rubrics associated with Marian feasts (see Example 13.1).[21] Rubrics provide indications for its use during the celebrations of the *Visitacio Marie virginis*, *De assumpcione beate Marie virginis*, *Natiuitatis Marie virginis*, *Presentacio Marie*, *Concepcio Marie*, and *Annunciacionis Marie*. The only non-Marian celebration in which only the verbal incipit of this Marian trope appears is on the eve of the Nativity of Christ. This indicates that the *Benedicamus Domino* would have been troped on these liturgical occasions, reflecting the deep Marian devotion of the Cistercian tradition and the St. Mary Magdalene nunnery. The *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* is a common and widespread *Benedicamus* trope for feasts of the Blessed Virgin.[22]

Example 13.1: Comparison of *Benedicamus Domino* trope *In laude Ihesu*, Uppsala 438, fol. 130r, and *Benedicamus Domino* melody, Barclay no. 32, 'Flos filius eius'



The melody of the trope is based on the well-known melisma 'Flos filius eius' (see the comparison in Example 13.1), drawn from the middle of the first verse of the Marian responsory *Stirps Jesse*: 'Virgo Dei genetrix virga est flos filius eius'.[23] This *Benedicamus* melody was well-known and widespread throughout western Europe as early as the eleventh century, both as monophonic plainchant and as tenor in polyphonic settings. Uppsala 438 confirms that this melody was also known and used in northern Europe. Karin Lagergren has recently called attention to the presence of this *Benedicamus* trope—in a slightly variant textual version—in sources linked to the Swedish order of the Birgittines.[24] The 'Flos filius' melisma derived from a Marian responsory is mainly found in the form of a *Benedicamus* chant designed for Marian feasts. However, the melody was so widespread that there are also cases where it was used for non-Marian feasts and troped with non-Marian texts.[25] *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* illustrates the use of a more ornate melody, and with an added textual trope, to increase the solemnity of the liturgy on Marian feast days, whose celebration was especially significant in the Cistercian nunnery in Riga.

21 ⋆ Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, no. 110; Huglo 1982, no. 117.

22 ⋆ See the discussion of this trope in the chapter by Gionata Brusa, Ch. 7 above.

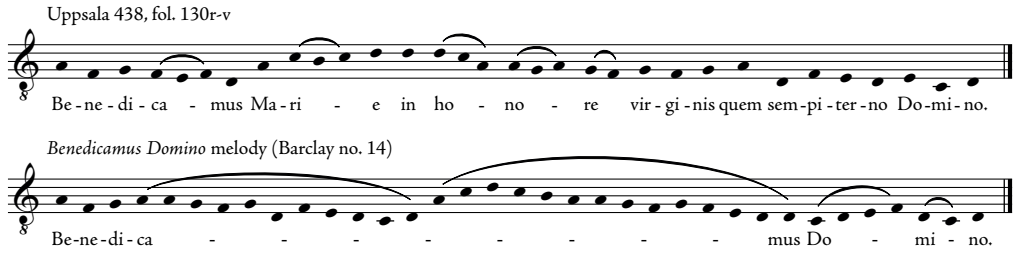
23 ⋆ According to Hesbert, it was customary to perform this responsory for the feast of the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Hesbert 1970, 419, no. 7709.

24 ⋆ Lagergren 2022, 473–74.

25 ⋆ In other, later sources, this melody also appears with the text *Benedicamus in laude panis quem cristus dedit* and is used for Corpus Christi. For example, the sixteenth-century sequentiary St. Gallen 546 (fol. 375v), or a sixteenth-century chant book from a Clarissen convent in Dordrecht, which includes verses and troped *Benedicamus Domino* formulas (Brussels II.2631, fols. 62r–63r).

The second Marian trope, *In honore virginis*, also in the first mode, is found exclusively in the section designated 'common' with the rubric *De beata Virgine* and is not mentioned in any other incipit in the collection (see Example 13.2). Therefore, there is no specific

Example 13.2: Comparison of *Benedicamus Domino* trope *In honore virginis*, Uppsala 438, fol. 130r, and *Benedicamus Domino* melody, Barclay no. 14



reference for using this trope apart from the general rubric. This implies that the use of the trope is left to the performer's discretion. There is no clear plainchant concordance for this particular *Benedicamus* trope with the text 'Benedicamus Marie in honore virginis quem sempiterno Domino'. Yet its overall profile is similar to the *Benedicamus Domino* melody number 14 in Barclay's classification (see the comparison Example 13.2).[26]

Uppsala 438 contains two further tropes that are both based on the same melody, another very well-known *Benedicamus Domino* plainchant, which adopts the melisma 'Clementiam', from the St Nicholas responsory *Qui cum audissent*.[27] The first trope is *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* (fols. 130v–131r), prescribed in Uppsala 438 for the feast of St Benedict—with the rubric *De sancto Benedicto*—and its text directly addresses this saint (see Example 13.3). The trope, however, is additionally supplied with an alternative version of its final line whose music and text are written out in full, and which substitutes the name of St Bernard, another saint especially venerated in the Cistercian Order (see Figure 13.1).[28] Indeed, although there is no rubric present for St Bernard on fols. 130v–131r, the feast of St Bernard on fol. 121v does includes the incipit *Benedicamus devotis*.[29]

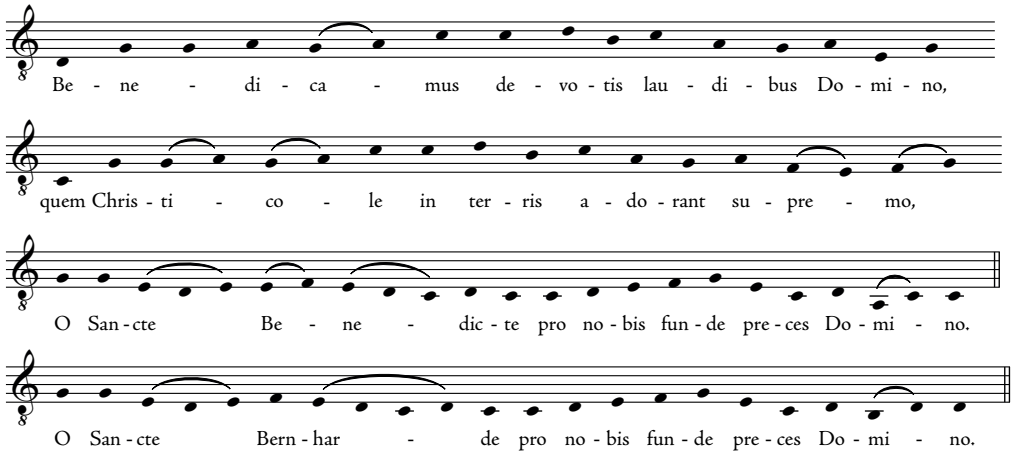
26 • The melody also bears similarities to the Marian antiphon *Maria, Maria totius*. It is interesting to note that this antiphon is well-known as the Magnificat antiphon for Saturday Vespers in the Birgittine liturgy. Lagergren 2022, 470, Example 4, demonstrated that the Birgittines developed this melodic pattern for a corresponding *Benedicamus* trope. This antiphon is present in all the books of hours of the Cistercian nuns in Riga, reflecting their particular devotion to the Virgin Mary. Unfortunately, only the text of this antiphon is indicated in the manuscripts, with no accompanying musical notation. However, it is possible that the Riga nuns, like the Birgittines, used the same or another antiphon as a melodic model for a different *Benedicamus* trope.

27 • On 'Clementiam', see the essay by Mary Channen Caldwell in this volume, Ch. 4.

28 • See the discussion of a comparable, twelfth-century example, where the *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* prosula is provided with multiple options for its dedicatee in Caldwell, Ch. 4, esp. Figure 4.4.

29 • Uppsala 438, fol. 121v. However, the *Benedicamus* rubric for the feasts of *Benedicti abbatis* and *Translacio Benedicti* does not mention this trope.

Example 13.3: *Benedicamus Domino* trope *Benedicamus devotis laudibus*, Uppsala 438, fol. 130r–v



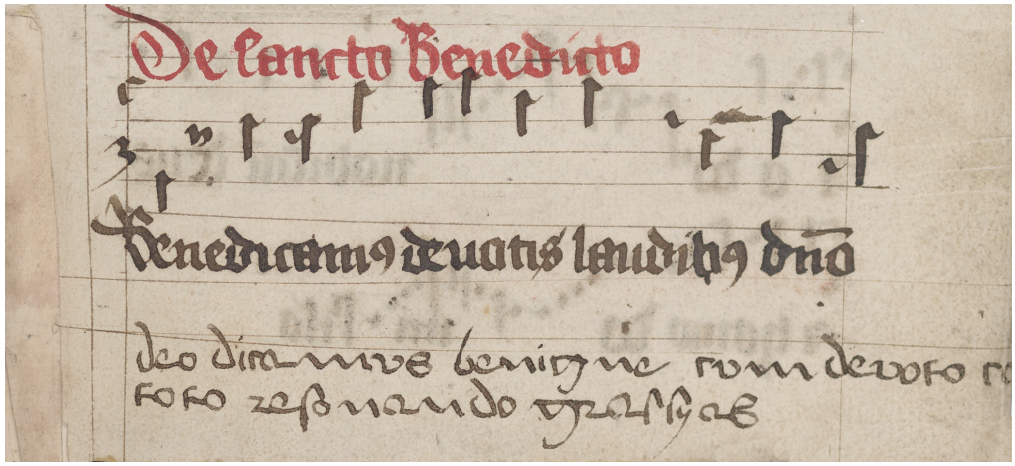


Figure 13.1a: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek C 438, fol. 130r, bottom (opening of *Benedicamus devotis laudibus*).
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Benedicamus devotis laudibus is an established variant of the better-known *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* prosula text for the 'Clementiam' melisma.[30] *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* is documented elsewhere for its use at saints' feasts, and with the substitution of various saints' names.[31] The trope text is a solemn supplication directed towards its saints, offering praises to the Lord and seeking their intercession:

30 • See the discussion of this prosula in the essays by Sam Barrett and Mary Channen Caldwell in this volume, Ch. 1 and Ch. 4.

31 • The evidence for this usage is found in St. Gallen 546, adapted to the different saints' names (see fols. 375v–376r).

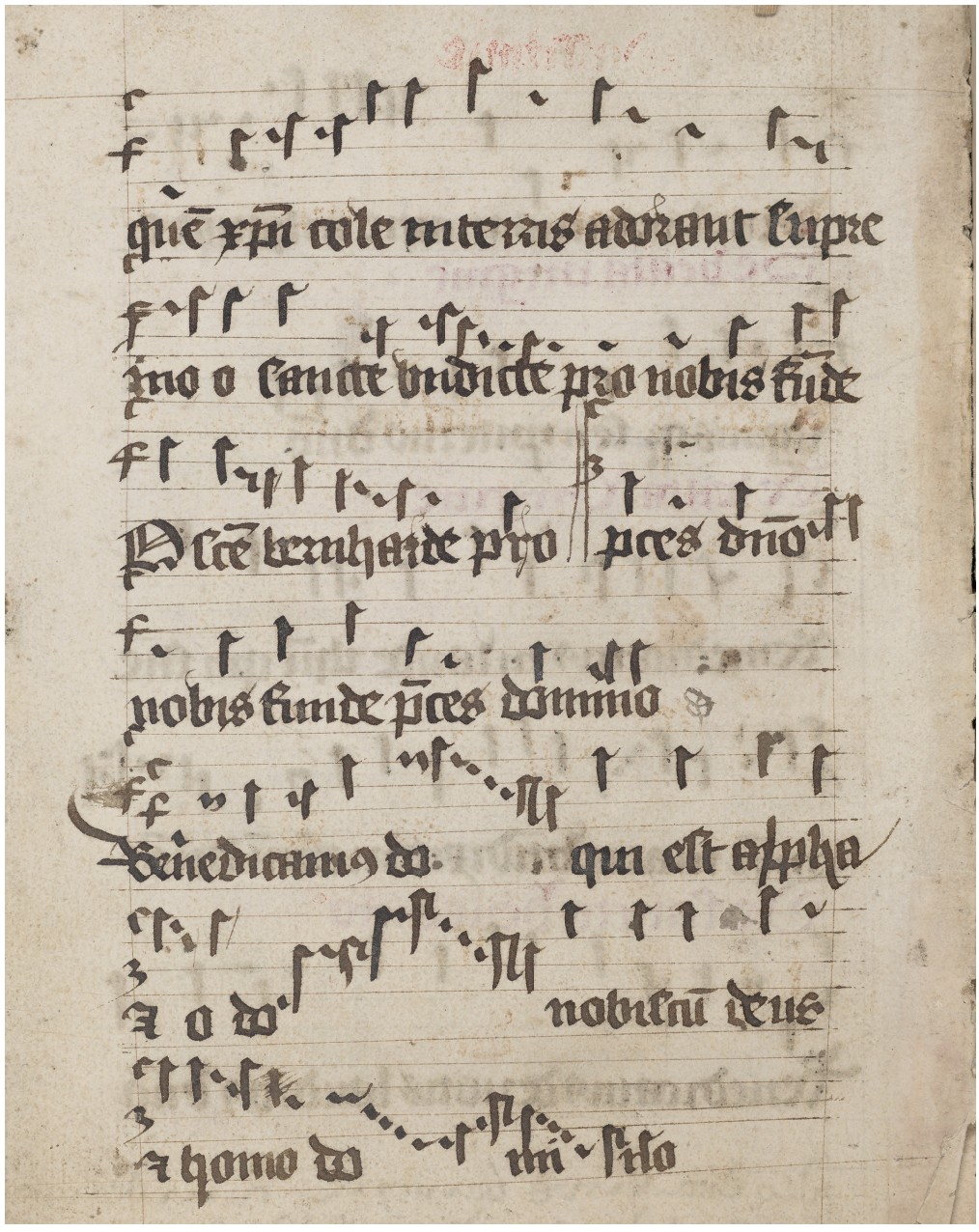


Figure 13.1b: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek C 438, fol. 130v (*Benedicamus devotis laudibus*, contd. and *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha*). Reproduced with permission

BENEDICAMUS devotis laudibus
DOMINO quem Christicole in terris adorant supremo.
O sancte Benedicte/Bernharde pro nobis funde preces DOMINO.

(LET US BLESS with devout praises, the LORD whom the worshippers of Christ on earth adore as the highest. O holy Benedict/Bernard, pour forth prayers for us to the LORD)

Inserted at the bottom of fol. 130v is the text of a trope for the *Deo gratias* response to the *Benedicamus* versicle:

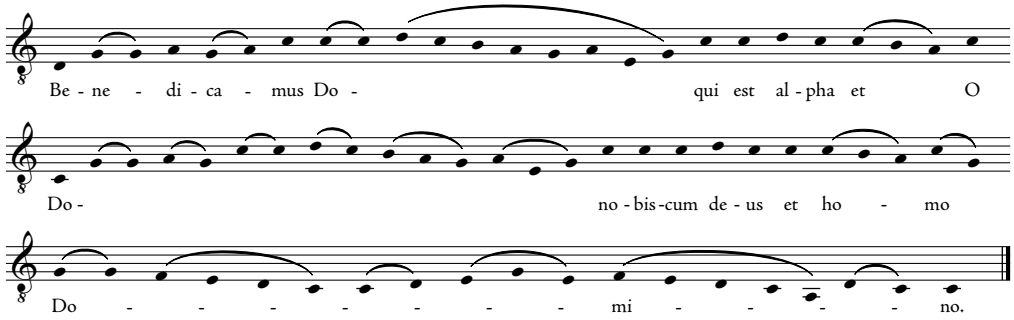
DEO dicamus benigne, cum devoto toto resonando GRATIAS

(Let us kindly say to GOD, resonating with devout fervor, THANKS).

Since this response trope is not notated, there is no clear indication as to how its text should (presumably) be underlaid to the music of the preceding versicle trope.

The last trope in Uppsala 438, which immediately follows *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* on fol. 131r without an accompanying rubric, is *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha* (see Figure 13.1b and Example 13.4). *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha* also adopts the quite expansive melody of the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus*. This trope was used for various feasts of the

Example 13.4: *Benedicamus Domino* trope *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha*, Uppsala 438, fol. 130v



highest rank. The first such feast is Vespers and Matins of the Holy Trinity, as indicated by the rubric 'De sancta trinitate ad vesperas et ad matutinum'.[32] Additionally, it was sung during the feast of Purification of the Virgin and on the eve of All Saints. Furthermore, the trope is designated for use during the feast of the Dedication of a Church and also during Second Vespers of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[33] Its text is as follows:

BENEDICAMUS DO-	LET US BLESS THE LORD
qui est alpha et O DO-	who is Alpha and Omega LORD,
nobiscum, Deus et homo	God and man with us
DOMINO.	LORD.

32 • The rubric also states that the *Benedicamus Domino* is to be sung without the trope during Second Vespers: 'De sancta trinitate ad vesperas et ad matutinum. In secundis vesperis sine qui est alpha' (Uppsala 438, fol. 119r).

33 • 'In Dedicacione ecclesie' (fol. 125v); 'Purificacio Marie virginis' (fol. 127r); 'Annunciacionis Marie in secundis vesperis benedicamus qui est' (fol. 128r).

As is often the case in prosulae, which add syllabic texts to pre-existing chant melismas, this text emphasises the vowel sounds of the original melody, here especially the syllable 'Do-' of 'Domino', which remains unresolved, sung in a melismatic manner.

Despite numerous inconsistencies in the notation of the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* in Uppsala 438, it seems that—in some cases—this reflects a regional variant of the melody. In both tropes, and in the untroped incipit of the melody (*Benedicamus Domino* 3 in the Appendix), the melisma invariably opens with a rising (*D*–G) fourth, not the rising (C–G) fifth that is more typical of the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus*. Moreover, the two different prosulae are flexible as concerns the finalis of the melody, whether *D* or C. In *Benedicamus devotis laudibus* in Example 13.3 above, for instance, the trope begins on *D*, but the repetition of the melody's opening phrase (second system) opens on C, and the trope's two alternative endings (whether for St Benedict or St Bernard) close on different pitches (C and *D* respectively).[34] In *Benedicamus Do- qui est alpha* in Example 13.4, the 'Clementiam' melisma commences on *D*, but the repetition of its second phrase begins on C, and the chant also ends on C. Lagergren, in her analysis of another *Benedicamus* prosula trope for the 'Clementiam' melisma in Birgittine sources, *Benedicamus superni regis*, recently drew attention to its mixed C/D modality, as well as the melody's initial *D*–G fourth, which she noted as an unusual feature consistently found in Birgittine sources.[35] This variable *C/D* finalis and opening fourth, which can now be shown to be shared with the Riga use in Uppsala 438, may therefore constitute a salient feature of the later melodic tradition for the 'Clementiam' *Benedicamus* in northern Europe.

Conclusions

This research sheds light on the liturgical practices and traditions of a region that have not been previously explored, offering new—though necessarily partial—insights into the liturgical and musical customs observed within the walls of the Cistercian nunnery in medieval Riga. The *Benedicamus* collection from Saint Mary Magdalene is a significant musical and liturgical testimony, given the scarcity of sources from Riga and the entire region of Livonia. The compilation reveals that *Benedicamus* melodies were carefully classified by the grade of their liturgical feasts or according to typology, for example, for virgins, martyrs, and confessors. The collection shows concordances with well-known *Benedicamus* formulas—such as melodies for ferial or Sunday tones and formulas used in the medieval Cistercian liturgy to the present day—as well as variations that may reflect regional pecu-

34 • Possibly, the two different endings for the final phrase are simply copying errors, since the second version for St Bernard is unusual in its descent to *b* (rather than *a*). Given the overall flexibility in the finalis of the melody, it is, however, difficult to be sure, and Example 13.3 reproduces the version of the melody as recorded in Uppsala 438.

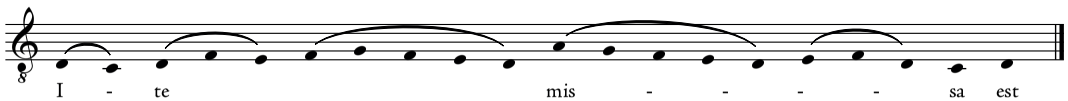
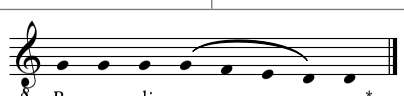
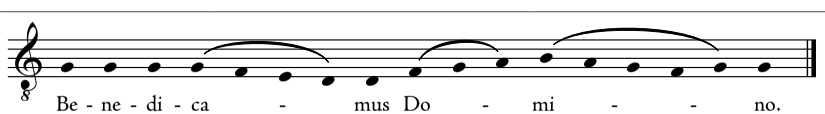
35 • See Lagergren 2022, 468–69. While the reading in the Riga source may well have been part of a melodic tradition shared with the Birgittines, it is worth noting that the flexibility of the opening pitch of C or *D* (and an initial rising seventh or octave) is already apparent in the earliest known record of the prosula *Benedicamus devotis mentibus* from the late twelfth century and in the song *Eia, pueri iubilo* (also related to the 'Clementiam' melisma and which first appears in early eleventh-century sources). This is demonstrated in the essay by Sam Barrett, Ch. 1, esp. Example 1.7.

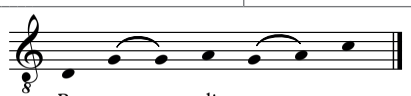
liarities. The collection's four *Benedicamus* tropes are of particular interest. These more elaborate melodies, and their accompanying texts, were sung on the most important feasts of the monastic community, such as Marian feasts, other major celebrations of the liturgical year, and feasts in honour of patron saints.

The musical material found in the book of hours for monastic use is of previously unsuspected interest. In the case of Uppsala 438, as the only book to include a collection of *Benedicamus* chants, it may have been that this was a personal manuscript, intended for use by a person responsible for intoning the *Benedicamus* chant at the end of liturgical celebrations. This singer did not require details of all of the individual melodies, but rather only a brief indication as to which particular *Benedicamus* was appropriate for each feast. It is possible that this responsibility for the *Benedicamus Domino* was assigned to novices or monastic schoolchildren, as was customary in monasteries.[36] Despite the lack of other identified or surviving liturgical music manuscripts from the Riga nunnery, the manuscript Uppsala 438 and its extensive *Benedicamus* material reveals rich private and collective prayer practices in this late medieval nunnery. Undoubtedly, during the more than 300 years of the nunnery's existence, the literate nuns cultivated and developed their local liturgical prayer and devotional practices. Much like their contemporaries in other monasteries of the era, they engaged actively in creating, performing, adapting, and incorporating liturgical repertoire, probably including materials from nearby monasteries such as the Birgittines of Pirita, with whom they maintained connections.

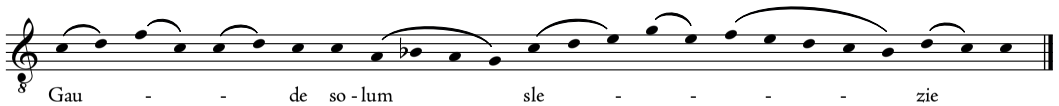
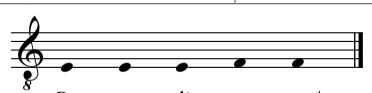
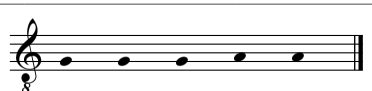
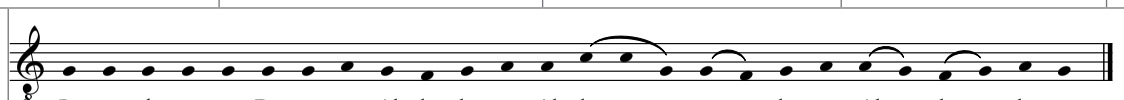
36 • According to the *Liber ordinarius* of St. Emmeram, for example, assigning *Benedicamus* to two or more boys was customary; see the essay by Gionata Brusa in this volume, Ch. 7. See also Boynton 2008, 43–48.

Uppsala 438 no.	Feasts for which melody is copied and rubrics	Rank/typology of feast	Source chant of *Benedicamus* melody	Nos. in Barclay 1977 and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006	Mode
1.	1. Barnabe apostoli 2. Decem milium martyrium 3. Commemoracio Sancti Pauli 4. Procopii abbatis 5. Translacio Benedicti 6. Augustini episcopi 7. Decollacio Iohannis 8. Exultacio Sancte Crucis 9. Mauritii et sociorum eius 10. Jeronimi presbiteri 11. Dyonisii et sociorum eius 12. Luce evangeliste 13. Martini episcopi 14. Nicolai episcopi 15. Sanctorum Innocentum 16. De sancto Anthonio 17. Fabiani et Sebastiani* 18. Cathedra petri* 19. Gregorii pape* 20. Ambrosii episcopi 21. Ad vincula Petri 22. Stephani prothomartiris (Inventio s. Stephani, 3 August) 23. De martiribus 24. De confessoribus	De confessoribus, de martyribus	*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*	Barclay 36 Eifrig and Pfisterer 117	2
Incipit					
Incipit for feasts 17–19					

Uppsala 438 no.	Feasts for which melody is copied and rubrics	Rank/typology of feast	Source chant of *Benedicamus* melody	Nos. in Barclay 1977 and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006	Mode
Fol. 122r (De Confessoribus)					
Comparison with Eifrig & Pfisterer 117					
2.	1. Viti et Modesti 2. Johannis et Pauli 3. Octaua Petri et Pauli 4. Ypolite et sociorum eius 5. Lamberti episcopi et martiris 6. Cosme et Damiani 7. Remigii episcopi 8. Brictii episcopi 9. Clementis pape 10. In vigilia Natiuitatis Cristi 11. Octaua Stephani 12. Octaua sanctorum Innocentum 13. Vincencii martiris 14. Octaua Agnetis virginis 15. Blasii episcopi et martiris 16. De uno martire 17. De Dominica	In omnibus plenis officiis, de uno martire, de dominica	—	Eifrig and Pfisterer 146	8
Incipit					
Complete melody, fol. 122v (De Dominica)					

Uppsala 438 no.	Feasts for which melody is copied and rubrics	Rank/typology of feast	Source chant of *Benedicamus* melody	Nos. in Barclay 1977 and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006	Mode
3.	1. De Sancta Trinitate ad vesperas et ad matutinum 2. In vigilia Johannis Baptiste ad IX 3. In vigilia Petri et Pauli ad IX 4. Marie Magdalene 5. De Sancta Anna 6. In vigilia Laurentii 7. Bernardi abbatis 8. In vigilia Mathei apostoli ad nonam 9. Birgitte vidua 10. Michaelis Archangele 11. Johannis ewangeliste 12. Circumscisionis domini [*sic*] 13. Benedicti abbatis 14. Epiphania Domini	Summum festum, duodecim lectionum	'Clementiam' melisma from responsory *Qui cum audissent*	Barclay 68	5
Incipit					
4.	1. Diuisio apostolorum 2. In vigilia Iacobi apostoli ad nonam 3. In vigilia Bartholomei ad nonam 4. Undecim milium virginum 5. In vigilia Symonis et iude 6. Elysabeth vidue 7. Katherine virginis 8. In vigilia Andree 9. In vigilia Thome apostoli ad nonam 10. Stephani prothomartiris 11. De sancto Joseph 12. Conuersio Pauli apostoli 13. In vigilia Mathie apostoli ad nonam 14. De apostolis 15. De apostolis	*De apostolis*	'In perhenni seculorum tempora' melisma from responsory *Honor virtus*	Barclay 83	6

Uppsala 438 no.	Feasts for which melody is copied and rubrics	Rank/typology of feast	Source chant of *Benedicamus* melody	Nos. in Barclay 1977 and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006	Mode
Incipit					
Complete melody, fol. 122r (De apostolis)					
5.	1. De corpore Christi 2. Margarethe virginis 3. Cecilie virginis 4. Barbare virginis 5. Lucie virginis 6. Thome episcopi et martiris 7. Thome episcopi et martiris infra octauam 8. Siluestri pape 9. Octaua Iohannis 10. Infra octauam Epiphanie 11. Agnetis virginis 12. Agathe virginis, Dorothee, Appolonie, Scholastice virginis 13. Gertrudis virgine 14. De Virginibus	Duplex feasts, de virginibus	Incipit of antiphon *O Christi pietas*	Barclay 77	6
Incipit					
Complete melody [*sic*], fol. 122v (De Virginibus)					

Uppsala 438 no.	Feasts for which melody is copied and rubrics	Rank/typology of feast	Source chant of *Benedicamus* melody	Nos. in Barclay 1977 and Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006	Mode
Corrected version of fol. 122v (De Virginibus)					
Comparison with antiphon *Gaude solum slezie* in Wrocław 401, fol. 217r					
6.	Post octauam feriales De dominica	Feriis, dominicis diebus	Recitation formula	—	—
Fol. 129v					
Fol. 128r					
7.	Passchale	In Tempore Paschali	—	Barclay 64	5
Fol. 122r					
8.	Passchale	In Tempore Paschali	—	Barclay 93	8
Fol. 122r					

POLYPHONY



14.

Polyphony for *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* in Late Medieval English Sources

*James R. Tomlinson**

A significant number of polyphonic settings on the words 'Benedicamus Domino' and 'Deo gratias' survives in late medieval English sources. The *Benedicamus* dialogue was performed several times daily in the liturgy of the Church, at Mass, in the Office, and in other contexts including processions and refectory prayers. *Deo gratias* was the standard response to the *Benedicamus* versicle in all of these contexts, where the chant melody of the response ordinarily reproduced that of the versicle. *Deo gratias* was also sung in response to *Ite missa est* at the end of Mass, yet in contrast with the *Benedicamus* versicle, there is no surviving English polyphony for the *Ite missa est* whatsoever.

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Arras 436	Arras, Bibliotheque municipale, 436
BAV Pal. lat. 501	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 501
BL Add. 17001	London, British Library, Add. 17001
BL Add. 38651 F	London, British Library, Add. 38651 F
BL Arundel 14	London, British Library, Arundel 14
BL Burney 357	London, British Library, Burney 357
BL Cotton Nero E.viii	London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.viii
BL Harley 2942	London, British Library, Harley 2942
BL Harley 2951	London, British Library, Harley 2951
BL Harley 5958	London, British Library, Harley 5958
BL Lansdowne 462	London, British Library, Lansdowne 462
BnF Lat. 1107	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1107
BnF Lat. 17329	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17329
Cambridge JC 102	Cambridge, St John's College, 102 (D. 27)
Cambridge UL 5943	Cambridge, University Library, 5943
Cambridge UL Kk.i.6	Cambridge, University Library, Kk.i.6
Durham C.I.20	Durham, University Library, C.I.20
JRL 24	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Lat. 24
Lincoln's Inn 146	London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 146 (Misc. 26)
New York ML M.978	New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M.978
Norwich 299	Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, FLT 1/299
Old Hall	London, British Library, Add. 57950 ('Old Hall Manuscript')
Oxford Barlow 55	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 55
Oxford Bodl. 652	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652
Oxford CCC 394	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 394
Oxford JC 10	Oxford, Jesus College, 10
Oxford Lat. lit. b. 5	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. b. 5

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143525 ✳

Evidence in surviving *Libri ordinarii* suggests that polyphonic performance of the closing liturgical dialogue was common in late medieval England.[1] Although the surviving untroped settings apparently confirm this, they have not previously been fully considered. The reasons for this are threefold: the settings may be seen as less musically and textually sophisticated than other genres of polyphony, their written records are fragmentary, and their function has been taken to be self-explanatory.[2] The fact that the *Benedicamus–Deo gratias* dialogue was multi-purpose in the liturgy, however, means that the precise functions of the untroped polyphony are far from self-evident. Yet analysis of liturgical custom and the material reception of liturgical polyphony, including aspects of scribal activity and source compilation, informs the ways in which surviving settings and their sources were used and perceived.

In this chapter I interpret the surviving polyphony for *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* in the light of English liturgical custom and the development of monophonic repertoires of the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Ite missa est* between the thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Further, I examine how the material reception of these settings informs their musical and liturgical treatment over time. Using existing catalogues of early English sources, I have noted forty items of polyphony set to the words 'Benedicamus Domino' or 'Deo gratias' in English sources in the period c.1200–c.1550 (see Table 14.1).[3] All of these settings are known, but they have never been brought together as a corpus, nor have their liturgical functions and source contexts been considered as a whole. In addition, transcriptions of six polyphonic settings are presented here for the first time: the *Deo gratias* in Parma Pal. 98, the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* settings in Ritson, the *Benedicamus* in Cambridge UL 5943, and a reconstruction of the *Deo gratias* in Lincoln's Inn 146.

Oxford Laud Misc. 4	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 4
Oxford PC 1	Oxford, Pembroke College, 1
Oxford Rawl. Liturg. d. 3	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. Liturg. d. 3
Parma Pal. 98	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Palatino 98
Pepys 1236	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1236
Ritson	London, British Library, Add. 5665
Salisbury 175	Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 175

1 • Evidence for the polyphonic elaboration of the *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* in liturgical books is discussed in Harrison 1958, 109–11 and Harrison 1965, 39–40. Untroped in this context refers simply to the setting of only the words of the versicle or response, i.e. 'Benedicamus Domino' or 'Deo gratias'. Definitions of dialogue, versicle, and response are from Hughes 1982, 39–40 §226.

2 • Frank Harrison (1958, 1965, 1966) proposed that the development of the conductus and carol repertoires between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries was connected to their hypothetical function as *Benedicamus*-substitutes, but his conclusions remain speculative. Potential *Benedicamus*-substitutes in other genres of polyphony are not addressed in this chapter, which focuses instead on untroped settings whose textual identity is transparent. The texts of the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* were also co-opted for the creation of non-liturgical poetry and music (exemplified by several late medieval carols edited in Stevens 1952).

3 • Summers 1990, Curtis and Wathey 1994, Summers and Lefferts 2016.

Table 14.1: Untroped polyphonic settings of the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* in English sources c.1200–c.1550

Item	Manuscript source	No. of voices and format	Approximate date of copying
Benedicamus Domino	BL Burney 357, fol. 16r	2, score	c.1200
Benedicamus Domino	BL Harley 5958, fols. 32r and 65r	4, score	mid-late 1200s
Benedicamus Domino	Oxford Bodl. 652, fols. 69v–70r	2, parts	early 1300s
Deo gratias	Cambridge Kk.i.6, fol. 246r (1)	3, score	mid-late 1300s
Deo gratias	Cambridge Kk.i.6, fol. 246r (2)	3, score	
Deo gratias	Durham C.I.20, fol. 4v	3, score	mid-late 1300s
Deo gratias	BL Add. 38651 F, lower strip, recto	3, score	mid-late 1300s
Deo gratias	Norwich 299, fol. Bv	3, score	mid-late 1300s
Deo gratias	New York ML M.978, fol. 6v	3, score	mid-late 1300s
Deo gratias	Oxford Barlow 55, fol. 4r (1)	?3, score	mid-late 1300s
Deo gratias	Oxford Barlow 55, fol. 4r (2)	?3, score	
[Deo gratias]	Lincoln's Inn 146, fol. Ar	3, score	1300s
Benedicamus Domino. Alleluya	Cambridge 5943, fol. 164v	2, score	c.1400
Deo gratias	Parma Pal. 98, fol. 185r	2, score	c.1400
Benedicamus Domino	BL Harley 2942, fol. 119v	1 mensural voice (erased) below unmeasured 'Flos filius' melody	early 1400s
Benedicamus Domino	Ritson, fol. 3r	2, parts	mid-1400s
Benedicamus Domino	Ritson, fol. 121v	2, parts	
Deo gratias	Ritson, fol. 121v	3, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 20r	2, parts	c.1465–c.1475
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 22v	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 23r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 31r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 53r	2, parts	
Deo gratias	Pepys 1236, fols. 85v–86r	3, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 92r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 92v (1)	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 92v (2)	1 mensural voice	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 121r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 123v	3, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 124r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino (by William Haute)	Pepys 1236, fol. 124v	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fols. 124v–125r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 125r	3, parts	
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 125v	3, parts	

Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 125v–126r	3, parts	(c.1465–c.1475)
Benedicamus Domino	Pepys 1236, fol. 126r	2, parts	
Benedicamus Domino (by John Nesbet)	Pepys 1236, fol. 126v	3, parts	
Benedicamus Domino (by William Haute)	Pepys 1236, fol. 127r	3, parts	
Deo gratias	Oxford Lat. lit. b. 5, fols. 2r and 22v–23r	3, parts	late 1400s/early 1500s
	BL Cotton Nero E.viii, fol. 55v	3, score (texted 'Amen')	
	BL Add. 17001, fol. 175v	3, score	
Benedicamus Domino	BL Harley 2951, fol. 133r	1 mensural voice	early 1500s

Liturgical custom

This section offers an initial overview of English liturgical custom pertaining to the closing liturgical dialogue and the development of associated monophonic repertoires, in order to interpret the polyphonic settings. In the Office, *Benedicamus Domino* was sung once at the end of all hours of the Office except at the close of Matins when followed immediately by Lauds.[4] In England, a second *Benedicamus* dialogue was also frequently sung after a procession, memorials, and other ceremonial accretions which immediately followed the first *Benedicamus* dialogue at the end of Lauds and Vespers. In the fourteenth-century New Sarum Customary it was standard practice at Lauds and Vespers for the first and second *Benedicamus* to be sung by boys and/or clerks of the second form, depending on the rank of feast and the availability of boys in the choir.[5] On double feasts of nine lessons, two clerks of the second form would sing the first *Benedicamus* while standing between the *rectores chori* (rulers of the choir), and the second *Benedicamus* was sung by two boys standing together behind the priest. On simple feasts, Sundays, and commemorations of the Blessed Virgin, the first *Benedicamus* was sung by a single boy from the duty side of the choir, and the second *Benedicamus* by another boy of the opposite side. A clerk of the second form would sing in place of a boy if none was available. After the priest, candle-bearers, and *rectores chori* had processed to the vestry following the second *Benedicamus*, the *Deo gratias* was initiated by a priest in the choir on the duty side, the rest of the choir presumably joining in thereafter. This is the only mention of the performance of *Deo gratias* in the Office in the New Sarum Customary and confirms its presence, at least on simple feasts. William Renwick hypothesises that *Deo gratias* was omitted, or said silently, at Vespers and Lauds on greater feasts when the *Benedicamus* melody was more elaborate, yet this cannot be easily verified.[6] Since

4 • Hughes 1982, 66 §422.

5 • Harper et al. 2013, 24–25. Clerical roles within the medieval choir are discussed in Bowers 1975 and 2014 and Harrison 1958, 104–05.

6 • Discussed on the webpages of The Sarum Rite, a digital project led by William Renwick, at https://sarum-chant.ca/about/questions/ (accessed 7 March 2024).

performance of the response was probably implicit knowledge, the absence of evidence does not qualify as evidence of absence. Liturgical books also note that *Deo gratias* was to be sung at the end of the hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline, but to a simple melodic formula, and upon a single tone at the end of the Little Office of the Virgin.

In the Mass, the following organisation of the closing dialogue was commonplace throughout Europe: when the Gloria was said or sung, *Ite missa est* was used as the dismissal versicle; if no Gloria was said or sung, the versicle was instead *Benedicamus Domino*.[7] *Deo gratias* was always used as the response in the dismissal formula, meaning that *Deo gratias* was sung after both *Ite missa est* and *Benedicamus Domino*. The *Deo gratias* was usually delayed until the end of the ceremonies that followed the dismissal versicle, meaning that the versicle and its response were rarely sung back-to-back.[8] The versicle was by rights given by the deacon—or the celebrant if the deacon was not present—and followed by a choral *Deo gratias*. The polyphonic singing of the dismissal versicle at Mass, whether it was the *Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*, would therefore have been inappropriate.[9] This suggests that surviving polyphonic settings of the *Benedicamus Domino* were not intended for the Mass, but for other liturgical or ritual contexts instead. However, the choral status of *Deo gratias* in the Mass does not necessarily preclude a polyphonic substitution sung by soloists or a small group of singers.

Indeed, it seems that polyphonic performance of *Deo gratias* was not particularly problematic in either the Mass or the Office. Bishop Grandisson's mid-fourteenth-century ordinal for Exeter Cathedral (which combined local and Sarum customs) permits a polyphonic *Deo gratias* at the end of Mass and of Vespers and Lauds in the Office.[10] Therefore, although one may infer that surviving polyphony for *Benedicamus Domino* was not used at Mass, one may not attribute the *Deo gratias* settings either to the Mass or the Office based on the evidence given in liturgical customaries alone.

Monophonic repertoires

Several notated Sarum sources of chant for the Mass preserve sets of *Benedicamus* melodies in tandem with *Ite* melodies.[11] Frank Ll. Harrison drew attention to JRL 24, a later thirteenth-century notated Sarum gradual, which contains large adjacent collections

7 ✦ Hughes 1982, 93. 'The Gloria is omitted: in all masses in Advent and from Septuagesima to the vigil of Easter; on ferias at other times of the year when there is a ferial or Sunday mass is said; on ember days (except in Whit week); on vigils (except those falling on Sundays, and the vigils of Easter and Whit Sunday)'; Sandon 1984, 12. See also Harrison 1958, 57, and Harper 1991, 116. This practice can be traced to the late eleventh century, as discussed in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, ix–x. The *Benedicamus* dialogue was also used instead of the *Ite* dialogue as the dismissal formula when Mass was followed immediately by another service. The motivation in both the omission of the *Benedicamus* when Matins was followed by another service, and the substitution of the *Benedicamus* for the *Ite missa est* when Mass likewise dovetailed into another service, suggests that the *Ite* was associated with the community leaving the church.

8 ✦ Hughes 1982, 93 §515.

9 ✦ Hughes 1969, 142, n. 25.

10 ✦ Harrison 1958, 109–10.

11 ✦ Many of the sources cited in the following section are listed in Hiley 1981b and Hiley 1986.

of *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies (on fol. 14r–v). From the second half of the fourteenth century, a copy of the new Sarum customary, Salisbury 175, contains two collections of *Benedicamus* melodies on fols. 135r and 173r (the former for use on days when the Kyrie was not troped). Harrison's description of the source as containing 'twelve melodies for *Benedicamus* and twelve for *Ite missa est*' is not entirely accurate, since the majority of the melodies on fol. 173r are underlaid with both texts, 'Benedicamus Domino' and 'Ite missa est', most with the *Benedicamus* text above that of the *Ite*, some vice versa, and some with just one or the other.[12] Only the simplest formulas have the *Benedicamus* text only. The double underlay on fol. 173r implies that certain melodies were used for both *Ite* and *Benedicamus*, a practice indicated also by sources in which individual melodies appear in both the *Benedicamus* and *Ite* collections.[13] Further, selective texting of melodies for *Ite* and others for *Benedicamus* both in Salisbury 175 and other sources attests that some melodies were reserved for certain feasts or seasons and were thus associated with one text only.[14]

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, monophonic repertoires in the use of Salisbury were consolidated, reflected in the increasing fixity of musical repertoires in Sarum liturgical books, of which one result was the codification of *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies for use at Mass in specific feasts and liturgical seasons. The great number of melodies in JRL 24 (nineteen for the *Ite* and thirty for the *Benedicamus*) is not reproduced in later sources, which preserve increasingly limited and stable collections. In later fourteenth-century notated Sarum books onwards, the majority of *Ite* melodies are drawn from Kyrie melodies, often rubricated with the text of their usual trope. One of several closely related Sarum sources from the later fourteenth century, Oxford CCC 394, contains eleven *Benedicamus* melodies and fourteen *Ite* melodies.[15] Nine of the fourteen *Ite* melodies are borrowed from Kyries, whose identities are indicated in rubrics, giving their associated Kyrie trope texts. The remaining melodies that do not come from Kyrie melodies are used for feasts of three lessons and Eastertide. The collection of *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies in the printed Sarum gradual of 1527 indicates that the repertoires underwent no significant changes between the later fourteenth century and the Reformation.[16]

Of other secular uses, little evidence of their *Benedicamus* and *Ite* repertoires remains: the mid-fifteenth-century York gradual Oxford Lat. lit. b. 5, 'the sole surviving witness to the repertoire of chants for mass in England's second most important secular use', contains no *Benedicamus Domino* or *Ite missa est* melodies.[17] It does, however, preserve a widely-disseminated three-part *Deo gratias* setting, discussed in the next section. Several

12 • Harrison 1958, 75.

13 • For example, Harrison 1958, 75, points out that eight melodies are shared between the separate *Ite* and *Benedicamus* collections in Salisbury 175.

14 • This is set out explicitly in the rubrics of *Benedicamus* melodies in the use of Hereford. See Henderson 1874, 137–39.

15 • The other Sarum sources closely related to Oxford CCC 394 are: Oxford PC 1 (fol. 127r–v); BAV Pal. lat. 501 (fol. 131r–v); Parma Pal. 98 (fols. 182v–183r); and BL Lansdowne 462 (reproduced in Frere 1894a, plates 18+ and 19+).

16 • *Graduale secundum morem et consuetudinem preclare ecclesie Sarum* (Paris: Nicolas Prevost, 1527), fols. 61v–62r.

17 • Hiley 1995, v–vi.

Benedicamus and *Ite* melodies for Mass also survive from the secular use of Hereford from the fourteenth century onwards: a smaller collection which gives liturgical specificity to individual melodies, and alternative melodies for seasons when the *Benedicamus* replaced the *Ite*.[18] Most of the melodies in the Hereford missal are also present in Sarum books.

Several sources represent greater Benedictine houses. *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies are found together in Oxford Laud Misc. 4, a twelfth-century processional produced and primarily used in the Benedictine abbey of St Albans, with additions making provision for use in its daughter house (St Oswin's Priory, Tynemouth).[19] A thirteenth-century antiphoner from Gloucester Cathedral Priory (Oxford JC 10) preserves *Benedicamus* melodies for Vespers and *Ite* melodies for Mass, all of which are fourteenth-century additions to the manuscript.[20] A c.1400 customary of St Mary's York (Cambridge JC 102) contains both *Benedicamus* melodies for Mass and Office and *Ite* melodies, all diligently rubricated according to the feasts on which they were used.[21]

The later Sarum sources notwithstanding, it seems that there was a significant amount of local variation in the choice of *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies in England, as well as significant overlap between those repertoires. It is therefore difficult to assign liturgical specificity to the polyphonic settings based on the identity of borrowed chant melodies alone, although the implications of those settings that do quote chant melodies are discussed in the following section.

Polyphony for *Deo gratias* in the fourteenth century

No untroped polyphony for *Deo gratias* appears in English sources before the fourteenth century. Yet in contrast with the somewhat modest record of *Benedicamus* settings before the mid-fifteenth century, discussed below, nine polyphonic settings of the text of the response 'Deo gratias' survive in a total of seven mid to late fourteenth-century English sources (since both Oxford Barlow 55 and Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 preserve two settings each). Although these items represent a variety of compositional techniques and styles, all but one are written for three voices and all are copied in score format and in an Ars nova notational idiom. The vagaries of source survival notwithstanding, these fourteenth-century examples comprise a polyphonic repertoire for *Deo gratias* not seen in England in other periods, nor on the Continent throughout the entire Middle Ages.

The liturgical function of the fourteenth-century *Deo gratias* settings has been assumed in previous literature. Six of the nine items were edited by Frank Ll. Harrison, Peter M. Lefferts, and Ernest H. Sanders in 1983, but the remaining three are fragmentary and have not previously been transcribed.[22] The editors list the settings as 'Ite missa est :

18 • Edited in Henderson 1874, 137–39.

19 • On Oxford Laud Misc. 4, see Thomas Phillips's essay in this volume, Ch. 10.

20 • Fols. 189v–190r.

21 • Fols. 13v–14v.

22 • Harrison, Lefferts, and Sanders 1983, 159–64. The setting in Lincoln's Inn 146 and the two settings in Oxford Barlow 55 were not transcribed by the editors. The two settings in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 were also previously transcribed in

Deo gracias' and supply editorial *Ite* chants to provide a monophonic setting of the opening versicle; they thus assume that the versicle preceding the polyphonic *Deo gratias* was *Ite missa est* and not *Benedicamus Domino*.[23] However, the sources that contain the surviving *Deo gratias* settings themselves bear no indication of the versicle to which *Deo gratias* was the response. Therefore, it is not immediately clear that the *Deo gratias* settings relate specifically to the *Ite*, not alternatively or also to the *Benedicamus*, and nor can they straightforwardly be placed within the Office or the Mass.

Further, the patchy record of the monophonic tradition for both *Benedicamus Domino* and *Ite missa est* chants frustrates analysis of the *Deo gratias* settings. It is as difficult to date the polyphonic sources with any precision as it is to gauge the fixity of the monophonic repertoires at any given point during the fourteenth century. Just three of the nine polyphonic items have firmly identifiable plainchant tenors, and the tenors of two more resemble *Benedicamus* and/or *Ite* melodies.[24] While some may be as yet unidentified chant settings, it is likely that the majority are freely composed.[25]

Although none of the Ars nova *Deo gratias* settings appears in more than one source, the fragmentary setting in Lincoln's Inn 146 (reconstructed in Example 14.1) and the second setting in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 share the same *Ite* melody, which Harrison identified as the seventh *Ite* melody in JRL 24.[26] This melody, which borrows the Pentecost Alleluia *Spiritus sanctus*, is geographically widespread in English and Continental sources.[27]

The 'Spiritus sanctus' melody has also been connected to the feast of the Annunciation. Its appearance in two related thirteenth-century French books (BnF Lat. 1107, a missal from the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, and BnF Lat. 17329, a related gradual from the abbey of Saint-Corneille of Compiègne) provides its context within the Annunciation liturgy in those Benedictine abbeys.[28] Anne Walters Robertson draws attention to the *Deo gratias* settings in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 (2) and Lincoln's Inn 146 as two of only four items of extant polyphony that use this *Ite* melody. The others are motets: *Ave regina caelorum/ Mater innocencie/[Tenor]* by Marchetto of Padua, and *Se grace n'est a mon maintien/Cum*

Harrison 1960, 97, where they were given as examples of English descant technique. I give a reconstruction of Lincoln's Inn 146 as Example 14.1 below. The state of preservation of the settings in Oxford Barlow 55 makes transcription of the surviving portions possible but renders any reconstruction very speculative.

23 • The editorial chants relate musically only to settings with identifiable plainchant tenors.

24 • See details in Table 14.1 above. All chant identifications for the *Deo gratias* settings are in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006.

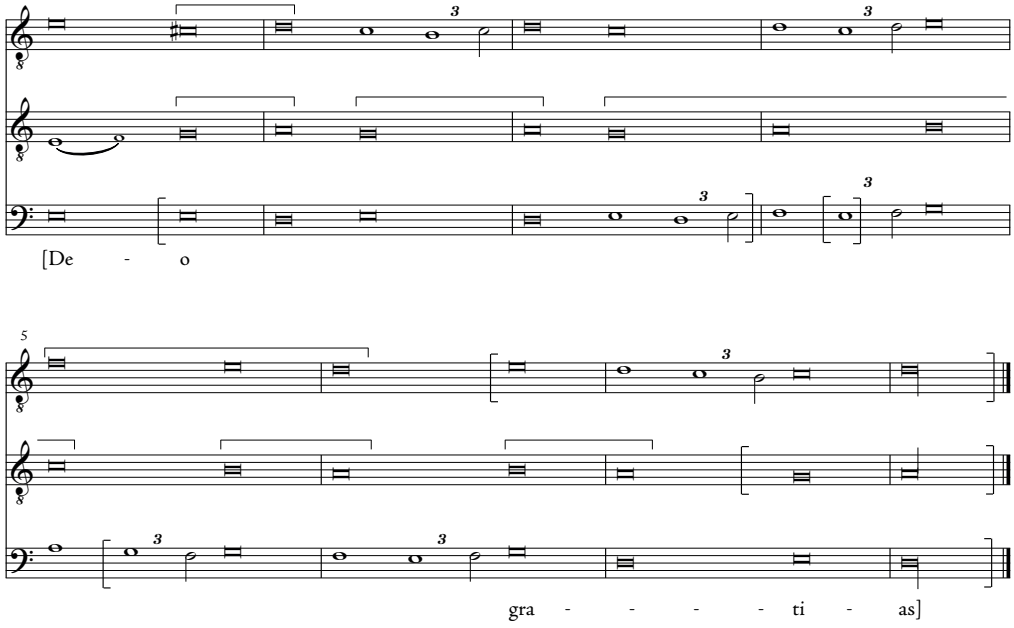
25 • Harrison, Lefferts, and Sanders 1983, 275.

26 • Harrison 1985, 275, suggested that the second *Deo gratias* setting in Oxford Barlow 55 may be a variant of the first setting in Cambridge UL KK.i.6. These items are also listed as concordant in Summers 1990, 209. Yet with only the first half of the counter voice extant from the second Oxford Barlow 55 setting this seems questionable, especially since descant tenors can derive from distinct but similar plainchant melodies, which in turn can produce accompanying polyphonic voices that may superficially seem to be variants of one another.

27 • *Ite* 101 in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006. The identity of this *Ite* as an alleluia chant is confirmed by a rubric in Arras 436, fol. 52r. The melody also appears as the fourth *Ite* in the later fourteenth-century Sarum group (BL Lansdowne 462, Oxford CCC 394, Oxford PC 1, BAV Pal. lat. 501, and Parma Pal. 98), and as *Ite* melody no. 7 in Oxford JC 10, which originates in the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of Gloucester and contains a fourteenth-century collection of *Benedicamus* melodies.

28 • See Robertson 1995, 291; these sources are discussed also in Robertson 1988, 14–17.

Example 14.1: Three-voice *Deo gratias*, Lincoln's Inn 146, fol. Ar, reconstructed



venerint/Ite missa est from the Tournai Mass.[29] Robertson therefore suggests that the *Deo gratias* settings are connected to the Annunciation, noting that the Lincoln's Inn 146 setting appears on the reverse side of a fragmentary motet whose text begins 'Ancilla Domini', reminiscent of the Annunciation text 'Ecce ancilla Domini'. She further notes the presence of a Magnificat setting in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6, and that the Magnificat commonly concluded Annunciation dramas, although I have not seen evidence that this was also the case in England.[30]

In fact, evidence in English *Libri ordinarii* suggests that the use of this melody was not specifically associated with the Annunciation. In JRL 24, the melody is rubricated 'invitatorium triplex', indicating its use at Mass 'on simple feasts when the invitatorium at Matins was sung by three persons'.[31] In the Hereford Missal, the 'Spiritus sanctus' melody appears as an *Ite* for double feasts and for feasts of the Blessed Virgin in general. Further, a different melody ('In perhenni') is given in Hereford for the Annunciation when it falls in Lent (and is therefore texted 'Benedicamus Domino'). The situation seems to have been the same at the Benedictine abbey of St Mary's York, since in Cambridge JC 102 the 'Spiritus

29 • Robertson 1995, 294.

30 • I cannot find evidence that liturgical Annunciation plays of a similar kind to the *Aurea Missa* ceremony existed in England at all. The only evidence of which I am aware is that which is cited by Robertson, in Young 1933, 245. The Sarum Breviary (edited in Procter 1933, vol. 1, cxv) notes that at Matins on Ember Wednesday in December the Deacon held a palm branch while reading the gospel. This is a very different kind of liturgical adornment than the *Aurea Missa* ceremony, which indeed concludes with a Magnificat.

31 • Harrison 1958, 53.

sanctus' melody is designated simply for use on all double feasts, whereas the 'In perhenni' melody is given with the text 'Benedicamus Domino' for use at Great Mass on feasts of the Blessed Virgin (implying it was sung, as in Hereford, when the Annunciation fell in Lent). It is therefore far from clear that the 'Spiritus sanctus' melody was associated specifically with the Annunciation in England.[32] As such, although it is possible that the *Deo gratias* settings in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 and Lincoln's Inn bear a connection to the feast of the Annunciation, the lack of specificity in surviving English liturgical sources to indicate a connection between this chant and the Annunciation specifically, rather than feasts of the Virgin Mary more broadly and beyond (which *is* documented at Hereford), prompts caution when attributing a liturgical assignment to these settings.

The chant melody of the first setting in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6, unknown to Harrison, appears as a *Benedicamus* melody in several Sarum sources from the fourteenth century.[33] William F. Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer describe it as unique to Sarum sources (a view which I sustain) and the origin of the melody is unknown.[34] The fact that the melody in the first Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 setting is a unique Sarum melody points to the likelihood that this source was created and used in an institution which observed the use of Salisbury. Unfortunately, this offers little guidance, since in later fourteenth-century Britain the use of Salisbury was used not only in the majority of secular cathedrals, parish and collegiate churches, household chapels, and academic colleges, but also in certain monasteries: occasionally in those in which the brothers' choir adopted the use of Salisbury either wholly or partially, and frequently in those where the brothers' choir followed monastic uses but ritual worship in certain connected chapels followed Sarum, not monastic, custom (such as Lady Chapels, or, for example, the almonry chapel at the Benedictine cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury).[35]

The only other plausible chant source identification for one of the remaining six fourteenth-century *Deo gratias* settings pertains to the setting in Norwich 299, whose lowest voice may be loosely based on the *Benedicamus* melody that borrows the Kyrie melody commonly associated with the trope text *Clemens rector*.[36]

Thus, the majority of the *Deo gratias* settings cannot be situated within specific litur-

32 • Edited in Henderson 1874, 137.

33 • It is the tenth *Benedicamus* melody in BL Lansdowne 462, reproduced in Frere 1894a, plate 19+. It is the fifth *Benedicamus* melody in Oxford PC 1 (fol. 127r), and the ninth in Oxford CCC 394 (fol. 110r), BAV Pal. lat. 501 (fol. 131v), and Parma Pal. 98 (fol. 183r). It is also the sixth *Benedicamus* melody in the fifteenth-century Sarum gradual, BL Cotton Nero E.viii, fol. 55r, the verso side of which contains a three-voice *Deo gratias* setting, discussed below. The melody probably remained unidentified because it does not appear in Harrison's principal sources (JRL 24 or Salisbury 175).

34 • *Benedicamus* melody 306A in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006.

35 • See Sandon 2001 (accessed 20 January 2024). Bowers 1995, 424.

36 • Transcribed by Robertson (1988, 22). Eifrig and Pfisterer (2006, xii) suggest that the middle voice-parts of the *Deo gratias* settings in Norwich 299 and BL Add. 38651 may be based respectively on their *Benedicamus* 334 (a melody unique to Sarum sources) and 'a melody similar to [*Ite*] **146**' (a geographically widespread melody), but the evidence for these identifications is weak: those chant melodies and the tenor parts in the polyphonic settings are too dissimilar to speculate on any relationship. Indeed, in the case of Norwich 299, a connection to the Kyrie *Clemens rector* melody seems more plausible.

gical uses. Although the first setting in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 may be connected to the use of Salisbury through its use of a tenor melody unique to Sarum sources, there is little evidence that the same is true of the other settings.

Source contexts of the surviving polyphony for *Deo gratias* in fourteenth-century England reveal that many were later accretions in collections of polyphony, largely for the Mass. This is exemplified by the two surviving *Deo gratias* settings in Oxford Barlow 55, which are the most poorly preserved of the group. The two extant musical flyleaves in this source contain eleven musical items, mostly settings of the Mass Ordinary, and a three-voice setting of the Marian antiphon *Mater ora filium* also preserved in Oxford Rawl. Liturg. d. 3, an early fourteenth-century source. Except for a single stave of mensural music in void notation, the items in Oxford Barlow 55 are all copied in Ars nova notation. Both leaves have been heavily trimmed; two staves of music seem to have been lost at the head of the first flyleaf as well as some material on its outer edge. As a result, only the lowest voices of the *Deo gratias* settings survive (the second only partially) and neither provides a readily identifiable plainchant melody.[37] They are situated after the end of a polyphonic Sanctus in score, probably for three voices: the *Deo gratias* settings are followed by a polyphonic Agnus Dei, which begins on the system below. It is probable that the *Deo gratias* settings were added in the space left blank between the Sanctus and Agnus.

Two other sources (Norwich 299 and New York ML M.978) also attest to the status of *Deo gratias* settings as late accretions in polyphonic Mass Ordinary collections. The setting in Norwich 299 has been copied in the space after the conclusion of a polyphonic Sanctus. Apart from the *Deo gratias*, which may or may not have been considered as one of the Mass Ordinary texts, this source entirely comprises settings of the Mass Ordinary: four Kyries, a Credo, and two Sanctus settings are preserved. New York ML M.978 contains the only surviving polyphonic *Deo gratias* for four voices. Here, the *Deo gratias* appears after a Credo and before a Sanctus. An extra stave has been added at the top of the page so as to accommodate this four-voice setting in a collection otherwise comprising three-voice settings. Unlike the Credo that precedes it and *Deo gratias* settings in other sources, the four-voice *Deo gratias* in New York ML M.978 has not been composed according to conventions of English descant discussed by Harrison.[38] Its music is unlike the other surviving settings: it is homorhythmic, featuring a characteristic (imperfected) semibreve–minim pattern and hocketing in the upper voices with perfect semibreves.[39]

Two further manuscripts (BL Add. 38651 F and Durham C.I.20) also suggest a relationship between polyphony for *Deo gratias* and the Mass. Two voices of a three-voice *Deo gratias* survive in BL Add. 38651 F, copied at the bottom of a recto leaf that was later cut into strips. It was copied on a recto side below the fragmentary Marian cantilena *Astrorum*

37 • It is more likely that the plainchant melody was carried in the middle voice, as characteristic of English descant style.

38 • Harrison 1960, 95–99. Edition in Harrison, Lefferts, and Sanders 1983.

39 • The Hilliard Ensemble recorded the *Deo gratias* setting in New York in 1983 (*Medieval English Music: Masters of the 14th & 15th Centuries*, Harmonia Mundi 978), which appeared under the track title *Ite missa est*.

altitudinem and the facing page of the bifolio preserves remnants of a polyphonic Gloria.[40] The source also contains an Alleluia verse setting (a Mass Proper item). The three-voice *Deo gratias* in Durham C.I.20 is one of only two items in the collection that are not motets: the other is a three-voice setting of the gradual verse *Virgo Dei genitrix*. Both are copied on fol. 4v and more carefully executed than most of the other sources mentioned above. In the use of Salisbury, *Virgo Dei genitrix* was sung as the gradual verse in daily Lady Mass from the day after the feast of the Purification until Shrove Tuesday. The plainchant melody of the gradual is quoted in the middle voice of the score setting in Durham C.I.20. Although a functional relationship between the *Virgo Dei genitrix* and *Deo gratias* settings is not self-evident, it is nonetheless possible that this *Deo gratias* was, by association, also intended for use in the Lady Mass. Indeed, Gilbert Reaney argues that much of the Mass polyphony in England was intended for Lady Masses and other votive Masses.[41] He cites *inter alia* the source BL Arundel 14, another fourteenth-century source in which six untroped Kyries appear alongside polyphony for the same gradual verse, *Virgo Dei genitrix*, as well as the alleluia *Post partum virgo*.[42] The possible Marian application of the setting in Durham C.I.20 accords well with that of the settings in Cambridge UL Kk.i.6 (2) and Lincoln's Inn 146, which use the 'Spiritus sanctus' melody that was provisioned for feasts of the Blessed Virgin in the use of Hereford.

A phenomenon of cultivating and writing down polyphonic *Deo gratias* settings emerges in fourteenth-century England. Several factors now suggest that the *Deo gratias* settings were conceived and/or sung in the Mass rather than the Office. First, most of the settings appear in sources that contain Mass music. In three of the sources (Norwich 299, New York ML M.978, and Oxford Barlow 55) the *Deo gratias* settings are copied next to settings of the Mass Ordinary. BL Add. 38651 F also contains items for the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass, and the setting in Durham C.I.20 appears below a setting of a Lady Mass gradual. The identity of the setting that precedes the *Deo gratias* setting in Lincoln's Inn 146 is unknown.

The source context of the majority of *Deo gratias* settings therefore suggests that the settings were intended for performance at Mass in response to the dismissal versicle, probably sung by soloists in place of the full choir. Second, the borrowed chant melodies of the *Deo gratias* settings all appear in collections of melodies for the Mass, which suggests on balance that the settings that borrow these melodies were themselves also sung at Mass, although their use in the Office cannot be ruled out. Finally, the fact that the response (*Deo gratias*) and not the versicle (*Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*) was selected for polyphonic elaboration strengthens the Mass-function hypothesis as it is specifically in the context of the Mass that polyphonic singing of the versicle would have been inappropriate.

40 • The possible use of English polyphonic cantilenas as sequence and offertory substitutes in the Lady Mass is discussed in Lefferts 1990.

41 • Discussed in Reaney 1984, 163. Evidence for the use of other English polyphonic repertoires in the Lady Mass and other Marian liturgies is discussed in Lefferts 1990. See also Harrison, Lefferts, and Sanders 1983, ix–xi.

42 • Staves were provided for both of these Mass Proper settings, but music was never entered.

Within the Mass, however, the *Deo gratias* settings may have been multi-purpose, for use after the *Ite* or the *Benedicamus*. The identity of the specific versicle preceding the *Deo gratias* settings remains unknown and was possibly adaptable.

Most of the *Deo gratias* items (seven of nine) seem to have been copied into blank staves after other items and represent retroactive insertions or opportunism on the part of the scribe. Therefore, although the *Deo gratias* settings are typically presented alongside Mass Ordinary repertoire, their presentation differs substantially from other Mass settings. It indicates the low priority of their material reception; these pieces tended not to be included initially in the musical collections into which they were eventually copied. Their inclusion nonetheless may represent the practicalities of performing certain types of liturgical polyphony and a repertoire that occupied an ambiguous position between pre-composed and *super librum* performance practices. It is likely that the advent of the written polyphonic *Deo gratias* in the fourteenth century coincides with the intensification in the creation of books of polyphony for the Mass Ordinary more generally, which provided a convenient place for the opportunistic copying of *Deo gratias* settings that did not have an established place in books of polyphony at the time.

Polyphony for *Deo gratias* in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

Later *Deo gratias* settings preserve some features of the earlier settings, while in other respects they diverge. Most of the fifteenth-century *Deo gratias* settings, like all of the fourteenth-century settings, are written for three voices. Yet, although polyphony for *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* continues to appear in polyphonic collections, a number of such settings also appear in notated liturgical books from c.1400 onwards.

The two-voice *Deo gratias* in Parma Pal. 98 copied at the top of an otherwise blank leaf in a fourteenth-century Sarum gradual is the earliest of any settings of *Deo gratias* or *Benedicamus* to appear as additions in notated liturgical books. (See Ex. 14.2.) It is written in score in an English hand.[43] It appears to be free, as suggested by the tonal profile of the tenor, which oscillates between C, *F*, and G, in a similar manner to the *pes* tenors of an earlier generation (including that in the *Benedicamus* setting in Oxford Bodl. 652, discussed below).

Another *Deo gratias* setting likewise appears in liturgical books. Remarkably, this is the only *Deo gratias* setting that survives in more than one source: this late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century three-voice *Deo gratias* is preserved in three English graduals of secular uses and is in a style formerly referred to by scholars as 'playnsong-style', a name probably derived from John Taverner's *Playn Song Mass*.[44] Versions of the *Deo gratias* setting appear twice in Oxford Lat. lit. b. 5, the York gradual discussed above, in full stroke notation; on fols. 22v–23r the three voices are copied across the bottom of two facing sides

43 • Cuthbert 2006, 346, considers the setting to be English, taking the same position as Reaney 1969, 304–05.

44 • Hughes 1969, 134.

Example 14.2: Two-voice *Deo gratias*, Parma Pal. 98, fol. 185r



in an opening.[45] Yet the highest voice is also copied at the bottom of fol. 2r in the same source, in an untidy hand. This was perhaps a copying exercise; the facing page is lost, so it is unclear whether the remaining two voices were copied across this opening in a similar fashion to fols. 22v–23r. The same setting reappears in two other graduals of Sarum use: in void stroke notation on the reverse side of the leaf that preserves the *Benedicamus* and *Ite* melodies in BL Cotton Nero E.viii (fol. 55r–v), and in strene notation in BL Add. 17001 (fol. 175v).[46]

It is telling that this setting was preserved in three different fifteenth-century graduals, books for use in the choir of the church at Mass. These graduals, moreover, belong to secular English uses (Salisbury and York), indicating the probable performance of this setting at Mass, in the choir, and in at least two institutions that observed different secular uses. Andrew Hughes has associated the 'playnsong-style' repertoire—to which the *Deo gratias* setting in Oxford Lat. lit. b. 5, BL Cotton Nero E.viii, and BL Add. 17001 belongs—with newly established colleges and choir schools, where simple polyphony would have been in demand.[47] The fact that this 'playnsong-style' setting is so well attested in surviving

45 • See editions in Hughes 1969, 134, and Bent 1968, 150–52.

46 • On strene notation, see Bent 1968, 149–50.

47 • Hughes 1969, 138.

sources is remarkable. It appears to be a free setting, but the voices seem to have been carefully crafted to mimic common melodic features in chant. The *D–A–C–D* opening characteristic of 'Flos filius' and other D-mode chant melodies recurs throughout the voices, and the upper voices, whose ranges overlap, exchange material at regular intervals. The inventiveness of this simple setting may account for its popularity.

One of the remaining *Deo gratias* settings from the fifteenth century apparently continues the trend of opportunistic copying for polyphony on this text. It appears alongside other genres of liturgical polyphony in Pepys 1236 (whose nineteen *Benedicamus* settings are discussed below). The three voices of the short polyphonic *Deo gratias* were copied out in parts on fols. 85v–86r, appended to a polyphonic setting of the sequence *Sospitati dedit egros* for the feast of St Nicholas which is attributed in the manuscript to (Walter) 'Frye' (one of several settings of this text in Pepys 1236). The *Deo gratias* seems to be musically distinct from Frye's composition and represents one of two short musical items added after *Sospitati dedit egros* (the other is a three-voice *Amen* copied separately in parts at the bottom of fol. 86r).

Regarding its status in books of polyphony throughout the period, it seems that untroped polyphony for *Deo gratias* was never consolidated as a written repertoire. It probably existed primarily as an oral practice which was only occasionally notated when opportunity presented itself, and when notation was desirable for practical reasons, for example, in the case of more musically elaborate items. Additionally, it is significant that most of the surviving settings are freely composed. This may reflect the fact that polyphony that was not based on a pre-existing melody was more likely to require notation than polyphony realised *super librum* upon a chant melody, which was probably the standard for polyphonic performance of *Deo gratias*.[48]

Polyphony for *Benedicamus Domino*

Much like the polyphony for *Deo gratias*, the majority of untroped *Benedicamus* settings throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (with the exception of Pepys 1236) represent retroactive insertions in musical sources. Most of the *Benedicamus* settings (again with the exception of Pepys 1236) are written for two voices, thus aligning well with Sarum liturgical custom for Lauds and Vespers on greater feasts.

Oxford Bodl. 652 preserves the only known untroped *Benedicamus* setting from fourteenth-century England.[49] A composite book of three manuscripts preserving poetic, encyclopedic, and epistolic texts in English and French, Oxford Bodl. 652 contains two trimmed parchment leaves of medieval polyphony folded once and bound respectively at the front and rear of the manuscript (fols. i–ii and 69–70). They were formerly pastedowns

48 • For example, it is difficult to see why the setting in Lincoln's Inn 146, a musically formulaic item based on the 'Spiritus sanctus' melody, should have been written down at all.

49 • Oxford Bodl. 652 is discussed in Bent 1981 and in a revised version in Bent, Hartt, and Lefferts 2021, 181–84 and 199–200. A digital reproduction of the source is available at https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/498 (accessed 4 January 2024).

in an earlier medieval binding and are datable to the early fourteenth century.[50] The *Benedicamus* setting is the only item in the source with an untroped liturgical text: the remaining fragmentary items all come from motets.[51] The flyleaves may have belonged to a horizontal roll, as first hypothesised by Margaret Bent, but another possibility is that they represent a fold-out extension to codex format for the purpose of accommodating the large-scale motet *Rosa versatilis*.[52]

The *Benedicamus* setting is preserved across the rear flyleaves, where it was copied into the last two staves at the bottom of the original leaf. The two voices of the *Benedicamus* setting are copied in parts; the upper voice terminates in the middle of the lowest stave, where the lower voice begins and continues to the end of the stave. The fold of the leaf and the trimming of the right-hand margin have rendered both voices fragmentary. With only half of the lower voice extant, we may assume that the musical residuum was completed elsewhere.

The setting is one of only six whose form William Summers does not classify in his 1990 catalogue of fourteenth-century English sources of polyphony: he simply states that it is written in parts.[53] The notation is post-Franconian and the music behaves similarly to examples of score-format polyphony from early fourteenth-century England; the absence of rests in either surviving voice, common in early fourteenth-century polyphony with liturgical texts, rules out the distinction between periods of music-text and textural exchange that characterises the English motet repertoire of the time. The conjunct motion, limited ambitus, and strongly modal rhythmic character of the voices are also characteristic of score-format polyphony in this period. I have been unsuccessful in identifying any pre-existing plainchant melody; given the *pes*-like profile of the lower voice, it is very likely that the item is a free setting.[54]

Given its putative liturgical function and musical affinity with polyphony normally copied in score format, it is unusual that the *Benedicamus* setting is not presented in score, but rather copied in parts.[55] The item was copied into blank staves left empty below the fragmentary refrain motet … *rogativam potuit*.[56] That the *Benedicamus* setting was a posterior addition to Oxford Bodl. 652 is corroborated by the scribal hand of the verbal text; it is a small cursive *anglicana* script from the first half of the fourteenth century, similar to the hand of the motet *Rex sanctorum* whose surviving voice-part was entered into the spare

50 • The *RISM* entry (Reaney 1966) dates the flyleaves to c.1400, based on the appearance of the cut-circle sign, but Bent 1996 points out that the sign in Oxford Bodl. 652 has no mensural significance and is simply a direct towards musical residua. The morphological similarity between the cut-circle sign in Oxford Bodl. 652 and later usages (from c.1400) therefore seems to be little more than coincidence; the palaeographical and musical evidence is instead firmly consistent with early fourteenth-century sources.

51 • The contents of the source are listed in Bent, Hartt, and Lefferts 2021, 181, Table 5.3.

52 • Bent 1981, 81–82. I thank Peter M. Lefferts for an insightful exchange about this source. I make the argument for a fold-out arrangement of Oxford Bodl. 652 in my forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation.

53 • Summers 1990, 210 (abbreviations discussed at 175). The other undefined settings are either extremely fragmentary or lacking any text, neither of which applies to the *Benedicamus* setting in Oxford Bodl. 652.

54 • The tonal movement that characterises most *pes* tenors is summarised in Bradley 2019, 484.

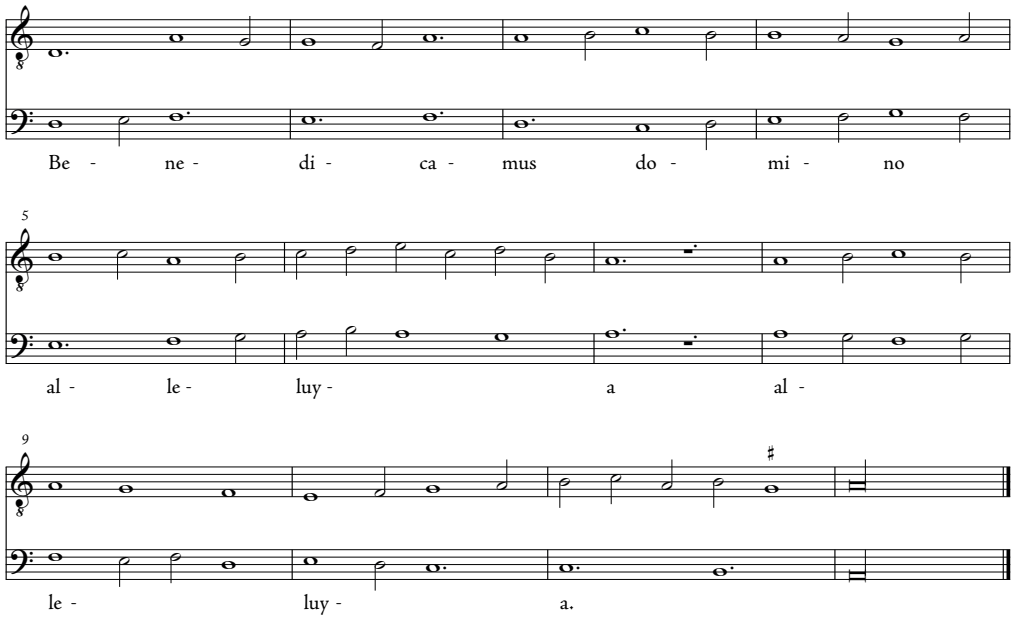
55 • This probably accounts for Summers's reluctance to classify the item as a free setting.

56 • As discussed in Lefferts 1983, 812–15.

staves below the second tenor of *Rota versatilis* in the same source, but quite different from the text of the remaining items, which were copied by at least two scribes in a *textualis rotunda*. Given the ambiguity of the function of motets, the situation of this *Benedicamus* setting in a manuscript that otherwise contains motets suggests little about its own ritual context. Altogether, the setting reflects a scribal opportunism that, together with the absence of other *Benedicamus* settings in the period c.1250–c.1400, suggests that polyphonic singing of the *Benedicamus* was still a primarily unwritten practice in the early fourteenth century.

The polyphonic *Benedicamus* in Cambridge UL 5943 (fol. 164v) and the first of two *Benedicamus* settings in Ritson (fol. 3r) also seem to be later additions. The c.1400 two-voice *Benedicamus* setting in Cambridge UL 5943 was copied in score on two staves below the two-voice Middle English song *Me lykyþ ever þe lengere*, with a different ink and scribal hand. This source is one of the earliest to use void notation. It is stylistically comparable to other vernacular songs in the collection. (See Ex. 14.3). The first *Benedicamus* setting to

Example 14.3: Two-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Cambridge UL 5943, fol. 164v

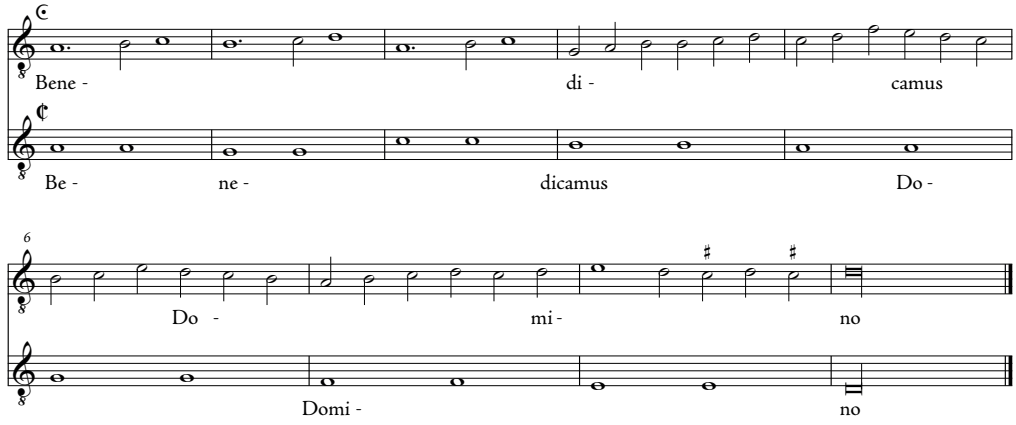


appear in Ritson, on fol. 3r, is laid out in consecutively copied voice-parts, similar to the setting in Oxford Bodl. 652. The tenor is disposed in equal semibreves, and the setting appears again to have no chant basis. (See Ex. 14.4.) Ritson and Cambridge UL 5943 both contain liturgical and non-liturgical polyphony, including songs and carols with English texts, suggesting, much like the earlier setting in Oxford Bodl. 652, the marginal and opportunistic status of the polyphonic *Benedicamus* in these collections.

Yet Ritson, which has been associated with Exeter Cathedral from the 1430s onwards, has another two-voice *Benedicamus*, written in a different hand, at the top of fol. 121v.[57] (See

57 ⋆ Fallows 2018, 121–33.

Example 14.4: Two-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Ritson, fol. 3r



Ex. 14.5.) On the staves below, a three-voice *Deo gratias* setting is written in score. In Ritson, therefore, we have the only example of a polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino–Deo gratias* pair, suggesting the possible use of this polyphonic dialogue in the Office. It may be significant that these settings were copied on the final verso page of the main body of the manuscript (fols. 3r–121v).[58] The source placement of this polyphonic *Benedicamus–Deo gratias* pair was perhaps intended to symbolise its function as the closing versicle of the liturgy.

The voice-designation rubrics in the left-hand margins of the Ritson settings on fol. 121v provide the only written indications of the performing forces for any of the surviving *Benedicamus* settings. The two voices of the *Benedicamus* at the top of the page use C1 and C2 clefs respectively, clefs appropriate for and associated with high voices. The first voice is rubricated 'Triplex primus' and the second 'Triplex secundus'. The voices of the *Deo gratias* setting below, using C1, C3, and F4 clefs respectively, are rubricated 'Triplex', 'Medius', and Bassus'. This suggests that the *Benedicamus* setting was performed by two 'triplex' singers—that is, two boys—and the full choral compass would respond with the *Deo gratias*.

The later fifteenth-century manuscript Pepys 1236 and its collection of nineteen untroped polyphonic *Benedicamus* sttings is an extraordinary example that dramatically skews understandings of these settings. Pepys 1236, whose compilation Roger Bowers has dated to around the years 1465–75, remains, as Harrison described it, 'the most comprehensive collection of ritual polyphony which survives from the fifteenth century in England'.[59] Harrison connected Pepys 1236 to the use of Salisbury, and Bowers has since made a compelling case for its origin at the almonry chapel at Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, which was from 1398 attended by priests, clerks, and boys 'to give a full rendering of the plainsong and liturgy of the designated Salisbury Use'.[60] Bowers notes

58 • For an overview of the collation of Ritson, see Fallows 2018, 120–24.

59 • Bowers 1995, 424; Harrison 1958–63, 101. For earlier work on the source, see Charles 1962, 70.

60 • Harrison 1958–63; Bowers 1995, 424.

Example 14.5: Two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* and three-voice *Deo gratias*, Ritson, fol. 121v



that two composers represented in Pepys 1236, John Nesbet and William Corbrand, were masters of the Lady Chapel at Christ Church, Canterbury, an important institution with which other composers in the manuscript were also associated. He therefore hypothesises that Pepys 1236 was a personal musical collection of a priest of the almonry chapel.

The collection of nineteen *Benedicamus* settings in Pepys 1236, accounting for 70 percent of the surviving *Benedicamus* settings from late medieval England, is staggering.[61] Harrison lists all of the *Benedicamus* settings in Pepys 1236 whose chant melodies he identified: nine of the nineteen contain *Benedicamus* melodies found in Salisbury 175, four of which use the 'In perhenni' melody.[62] Six, composed with the Alleluia text, were for use in the Easter season. The compositions are original and inventive, appearing in clusters throughout the manuscript. The settings survive for one, two, and three voices. Two composers are even named: Sir William Haute (a Kentish knight whose first cousin was Elizabeth Woodville, Queen Consort to Edward IV), to whom two *Benedicamus* settings are ascribed, and John Nesbet (perhaps the same man represented in the Eton Choirbook), with one setting.[63] Exceptionally, the compiler of Pepys 1236 evidently thought it worthwhile to collect a representative body of polyphonic *Benedicamus* settings. Pepys 1236 thus bears witness to (at least) a local tradition of written polyphony for the *Benedicamus* versicle in the mid-fifteenth century.

The use of Pepys 1236 for the performance and/or instruction of boys seems plausible when one compares the vocal compasses of the individual settings with prescriptions in *Libri ordinarii*. The voice-parts of the majority of *Benedicamus* settings in Pepys 1236 have similar or equal ranges, many of which also use high clefs exclusively (C1, C2, or G2). It is therefore possible that many of the *Benedicamus* settings in Pepys 1236 were intended to be performed by boys as the second *Benedicamus* at Lauds and/or Vespers on greater feasts, while others may have been sung by clerks as the first *Benedicamus*.

Similarly to certain *Deo gratias* settings discussed above, *Benedicamus* settings of the later fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries appear in two notated Sarum liturgical books. Although they imply polyphony, these mensural *Benedicamus* settings are monophonic. In the late fourteenth-century Sarum processional BL Harley 2942, the 'Flos filius eius' *Benedicamus* melody appears in unmensured chant notation at the top of a formerly blank page (fol. 119v); directly below is an erased fifteenth-century monophonic mensural voice underlaid with the text 'Benedicamus Domino'. The mensural voice paraphrases the 'Flos filius' melody. A similar early sixteenth-century monophonic mensural *Benedicamus* that also paraphrases the 'Flos filius' melody was copied on fol. 133r of BL Harley 2951, a fifteenth-century Sarum liturgical book. It does not behave like faburden tenor melodies and squares, since two cadences, including the final, indicate cantizans function (not tenorizans, as is consistent among faburden tenors and squares), thus it appears, functionally, to be an upper

61 • The music of Pepys 1236 is edited in Charles 1967.

62 • Harrison 1958–63, 112–13.

63 • The biographies of the composers are discussed ibid., 100.

voice.[64] It is also similar in this respect to the mensural monophonic voice of the hymn *Salve festa dies* on fol. 121v of the same source. These mensural melodies have their closest musical ally in the only *Benedicamus* setting based on 'Flos filius' in Pepys 1236 (fol. 92r). There are striking similarities between the voices carrying the plainchant, including several passages that are reproduced almost verbatim.

Monophonic mensural settings of liturgical texts such as *Salve festa dies* abound in Tudor sources of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, serving as the basis for improvisation *super librum*.[65] The presence of the 'Flos filius' melody in non-mensural chant notation above the mensural voice in BL Harley 2942 may also indicate that the setting is, as Andrew Hughes has suggested of certain rhythmicised single voices of chant paraphrase, an exercise 'in arranging chant in mensural rhythm'.[66]

Conclusions

Extant polyphony for *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century books differs from that in fourteenth-century sources. While *Deo gratias* settings decline, many more *Benedicamus* settings survive from the later period. As for the period after 1500, surviving sources suggest that the interest in writing down both untroped polyphonic *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* settings waned.

On balance, it seems that the majority of *Benedicamus* settings were intended for the Office, and *Deo gratias* settings for the Mass. With the notable exception of the six *Benedicamus* settings written for three voices in Pepys 1236 (in which the majority are still two-voice settings), polyphony for the *Benedicamus* versicle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tends to be written for two voices. This arrangement was probably directly produced by the observance of liturgical custom for the performance of the *Benedicamus* in the Office on greater feasts. By contrast, most of the *Deo gratias* settings are for three voices; given that *Libri ordinarii* make no recommendations for the performing forces of the choral response, the three-voice arrangement may represent a preference influenced by the precedent set by three-voice score settings of the Mass Ordinary.

The inclusion of *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* settings as posterior additions in music books continues after c.1400; it is striking that, discounting Pepys 1236, the large majority of *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* settings across the entire period appear as later insertions

64 • As discussed in Baillie 1960. Indeed, the setting is not listed in the survey of faburden in Trowell 1980. The terminology of cadence-types is borrowed from Meier 1988. Tenorizans indicates stepwise descent at the cadence, and cantizans stepwise ascent.

65 • 'In Tudor sources, *Salve festa dies* belongs to the same kind of practice as the Rogationtide litanies, squares for the Lady Mass, Magnificat, and hymns in faburden—i.e. voice-parts stored as standardised, monophonic melodies, and realised polyphonically *super librum*.' (Magnus Williamson, pers. comm. 10 March 2024). Tinctoris's use of the terms *super librum* and *res facta* is interpreted in Bent 1983 and Blackburn 1987. *Res facta* essentially refers to pre-composed polyphony, while *cantare super librum* refers to improvised realisation of polyphony upon a given melody.

66 • Hughes 1966, 357. On Italian fifteenth-century examples of polyphonic settings of the 'Flos filius' *Benedicamus* in which this chant is presented either unmeasured or in notes of equal length (breves or longs), while its accompanying polyphonic voices are fully mensuralised, see the essay by Antonio Calvia and Anne Stone in this volume, Ch. 15.

in their sources. It therefore seems that untroped polyphonic *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* settings had no proper place in books of polyphony in England throughout the period. The kind of sources in which these settings appear, however, changes over time: from c.1400 onwards they are interpolated in notated liturgical books with greater frequency, and in collections of liturgical and non-liturgical vernacular polyphony.

If the formal arrangement of fourteenth-century *Deo gratias* settings (in score for three voices) was indeed tied to their association with the Mass Ordinary repertoire, their source contexts suggest that their identity as Mass Ordinary items was always peripheral and never consolidated. In the later period, *Deo gratias* settings no longer appear in books of polyphony dedicated to settings of the Mass Ordinary, perhaps reflecting the practice of substituting motets for the *Deo gratias* at Mass, as suggested by two motets at the end of Old Hall.[67]

No substantial written repertoire of *Benedicamus* settings seems to have existed beyond Pepys 1236, so there is little evidence for established conventions for their manuscript format (as there were for other genres of polyphony). Flexibility of layout, as seen in surviving sources of *Benedicamus* settings throughout the period, is perhaps therefore to be expected.

Nonetheless, by the later fifteenth century, it is clear that the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* were vehicles for a wide variety of untroped musical elaborations, whose coexistence is evident in the surviving sources. As the single witness to what seems to be an extensive polyphonic tradition for untroped *Benedicamus* settings in the mid-fifteenth century, it is impossible to say how typical Pepys 1236 is. However, the sources discussed above reveal that for both the *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias*, simple settings—whether 'playn-song-style' or monophonic mensural voices to be realised *super librum*—were cultivated and written down, as were musically elaborate *res facta* settings on the same texts.

As far as surviving sources inform the production of polyphony around the closing liturgical dialogue in late medieval England, therefore, it seems that untroped polyphonic elaborations of the *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* existed as largely unwritten practices throughout the entire period, flourishing only briefly as repertoires of more elaborate and notated compositions in the later fourteenth century (in the case of the *Deo gratias*) and the middle of the fifteenth (in the case of the *Benedicamus*). Although the extent to which practice varied locally is unknowable, it clearly remained flexible, since the sources reveal huge variety in the musical treatment of these texts. The surviving examples span *res facta*, improvised *super librum*, and pedagogical exercises; it is likely that this flexibility, in itself, is one reason for the uneven, and often ad hoc, material record of *Benedicamus* and *Deo gratias* settings.

67 • No untroped *Deo gratias* settings appear in Old Hall, but the final two motets in that source end with the words 'Deo gratias'. A revised and expanded version of Bent's discussion of these motets appears in Bent 2023, 445–64.

15.

A Newly-discovered Polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* in Milan

*Antonio Calvia and Anne Stone**

I. The Codex San Fedele-Belgioioso

Two bifolios containing previously unattested Ars nova polyphony deriving from the same manuscript were recently found in Milan and Pavia, and they include a very intriguing polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* that is the subject of this chapter.[1] Both the fragments and the *Benedicamus* are rare examples of their kind and they have the potential considerably to deepen our understanding of the musical culture of northern Italy—and particularly Lombardy, around 1400—for which very little evidence currently exists. Following a brief introduction of the new source, we provide a reconstruction of the new *Benedicamus Domino* setting and explore its relationship to other extant polyphonic settings from Trecento Italy.

The two host volumes of the fragments were held in Milanese libraries at least as early as the seventeenth century. The fragment now in Pavia was used as the binding for a printed book published in 1601 and bearing an inscription of ownership by the library of the Jesuits of the professed house of San Fedele in Milan. The Trivulziana host volume, a manuscript dating to c.1500, was part of the library of the noble Milanese Belgioioso

* The research for this chapter was a collaboration between its two authors. Sections I and II and the Appendix were written by Antonio Calvia and sections III and IV by Anne Stone. We thank the staff of the Biblioteca Trivulziana, especially the Director, Isabella Fiorentini, Loredana Minenna, and Stefano Dalla Via for their assistance. Michael Cuthbert has been characteristically generous with his time and wisdom. The following manuscript sigla are used:

Bologna 2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216
Bologna Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q15
Cialini	Perugia, Biblioteca Sala del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia, Inc. 2 (*olim* Cas. 3, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.)
Faenza 117	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana, 117
Florence Ash. 999	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 999
Houghton	Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Lat 420
Messina O.4.16	Messina, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile, O.4.16
Mod A	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, alpha.M.24
Oxford Canon. Misc. 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 213
Oxford Pat. Lat. 229	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. Lat. 229
Parma Archivio F-10	Parma, Archivio Capitolare, F-10
Pav	Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Pergamene sparse, scatola 4, n. 8 (*ex* binding of 43 D 3)
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, italien 568
Reggio Emilia C 408	Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale, C 408
Seville BCC 5-2-25	Seville, Biblioteca Capitolar y Columbina (housed in the Institución Colombina), 5-2-25
Triv	Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 1759 (binding)

1 • The fragments Triv and Pav were found on two different occasions in 2019. See Calvia and Saviotti 2023 for a description of Pav, housed in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Pavia; the second fragment, Triv, in the Biblioteca Trivulziana of Milan, is the subject of ongoing work by the present authors and Federico Saviotti.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143526 ✳

family.[2] As shown in Table 15.1, the two bifolios contained a combination of liturgical and secular polyphony that was common in manuscripts copied in Italy around the turn of the fifteenth century.[3] As we shall see, the two other settings of the *Benedicamus* with which ours is most comparable survive in precisely this kind of manuscript, both copied in scriptoria connected to urban monasteries. The 'Codex San Fedele-Belgioioso', as we have named the dismembered manuscript, was exceptionally large in format for a manuscript of polyphony (a single folio of Triv measures approximately 465×313 mm).[4] It was copied by a professional scribe whose *littera textualis* places his training in the later fourteenth century.[5] All told, the two extant bifolios contain twelve anonymous pieces: nine French-texted two-voice rondeaux and virelais; a Credo; a troped Sanctus; and the *Benedicamus Domino* that is the subject of this chapter.

The three liturgical works in our fragments differ markedly in structure and style. The two surviving voices of what must have been a four-voice Credo is a syllabic, homorhythmic setting that conforms to the 'simultaneous style' described by Hanna Stäblein-Harder.[6] The troped Sanctus is pan-isorhythmic (as is clear from the three surviving voices) and the *Benedicamus Domino* has a slow-moving, monorhythmic tenor and a highly florid cantus voice whose notational usage connects it more to the secular repertoire of the fragment than to the other liturgical works. The nine French *formes fixes* songs share enough stylistic and notational features to make us fairly confident that at least a majority of them were by a single composer.[7] While we are not quite prepared to say that the same composer is responsible for the *Benedicamus* setting, its style is certainly compatible.

Several factors make us fairly sure that the manuscript from which our fragments derive was copied in Lombardy and contained a musical repertoire that was at least partially, if not completely, composed there. These include linguistic, notational, music-stylistic, and geographical elements: the Franco-Italian cast of the language and the Italian graphic habits found in the French-texted songs; the idiosyncratic features of the musical notation

2 • See Calvia and Saviotti 2023, 53–54, for a description of the Pav *ex libris*; the Trivulziana manuscript has a bookplate identifying it as part of the library of the noble Milanese Belgioioso family; it came into the possession of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio (1839–1902) upon his marriage in 1864 to Giulia Amalia Barbiano di Belgioioso, whose dowry contained more than 25,000 printed books and 634 manuscripts from the Belgioioso library. We note that the two libraries were practically adjacent to one another: the Palazzo Belgioioso stands just north-east of the rear end of the church of San Fedele, and Google Maps estimates a two-minute walk between them.

3 • Column 1 of Table 15.1 gives our provisional page identification, using numbers for Pav and letters for Triv; because of the fragmentary nature of the bifolios, column 5 describes the layout of each composition in terms of the staves it occupies, as well as the clefs of each voice; column 6 indicates which voices bear text. Cuthbert 2006, 28, provides a table of fifteen mostly fragmentary sources that combine liturgical and secular polyphony. Only a few of the sources listed in Cuthbert's table combine liturgical settings with French-texted works; these are listed in Calvia and Saviotti 2023, 68 n. 37. To this list we can, however, add many manuscripts that survive more or less complete, which contain French- and Italian-texted songs together with liturgical polyphony. These include Mod A; Pit; Bologna Q15; Bologna 2216; and Oxford Canon. Misc. 213.

4 • Due to trimming for reuse, Pav now measures a maximum of 383×259 mm per folio. See Calvia and Saviotti 2023, 55.

5 • Ibid., 64.

6 • See Stäblein-Harder 1962 and see also Calvia and Saviotti 2023, 89 and 89 n. 69.

7 • Ibid., 85–86.

Table 15.1: Inventory of the codex San Fedele-Belgioioso

Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Pergamene Sparse, scatola 4, n. 8 (Pav)

Folio	Item no.	Incipit	Genre	Disposition on staves (clefs)	Voices[text]
1r (hair)	1	La nuit que est tant obscure	Virelai	Cantus 1–2 (c2) Tenor 3 (f2)	2^{1}
	2	Se la playsant chiera veoyr poroye	Rondeau	Cantus 4–5 (c2) Tenor 6 (f2/c4) alius Tenor 7 (f3)	2^{1} + alius Tenor
	3	Aves moy passoyt un flour	Rondeau	Cantus 8–9 (c2) Tenor 10 (f2/c4)	2^{1}
	4	Tant yolis et gay sans mele[n]conie	Virelai	Cantus 11–13 (c1) Tenor 14 (f1/c3)	2^{1}
1v (flesh)	5	Factorem/[O]mnipotentem	Credo	Cantus 1–7 ([c1], c1) ?Contatenor 8–14 (f2/c4, [f2/c4])	2^{2} [$?4^{4}$]
2r		(blank ruled)			
2v		(blank ruled)			

Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 1759 (Triv)

Folio	Item no.	Incipit	Genre	Disposition on staves (clefs)	Voices[text]
Ar (flesh, quire no. biiij)	6	Sanctus Celeste preconium	Sanctus trope	Cantus[?2] 1–4 (c1) Contratenor 5 (f3) Alius solus Tenor 6 (c4)	2^{1}+alius [$?4^{1}$ + alius Tenor+ Solus Tenor]
	7	Dos ans avoyt la tres douce fieta	Virelai	Cantus 7–10 (c3) Tenor 11 (f3)	2^{1}
	8	Tout ce que vous plet a moy plet	Rondeau	Cantus 12–13 (c2) Tenor 14 (f2/c4)	2^{1}
Av (hair)	9	Povres d'argant	Virelai	Cantus 1–4 Tenor 5	2^{1}
	10	Pour amour pour honor	Virelai	Cantus 6–9 Tenor 10–11	2^{1}
	11	Suy par ma foys	Rondeau	Cantus 12–13 Tenor 14	2^{1}
Br	12	Benedicamus Domino	*Benedicamus Domino*	Cantus 1–2 Tenor 4	2^{2} [$?3^{3}$]
Bv		(blank ruled)			

and musical structures; the presence of heraldic texts, and particularly a Visconti motto; and the location of the host volumes in adjacent libraries in central Milan probably as early as the early seventeenth century.[8]

II. The Reconstruction of the *Benedicamus Domino*

Both surviving bifolios were found largely intact, serving as external covers for their host volumes. After its discovery, the Pavia bifolio was detached from its host volume and restored, whereas at the time of writing the Trivulziana bifolio remains attached to its host volume. As luck would have it, the *Benedicamus Domino* is found on the underside of the back cover of the volume and partially folded under the volume's top edge, posing a challenge to its reconstruction. Figures 15.1a and 15.1b show what can currently be seen of the *Benedicamus Domino* from the back cover of the manuscript to which it is attached: Figure 15.1(a) shows the volume photographed in natural light, while Figure 15.1(b) shows the second stave of the cantus voice, in retrograde inversion, viewed from the inside back cover under UV light. On the fourth stave, the voice marked '[B]Enedi[ca]m(us) Tenor' clearly presents the melody 'Flos filius eius', the very common tenor for *Benedicamus Domino* settings taken from the verse of the responsory *Stirps Jesse*.[9] To the naked eye the melody is seen in retrograde; Figure 15.2 presents the mirror image of the view of the tenor from the outside. The rubric 'Tenor' makes clear that this is part of a polyphonic *Benedicamus* setting, and the remaining three syllables of the text ('Do-', 'mi-', '-no') are accurately dispersed, with pen flourishes, under the remainder of the chant, suggesting that this voice was notated for vocal performance. The Tenor is written in black mensural notation, with single notes and ligatures *sine proprietate* and *cum perfectione*. The durations are almost exclusively longae, with two exceptions: two apparent breves within a four-note ligature (circled in Fig. 15.2) that, as argued below, we believe to be an error; and the final ligature, which ends with a maxima.

The first and second staves contain the surviving cantus voice, written in a particular flavour of Franco-Italian notation that we find also in the fragments' French-texted songs. The mensuration is the French imperfect tempus with major prolation, but we also find Italianate dragmas, worth two minims, and a unique figure that we have named *dragma brevis*, a note worth twice as much as the simple dragma, that is, four minims (see Fig. 15.3).[10] The entire text '[B]E-ne-di-ca-mus' is visible when we shine a watermark light through the parchment.

With the help of high-resolution photography by the Arvedi Laboratory of Non-Invasive Diagnostics, we have been able to transcribe the surviving pitches with a fair degree of certainty.[11] The rhythms have proved more challenging because of the difficulty in being

8 • See ibid. for the notational, music-stylistic, and linguistic analysis; the history of the host volumes and the heraldic texts will be discussed in forthcoming work.

9 • Catalogued in Huglo 1982 as no. 117 and in Barclay 1977 as no. 32.

10 • See Calvia and Saviotti 2023, 69–74 for a fuller discussion of the *dragma brevis*.

11 • The Arvedi Laboratory is part of the Department of Musicology and Cultural Heritage of the University of Pavia, in Cremona. The analysis directed by Marco Malagodi was undertaken in collaboration with Marco Gargano (Department of Physics, University of Milan).



Figure 15.1: Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 1759 (binding): (a) outside back cover, stave numbers annotated and (b) inside back cover, stave number annotated.
Photos by Marco Gargano, © Comune di Milano, all rights reserved



Figure 15.2: Photo of Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 1759 (binding) tenor, mirror image,
© Comune di Milano, all rights reserved

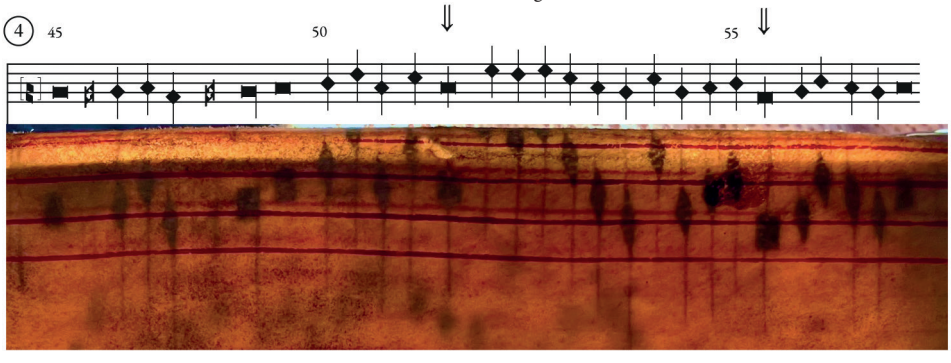


Figure 15.3: Examples of the *dragma brevis* in Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 1759 (binding),
© Comune di Milano, all rights reserved

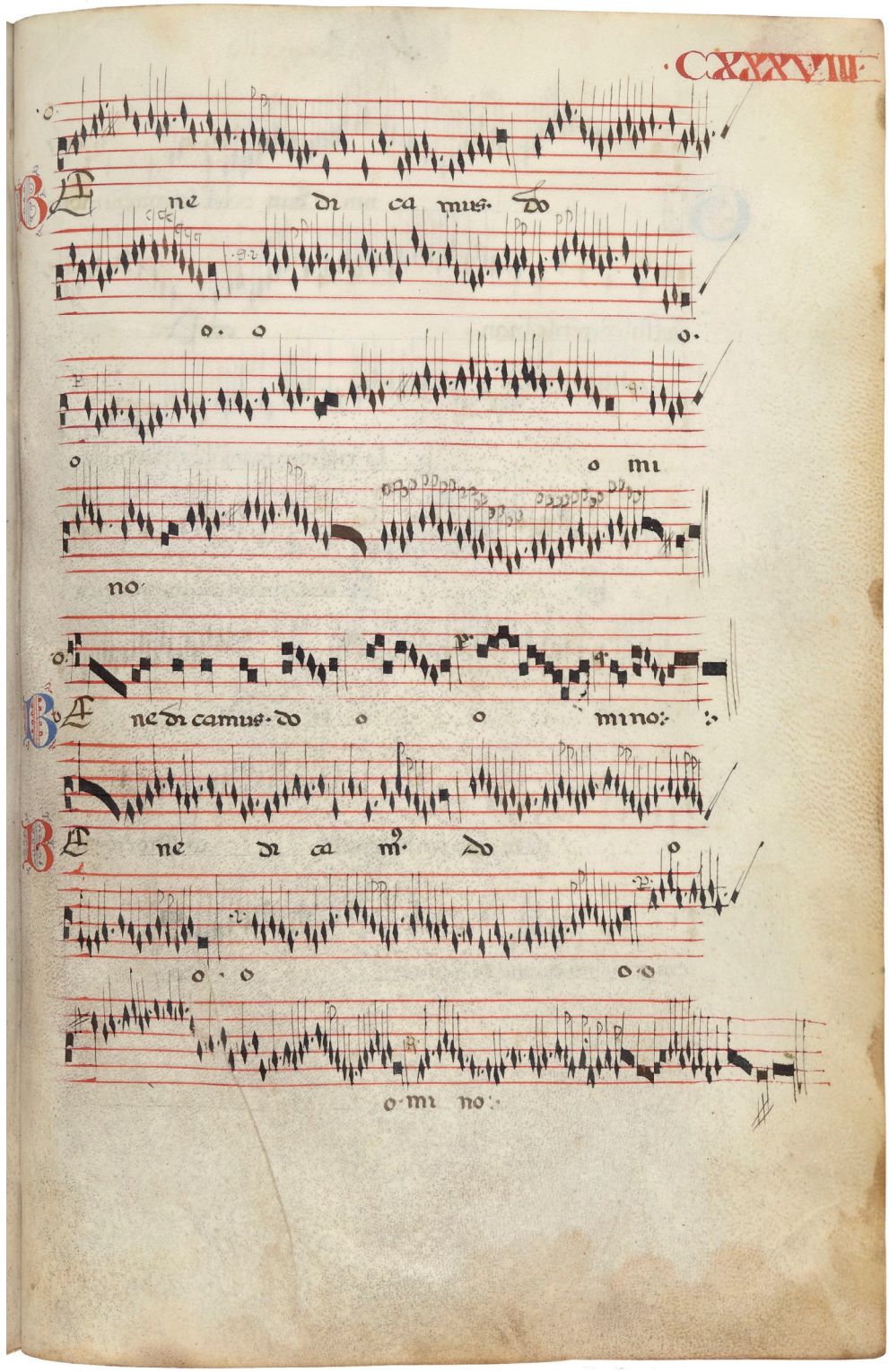


Figure 15.4: Paolo da Firenze, three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, italien 568, fol. 138r. Reproduced from https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490281

sure about the presence or absence of stems. We present our provisional transcription, with a diplomatic rendering of the cantus above the stave, in the Appendix. The transcription facilitated two immediate realisations. First, that the contrapuntal setting is unfinished: the cantus stops at the cadence in bar 66, at the end of the fourth section of the tenor chant. Second, the note and rest alternations in bars 35–42 are clearly remnants of a hocket section, which makes us quite sure that this was a three-voice setting whose copying was arrested before the third voice was added. If we are correct, this setting would join that of Paolo da Firenze found in Pit as the only surviving examples of three-voice polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* in Italianate mensural notation.[12]

We suspect that had the *Benedicamus Domino* been completely copied, its layout would have been similar to that of Paolo's setting, where a central tenor is flanked by the two cantus voices (see Fig. 15.4). The Trivulziana setting left three staves for the top voice, two of which were filled before the copying stopped; the tenor occupies the fourth stave, and the second voice would probably have been copied below it on two or three staves. This would have left almost an entire half page (five or six staves) for another composition. This hypothesis presumes a process of copying that was not top-down: the tenor seems to have been copied first, with the two cantus voices to follow above and below it. That the tenor was accurately placed on the fourth stave strongly suggests that the scribe was working from an already-formatted exemplar. Although this order of copying might be idiosyncratic and specific to the scribe in question, it is also possible that this half-completed page reveals copying norms for manuscripts of polyphony that are imperceptible in finished manuscripts.[13]

A few clues allow us to speculate about how the two surviving bifolios might have been organised into a single gathering.[14] Notably, the copying of both surviving bifolios was incomplete: the Pavia bifolio has music on the recto and verso of one folio while the second folio is entirely blank; the Trivulziana bifolio's first folio is fully copied on recto and verso, while its second folio contains the incomplete *Benedicamus* on its recto and a blank-ruled folio on its verso. The only material clue to the gathering's original structure is found on Triv, tucked under the bottom right corner of the front of the host volume, where we find the quire number biiij (see Fig. 15.5). Presumably, this indicates that the bifolio in question

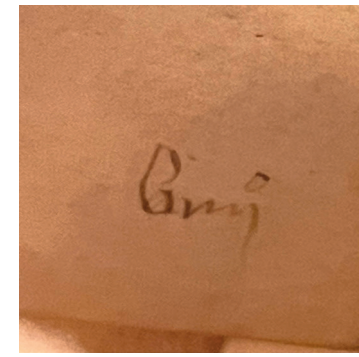


Figure 15.5: Quire number, Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 1759, fol. Ar, © Comune di Milano, all rights reserved

12 • Edited in von Fischer and Gallo 1976, no. 27, 105–06.

13 • There is at least a generous handful of incomplete pages in Italian manuscript anthologies of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but no existing study of them. We note that another closely contemporary half-completed page comparable to Triv is Mod A, fol. 47r, containing only a partially completed cantus voice, lacking any text but already supplied with a rubricated initial D, plus accidental signs.

14 • It is not yet clear whether the proposed San Fedele-Belgioioso codex for which our bifolios were copied was ever completed; it is possible that the project was abandoned or that these bifolios are discards. Sewing holes visible on both bifolios support the idea that they were bound, but our research on these is ongoing.

was the fourth one of the second gathering (the bifolios of the first gathering having been signed ai, aii, and so on). If these gatherings were quaternions, the Trivulziana bifolio would have been the central bifolio of the second gathering of the manuscript. It seems that the copying of the manuscript, or at least of this gathering, broke off in the middle of the *Benedicamus*. In this scenario, it is likely that two bifolios stood between the Trivulziana and Pavia bifolios: the Triv Sanctus must have had two more voices on a facing verso (now lost) and its continuation must have filled an entire second opening. Table 15.2 schematises our hypothetical reconstruction of the presumed quaternion. As discussed further below, this reconstruction has a liturgical logic to it, presenting Credo, Sanctus, and *Benedicamus* in their correct sequence for use in the Mass.

Table 15.2: Hypothetical second gathering of the codex San Fedele-Belgioioso (extant items in bold)

Four French songs (Pav, fol. 1r)	[?bi]
Credo Cantus I/?Contratenor (Pav, fol. 1v) up to *non erit finis*	
[?Credo Cantus II/Tenor, up to *non erit finis*]	[?bii]
[?Credo Cantus I/Contratenor, *et in spiritum–Amen*]	
[?Credo Cantus II/Tenor *et in spiritum–Amen*]	[?biii]
[?1. Sanctus Cantus I/Tenor/Solus Tenor 2. French songs]	
1. Sanctus Cantus II/Contratenor/'Alius solus Tenor' 2. Two French songs (Triv, fol. 1r)	**biiij**
Three French songs (Triv, fol. 1v)	
1. *Benedicamus Domino*: Cantus I [incomplete]**/Tenor 2. blank ruled (Triv, fol. 2r)**	
Blank ruled (Triv, fol. 2v)	
[?Blank ruled]	
[?Blank ruled]	
[?Blank ruled]	
[?Blank ruled]	
Blank ruled (Pav, fol. 2r)	
Blank ruled (Pav, fol. 2v)	

III. The *Benedicamus Domino* setting in context

The Triv *Benedicamus Domino* is an example of a curious practice of liturgical polyphony that Michael Scott Cuthbert has called 'equal-note setting': a texture in which a liturgical tenor that moves in long notes of equal duration, often notated as if plainchant, is coupled with one or more florid and mensurally-notated cantus voices.[15] The tenor's melodic

15 • See the extensive discussion in Cuthbert 2006, 365–428. It is hard to tell how widespread this practice was. A search on DIAMM of *Benedicamus Domino* settings (443 in 76 manuscripts, which is not exhaustive but a reasonable corpus) reveals that by the 1430s the majority of polyphonic settings were fully composed in all voices, in the manner of little motets. Two settings by Du Fay in Bologna Q15 (fols. 113v–144r and 169v–170r), probably copied in the 1430s, serve as good examples of this type. Nevertheless, there are sources as late as the turn of the sixteenth century that contain 'equal-note' settings of the *Benedicamus*, such as a late fifteenth-century antiphoner copied in Parma Archivio F-10, to

structure governs the phrase structure of the polyphony, and the equal-note motion of the tenor's movement directs the rhythmic and contrapuntal flow. These settings, found in sources from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, occupy a specific, hybrid place in the wide range of polyphonic liturgical practices of the later Middle Ages and early Renaissance that span the spectrum from unwritten to written. Towards the unwritten end of this spectrum are the better-known and more attested cantus planus binatim and cantus fractus settings, which also use equal-note tenors and feature a simple note-against-note texture.[16] At the other end is liturgical polyphony in which the rhythms of all voices are mensural and where the polyphony seems overall more fully composed than the equal-note settings.

That the equal-note setting has close ties to the unwritten tradition seems indisputable when we consider that this texture—equal-note tenor and active, mensurally-notated cantus—is found widely in discant and counterpoint treatises that proceed beyond note-against-note instructions and give examples of florid counterpoint.[17] The link to unwritten practice is further demonstrated by the various ways the tenor can be notated. In some cases the tenor is notated exactly as if it were monophonic chant, and the performer must impose an equal-note performance upon it to fit with the mensurally-notated cantus; a pertinent example is a two-voice *Gaudeamus* setting by Paolo da Firenze copied in 1423.[18] Presumably, the temporal relationship between the two voices was quickly established by trial and error. In other cases, such as the Trivulziana *Benedicamus*, the chant is notated using precise mensural notation that stipulates equal-note performance (all breves or, more rarely, all longs). This range of solutions for the notation of the equal-note settings points

which was added c.1500 a single four-voice *Benedicamus Domino*. The cantus, altus, and bassus voices are notated in white mensural polyphony and have actively-moving lines in minims and semiminims under cut-C, while the tenor is copied in plainchant notation with the canon 'equali motu et sine pausa' written in the margin. This indicates both that the practice existed as late as c.1500 but also that it was not so ubiquitous that understanding of its notational oddities could be assumed. For a facsimile and discussion, see Massera 1964.

16 • On cantus planus binatim (also called 'primitive' or 'simple' polyphony), see Gallo 1966 and the essays collected in Corsi and Petrobelli 1989; on cantus fractus see Gozzi 2003 and Gozzi 2012.

17 • The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tradition of these is documented in Sachs 1974. Abundant theoretical examples of this texture are provided in, for example, Petrus dictus Palma Ociosa (dated 1336, edited in Wolf 1913–14), and the Berkeley Anonymous (dated 1375, edited in Ellsworth 1989). One example that is particularly close to the Triv *Benedicamus Domino* in date, location, and style is the treatise of Antonius de Leno, thought to date from the first third of the fifteenth century. Leno provides a series of examples of *fiortise*, diminished counterpoint, all in imperfect tempus with major prolation, over an equal-note tenor notated in breves. We note, however, that Leno's use of the dragma differs from that found in Pav and Triv: he assigns the dragma the value of 1.5 minims, while the value of 2 minims he notates with the semibreve caudata. In his examples, however, he uses the dragma only in combination with a semiminim, to produce the effect of a dotted minim, rather than in pairs, to create a 3:2 proportion with the semibreve of major prolation. For an edition of the treatise (with transcriptions of all of the examples), see Seay 1977. For a detailed analysis of the treatise, see Vivarelli 2009 (with a partial facsimile showing the 'equal-note' texture at 528). The Berkeley Anonymous similarly provides a wealth of examples of florid counterpoint using Ars nova figures augmented with dragmas and semiminims, and once again the dragma is given the value of 1.5 minims. See Ellsworth 1989, 127 and 136–45. The treatise on note-shapes ('Tractatus figurarum') attributed to Philipoctus Andrea, whose earliest exemplar dates to 1391 in Pavia, does not name the dragma, but describes it as a 'minima caudata superius et inferius', calls it 'common enough', and agrees with Pav and Triv in assigning it the value of two minims; see Schreur 1990, 84.

18 • In Florence Ash. 999. See Cuthbert 2006, 365–67.

again to their origins in unwritten practice; as late as the end of the fifteenth century, Tinctoris's discussion of *cantare super librum* describes a range of activity that correlates well with the diversity of the surviving written record. Tinctoris explains that the performer of the chant can choose from a number of different rhythmic options, including making each note of the chant equal to either a semibreve or a breve; rhythmicising it according to a simple pattern; or treating the chant notation as if it were mensural. Given that there was such a wide spectrum of possibilities for improvised performance, it is not surprising that the written tradition of this practice shows variation and inconsistency.[19]

Table 15.3 lists all the known polyphonic settings of *Benedicamus Domino* notated with Ars nova mensural notation. The Trivulziana setting shares with five of these the equal-note texture and a tenor based on the 'Flos filius' melody.[20] These five have already been discussed as a group at length by Cuthbert, and they are listed in Table 15.3 in ascending

Table 15.3: *Benedicamus Domino* settings in Trecento mensural notation

Source	Composer	Voices^{text}	Edition
Messina O.4.16, fol. 169r	anon.	2^{1T}	von Fischer and Gallo 1976, 104
Reggio Emilia C 408, fol. 65r	anon.	1^{1}	Gozzi 2007, 98
Houghton, fol. 82v	anon.	1^{1}	—
Cialini, fol. 35v	Magister Johannes de Florentia	2^{2}	Gozzi 2007, 94
Oxford Pat. Lat. 229, fol. 33v	anon.	2^{2}	von Fischer and Gallo 1976, 102–03
Pit, fol. 138r	Paolo da Firenze	3^{3}	von Fischer and Gallo 1976, 105–06
Triv, fol. Br	anon.	2^{2} of $3^{3?}$	See Appendix
Faenza 117, fols. 56r–57r	anon.	two-part intabulation	von Fischer and Gallo 1976, 167–69
Faenza 117, fol. 97r–v	anon.	two-part intabulation	von Fischer and Gallo 1976, 185–86

19 • See Sherr 1992, 180–81.

20 • Three settings in the table—Reggio Emilia C 408, Cialini, and Houghton—differ from the five discussed by Cuthbert. The tenor in Johannes de Florentia's setting in Cialini begins as equal-note but gradually becomes more composed; Reggio Emilia C 408 and Houghton each contain only one surviving voice, a florid cantus that seems likely to have been composed to embellish a tenor. Cuthbert 2009, 72–73, signals a 'Flos filius' tenor in Seville BCC 5-2-25, fol. 58r, with a possible cantus adjacent to it. Since the 'terrible clashes' he reports in his transcription leave room for doubt, it is not included here.

order of the degree of elaboration in the cantus voice. The simplest is a two-voice setting copied as an addition to a chant manuscript in Messina. There is a more elaborated anonymous two-voice setting in the Padua fragments (Oxford Pat. Lat. 229, fol. 33v), datable to the first decade of the fifteenth century.[21]

The quite spectacular three-voice setting by Paolo da Firenze in Pit (fol. 138r) can be dated roughly to the first decade of the fifteenth century. The most elaborated cantus voices are found in two settings in Faenza 117, which share the contrapuntal texture of the equal-note settings, though their score format and the highly embellished upper voices mark them clearly as instrumental rather than vocal works. Also different in Faenza 117 is the fact that the tenor notes are sometimes rhythmically elaborated as well, so that rather than sustaining a breve for every tenor note, the breve is subdivided into rearticulated shorter note values.[22] The 'Flos filius' melody as transmitted in Triv is identical to that in Oxford Pat. Lat. 229, while the other settings exhibit a variety of small variants.

Tenor	Observations on notation and context
'Flos filius'	Untexted Cantus in Ars nova notation (tempus imperfectum with prolatio maior); Texted tenor in square notation.
not extant	Mensural with no ligatures (facsimile in Gozzi 2007, Fig. 3)
not extant	Italian *pontelli*, modus signs
freely composed or unidentified	Italian *pontelli*, *divisio* letters, quaternaria with modus perfectus Context: Sanctus ([…] de Florentia), Agnus (idem), Agnus (Franciscus de Cumis), Sanctus (Franciscus de Cumis), *Benedicamus Domino* (Magister Johannes de Florentia)
'Flos filius'	Italian *pontelli*, *divisio* letters Context: Sanctus, *Benedicamus Domino*, Sanctus 'mediolano', Credo, Gloria, Sanctus
'Flos filius'	Italian *pontelli*, *divisio* letters, semibreves caudatae; frequent changes of mensuration Context: Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, *Benedicamus Domino*
'Flos filius'	Ars nova notation, two-minim dragma, four-minim *dragma brevis* Context: Credo, Sanctus, *Benedicamus Domino*
'Flos filius' (transposed up a fourth)	Highly decorated cantus voice
'Flos filius' (transposed up a fourth)	Highly decorated cantus voice

21 • Digitised on DIAMM: https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/505/#/images?p=33v%20[53v].

22 • The settings are found on fols. 57r–58r and 97r–v. For a facsimile and study of Faenza 117, see Memelsdorff 2013. Cuthbert 2006, 123, raises the possibility that the Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 cantus might be instrumental, but this hypothesis is challenged by its careful texting. In addition, Faenza 117's cantus parts are much more fast-moving, using a variety of semiminim-type figures against the breve motion in the tenor; a keyboard performance of Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 or of Triv would be rather dull by comparison.

The notation of the tenors in these settings ranges between mensural and non-mensural representation. The Messina *Benedicamus Domino* has a tenor written in non-mensural square notation, and the performer must work out that each note corresponds to a breve of the cantus's mensural notation. The setting by Paolo da Firenze similarly notates most of the tenor in non-mensural plainchant that must be performed as breves against the florid cantus voices, but uses Italian division letters '.o.', '.p.', and '.q.' to indicate changes in the duration of the breve from section to section. In addition, the last two pitches of Paolo's tenor are notated as maximas, each of which appears to require a different interpretation. The final maxima is unmeasured, signifying the end point of the composition. The penultimate note, however, has a tricky relationship with measured time when joined with the cantus, whose penultimate note is a longa. If we assume that the cantus's penultimate longa indicates a precise measurement, the demands of the counterpoint result in the tenor's maxima being held for a nonsensical seven breves of the cantus.[23] If we understand instead that the cantus's longa indicates a slowing down, as if a fermata, then the tenor's penultimate maxima equals six of the cantus's breves, with the last one held a bit longer.

This confusion at the penultimate sonority can be related to other equal-note settings in which Cuthbert observes mensural irregularities at pre-cadential penultimate sonorities. In the equal-note setting of the *Gaudeamus* by Paolo da Firenze mentioned above, the penultimate note in the cantus is a long, against a breve in the tenor.[24] In the *Benedicamus Domino* setting in Oxford Pat. Lat. 229, the tenor is written in longs but in two pre-cadential bars the corresponding cantus is notated as a breve, while in the Messina setting the penultimate sonority features two breves in the cantus against a breve in the tenor. Cuthbert's explanation for these irregularities is that the pre-cadential measures always have a sort of implied fermata, a 'practice of flexible rhythm just before the cadence'.[25] We might go even further and speculate that the equal-note tenor genre has a particularly flexible relationship to mensural notation, since the written exemplars of this genre are surely just a small snapshot of a widespread unwritten practice of florid polyphony built on a tenor moving in isochronous pulses. It was seemingly characteristic of this practice to extend the penultimate sonority of cadences. This practice dates back at least to the late thirteenth century, when it was described by Franco of Cologne in his discussion of the *finis punctorum*: 'Finis punctorum immensurabilis appellatur, nam et ipsa in plana musica reperitur. Haec tantum penultimam notam significat esse longam in quocumque modo evenerit' (The *finis punctorum* is called immeasurable, for it is also found in plainsong. It signifies that the penultimate note is a long in whatever mode it occurs).[26] This forms the basis of a rule governing the performance of organum, which appears later in Franco's treatise: 'Tertia regula est: quicquid accipitur immediate ante pausationem quae finis

23 • This is the solution adopted in von Fischer and Gallo 1976, 106, bars 46–52.

24 • See Cuthbert 2006, 379.

25 • Ibid., 383.

26 • See Reaney and Gilles 1974, 54.

punctorum dicitur, est longum, quia omnis penultima longa est' (The third rule is: any note found immediately before the rest called *finis punctorum* is a long, because every penultimate [note] is a long).[27] While Franco quantifies the penultimate note as a long, it seems likely that this rule describes a practice of lengthening penultimate sonorities that was not necessarily strictly measured. In short, the mensural notations in which these few examples are recorded are clearly subordinate to the embodied knowledge of an established genre. Since it appears to have been generally accepted practice to take time at the penultimate sonorities when performing polyphony, the notation did not have to be perfectly precise.

In both Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 and the Triv *Benedicamus*, the tenor melody is written in what could be described as a kind of mensuralised square notation, as if the scribe translated a plainchant version of the melody into a measured, polyphonic voice in which every note is a long.[28] This act of translation might explain why the Triv scribe appears to have made an error, as can be seen in the circled notes in the Triv tenor in Figure 15.2 above, where the two internal notes of a four-note ligature, normally read as breves, must be read as longs. It is also possible that the apparent error is related to the fact that the two notes in question are a variant reading for the chant: in many transmissions of the plainchant the intervening *E* is not present and the chant skips directly from *F* to *D*. If the scribe knew the chant without the *E*, he might have unwittingly subsumed it into the longa space taken up by the *F*, imagining it as a plica. Whatever the motivation for the exceptional quaternary ligature in the Triv tenor, its normal signification must be overridden in performance, with all the tenor notes sung equally as longs in order to fit with the cantus.

If we now compare the style of the florid cantus voice in Triv with those in Table 15.3, it is apparent that the Triv setting is among the most artfully constructed of the group, that is, it takes full advantage of available notated resources of pitch and rhythm. The Messina cantus is small in range, almost never extending beyond the ambitus of *a*–*d* and uses a minimal rhythmic palette in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiore*.[29] The Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 setting, in the same mensuration—though notated in its Italian equivalent, *senaria imperfecta*, using *pontelli* (Marchettan dots of division) and *divisio* letters—has a cantus range of a tenth but not much more rhythmic variety than the Messina cantus, and features some awkward intervallic successions (for instance, the tritone leaps in bars 4–5 and 79–80, and the chromatic shift from *g* to *g*♯ in bars 80–81). Comparing the Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 cantus range with that of Triv reveals significant differences. A number of the vertical intervals found in the Oxford manuscript are never found in the Trivulziana *Benedicamus*, such as the double octave (as at bar 26). In the Triv *Benedicamus* the two extant voices fequently move in thirds (for example, bars 12, 22, 29, 35, and 47–48), while the two voices in Oxford Pat. Lat. 229's *Benedicamus* are never closer than a fifth apart. In fact,

27 • Ibid., 82.

28 • See https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/505/#/.

29 • For a modern edition, see von Fischer and Gallo 1976, no. 26a, p. 104; for a facsimile see Ziino 1973.

the Triv and Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 voices are almost complementary, and in many passages they could be performed simultaneously over the same tenor. This is not to suggest that they were composed to be performed together—there are too many passages (as at bars 35–42, which requires a corresponding hocket voice) that are incompatible. Nevertheless, the difference in range between the two cantus parts, and the close proximity between the ambitus of the tenor and that of the Triv cantus suggest that the proposed missing voice in the Triv setting was a triplum that was placed in roughly the same ambitus as the cantus in Oxford Pat. Lat. 229.

Of the three settings in Table 15.3 that do not share the monorhythmic 'Flos filius tenor'—Reggio Emilia C 408, Cialini, and Houghton—only Cialini's cantus is directly comparable. Reggio Emilia C 408 and Houghton survive in one voice only, and it is not clear whether these voices are monophonic or whether they were written down to be performed with a tenor that has not survived. Cialini's tenor is neither monorhythmic nor identifiable as a *Benedicamus Domino* chant; its cantus voice—in *quaternaria* with perfect modus—ranges over an octave, and capitalises on its mensuration by mixing clusters of minims under *quaternaria* with slower passages in breves and longs that articulate the perfect modus. The notation contains unusual features signalled by Marco Gozzi: dotted rhythms are notated with breves and longs followed by a single minim, as if 'imperfected' in the French manner. This notational feature is also found in Reggio Emilia C 408.[30]

Comparing the Triv setting to that of Paolo da Firenze in Pit, we find many similarities in approach, if not precisely in style. In addition to the use of two cantus voices above the monorhythmic tenor, both settings use musical texture to differentiate larger compositional sections. The tenors, which in all cases retain the phrase breaks of the original chant, are organised into five discreet sections, and all of the equal-note settings acknowledge these sections with clear cadences. The Triv and Paolo da Firenze settings both underscore the sectional divisions through musical means: Paolo changes mensuration in four of the five sections and uses melodic sequences, hocket, and increasing speed of subdivision to create variety.[31] In the Triv *Benedicamus*, even the partial transcription in the Appendix reveals that different sections feature different rhythmic techniques: the first section uses pervasive semibreve hemiola; the third section introduces hockets; and the fourth section contains an extended syncopation.

The close affinity of the Triv *Benedicamus* to the anonymous setting in Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 and the setting by Paolo da Firenze in Pit may have implications for its dating, and therefore for the dating of the San Fedele-Belgioioso codex as a whole, although the ques-

30 • Gozzi 2007, 63.

31 • We note as an aside that the four mensuration changes, '.o.,' '.s.i.,' '.p.,' and '.q.,' are notated in the cantus voices of Paolo's setting, but the tenor indicates only '.o.,' '.p.,' and '.q.'. A telltale erasure in the tenor voice, though, shows that 's.i.' was written and then erased. The reason for this might be an unwritten but assumed practice of only notating mensural changes when they resulted in a change in the measurement of the breve. Since the change from '.o.' to 's.i.' leaves the breve unchanged, to write 's.i.' would be not only unnecessary but perhaps confusing, prompting the performer to assume a change of measure where there was none.

tion of dating is invariably fraught and susceptible to circular logic. Paolo da Firenze's long career as monk, abbot, and rector, as well as composer, is documented from the 1390s until c.1420.[32] The copying of Pit has long been thought to date from after 1406 because it contains Paolo's madrigal *Godi, Firenze*, composed to celebrate the Florentine conquest of Pisa in that year.[33] As for the copying date of Oxford Pat. Lat. 229, one of several manuscripts of polyphony copied at the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua, its only clue to a possible date of copying is the presence of works by Johannes Ciconia, suggesting a date after 1401, the year the composer arrived in Padua.[34] A date of c.1410 for the Triv *Benedicamus Domino* seems, therefore, perfectly plausible, but a range of ten years either way would not be surprising. Paolo's monorhythmic *Gaudeamus* dated 1423 is also stylistically completely compatible with the Triv setting.

Paolo's *Benedicamus* is copied in Pit as the last liturgical entry of a quasi-cyclic Mass Ordinary (lacking only the Kyrie).[35] This might be suggestive for the position of the *Benedicamus* in the San Fedele-Belgioioso codex: the proposed hypothetical gathering in which this setting appears is similarly arranged as a partial, composite Mass cycle, with Credo, Sanctus, and *Benedicamus Domino* ordered correctly, and interspersed with secular songs as fillers just as in Pit. And just as Paolo's *Benedicamus Domino* is placed by the compilers of Pit to stand next to Mass Ordinary settings by composers of the previous generation—possibly to make a composite polyphonic 'cycle'—so does our *Benedicamus Domino* appear to be the most modern (or the least conservative) of the three settings in the Trivulziana gathering.[36] Francesco Zimei goes so far as to suggest a specific occasion that prompted the creation of the Pit liturgical cycle, namely the opening of the Council of Pisa on 25 March in 1409.[37] While we would hesitate to hypothesise an occasion with such specificity for a San Fedele-Belgioioso Mass cycle, it could plausibly have been assembled for a liturgical event of some particular significance, which could explain some odd features of the Sanctus setting, including its unique form, ill-fitting text underlay, and the use of a trope otherwise unknown in Italy.[38] All of these peculiarities mark our troped Sanctus

32 • See most recently Nádas 2020 for new information about Paolo's early career and a summary of previous scholarship.

33 • See Günther 1967.

34 • For a thorough discussion of the Padua fragments, see Cuthbert 2006, 87–221.

35 • See Zimei 2020, 82, for a detailed scheme of Pit's 'liturgical' gathering; see Nádas 1985, 228–35 for a reconstruction of the whole manuscript.

36 • Attempting to date our fragmentary repertoire is of course hazardous. Nevertheless, we have a good idea of what Matteo da Perugia was composing c.1410: motets and Mass movements with sophisticated diminution schemes and a contrapuntal elegance that is lacking in our Credo or Sanctus, which could easily date from thirty years earlier (although they could equally have been composed much later in a conservative style).

37 • Zimei 2020, 99.

38 • This pan-isorhythmic work has the unusual structure of repeating exactly at its midpoint: that is, just as the A section of a ballade is copied once with double-texted underlay and a repeat sign, so is the troped Sanctus copied in Triv, with the additional ballade-like feature of an ouvert and clos ending written out at its end. Most intriguing of all, this Osanna trope appears to be otherwise unknown in Italy, appearing in liturgical manuscripts almost exclusively from musical centres in the Kingdom of Aragon. The Osanna trope *Caeleste praeconium* takes the form of a rhymed sequence, normally found embellishing the text between the words 'osanna' and 'in excelsis'. In Triv, the text is instead

as a composition for a specific occasion, and possibly also a contrafactum, which perhaps borrowed an existing motet and awkwardly superimposed a new and unusual trope text upon it. It could be, therefore, that the Trivulziana *Benedicamus Domino* was composed for this same, special occasion.[39]

IV. Conclusion

The Trivulziana fragment's *Benedicamus Domino* setting, incomplete though it is, has the potential to pose and eventually to answer important questions about musical and liturgical practice in northern Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The geographic spread of the two other very similar settings—Paolo's from Florence and the anonymous setting copied in the Paduan Oxford Pat. Lat. 229—suggests that this particular kind of elaborated setting of the *Benedicamus Domino* was practised at least across central and northern Italy. The particularly close relationship between the Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 and Triv tenors—both notated in longs rather than breves and sharing exactly the same version of their 'Flos filius' chant melody—might point to as yet obscure historical connections between the two sources.[40]

The potentially Milanese origin of the Triv *Benedicamus* furthermore encourages us to reconsider Milan as a centre of liturgical polyphonic practice. Padua and Florence have long been known to be important centres of polyphony, thanks to the fortuitous survival of fragments from Santa Giustina for the former, and the significant material evidence from Florence, including both archival materials and music manuscripts. We have long suspected, but have not been able to document, analogous musical activity in Milan, largely because of the extent of the destruction of the Milanese archive in the civil wars of the mid-fifteenth century. Until now, knowledge of liturgical polyphonic practice in Milan was limited to a single figure—Matteo da Perugia, documented at the Milan Duomo between 1402 and 1406 and again 1414–16—and a single manuscript source, Mod A. Nevertheless, Mod A was almost certainly copied outside Milan, probably in Pisa or Bologna in the ambitus of the antipapal court of Alexander V, and represents at best a partial and refracted view of musical activity in Milan.[41] The anthology of sixty-four songs in the manuscript's earlier layer is international in content, and includes a number of widely-circulated French songs, together with a repertoire of songs written by Italian composers from across northern

intercalated with that of the Sanctus in a prose-like way, rendering invisible its poetic form. The trope is no. 10 in the catalogue in Iverson 1990. See also Iverson 1998. Our survey of the Cantus database and other sources revealed twelve copies, found in manuscripts from Vic, Tortona, Madrid, Toulouse, and Limoges. Tello Ruiz-Pérez 2006 traces the circulation of Iberian Ordinary tropes. The table in Tello Ruiz-Pérez 2006, 420, suggests that *Caeleste praeconium* circulated in Italy, but the author confirmed in private communication (26 January 2024) that this was an error.

39 • We owe the suggestion that the Sanctus might be a contrafact to Pedro Memelsdorff. For a case study of a roughly contemporary contrafacted motet made for a ceremonial occasion, see Thöne 2024, 109–57.

40 • See Plumley and Stone 2022 for the suggestion that Oxford Pat. Lat. 229 might collect repertoire brought to Padua from Milan, such as the 'Sanctus Mediolano', Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*, and two works of Machaut otherwise unattested outside the Machaut manuscripts.

41 • See Stone 2005.

Italy, with only a handful of works likely to have been composed in the Milanese area, including eight French songs by Antonellus de Caserta, one by Johannes de Janua, and potentially a few anonymous songs.[42] Mod A's liturgical music includes one motet based on an Ambrosian tenor, indicating a certain Milanese origin.[43] It records ten Mass Ordinary settings by Matteo that may have been composed for performance at the Duomo, but also plausibly date from his likely presence at the Council of Pisa in the retinue of Cardinal Pietro Filargo.[44]

In contrast to Mod A, the Trivulziana and Pavia fragments seem very possibly to represent music composed for and circulating in Milan itself, by a composer (or composers) virtually unknown elsewhere. As of this writing, we are actively undertaking further research to discover more about the people and institutions to whose existence these fragments of a possible San Fedele-Belgioioso codex bear witness, and to understand better the broader cultural circumstances that led to the composition of a very distinctive *Benedicamus Domino*.

42 • See Stone 2005 for Antonellus de Caserta and Johannes de Janua. The Pavian notarial rubric where the name Antoniello da Caserta is found has been published in Crotti and Majocchi 2005.

43 • See Maiani 1994.

44 • See Stone 2005 and Maiani 1994.

APPENDIX

Transcription of *Benedicamus Domino*, Triv, fol. Br




25
3
stave 2
O
33
41
* (a ◆ is missing after the minim?)
4


49
59
5
67
stave 3
mi - - - no.
77

16.
Benedicamus Domino Polyphony in the Trent Codices

*Alessandra Ignesti**

The seven manuscripts known collectively as the Trent Codices form one of the richest surviving collections of fifteenth-century sacred compositions.[1] Compiled in different geographical areas during a time-span longer than forty years (c.1430–75), they preserve a diverse repertoire representative of three major traditions: Franco-Flemish, German, and English. Such a varied corpus results in a high number of concordances with sources of different provenance and provides a cross-section of European trends concerning music consumption. In conflating music from independent traditions, it documents the intricate networks of influence that characterised the musical life of Trent, a small but vital and strategic centre. At the same time, it provides invaluable resources for studying the stylistic evolution of individual genres of liturgical polyphony from a global perspective.

Literature on the Trent Codices is by now copious. The first systematic study was carried out by Guido Adler and Oswald Koller in Vienna, inaugurating a series of volumes

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Aosta 11	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, 11 (*olim* 9-E-19)
Aosta 15	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, 15
Augsburg SB 64	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 8° Cod. 64
BL Add. 31384	London, British Library, Add. 31384
Bologna Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q15
Grenoble 86	Grenoble, Bibliothèque d'études et d'information, 86
Grenoble 4498	Grenoble, Bibliothèque d'études et d'information, 4498
Kraków 40098	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Berlin MS Mus. 40098
Lyon 509	Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 509
Mod B	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, alpha.X.1.11
MuEm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274 ('St. Emmeram Codex')
Munich Clm 3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3154 ('Leopold Codex')
Oxford Canon. Misc. 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 213
St. Gallen 546	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 546
Strahov DG IV 47	Prague, Strahovská knihovna, DG IV 47
Trent 87	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1374
Trent 88	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1375
Trent 89	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1376
Trent 90	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1377
Trent 91	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1378
Trent 92	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, 1379
Trent 93	Trent, Archivio Diocesano Tridentino, Biblioteca Capitolare, 93

1 • Of the seven codices, six are held in Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Biblioteca, with the shelfmarks 1374 (Trent 87), 1375 (Trent 88), 1376 (Trent 89), 1377 (Trent 90), 1378 (Trent 91), and 1379 (Trent 92). The seventh is Trent, Archivio Diocesano Tridentino, Biblioteca Capitolare, 93 (Trent 93). The codices are available onlne at <https://www.cultura.trentino.it/Patrimonio-on-line/Manoscritti-musicali-trentini-del-400/>.

✳ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143528 ✳

within the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.[2] During the 1970s and 1980s, the codices inspired ground-breaking research, especially in a few doctoral dissertations that have provided crucial insights into the provenance, dating, and context of use of the codices, as well as into the connections between them.[3] Subsequent studies have further elaborated these findings, allowing scholars to flesh out reconstructions of the evolution of musical genres and, more generally, to incorporate the repertoire and musical life documented in the Trent Codices in broader narratives of European music history.[4] This essay aims to contribute to this collective effort by concentrating on the small collection of polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* settings represented in the codices. Drawing together and building on scattered insights into this repertoire, it offers a detailed examination of the compositions, reconstructing compositional trends and models from the analysis of individual pieces.

The Tridentine corpus includes polyphonic settings of both troped and untroped *Benedicamus*.[5] The most numerous are the untroped settings, while the troped ones are only represented by multiple versions of the widely circulating *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*. The triple-texted tenor motet *Castrum pudicitie/Virgo viget/Benedicamus Domino* by the French composer Nicolas de Merques (fl. 1433–45), copied in Trent 92 (fol. 188v), can also be regarded as a *Benedicamus Domino* trope, but will not be addressed in this essay.[6] Likewise, in this chapter I do not discuss the so-called *Benedicamus Domino* substitutes: chants or songs that neither contain nor paraphrase the *Benedicamus* versicle and yet, based on external evidence such as rubrics or concordances in other sources, apparently took on its liturgical position and function. In fact, there is only one such case in the Trent Codices, as demonstrated in Table 16.1, which lists all the non-liturgical poetic compositions in Latin classifiable as conductus or *cantiones*.[7] Among these six items, a two-voice setting of the carol *Verbum caro factum est* | *In hoc anni circulo* might be associated with the *Benedicamus* function.[8] This song circulated mostly monophonically up to the fourteenth century; later in the fifteenth century, two-voice settings in note-against-note counterpoint are attested in a few sources.[9] The version in Trent 92 (fol. 15r) requires the addition of a third non-notated voice in fauxbourdon.

2 • Seven volumes of the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* are dedicated to the Trent Codices: Adler and Koller 1900, Adler and Koller 1904, Adler and Koller 1912, Ficker and Orel 1920, Ficker 1924, Ficker 1933, and Flotzinger 1970.

3 • The main contributions are White 1975, Spilsted 1982, Saunders 1983, Gerber 1984, Wright 1986a, Mitchell 1989, and Leverett 1990.

4 • Most of these are collected in a series of conference proceedings published by the Museo Provinciale di Trento: Pirrotta and Curti 1986; Wright 1996; Gozzi 2004; Curti-Feininger and Gozzi 2013.

5 • My identification of the *Benedicamus Domino*-related compositions relies on the index with metadata developed under the supervision of the Soprintendenza per i beni culturali of the Provincia autonoma di Trento—on which see Gozzi 2014—and available online (see n. 1 above).

6 • On the compositional history of this piece see Planchart 2003, 340–41. Nicolas de Merques created new music for the tenor (previously drawn from plainchant) and two pre-existing upper-voice texts known from thirteenth-century sources, where both texts circulated in conjunction with the same music but never in this particular combination.

7 • Table 16.1 does not account for textless settings and omits three conductus associated with the *Festum stultorum*.

8 • See Harrison 1965, 36, based on the evidence from Aosta 11, fol. 85r–v. See also Caldwell 2022, 163. The association with the *Benedicamus* function is possible, but neither certain nor invariable.

9 • Polyphonic settings of *Verbum caro factum est* | *In hoc anni circulo* are found in Bologna Q15 and Oxford Canon. Misc. 213, as well as in other fifteenth-century manuscripts. Gozzi 2012, 63–65, provides a list of sources, although he classifies the text as a sequence.

Table 16.1: Latin songs in the Trent Codices

Incipit	Source	Folio	Liturgical association	No. of voices
Dies est letitie (alternative text: *Der tag der ist*)	Trent 88	72v		3
Resonet in laudibus	Trent 88	241r	*Nunc dimittis*	3
Dies est letitie	Trent 88	243r		3
Christus surrexit	Trent 88	248v		4
Verbum caro factum est | *In hoc anni circulo*	Trent 92	15r	*Benedicamus*	3
Mater ora filium	Trent 92	142v; 183r		3

In this chapter I first provide an overview of the Trent Codices, their chronology, provenance, and contents. The second and third sections concentrate on the analysis of untroped and troped *Benedicamus Domino* settings. On the basis of evidence obtained from this corpus, the final section proffers general conclusions concerning compositional trends specifically associated with the musical treatment of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle.

1. The Trent Codices: An overview

The chronology established for the Trent Codices has relied primarily on the analysis of watermarks;[10] evidence provided by local indications in the texts of a few compositions themselves has also been crucial.[11] Consequently, the Trent Codices have been subdivided into three main chronological groups that do not reflect their present binding (see Table 16.2).[12] The provenance shown in the right column does not necessarily match the origin of the musical repertoire copied in the source.

Table 16.2: Chronology and provenance of the Trent Codices

Groups	Sources	Date	Provenance
1	Trent 87/II ('Battre section')	c.1435	Belgium
	Trent 92/I	c.1435	?Basel ?Austria
	Trent 87/I+Trent 92/II (TR)	c.1440	?Graz+Wiener Neustadt
2	Trent 93	c.1450	?Trent ?Austria
3	Trent 90	c.1455	Trent
	Trent 88	c.1460	Trent
	Trent 89	c.1465	Trent
	Trent 91	c.1470	Trent

Like other roughly coeval manuscripts that share similarities of structure and function, the Trent Codices are mostly composite sources whose individual fascicles were sometimes created and used independently before being bound together. This is especially the case of

10 • Saunders 1983, 1986; Wright 1986a.

11 • Saunders 1987, 643; Strohm 1981.

12 • Table 16.2 is based on Gozzi 1994, 125–41.

the two oldest manuscripts, Trent 87 and Trent 92. Adler and Koller were the first to acknowledge that Trent 87 is subdivided into two independent codicological units: the main section (fols. 1–218, hereafter Trent 87/I) and the so-called 'Battre section' (fols. 219–65, hereafter Trent 87/II), which is the only source for the works of the otherwise unknown composer H. Battre.[13] References in the text of two motets suggest that this section might have been compiled in the province of Namur and completed at the latest by 1440.[14] Trent 92 is also subdivided into two sections, the second of which (fols. 144–268, hereafter Trent 92/II) reveals strong connections with Trent 87/I. Peter Wright has shown that Trent 87/I and Trent 92/II once formed one single manuscript (usually referred to as TR), which was probably copied for the most part and assembled by the priest and organist Johannes Lupi in the late 1430s or early 1440s, during his period of residence at the Imperial Court in Wiener Neustadt.[15]

The second chronological layer is represented by Trent 93 only. This manuscript—the only one besides Trent 89 completely devoid of *Benedicamus Domino* settings—contains a large and tidily ordered corpus of Mass repertoire (of the Mass Ordinary, introits, and ceremonial antiphons) and, as later additions, sequences, contrafacta, and hymn settings with concordances with the most recent Trent Codices.[16] Most of these later manuscripts (Trent 88, Trent 89, Trent 90, and Trent 91) were produced by Johannes Wiser, whose signature is visible on the last folio of Trent 90.[17] A priest from Munich (or probably Braunau am Inn, born before 1434), Wiser was active as a succentor and rector scholarum at Trent cathedral from about 1455 to 1465.[18] Several other subsidiary scribe-musicians, however, collaborated and continued his work through the 1470s.[19] Like Wiser himself, who had been in the service of Prince-Bishop Johannes Hinderbach as his personal chaplain, these scribes might have had relationships with the Imperial court. Such a scenario amplifies the potential occasions for gathering musical material included in the Trent Codices and, therefore, challenges the hypothesis that the anonymous pieces contained therein must have originated in Trent. Such a hypothesis was initially proposed by Adler and Koller and further developed by Renato Lunelli shortly after the end of the First World War, when Italy claimed restitution of the codices legally acquired by the Austrian government

13 • Adler and Koller 1900, xiii–xv. The 'Battre section' has been analysed in White 1975.

14 • Adler and Koller 1900, 153.

15 • See Wright 1982, Wright 1986a, and Wright 1986b. Before his arrival in Trent, Lupi was in the service of Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol in the 1430s and early 1440s, when he is known to have been active as a music scribe. Further evidence, such as the concordances between Trent 87/I and Trent 92/II and portions of Aosta 15 as well as the appearance of Lupi's hand in a fragment from a choirbook for use of the Imperial Chapel (Zwettl, Bibliothek des Zisterzienerstiftes, s.n.) suggests that Lupi had ties with the Imperial Court. See Wright 1986b, 258ff.

16 • See Spilsted 1992, 122, cited in Gozzi 1994, 139. The structure is only partly reproduced in its copy, Trent 90. The provenance of Trent 93 is still debated. Spilsted 1982, 197–98, argues that the manuscript was compiled in Trent, yet Strohm 1984, 222, regards Austria as a more plausible place of origin.

17 • Adler and Koller 1900, xvi and xix.

18 • On Wiser, see Wright 2007.

19 • On Trent 88 see Gerber 1984, 19–25 and 12–49, for a full account of the scribal hands. On Trent 91, the most recent of the codices and the richest in *Benedicamus Domino* settings, see Leverett 1990, 31–59.

in 1891.[20] Lunelli's study was a response to the rather political claim of Rudolf Wolkan, who argued that the manuscripts were entirely copied in Vienna.[21] The composite nature of the Trent Codices suggests a much more nuanced approach based on the acknowledgement that the two scenarios coexist.[22] Owing to the significant reportorial connections with the Hapsburg court of Emperor Frederick III (1415–93), it is safe to maintain, as Adelyn Peck Leverett suggests, that they resulted mainly from the contribution of a number of individuals revolving around the Imperial court.[23]

Except for Trent 90—most of which is a copy of Trent 93, as Margaret Bent has shown—the remaining manuscripts are unorganised miscellanies containing mainly Mass Ordinary cycles and settings for the Office.[24] *Benedicamus Domino* settings are, therefore, to be expected among such contents, but among all the Trent Codices Trent 91 stands out for its concentration.[25] Five untroped *Benedicamus* settings are found in the so-called 'frontispiece collection' (fols. 1–48), which mostly contains Mass settings by Franco-Flemish composers. Most of the remaining fascicles of Trent 91, as Leverett has demonstrated, contain an extensive paraphrase repertoire that is 'a specific and carefully ordered record of the chief musical developments at the Imperial Court'.[26] This connection is observable in several anonymous paraphrase compositions based on plainchant melodies in use at the Diocese of Passau, whose rite was in use at the court chapel.[27] In this light, the chant paraphrase repertoire of Trent 91 appears to belong to a continuous Germanic tradition extending from Johannes Brassart (c.1440) to Heinrich Isaac (c.1500).[28] While the two *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* settings contained in Trent 91 do not appear in the fascicles directly associated with Passau, they do belong to the German *Choralbearbeitung* tradition and display a completely different compositional approach not only from the five settings of the frontispiece collection, but also from those contained in Trent 87 and Trent 88.

20 • The hypothesis of Adler and Koller 1900 rests on the presence of compositions related to personalities and events concerning Tridentine history and one of the patron saints of Trent, Vigilius. Lunelli 1927 strengthens this hypothesis, building on the evidence provided by the Tridentine cathedral archives.

21 • Wolkan 1921.

22 • Leverett 1990, 61, has argued that Wiser might have been a member of an amateur circle or the Prince-Bishop's private chapel and that such a membership drove the music collecting from which Trent 91—and possibly other codices—originated. More recently, Gozzi 1996 provides evidence to support the connection of parts of the youngest codices with Wiser's teaching activity. The latter, therefore, is ascertained although not universally applicable.

23 • Leverett 1990, 29.

24 • Bent 1986. See also Gozzi 1992 on the repertoire not copied from Trent 93.

25 • Although compiled principally by Wiser, Trent 91 is the work of no fewer than seven additional hands whose identities remain elusive. According to Leverett—who has shown that Trent 91 is a conflation of individual, self-contained units created independently and has mapped internal reportorial groupings—the collection that was to become Trent 91 was hardly begun by 1465, the year that marked the end of Wiser's tenure at the cathedral school. For this reason, Leverett does not consider it plausible that the music contained in Trent 91 was related to Weiser's teaching duties (Leverett 1990, 35).

26 • Ibid., 72.

27 • Ibid., 79–111.

28 • Ibid. 109–10. Cumming 2011 discusses the merging of this old compositional tradition with the new style of imitative polyphony in the works of Isaac. On the tradition of *Choralbearbeitung* see also Just 1994.

2. Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* settings

The untroped *Benedicamus Domino* polyphony is unevenly distributed among the Trent Codices. Two settings appear in TR (Trent 87/I), one in Trent 87/II (the 'Battre section'), one in Trent 88, and five, as observed above, in the frontispiece collection of Trent 91. The settings in the oldest manuscripts tend to have known attributions, either made explicit in the sources (as in the case of the pieces by Du Fay and Roullet) or based on style and context (as for the pieces tentatively attributed to Battre and Bedingham).[29] The more recent compositions in Trent 91 are, by contrast, anonymous. In addition, they tend to be newly composed rather than based on plainchant, as the earlier settings are. With one exception—the setting in Trent 88—only the versicle *Benedicamus Domino* is set to music, and not its response *Deo gratias*. Table 16.3 summarises the main musical features of the nine settings. Musical borrowings have been classified as cantus firmi when chant melodies are recognisable throughout, and as allusions when quotations are partial.

Table 16.3: Compositional features in the Trent corpus of polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino*

Sources	Composer	No. of voices; mensuration; clefs	Notes on musical style and form
Trent 87/I, fol. 57r Trent 90, fol. 459v	Du Fay	3vv; O; c1, c3, c3	Cantus firmus (tenor); free counterpoint with imitation
Trent 87/I, fol. 92r	Roullet	3vv; O; c1, c2, c3	Cantus firmus (tenor)
Trent 87/II, fol. 222v	Battre?	3vv; O; c3, c3, c3	Chant allusions; free counterpoint
Trent 88, fol. 31r	Bedingham?	3vv; O; c1, c3, c3	Derived from a polyphonic model
Trent 91, fol. 39v	—	2vv; ¢; c1, c1	Free counterpoint with imitation
Trent 91, fol. 39v	—	2vv; ¢; c1, c1	Free counterpoint with imitation
Trent 91, fol. 39v	—	2vv, O; c2, c2	Free counterpoint
Trent 91, fol. 40r	—	3vv; O; c1, c1, c1	Free counterpoint with imitation
Trent 91, fol. 40r	—	2vv; ¢; c1, c2	Chant allusions; free counterpoint

2.1 Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* settings with an attribution

Du Fay's *Benedicamus* in Trent 87/I and Trent 90 is one of the two he is known to have composed (Appendix, no. 1).[30] Also recorded in Mod B and usually designated *Benedicamus* I because adjacent to a second *Benedicamus* (*Benedicamus* II), it also appears as a page filler in Bologna Q15.[31] Both settings are for three voices and based on widely circulating

29 • Only about a quarter of the compositions in Trent 87 and Trent 92 is anonymous. By contrast, in the most recent manuscript (Trent 91), anonymous compositions amount to 84%. See Gozzi 1994, 133.

30 • Minor variants are observable in the version in Trent 90 compared with the older one in Trent 87/I. These variants, unique to this source, consist principally of dotted rhythm applied to ascending and descending runs of minims and are otherwise insignificant.

31 • *Benedicamus* I and II appear, respectively, on fols. 32r and 32v of Mod B. Both are copied in Bologna Q15 as later additions: *Benedicamus* I on fols. 113v–114r and *Benedicamus* II on fols. 169v–170r.

Benedicamus plainchant melodies, as demonstrated below.[32] According to Alejandro Enrique Planchart, Du Fay's *Benedicamus* settings were intended for Vespers, based on the content and organisation of the Du Fay corpus in Mod B.[33] Composed during his 'second period'—that is, from the late 1430s and into the 1440s—*Benedicamus* I and II were probably intended for use at Cambrai cathedral.[34]

Benedicamus I is based on a fifth-mode melody (Example 16.1) transposed up a fourth and paraphrased in the tenor voice.[35] In terms of texture, the top voice is isolated and dis-

Example 16.1: *Benedicamus Domino* melody, Barclay no. 69



tinctly more active, which makes the setting stylistically close to a cantilena.[36] The tripartite, AAB, structure of the underlying *Benedicamus* chant (indicated in Appendix, no. 1) functions as a structural framework throughout the setting, clearly emerging with exact or slightly ornamented quotations with coloration at the beginning of each segment in the tenor. After a largely homophonic incipit that projects the word 'Benedicamus' in all three voices, the texture becomes sparser and more imitative. The slightly ornamented quotation in the tenor breaks into shorter note values and departs from the chant quotation until the return of the melody's A segment at bar 15. Structurally meaningful is the treatment of the first syllable of 'Domino': the motif that the discantus sings (bar 6, boxed in Appendix, no. 1) is repeated an octave below by the tenor (bar 7, boxed) and then a fifth above by the contratenor (bar 8), always at the interval of a breve. Even though imitation is limited only to the start of the motif, it creates a perceivable change of texture that marks the beginning of a long melismatic section that unfolds without interruptions until the end of piece. After the cadence at bar 12, the texture highlights the repetition of the A segment. The chant melody, this time quoted without ornamentation, nestles in a short duo between the discantus and the contratenor. At bars 13–14, the latter anticipates the chant-carrying voice, which enters with the same melody in augmentation at bar 15. This combination results in a (semi)-homorhythmic statement of the A segment that recalls and creates symmetry with the opening of the piece. In the B segment (bars 27–35), the chant melody is still quoted exactly yet its less distinctive melodic profile (an ascending tetrachord) is buried under the melodic activity of the discantus. This might have motivated the abrupt, temporary switch to (semi)-homorhythm between the tenor and contratenor in bars 27–30, which reinforces

32 • Modern editions of Du Fay's *Benedicamus Domino* I are in Besseler 1966, 35, and Ficker and Orel 1920, 24.

33 • Planchart 2018, 447, 449.

34 • See ibid., 451. See also Wright 1975.

35 • See Bent 2008, 183, no. 89; Planchart 2018, 447, identified the melody as *LU* 22 and 124, where it is prescribed for Lauds of solemn feasts. The melody is no. 69 in Barclay 1977 and is in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 86, no. 340, which refers to a very late manuscript where the chant functions as an *Ite missa est*. The manuscript, a *Liber usualis* from St Veit 1782, is Augsburg SB 64, fol. 143r.

36 • Planchart 2018, 447, emphasises the connection of *Benedicamus* I with Florentine pieces such as *Mirandas parit*.

the quotation of the chant fragment. Globally considered, the architecture of the setting relies on the structural alternation between (semi)-homorhythm (with coloration) and free counterpoint. The first component is used to project the 'Benedicamus' acclamation and to mark the repetition of the A section; the second component results in the intensification of chant melismas.

The setting by Johannes Roullet (Appendix, no. 2), based on the same cantus firmus as Du Fay's *Benedicamus Domino* I, shows a similar treatment although no rhythmic differentiation is recognisable among the voices. The melody, still placed in the tenor, is subdivided into four segments marked by three internal fermata signs: one fermata punctuates the 'Benedicamus' incipit (bar 3), while the other two mark the end of the two A sections of the cantus firmus (bars 9 and 19) before the chant's final B section, which concludes the piece. The first occurrence of the sign is particularly meaningful: not only does it isolate the word 'Benedicamus', giving it a similarly special emphasis as in Du Fay's setting, but it also marks the end of a rhythmic pattern that reappears in the discantus and in one of the other two voices at the end of each A section (in the discantus and contratenor at bars 7–9; in the discantus and tenor at bars 17–19, boxed in Appendix, no. 2). A partial *color* is also detectable: the same melodic pattern sung by the discantus in the first three bars is repeated, with one pitch changed, at the end of the first A section, probably to reinforce the rhythmic rhyme produced by the fractional *talea*. The five-note *talea* also marks the beginning of the second A section (bar 10), after which chant paraphrase becomes freer and more ornamented, breaking into consecutive semibreves and even minims. An abrupt change takes place after the last fermata, where the beginning of the B section in the cantus firmus is emphasizsd by a metrical shift produced by coloration in the discantus and tenor.

The use of the same chant melody prompts a comparison between Du Fay's and Roullet's settings, especially given their shared compositional means to 'signify' the structure of the cantus firmus. The verb 'signify' was used by Planchart in his analysis of Du Fay's *Benedicamus Domino* II, which is based on a different *Benedicamus* chant (in the discantus).[37] His point was that Du Fay's treatment of the cantus firmus grows from procedures applied in earlier Magnificat settings, where the composer 'sought to signify the tone' by demonstrating the structure of the corresponding mode.[38] In *Benedicamus Domino* I, Du Fay takes a similar approach although relying on different compositional means. Like Roullet, he refrains from the straightforward chant quotations typical, for example, of hymn settings, and takes instead a conceptual approach that re-engineers chant through polyphony. More precisely, relying on Planchart's terminology, I suggest that both Du Fay's and Roullet's settings reveal the attempt to 'signify' the structure of the cantus firmus by diversifying

37 • See Bent 2008, 194, no. 135. Planchart 2018, 447, has identified the melody in *LU* 125, where it is prescribed for Second Vespers in solemn feasts. The melody is included as no. 83 in Barclay 1977. A modern edition of Du Fay's *Benedicamus Domino* II is Besseler 1966, 36.

38 • As Planchart 2018, 448, explained, Du Fay represents the Magnificat psalm tone (which is a formula) by exhibiting the structure of the associated mode (i.e., its structural intervals). On the difference between tones and modes, see Saulnier 2002.

the contrapuntal treatment of its contrasting components: the syllabic utterance 'Benedicamus' and the melismatic outburst sung to the first syllable of 'Domino' as suggested above.

Similar tendencies to diversify the rhetorical treatment of syllabic and melismatic components of the versicle are observable also in the setting in Trent 87/II (Appendix, no. 3) and might have functioned as a possible compositional strategy to signify jubilation in the fifteenth-century repertoire of the polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino*. This setting is similarly subdivided into two contrasting sections, although here with a different approach to the texts: there is a slow homorhythmic recitation of 'Benedicamus Domino' with all the three voices singing in unison, followed by a lively section of four Alleluia acclamations in free counterpoint. While this structure aligns with the rhetorical model highlighted above, its distinctive opening gesture might also be related to the context in which the setting is transmitted. Included in the 'Battre section', this *Benedicamus* has been attributed to the eponymous composer on a 'tenuous basis', that is relying on stylistic traits that Richard White has deemed characteristic.[39] The prominent sequence of repeated notes in the incipit reflects one such stylistic marker, which Battre seems to have practised with unusual frequency.[40] This remark needs to be taken into account also in the assessment of the possible presence of a cantus firmus, which, as discussed below, is intertwined with the analysis of the compositional style of the piece.

Whether the *Benedicamus* in Trent 87/II is based on chant material is not as easy to establish as it was for Du Fay's and Roullet's settings. White maintains that the incipit paraphrases a well-known eighth mode *Benedicamus* melody transposed up a fourth (Example 16.2).[41] Nonetheless, he acknowledges that the setting ends on *F* instead of *G* and that the similarity ends after the homorhythmic section.[42] White additionally detects

Example 16.2: *Benedicamus Domino* melody, Barclay no. 93



broad melodic similarities with the Alleluia segments of an alternative fifth-mode melody for Easter;[43] nonetheless, these similarities are extremely broad and force him to assume that chant paraphrase 'is extensively ornamented and migrates to all three voices'.[44]

In her brief assessment of the polyphonic *Benedicamus* in the Trent Codices, Barbara Marian Barclay did not propose any chant association for this setting.[45] While it is true

39 • White 1975, 149. White hypothesises that Battre was born c.1400 and that he worked as a choirmaster in Ciney, close to the main centres of the Franco-Flemish school. See also pp. 151–53.

40 • Ibid., 151. According to White (at 38), Battre's penchant for repeated notes 'may point to an influence of the reciting tone of the liturgy'.

41 • The melody of this *Benedicamus* has been catalogued as no. 93 in Barclay 1977, yet her transcription contains a mistake in the first Alleluia melody (*G–F–E–F* instead of *G–F–G–A*, as can be verified against St. Gallen 546, fol. 376r). A correct version of the melody is in *LU* 783. The melody is also in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 98, no. 414.

42 • White 1975, 9, n. 17; 48–49.

43 • White refers to *LU* 784, which corresponds to Barclay 1977, no. 64b.

44 • White 1975, 49.

45 • Barclay 1977, 252.

that White's identification attempts concerning the Alleluia section are not convincing and do not add anything to our understanding of the compositional structure of the piece, I agree with him that the incipit has a connection with the *Benedicamus* melody in Example 16.2. One might argue that a segment of slightly ornamented one-pitch recitation is not distinctive enough to be regarded as a source of musical borrowing, especially considering that the paraphrased melody does not match the chant's text underlay exactly. Furthermore, if it is true, as White hypothesised, that the setting is by Battre, this passage might result from the composer's penchant for repeated-note sequences that White detected in several other of Battre's works. Nonetheless, because of its wide circulation and association with an important liturgical occasion such as Easter, this *Benedicamus* plainchant melody was very likely an obvious frame of reference at the time.

Julie E. Cumming has observed that excessive concentration on tracking pre-existent material distracts from other, more significant compositional features.[46] Although it is true that chant dialects can help to identify the provenance of a composition, if the perceived quotation is excessively melismatic and provides no obvious, external indicator that pre-existent material is being used, it is not advisable to assume that a cantus firmus must necessarily be present. In the case of the setting tentatively attributed to Battre, the hypothesised presence of, or at least allusion to, a *Benedicamus* melody in the incipit does not presume that the subsequent section should be based on chant as well. Other considerations are also relevant, including the sharp stylistic contrast between the incipit and the Alleluia section.

I propose that the unison singing of the incipit mimics the plain recitation if not merely of a chant melody, of a specific Easter *Benedicamus* in particular, and that the contrasting Alleluia section can be understood as an intensification of the chant's subsequent melismas. This intensification disengages completely from chant paraphrase and is achieved, rather, through free counterpoint. Furthermore, considering Manfred Bukofzer's remarks on the distinction between the solo and choral idioms, it is also tempting to construe the juxtaposition between the two sections in terms of the alternation between choral monophony—typically associated with plainchant intonation—and solo polyphony.[47] In this light, the very unusual fully notated unison singing that opens the setting might be revealed as the remnant of chant intonation, to be performed by the three singers only. Finally, it should also be taken into account that unison passages like this one were a hallmark of English style, as Bukofzer observes.[48] It is therefore possible that multiple factors combined, resulting in the composition of this setting.

The Alleluia section is built on stock formulas in shorter note values, which appear, constantly varied, in all the voices, creating the impression of call-and-response with frequent

46 • Cumming 1999, 34–35.

47 • See Bukofzer 1950, 177, especially n. 3. Strohm 1993, 283, has questioned Bukofzer's criteria for 'choral polyphony'.

48 • 'A very curious English practice is the interruption of polyphonic compositions by unison passages, with the same notes written out in the different parts … In English compositions preserved in the Trent Codices we come across the technique so frequently that we could recognize them as English by this feature alone.' Bukofzer 1950, 188; quoted in White 1975, 50.

voice-crossings. This dense contrapuntal fabric is sometimes interrupted by homorhythmic, fanfare-like syllabic acclamations (at bars 8, 14, and 20–23). On the one hand, this alternation might well be a trace of influence of the English tradition, as just mentioned. On the other hand, it seems to have a fundamentally expressive function in this setting, insofar as joyful figurations chasing each other work synergically with syllabic and more solemn Alleluia statements to express jubilation. The contrast between the 'Benedicamus Domino' and the Alleluia section brings further elements to corroborate the hypothesis that a contrasting structure—starting with a homorhythmic declamation and proceeding to more complex imitation—was a topos for the polyphonic *Benedicamus* composed in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The last setting to be considered in this section, found in Trent 88 (Appendix, no. 4), differs from the others discussed so far in two key respects: it sets the text both of the versicle and its response, and it apparently relies on pre-existent material other than chant. Moreover, its position in the manuscript suggests that it might have been intended for specific use at Mass. Copied immediately after the Credo of John Bedingham's *Missa Dueil angoisseus*, the setting has been recognised as part of this Mass cycle, although it bears only loose relationships with the melodic material of the ballade.[49]

The chief connections to *Dueil angoisseus* are detectable in the tenor and contratenor parts, which provide a broad compositional framework for the entire setting. Similarities with the ballade may be observed also between the top parts in a few of these passages. As a result, short two-part blocks of counterpoint seem to have been borrowed from the ballade (bars 1–2, 4–5, 20–21, and 26–27, marked with crossed noteheads in Appendix, no. 4). These polyphonic borrowings occur in predictable and significant locations: the incipit (bars 1–2), which omits, nonetheless, the hemiola characteristic of the ballade, and two cadences, one of which marks the end of the setting.[50] The other one, sung to the final syllable of 'Deo' (bars 20–21), is clearly related to the end of the first musical section of the ballade and represents the strongest connection between the *Dueil angoisseus* and the polyphonic *Benedicamus*.[51] Table 16.4 summarises the structure of the piece and reconstructs the alignment with the ballade (limited to two-part borrowings).

49 • See Gerber 1984, 75–76. This cycle is regarded as one of the first instances of imitation Masses, although the musical borrowings are quite irregular. See Sparks 1963, 168–69.

50 • The final cadence has a clear relationship with the cadence at the end of the versicle (sung to the last syllable of 'Domino'). A few rhythmic differences obscure a direct relationship with the final cadence of the ballade.

51 • The contratenor clashes against the other two voices in this passage, especially at bars 19–20. No correction has been proposed in the transcription.

Table 16.4: Structure of Bedingham, three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 88, fol. 31r

Text	Bars	Cadence	Cadence type	Two-part borrowings
Benedicamus	1–8	C	under-third with leaping contratenor	incipit
Domino	8–13	F	under-third	cadence (indirect)
Deo	13–21	C	plagal	cadence
Gratias	21–26	F	under-third	cadence

The inclusion of the *Deo gratias* response has an obvious impact on the structure of the setting, which is quite straightforward overall: four cadences on alternating structural pitches of the mode punctuate the four words of the versicle and its response. Although this compositional design differs from the rhetorical model described above, some degree of stylistic contrast is still detectable in the treatment of the 'Benedicamus' segment. Here, the two lower voices initially move homorhythmically in longer values until the cadence at bar 8; subsequently, they abandon their role of supporting voices and become as dynamic as the top part. This is less stark than the contrast observed in the settings from Trent 87, but the textural change is nonetheless significant in that it puts a perceptible emphasis on the first word while retaining a bipartite structure—here of the versicle and response—as the main compositional framework. Such an intention can be deduced from the symmetry between the shared final cadences at the end of the versicle and the response. Finally, the quotation of the plagal cadence at the end of the first musical section of the ballade creates a mild punctuation after the word 'Deo' but, at the same time, recalls a major structural passage of the ballade.

The differences in the compositional treatment of the *Benedicamus* in Trent 88 do not contradict the special interest in structure observed in the settings in Trent 87, analysed above. Despite the straightforward and somewhat mechanical fourfold subdivision, the piece reveals significant textural nuances and a meaningful use of the borrowings from the ballade. Such a compositional approach displays the same tendency to 'modular' construction, although focused on recreating the bipartite structure of the versicle–response pair rather than the stylistic contrast between syllabic and melismatic segments within the versicle alone.

2.2 Five anonymous *Benedicamus Domino* settings in Trent 91

As mentioned above, the *Benedicamus* settings in Trent 91 (Appendix, nos. 5–9) are included in the frontispiece collection, which transmits works of renowned Franco-Flemish composers. Unlike the remaining fascicles of the manuscript, which collect functional music associated with an important but relatively peripheral musical centre like the Imperial court, this section assembles compositions imported from the most celebrated musical cities of Western Europe. The special status of this repertoire, as Leverett has suggested, might have motivated its prominent, opening placement when the codex was assembled.[52] Further-

52 • Leverett 1990, 112.

more, the presence of two virtuosic and rarely copied compositions—Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena* and Busnoys's *In hydraulis*—suggests that the main scribe and his assistants were professional musicians connected with Cambrai and the Burgundian court.[53]

A feature unique to the group of five untroped *Benedicamus* settings in Trent 91 is the penchant for two-part writing. The compositional approach is simpler but, at the same time, evinces an interest in experimentation that might have a connection with music pedagogy. It is plausible that these settings, all for equal voices in a high register, were intended for the *pueri*.[54] With few, partial exceptions, the four two-voice settings in Trent 91 do not show any obvious recourse to pre-existent chant material. Neither Barclay nor Leverett could detect relationships with any known *Benedicamus* melody.[55] Robert Mitchell claims that two of the settings are based on traceable parent material, but without providing full details of these pre-existing melodies.[56] Later, in his summary table, he describes only the third *Benedicamus* on fol. 39v (Appendix, no. 7) as chant-based (in the top voice).[57] His edition reveals that the melody he points to is Barclay no. 13, a *Benedicamus* that adopts the source chant Kyrie *Cum iubilo*.[58] The parallel-third motion between the two voices in the first bars is indeed compatible with the presence of a cantus firmus, yet the melodic concordance breaks down after the first cadence (bar 4). The concluding segment sung to 'Domino' is melodically unrelated and displays a different compositional approach. Based on the repetition of a melodic cell in diminution in the discantus primus (bars 5–7, boxes A and B) combined with a metrical shift from perfect to imperfect tempus, the conclusion of this very short setting was most likely freely composed.

The other three settings for two equal voices diverge from the one just considered in that they have some recourse to imitation. The first *Benedicamus* on fol. 39v (Appendix, no. 5) begins with a dactylic pattern (breve–semibreve–semibreve) also found in other settings of the group. After a canon at the time interval of two breves, three additional bars with looser imitation (bars 10–12) mark the end of the 'Benedicamus' segment. Short patches of imitative texture are concealed in the second part of the piece because the entries of the 'soggetto' are not preceded by rests and are partially contradicted by text underlay. At bar 14, the discantus secundus starts a 'soggetto' (box A in Appendix, no. 5) that is imitated at the fifth above in the discantus primus after three minims (box B); however, because of the concealing features highlighted above and the metrical shift produced by the time interval, imitation is imperceivable. Imitation is not exact, but the two melodic lines remain similar until bar 16. At this point, the discantus primus starts a long, slightly ornamented descent against which the dis-

53 • Leverett 1990, 115. Fallows 1986 and Montagna 1987 have shown that *Omnium bonorum plena* was associated with the Marian ceremonies at Cambrai cathedral around 1470; *In hydraulis* is a homage to Ockeghem composed at the Burgundian court.

54 • References to the boys singing the *Benedicamus* versicle are noted, for example, in Boynton 2008, 40, and Planchart 2008, 142. See also Ch. 7 by Gionata Brusa in the current volume.

55 • Barclay 1977, 252; Leverett 1990, 156, n. 72.

56 • Mitchell 2014, 27.

57 • Ibid., 52. The chant-based setting is Mitchell's no. 1166.

58 • Melnicki 1954, 171.

cantus secundus sings an ascending melody based on the repetition of the same rhythmic cell (minim–semibreve–minim) starting on the third minim of bar 17 (box C). The sequential design of this passage appears incompatible with chant borrowings.[59] The frequent mistakes made in this concluding segment might suggest a contrapuntal exercise.

The second *Benedicamus* on fol. 39v (Appendix, no. 6)—written in ¢, like the previous setting—begins with the same dactylic pattern. As in other settings analysed so far, the first section (up to bar 13) is (semi)-homorhythmic; pervasive parallel-third motion at bars 8–11 accentuates even more the textural contrast that begins at bar 14. Here, semibreve rests before musical phrases let imitation emerge, yet the text placement in the manuscript is confusing and, at first sight, does not acknowledge the structural role of imitation. A possible mistake by the scribe suggests that his intentions might not be reflected in what he wrote. The second syllable of 'Domino' is written twice in the discantus primus: the first time under the rest at bar 14, and the second under the subsequent short melisma between two rests (bar 17), as in the discantus secundus (bar 18). It is likely that this latter placement was the intended one in both voices, and that the first syllable of the same word ('Domino') was to be sung to the first note of the point of imitation beginning at bar 14. What might have led the scribe to this (apparent) confusion is the fact that the (semi)-homorhythmic section of the setting (bars 1–13) is subdivided into two segments of six breves in length punctuated by two cadences. While notating the discantus primus, the scribe instinctively placed the last syllable of 'Benedicamus' under the landing note of the first cadence, which caused him to place the first syllable of the subsequent word 'Domino' at the beginning of the next segment. That this whole initial two-part section was intended to be sung to the word 'Benedicamus', however, is clear from the discantus secundus: here the scribe, who seems to have realised his mistake, prescribed a more convincing syllable–note alignment.[60] The proposed transcription in the Appendix reflects this conclusion.

The two-voice setting on fol. 40r of Trent 91 (Appendix, no. 9) has an additional concluding Alleluia section for Paschal time and is therefore subdivided into two parts. Like the first two settings on fol. 39r, it begins with a clear-cut dactylic incipit. The rest of the 'Benedicamus Domino' section is built on the repetition of a motif based on an ascending tetrachord that appears for the first time in the discantus primus at bars 5–6 (box A in the transcription). The motif is repeated with the same pitches and rhythm at bars 11–12 (box C), again in the discantus primus, with a variant that leads to the cadence. Although less prominent, the tetrachord appears—transposed and in diminution—in the discantus secundus (bar 9, box B).[61] This occurrence might be regarded as non-significant, yet the

59 • The transcription in the Appendix, no. 5 includes two editorial interventions in the discantus secundus to eliminate contrapuntal clashes with the top part: the third minim of bar 17 is emended to *e* (instead of *d*); the second minim of bar 19 is emended to *b′* (instead of *a′*).

60 • Schubert and Cumming 2012, 1, condense a few criteria for text underlay in the repertoire from the decades around 1500, confirming that singers used to associate motifs and text despite scribal practice even before imitation became pervasive.

61 • The third minim of bar 9 in the discantus secundus (*e′*) clashes against the *f′* of the discantus primus. Nonetheless, no correction has been proposed in the transcription because the dissonance seems to be more the result of extemporaneous counterpoint—the attempt to fit the tetrachord as discussed—rather than a scribal error.

scribe placed the first syllable of 'Domino' under the first note, suggesting that this segment might have been perceived as structurally meaningful.[62] The placement of the same syllable under the repetition of the segment in the discantus primus (bar 11) confirms this impression, pointing to a possible explanation for the unusual lack of synchrony between the two voices singing the cadence at bars 10–11.

The threefold Alleluia section marks a distinctive change of texture with the statement of the first Alleluia, all in breves, imitated at the unison after two breves (box D). The second Alleluia, in free counterpoint, has a wandering profile that outlines the C octave in the discantus primus. Devoid of a 'soggetto', this segment looks like a transition to the last Alleluia, which begins at bar 29 in the discantus secundus—despite the cadence at bar 35—and at bar 36 in the discantus primus. This Alleluia segment, like the first one, has a distinctive melodic line in relatively longer note values, which is compatible with the hypothesis that a borrowed chant may be present here.

Example 16.3: Variant of *Benedicamus Domino* melody, Barclay no. 93, in Grenoble 86, fol. 191v



It is tempting to propose an association with the *Benedicamus* melody transcribed in Example 16.3, which is a variant of the more widely circulating melody in Example 16.2.[63] It must be observed, however, that the association of this variant with the Carthusians, a heremitical order whose musical practice was not widely shared, weakens the hypothesis of an intentional reference.[64] The melismas sung to the two Alleluias bear almost exact similarities with the 'soggetto' of the first Alleluia of the Trent setting (bars 17–22, box D),[65] and with the melodic line of the discantus primus at bars 36–39 (box E) respectively. It is also intriguing that this chant melody begins with a one-pitch recitation like the polyphonic setting, although the repeated pitch is *F* instead of *G*. As observed above in the analysis of the setting attributed to Battre, *Benedicamus* melodies opening with recitation were common

62 • The placement of the last syllable of 'Benedicamus' has been anticipated at bar 5 and does not reflect the text underlay prescribed in the source.

63 • This variant is not included in Barclay's catalogue, but does appear in Eifrig and Pfisterer 2006, 99, no. 414b, which refers to BL Add. 31384 (fols. 146v–147r), a Carthusian Gradual from Le Reposoir in the Haute-Savoie compiled in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

64 • Sources of this melody are Lyon 509 (fol. 237v), an antiphoner from the Chartreuse de Sainte-Croix-en-Jarez compiled between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century; Grenoble 86 (fol. 191v), a gradual from the Grande Chartreuse compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century; Grenoble 4498 (fol. 235r), an antiphoner for the use of Sainte-Anne de Bruges from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The identification of these concordances relies on the material collected for the *BENEDICAMUS* project by Nicholas David Yardley Ball at the Bruno-Stäblein-Archiv at the University of Würzburg. Information about the date and provenance of each source is from Meyer 2006–21, vol. 6, 154, 194, and 207.

65 • This melisma is also found in the more common version of the *Benedicamus* melody (see Example 16.2). Towards the end of the fifteenth century, chant-based compositions reveal increasing recourse to imitative paraphrase technique. Using chant segments in imitation was a common practice especially in France and the Low Countries during the later 1460s. See Sparks 1963, especially 174–77.

and were often combined with an Alleluia section for Paschal time. Therefore, considering the strength of the melodic concordances highlighted above, I argue that an intentional connection with, or at least allusion to, the *Benedicamus* chant melody of Example 16.3 is plausible despite the modal discrepancy, and that it suggests the composer's reliance on a mnemonic repository of melodies and formulas that were elaborated with flexibility.

The last setting of the group—the first one on fol. 40r (Appendix, no. 8)—is for three equal voices and presents unique stylistic features. Not based on chant material, it is in perfect tempus, in shorter note values and subdivided into two main segments in which the three voices enter one after another at the very short time interval of one semibreve. Imitation (at the unison) is limited to the head of the motif and marks the first syllable of 'Benedicamus' and 'Domino'. The overall effect of the short time interval of imitation is of a dense texture reminiscent of the *caccia*. According to Robert Mitchell, this setting shares melodic similarities with the Kyrie and Sanctus mottos of the *Missa Regina celi* (copied in the frontispiece collection on fols. 25r–26r and 30v–32r respectively) and might have been intended for use alongside the performance of that Mass.[66]

3. *Benedicamus Domino* tropes in the Trent Codices

As Giulio Cattin has observed, tropes as a genre are sparsely represented in the Trent Codices.[67] The lion's share of this relatively small corpus consists of Kyrie tropes, all from the standard European repertoire. The remaining tropes to the Mass Ordinary include the widely circulating Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme* and a very few items associated with the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei. The tradition of the *Benedicamus Domino* tropes, and the texting of *Benedicamus* chant melodies as prosulae, seems to have, as Cattin observes, 'almost vanished'. Indeed, of the almost two thousand pieces contained in the seven Trent Codices, only three compositions are classifiable as *Benedicamus Domino* tropes. These pieces, preserved in Trent 91 and Trent 92/I, moreover, are settings of the same text: the extremely popular *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*, a prosula text set to the famous *Benedicamus* plainchant melody based on the 'Flos filius eius' melisma.[68]

According to Gilbert Reaney, the situation of the Trent Codices marks a striking difference from other sources from Central Europe, where he claims that such a tradition of *Benedicamus* tropes was much more enduring.[69] Although it is true that polyphonic settings of *Benedicamus Domino* tropes in white notation can be found in other sources from the second half of the fifteenth century, the extent of this gap needs to be reassessed. Strahov DG IV 47, which is known for several concordances with the Trent Codices, contains only three *Benedicamus Domino* tropes: two three-voice settings of the widely circulating *Procedentem sponsum* for Christmas (fols. 142r and 279r) and one of *Beati qui esuriunt* (fol. 248r).[70] Likewise, the Glogauer Liederbuch (Kraków 40098) transmits a three-voice set-

66 • Mitchell 2014, 43.

67 • Cattin 1986, 130.

68 • See Louviot forthcoming for a recent study of this trope.

69 • Reaney's remark is reported in Cattin 1986, 130, n. 3.

70 • Snow 1969, 534, 572, 594.

ting of another *Benedicamus* trope very popular in Central Europe, *Nicholai sollempnia*. Both manuscripts are roughly contemporaneous with Trent 91. Other Central European sources that share concordances with the Trent Codices, such as the Leopold Codex (Munich Clm 3154), contain no *Benedicamus Domino*-related items whatsoever. The apparent lack of interest in *Benedicamus Domino* tropes observable in the Trent Codices does not appear as an isolated phenomenon, but as part of a wider trend for which possible reasons are posited at the end of this chapter.

The earliest setting of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* is found in Trent 92/I (Appendix, no. 10) as a later addition in an empty space left in the middle of the Credo of Du Fay's *Missa Sancti Iacobi*. Among the works in Trent 92/I, *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* is one of the very few anonymous ones, most of the others being compositions in white notation from the more recent layers of the manuscript.[71] Except for Du Fay's *Benedicamus* I, this is also the only *Benedicamus* from the Trent Codices that has a concordance with another source: MuEm.[72]

A composite manuscript produced by several hands between c.1435 and 1443, MuEm was initiated and originally owned by Hermann Pötzlinger (†1469), a university-educated priest from Bayreuth mostly active in the Regensburg area, who also worked at the chant school of the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram.[73] According to Reinhard Strohm, it was mostly used for teaching purposes.[74] In addition to music by English and first-generation Franco-Flemish composers, MuEm contains an earlier layer written by Pötzlinger himself in black notation, transmitting music mostly handed down through a Central European tradition.[75] Ian Rumbold has shown that this early section dates back to the years Pötzlinger spent at the University of Vienna (1436–39) and reflects the music that circulated there.[76]

The incipit of *Benedicamus In laude Ihesu*, as also in most of the untroped settings examined above, is spelled out in longer values with no ornamentation, allowing the characteristic melodic profile of the 'Flos filius' melody to emerge despite voice-crossing (see Ex. 16.4). The first discrepancy between the two versions occurs immediately after the first cadence (bar 4),

71 • The other concordant pieces belong to the Franco-Flemish and English tradition (represented composers are Du Fay, John Dunstaple, Leonel Power, Reginald Libert, De Merques, Gilles Binchois, and Etienne Grossin).

72 • MuEm has several concordances with the older Trent Codices, especially with Trent 92/I. There are 102 concordances between MuEm and the Trent Codices, distributed as follow: 12 with Trent 87/I, two with Trent 87/II, two with Trent 88, 23 with Trent 90, 34 with Trent 92/I, one with Trent 92/II, and 28 with Trent 93.

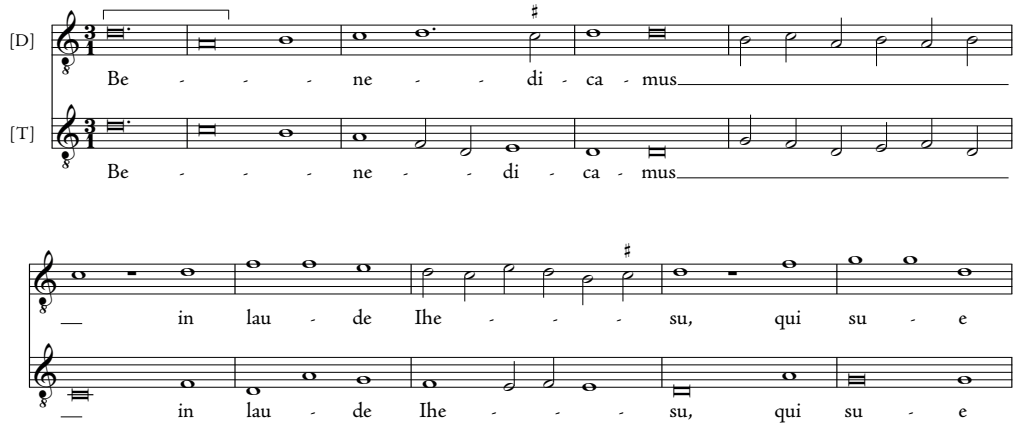
73 • MuEm was probably donated to the monastery of St. Emmeram some time before 1748 and reached the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek after the secularisation in 1803. Information about the donor is provided in Rumbold 1982, 191–92. On this manuscript see also Rumbold and Wright 2009, Braunschweig-Pauli 1982, and Strohm 1983.

74 • Strohm 1993, 259.

75 • On the identification of the scribe who wrote this section with Pötzlinger see Rumbold 1982, 192–97. The manuscript features a distinctive system of black notation attested in theoretical writings that circulated among the universities of Kraców, Leipzig, Prague, and Vienna (Ward 1981, 335). Moreover, a few repertorial concordances suggest a connection with Bohemia and Silesia. Rumbold 1982, 190, has clarified further the origin of the compositions in this section, concluding that the later part contains works by composers active in Austria.

76 • Rumbold 1982, 208; see also Ward 1981, 335.

Example 16.4: Opening of two-voice *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*, MuEm, fol. 54v



where Trent 92/I anticipates the group of minims set note-against-note in MuEm (compare Example 16.4 and Appendix, no. 10). This operation avoids three consecutive parallel fifths and, by weakening the punctuation on D, melts the square block contrapuntal structure of the MuEm version into a more fluid gesture leading to the cadence (bar 9). Differences are found in the melodic profiles of the upper voices as well: formulaic minim diminution is replaced with driving suspensions closer to mensural aesthetics. Trent 92/I also corrects a few wrong pitches and makes the contrapuntal fabric lighter through the refinement of the 'pedantic' note-against-note melisma sung to the last syllable of 'Benedicamus' and the addition of semiminims to the melisma on the first syllable of 'Ihesu'.

The second half of the piece is problematic because both the versions contain scribal errors. The most extensive are in MuEm, where the melody of the top voice in the concluding segments sung to 'benedixit in eternum' and 'sit laus Deo' is notated a second below throughout. This is a relatively frequent kind of scribal mistake—and an easy one to make at the beginning of a new line—which a later hand corrected by adding small dots in the shape of tiny circumflex accents above the pitches sung to 'benedixit in eternum'.[77] Trent 92/I diverges most significantly from MuEm at bar 14, where an attempt at a slightly more sophisticated chant paraphrase that would replace the old-fashioned under-third cadence attested in MuEm might have caused the harsh dissonances preceding the cadence at bar 15.[78] The concluding segment does not reveal any other significant difference between the two versions.

All the details highlighted in the comparison of the two written records of the piece reveal different degrees and stages of elaboration and suggest that this simple two-voice

77 • This emendation was not extended to the final segment, but it is still necessary there in order to avoid the conclusion of the piece on a seventh. That the meaning of these dots was to correct the pitches is corroborated by their further appearance on two consecutive semibreves in the lower voice straddling bars 5 and 6, which would otherwise create unsatisfactory counterpoint with the upper voice. The version in Trent 92/I is corrected accordingly in this passage.

78 • The clashes on the last two minims of bar 13 have been corrected in the transcription.

setting originated from extemporaneous singing.[79] Further traces of the practice of *cantare super librum* are the paired semibreves on the accented syllables of 'laude' and 'sue' in MuEm (see Example 16.4). These paired notes, reminiscent of the repercussive gesture of the *bivirga* in chant, are meaningless in mensural music and have been replaced with breves in Trent 92/I.[80] Overall, the version in the latter source shows a consistent trend towards stylistic updating and perhaps betrays an interest in *varietas*.

Trent 91 contains two alternative three-voice settings of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* with the same cantus firmus in the top voice (see Appendix, nos. 11 and 12). They were copied in the fifth fascicle, which is datable between 1468 and the mid-1470s and contains mostly Mass Ordinary settings.[81] The cantus firmus is presented in a very simple format, with only minimal melodic alterations at cadences. Because the two settings are based on the very same melody, they share the same compositional framework as well as the major structural contrapuntal blocks: the incipit (boxed in Appendix, nos. 11 and 12) and two cadences (bars 12–14 and bars 24–26; boxed and marked as cadence 1 and cadence 2 respectively).[82] This compositional treatment makes these pieces akin to a group of alternative hymn settings copied in Trent 88 with five parts in total that allow for performance with either three or four voices. While in the hymn settings the discantus–tenor framework remains the same and is combined either with one or two contratenor parts, the pair of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* settings in Trent 91 share their cantus firmus only. In both cases, this compositional treatment results in settings with different textures and/or number of voices. The first setting on fol. 60v (hereafter *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* I, Appendix, no. 11) is for two equal voices in the high register (*discantus primus* and *discantus secundus*) plus a lower voice (*contratenor concordans cum duobus discantibus*); the second setting (hereafter *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* II, Appendix, no. 12) is for discantus and two lower voices (tenor and contratenor). Like the hymn versions in Trent 88 these settings could have a practical explanation—facilitating a choice of versions based on singers' availability—but might also suggest interest in contrapuntal exercise.

Benedicamus in laude Ihesu I relies on simple compositional techniques. Parallel-third motion is pervasive and structural, most evidently after the initial 'motto', where the two lower voices ascend and descend almost homorhythmically by thirds against a repeated *d'* in the top voice (bars 4–7 in Appendix, no. 11). Sometimes short contrapuntal fragments are repeated: at bars 19–21 and 31–33 (both boxed in Appendix, no. 11), for example, *e'–f'–d'* in the discantus secundus (disguised under diminution in the second occurrence) is sung

79 • On the practice of *cantare super librum* see Bent 1983; Blackburn 1987; Canguilhem 2015; Schubert 2001; and Schubert 2010.

80 • The *bivirga* is typically found on accented syllables associated with an ascending gesture landing on strong tones, such as C, F, and G. All these conditions are met on the first syllables of 'laude' and 'sue'.

81 • Leverett 1990, 57.

82 • The sharing of the incipit is a feature observable in a few pairs of hymn settings in Strahov DG IV 47; it is remarkable that, within each pair, one setting is a unicum of Strahov DG IV 47 while the other one is concordant with Trent 88. Ignesti 2023 analyses four case studies and discusses the possible meaning of these occurrences. See also Mitchell 2004, 165.

against the same cantus firmus fragment, *g'–d'–f'*. *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* II is compositionally more varied, yet displays similar economy of musical material, mostly derived from widely circulating stock formulas. Examples are the ascending sequence in the tenor sung against the repeated *d'* of the discantus primus at bars 4–7 (in Appendix, no. 12), and frequent ascending runs of minims (at bars 4–5 and 39 in the contratenor and bars 10–11 and 39 in the tenor).

The three *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* settings in Trent 91 and Trent 92/I reveal close similarities despite their chronology. All are strongly rooted in the chant melody, which is always easily recognisable and only slightly paraphrased. The counterpoint is simple, with frequent parallel motion, repeated contrapuntal blocks, and no recourse to imitation. These features are directly dependent on the presence of the cantus firmus, which is treated as in functional settings like polyphonic hymns. This contrasts entirely with the treatment of the untroped *Benedicamus* in polyphony as outlined above, to the point that the troped and untroped *Benedicamus Domino* settings might almost be regarded as unrelated polyphonic genres.

4. Conclusions

The analysis of the small corpus of polyphonic *Benedicamus* in the Trent Codices has revealed a few notable trends. The first general conclusion concerns the exclusive association of the untroped settings with the Franco-Flemish tradition, which covers the entire chronological span from the earliest to the youngest codices. While the Trent corpus might not be universally representative, it suggests that the German tradition represented by the Imperial court—and perhaps Central Europe at large—had little or no interest in untroped polyphonic settings of the *Benedicamus* versicle. The situation appears reversed in the case of *Benedicamus Domino* tropes. Coeval sources from Central Europe like Strahov DG IV 47 continued to cultivate polyphonic song tropes in white notation to some extent. The omnipresent *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*—whose text (in prose) is very short and whose well-known *Benedicamus* plainchant melody (borrowing the 'Flos filius eius' melisma) also circulated with many other trope texts as well as in an untroped form—is the only *Benedicamus* trope attested in the Trent Codices, always associated with German-speaking environments.

Notwithstanding the necessity to test these conclusions on a larger and more representative corpus, it seems possible to surmise that the musical repertoire associated with the *Benedicamus Domino* function developed in different ways in the West and in Central Europe. Multiple factors might have contributed to this scenario, among which the rise of the Franco-Flemish tradition and the emergence of the musical chapels with new liturgical needs.[83] Book typologies changed as well: while the manuscripts that preserve the burgeoning repertoire of song tropes are mostly *cantionaria* (or liturgical books with additions), the Trent Codices and other comparable sources belong to the new catego-

83 • Strohm 1993, 273–83.

ry of functional polyphonic books, typically associated with the several activities of the choirmasters.[84] These books reflected the (often itinerant) activities of musicians whose main task was to fulfil the liturgical needs of prestigious and wealthy institutions. In these manuscripts, unmeasured and black notation are replaced by white notation and the focus shifts from the Mass Propers to the Ordinary. *Cantionaria* and liturgical books, by contrast, were typical of monastic environments and cathedrals, where song tropes were either created or imported, becoming part of cherished local liturgical traditions. Rather than imaginative and exegetically dense poetic texts suitable for small communities, the new environments of the functional books demanded sophisticated musical repertoires for official occasions, resulting in the increasing interest in Mass Ordinary cycles—including the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle.

Although attempts to establish whether individual *Benedicamus Domino* settings were composed for the Mass or the Office can be incautious, an increasing tendency to find associations—including motivic similarities—with Mass cycles in Trent 88 and Trent 91 is nonetheless noticeable. A crucial related trend is the gradual disengagement from procedures of chant borrowing as the century progresses. Discussing the emergence of the cyclic Mass as the most representative form of Renaissance music—and the one on which 'all the artistic aspirations and technical achievements of the composer converged'—Bukofzer emphasized that the increasing importance gained by musical unity over the liturgical unity expressed by the cantus firmus was its 'historical premise'.[85] Although far from conceiving this unity as necessarily based on melodic material at the earlier stage represented by Bedingham's *Missa Dueil angoisseus*, this evolution inaugurates the primacy of aesthetic and stylistic considerations over purely liturgical ones. The extent to which this revolution had an impact on the polyphonic treatment of untroped *Benedicamus Domino* is unclear, yet the progression towards abstraction observable from the oldest to the youngest codices suggests that a connection might exist with the new stylistic paradigm.

According to Planchart, as observed above, Du Fay's *Benedicamus* were intended for Vespers and were probably composed in Cambrai when the city was far from being a celebrated musical foundation.[86] One could argue whether these settings, as well as those by Roullet and Battre, can be regarded as functional music; what is certain is that they reveal a different approach from more recent ones. A 'rhetorical' model based on the polyphonic reinterpretation of the contrast between syllabic and melismatic style intrinsic to *Benedicamus* chant melodies is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the earlier examples from Trent 87 and Trent 92. The later settings of Trent 88 and Trent 91 maintain the principle

84 • Besseler and Albrecht 1952. See also Schmidt-Beste 2009.

85 • Bukofzer 1950, 217–18. As is well known, in the threefold hierarchy that Johannes Tinctoris describes in his *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (1476), the Mass occupies the highest rank ('cantus magnus'), having more *varietas* than cantilenas and motets. As observed in Cumming 1999, 42–43, this hierarchy was probably modelled on the medieval classification of the works of Virgil known as 'Rota Virgiliana', in turn based on the tripartite classification of rhetorical styles on Antiquity.

86 • Planchart 2018, 447.

of stylistic contrast, yet applied to more abstract formal experimentation, which results in compositions no longer bound to a cantus firmus and, therefore, suitable for a variety of liturgical occasions. Notwithstanding the evolution from the oldest to the youngest codices, the untroped settings display a modular approach and an interest in deploying the new expressive means of art polyphony to achieve *varietas*. A notion derived from ancient oratory and codified in Johannes Tinctoris's *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), *varietas* has been effectively described in modern scholarship as the creation of structure from 'a series of alternations between different techniques'.[87] This definition fits the treatment observed in the untroped *Benedicamus Domino* polyphony from the Trent Codices and might explain why this genre was congenial to Franco-Flemish composers.

In contrast with the trend just described, the enduring Germanic tradition of paraphrase repertoire resulted in the preference for troped *Benedicamus*, as documented by the three settings of *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*. Within this tradition, the melismatic sections of the versicle might have been perceived as not suitable for note-against-note contrapuntal treatment, while, on the contrary, the prosula text allowed for the expression of the joyful character of the versicle while preserving syllabic style. The two contrasting approaches in Western and Central Europe align with a general dichotomy in the fifteenth century between the Franco-Flemish approach—projected in the new, conceptual aesthetic of mensural polyphony—and the Central European approach, conservative and reluctant to break the vital connection with plainchant.

87 • Gallagher 1998, 70. See also Luko 2008.

Appendix 1: Du Fay, Three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 87, fol. 57r



Appendix 2: Roullet, Three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 87, fol. 92r



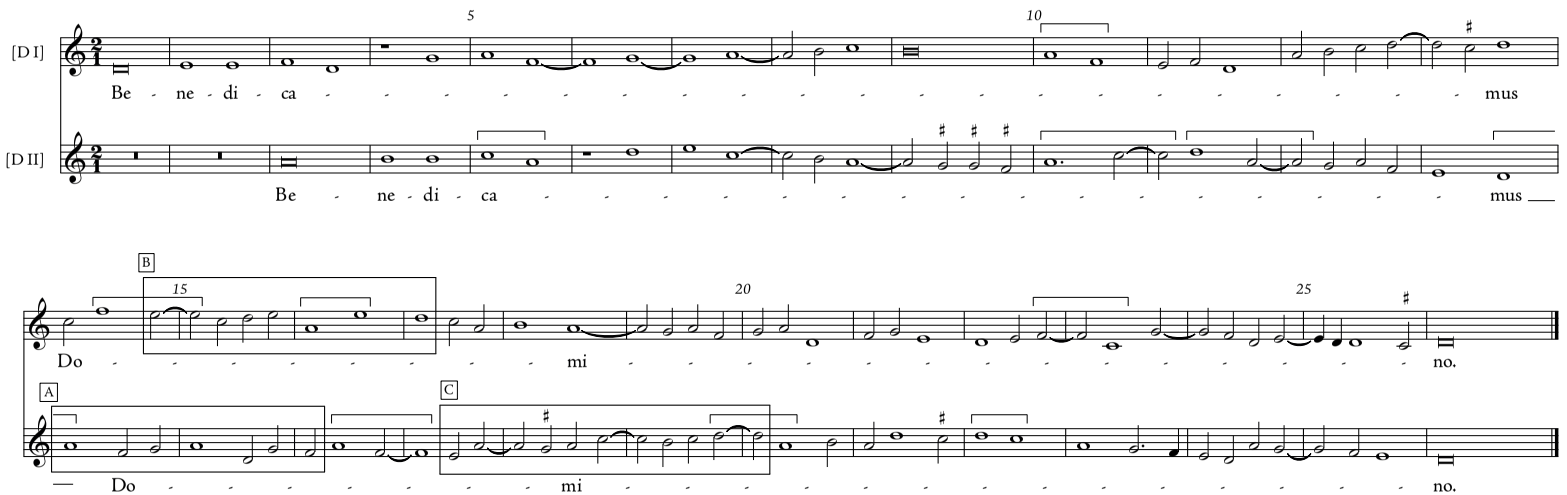
Appendix 3: ?Battre, Three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 87, fol. 222v



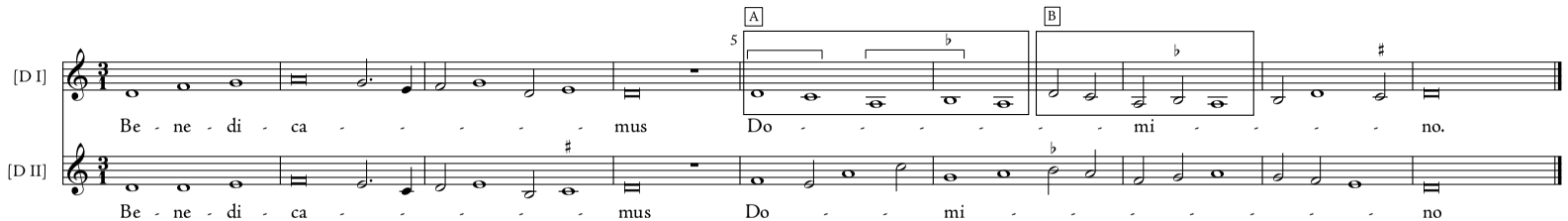
Appendix 4: Bedingham, Three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 88, fol. 31r



Appendix 5: Two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* I, Trent 91, fol. 39v


[D I]
[D II]
Be - ne - di - ca - - -

Appendix 7: Two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* III, Trent 91, fol. 39v



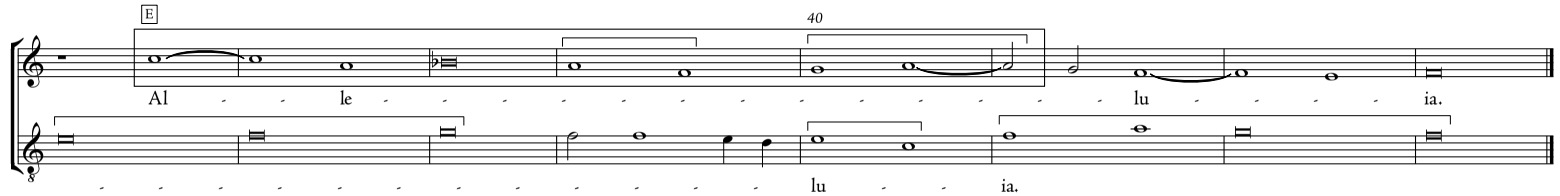
Appendix 8: Three-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 91, fol. 40r



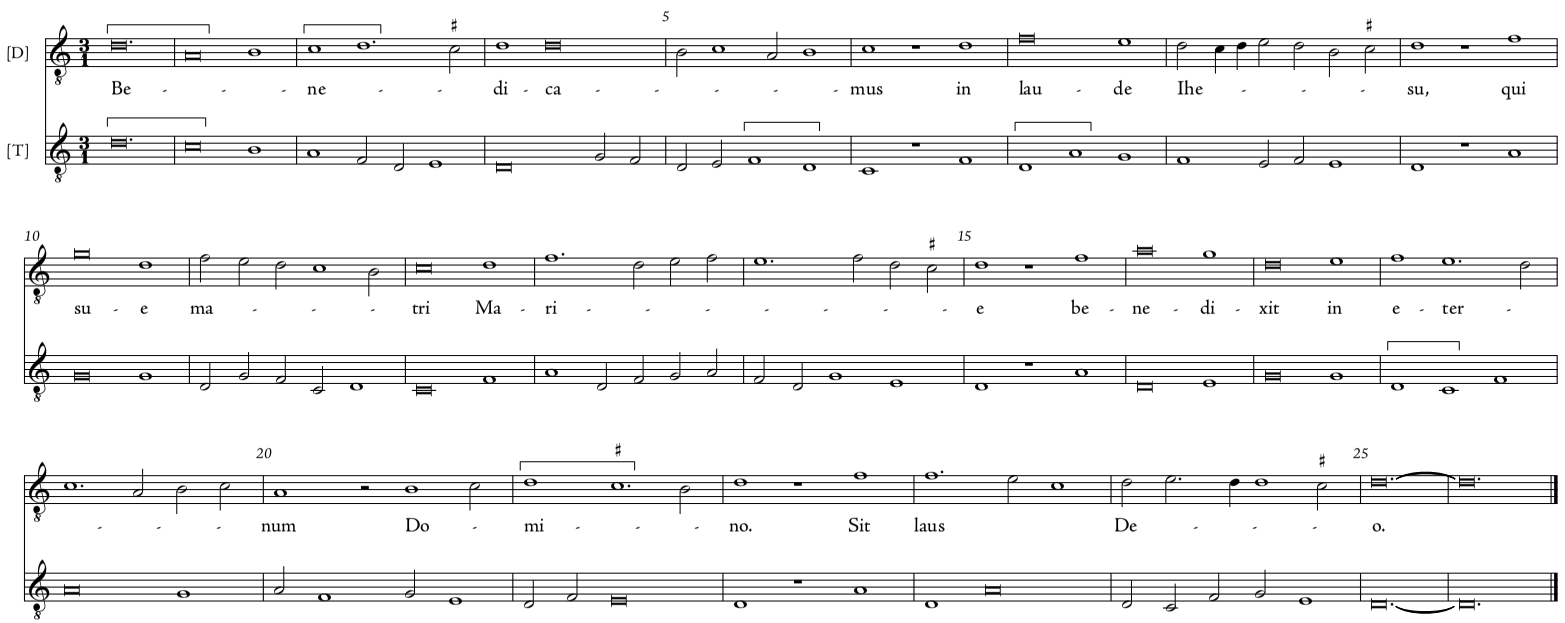


Appendix 9: Two-voice *Benedicamus Domino*, Trent 91, fol. 40r

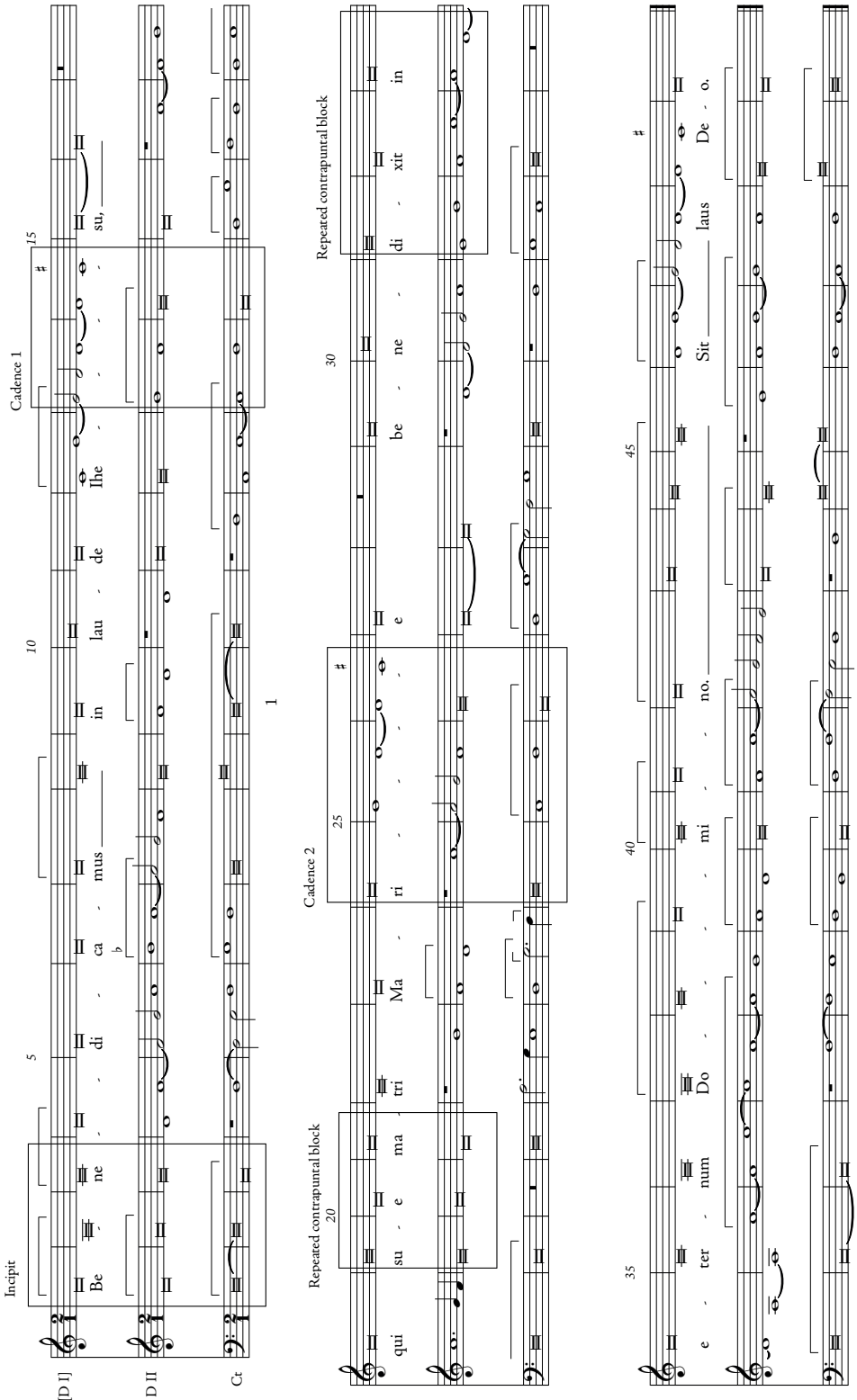




Appendix 10: Two-voice *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu*, Trent 92, fol. 121r



Appendix 11: Three-voice *Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* I, Trent 91, fol. 60v



Appendix 12: Three-voice *'Benedicamus in laude Ihesu* II, Trent 91, fol. 60v



17.

The Renaissance Polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* in the Iberian World

*Michael B. O'Connor**

In 1613 Juan de Esquivel, the *maestro de capilla* at the cathedral in Ciudad Rodrigo, published the largest collection of sacred polyphony ever issued by a Spanish press. The print, which runs to almost 600 pages, was actually two books in one, the first being a collection of items for the Divine Office and the second representing the composer's second book of Mass settings. Book I contains polyphonic psalms, hymns, Marian antiphons, and settings of the Magnificat in eight tones for both First and Second Vespers. Nestled just after the Second Vespers items is a short setting of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle. That it was placed here, rather than alongside a group of miscellaneous Office items located at the end of this part of the print, suggests that Esquivel and his printer Francisco de Cea Tesa thought the

* I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Omar Morales Abril, João Pedro d'Alvarenga, Kenneth Kreitner, Bernadette Nelson, Michael Noone, Emilio Ros-Fábregas, and Grayson Wagstaff for sharing their editions of and research related to various *Benedicamus* settings. This study would have not been possible without their kindness and collegiality.

The following manuscript sigla are used:

Arouca 32	Arouca, Museu Regional de Arte Sacra do Mosteiro de Arouca, Res. 32
Barcelona BNC 454	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M.454
Barcelona BNC 681	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M.681
Barcelona BNC 788	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M.788
Barcelona BNC 789	Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M.789
Barcelona BSM 2	Barcelona, Basílica del Santa María del Mar, 2 (lost; microfilm in Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M.F. 26)
Barcelona Cath. 7	Barcelona, Catedral de Barcelona, 7 (lost)
Barcelona IEM 1	Barcelona, Instituto Espanol de Musicologia, Fondo Reserva, 1
Barcelona OC 7	Barcelona, Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català, CEDOC 1.5.1, 7
Barcelona OC 59	Barcelona, Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català, CEDOC 1.5.1, 59
BnF NAF 4379	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 4379
Coimbra ASN LC s/c	Coimbra, Arquivo da Sé Nova, LC s/c
Coimbra BGU MM.6	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.6
Coimbra BGU MM.7	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.7
Coimbra BGU MM.8	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.8
Coimbra BGU MM.9	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.9
Coimbra BGU MM.12	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.12
Coimbra BGU MM.33	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.33
Coimbra BGU MM.36	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.36
Coimbra BGU MM.37	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.37
Coimbra BGU MM.44	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.44
Coimbra BGU MM.53	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.53
Coimbra BGU MM.217A	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.217A
Coimbra BGU MM.221	Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MM.221
Guadalupe 2	Guadalupe, Real Monasterio de Santa María, 2

⁎ DOI: 10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.143529 ⁎

most common use for this item would be at the close of Second Vespers.[1] This seems fairly clear, but was Second Vespers the only occasion that a polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* was sung in early seventeenth-century Spain? After all, the versicle is assigned to virtually every hour of the Divine Office, with a long history of special attention in both monastic and cathedral use. Furthermore, is Esquivel's rather brief example representative of a reduced prominence for this text in Spain in the early seventeenth century, or does its very existence as a polyphonic setting represent, in some way, a continued tradition of singing the *Benedicamus* in an elaborate manner? A survey of the considerable number of Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin American polyphonic settings of the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle or its *Deo gratias* response reveals that a wide range of composers dedicated more than a little time to it, especially in the years around the turn of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth. Moreover, the placement of the response in certain manuscripts and prints and the similarities of chant sources and compositional approaches employed suggest a possible Iberian tradition that may become clear through an examination of the *Benedicamus Domino* as a genre of polyphony. The present chapter is a first step in that effort, presenting an overview of the surviving polyphonic compositions for the *Benedicamus*, their sources, and some initial conclusions regarding their employment in local liturgies.

Esquivel certainly had models upon which to draw for his lone setting, since the practice of setting the *Benedicamus* polyphonically in Spain was a well-established tradition prior

Guatemala 2	Guatemala City, Archivo de Catedral de Guatemala, 2
Guatemala 3	Guatemala City, Archivo de Catedral de Guatemala, 3
Guatemala 4	Guatemala City, Archivo de Catedral de Guatemala, 4
Huesca 3	Huesca, Biblioteca da la Colegiata de Alquézar, Libro de polifonía 3
Lisbon AN 97	Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 97
Lisbon CIC 60	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Colecção Ivo Cruz [C.I.C.], 60
Mexico City 10-4284	Mexico City, Sacristía del Museo de El Carmen, Inventario 10-4284 ('Códice del Carmen')
Oporto 40	Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 40
Oporto 76–79	Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 76–79
Puebla 1	Puebla, Archivo de Música Sacra, Libro de polifonía 1
Salamanca 2	Salamanca, Archivo de la Catedral de Salamanca, Libro de polifonía 2
Salamanca 12	Salamanca, Archivo de la Catedral de Salamanca, Libro de polifonía 12
Seville BCC 5-5-20	Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina (housed in the Institución Colombina), 5-5-20
Seville BCC 7-1-8	Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina (housed in the Institución Colombina), 7-1-28 ('Cancionero musical de Colombina')
Seville CM 1	Seville, Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca del Coro (housed in the Institución Colombina), Libro de polifonía 1
Tarazona 2/3	Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Archivo 2/3
Tarazona 5	Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Archivo 5
Toledo 25	Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, 25
Valladolid 3	Valladolid, Catedral de Valladolid, Archivo de Música, Libro de polifonía, 3
Vila Viçosa A-002	Vila Viçosa, Biblioteca do Palácio Real, A.M. A-002

1 • Little is known about Francisco Cea Tesa beyond the fact that he was part of an established family of printers and that he married Susana Muñoz, the widow of Artus Tavernier—the official printer for the University of Salamanca in 1609 or 1610—and assumed Tavernier's title. On Tesa's activity c.1613, see Noone 2020, 32.

to 1600. Special treatments of it found in the Calixtinus and Las Huelgas codices and references to polyphonic settings in other medieval documents stand as evidence that the elaborate *Benedicamus* was just as prevalent in the Spanish kingdoms as it was in other parts of Europe.[2] While the lack of polyphonic *Benedicamus* settings from the Iberian peninsula that date between the 1320s and the late fifteenth century prevents an assessment of stylistic approaches to the *Benedicamus* during those years, there are a handful of surviving examples from the late 1490s, most notably in Seville and Barcelona.[3] The bulk of the extant examples, however, begins to appear in the middle of the sixteenth century, increasing in number up to about 1620. Accounting for the factors that affect document survival, it is still reasonable to conclude that there was indeed an increase in the number of settings composed over that time. While other liturgical items beyond the Mass and Magnificat were increasingly given polyphonic treatments in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Iberian composers created far more *Benedicamus* settings than those for other liturgical texts, such as the *Nunc dimittis* or *Te Deum*. Since very few of the sources indicate a need for settings in various modes, another reason for the proliferation of examples must be found. In Spain and Latin America, cathedral documents confirm that the medieval tradition of singing a polyphonic *Benedicamus* at the conclusion of certain processions persisted.[4] However, a more compelling reason for an increase in polyphonic *Benedicamus* settings may be their use at the conclusion of the independent *Salve* Service.

While scholarship on the Renaissance polyphonic *Benedicamus* does exist, there has been no systematic examination of it as a post-medieval genre of polyphony for Iberia or any other part of Europe. Brief commentaries on individual settings appear in studies of Spanish and Portuguese sources, but the authors only occasionally venture opinions about the relationships between the examples in their sources and those in others.[5] The present study starts by offering a first catalogue of the surviving Iberian and Latin American examples of the polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* from the late fifteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, then setting out some initial observations about how the versicle was treated musically and employed liturgically.

Defining the corpus

The first thing one notices about the extant *Benedicamus* settings in Iberia and Latin America c.1475–1625 is that they are found primarily in manuscript collections. This is not surprising since so much Office polyphony in Spain continued to be constructed on local

2 • See Catalunya 2022 for a discussion of the *Benedicamus* repertoire in the Las Huelgas Codex. References to the singing of *Benedicamus* tropes and polyphony during the late fourteenth century in Seville are cited in Ruiz Jiménez 2011, 261.

3 • BnF NAF 4379. Part of this manuscript is known as the Seville Chansonnier. A single anonymous Spanish *Benedicamus* setting is on fol. 83v. Seville 7-1-28 (the *Cancionero musical de Colombina*) includes two *Benedicamus* settings by Juan de Triana on fols. 93v–95r. Both sources are described in Ros-Fábregas 1992. The *Benedicamus* examples are treated in Kreitner 2004.

4 • Ruiz Jímenez 2011, 249 cites a 1630 Sevillian ceremonial stating that the entire musical establishment played and sang a *Benedicamus* at the end of the procession during the octave of Corpus Christi.

5 • Examples include Snow 1996, 65–78; Noone 2002; Kreitner 2004, 45–46, 55; Nelson 2011, 39; and Ros-Fábregas 1992.

chant melodies, even after the promulgation of the reformed Breviary in 1568.[6] When Office polyphony was published, it usually took the form of Magnificat or hymn collections, only occasionally including a handful of Psalms, canticles, or Marian antiphons.[7] Esquivel's 1613 print was the only such publication printed in Spain to include a systematic collection of all these items. Coincidentally, the only other *Benedicamus* examples printed in Spain were those included in two Magnificat collections originating from the same printing establishment that produced Esquivel's book.[8] These printed examples, however, represent only six of the 106 examples catalogued here.

The Iberian polyphonic *Benedicamus* primarily lived in manuscripts, and manuscripts were generally created for a few reasons. Some were a means to preserve beloved older music whose original medium was deteriorating or had been damaged. Some serve as records of musical exchange between churches. Others, however, consisted of groups of items by genre for ease of location by the chapel master, and yet others were collections of frequently used music arranged in a liturgically convenient order for daily use. The latter two types offer the best information about how and when the polyphonic *Benedicamus* was used at the churches associated with those documents. For this reason, the settings listed in the Appendix are grouped by manuscript in roughly chronological order rather than by composer, geographical location, or other classification.

Of the forty-four sources, twenty-two originated in Spain and Catalonia. Seventeen originated in Portugal, most of which date to the period of dynastic union with Spain, and five come from Latin America. Of course, these numbers cannot precisely represent the number of settings that once existed, since warfare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and a massive eighteenth-century earthquake in Portugal have probably deprived us of many more examples. The wide geographic and temporal ranges of these manuscripts, however, indicate that the polyphonic *Benedicamus* was sung throughout the Iberian world. The Appendix also shows that a considerable number of compositions were prized highly enough to be recopied into other manuscripts. This is especially noticeable in Barcelona, Coimbra, and Guatemala City. Italicised entries represent later concordances or re-copying of an earlier version. A manuscript from the Royal Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, Coimbra BGU MM.53, for example, contains five settings copied from Coimbra BGU MM.33.[9]

Just under half of the surveyed works have no attributed composer and seventeen of the forty-four sources contain only anonymous examples. For those sources with at least one attributed composer the copyist may have simply provided a name only once for a group of items, but in other cases the opposite may hold true. For example, Pedro de Cristo is

6 • For a discussion of this situation concerning the Office of the Dead, see Wagstaff 1995.

7 • Larger collections like Esquivel's that included psalms, antiphons, and other Office items were all published outside of Spain. These include the *Psalmi, hymni, ac Magnificat totius anni* (Rome, 1590) by Juan Navarro, the *Liber primus* (Naples, 1565) of Diego Ortiz, and the *Liber primus* (Venice, 1576) of Tomás Luis de Victoria.

8 • Owned by three different men, but all married to the same woman, Susana Muñoz. See Noone 2020.

9 • Rees 1995, 291–92.

the established copyist of Coimbra BGU MM.33.[10] He indicates that the *Benedicamus* on fols. 123v–124r was composed by Aires Fernandes but leaves the remaining items unattributed. These anonymous settings, however, include one that is confidently attributed to Cristo himself in another contemporary source (Coimbra BGU MM.44), leaving open the reasonable possibility that he did not make attributions to himself, but rather singled out the one work by another musician. A similar case could be made for the two anonymous settings in Guatemala 2. Although indicated in the index, these two missing settings may very well be concordant with two of the Hernando Franco compositions in Guatemala 4, because the copyist Gaspar Fernandes transferred a considerable number of compositions from Guatemalan sources to Puebla 1 when he relocated to Puebla around 1606.[11] A final possibility is that scribes, noting the utilitarian nature of some of the settings, felt little need to record the composers' names or to seek out that information.

Noticeably in short supply are some of the names of the most prominent musicians in Spain and Portugal. While the names of the Portuguese composers Manuel Cardoso, Felipe de Magalhães, or Duarte Lobo may join the list as more manuscripts are catalogued, they certainly did not include any *Benedicamus* settings in their printed collections. Of the Spanish examples, Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco Guerrero are represented, but Tomás Luis de Victoria—whose output declined after his return to Spain—is noticeably absent. That said, the Morales and Guerrero examples are settings only of the response *Deo dicamus gratias*, not the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle. Even without ample representation from some of the most recognisable names, there remain a considerable number of examples to study.

Manuscript placement

Every manuscript tells a story of some sort. While some manuscripts are better storytellers than others, the placement of each *Benedicamus* setting can suggest how it was used in the liturgical life of a particular church and whether a manuscript was copied for purposes of preservation or regular liturgical use. With the understanding that many Iberian sources are combinations of earlier manuscripts or have been otherwise manipulated over the centuries in some way, the modern inventories reveal four principal approaches to the placement of the *Benedicamus* versicle. The sources that contain principally Vespers items tend to arrange them in liturgical order following the Magnificat settings, leaving little doubt as to their traditional liturgical purpose, even if only on more solemn occasions. Other sources that contain a mixture of Office and Mass polyphony frequently group their *Benedicamus* settings together and among the items for Vespers, but not at a consistent point among these items. Yet other sources apparently place their *Benedicamus* compositions at random, suggesting that these manuscripts were copied to preserve favoured works or as a collection of newly acquired music from other churches.

10 • Ibid., 229.

11 • Snow 1996, 15–17.

The *Benedicamus Domino* in the Spanish *Salve* Service

One of the more suggestive approaches to *Benedicamus* placement occurs in Guatemala 4 and similarly in Mexico City 10-4284 and Seville CM 1, and in Diego de Bruceña's 1620 print. The examples in these sources exist along with settings of the *Salve Regina* to be sung in a special service centred around the singing of that Marian antiphon. Robert Snow proposed the existence of an independent *Salve* Service in his work on Guatemala 4, describing a short paraliturgical service that grew out of the practice of singing the antiphon *Salve Regina* after Vespers or Compline in Spanish churches on Saturdays throughout the year and on other days during Lent.[12] Extrapolating from manuscript collections and cathedral documents, he proposed that the service consisted of three polyphonic items: the *Salve Regina*, a Marian motet, and the closing *Benedicamus Domino*.[13] Along with these were attendant responses, a short prayer, and a votive antiphon for protection from the plague. As the final item in the service, a polyphonic *Benedicamus* setting was appropriate, and may be an important reason for the number of compositions setting the versicle text in certain Spanish sources.

The clearest example of the relationship between *Salve Regina* and *Benedicamus Domino* is seen in Guatemala 4.[14] Folio 134v begins a group of thirteen *Salve* and seven *Benedicamus* settings. Between fols. 138v and 168r there are apparently intentional pairings of the *Salve* and the *Benedicamus* that make sense as *Salve* Service pairs. Moreover, Snow remarked that, with only one exception, these *Benedicamus* examples align in voice number and type with the preceding *Salve*.[15] A similar situation exists in Puebla 1, a manuscript assembled by the same scribe as Guatemala 4, containing many of the same works. While there are only four *Benedicamus* settings in Puebla 1, they are paired with *Salve*s composed mostly by Spanish musicians working in the New World. Among Continental sources, Seville CM 1 organises *Salve* Service music by genre, beginning with a set of *Salve*s and concluding with a set of three *Benedicamus* settings. The only other Spanish manuscript that places a *Benedicamus* setting—in the form of a *Deo gratias*—alongside a *Salve* is a superius partbook that probably originated in Toledo (Barcelona IEM 1) (see Appendix).[16] And the only printed source that suggests the conceptualisation and function of the *Benedicamus* as a *Salve* counterpart is the 1620 print of Diego de Bruceña.[17] Rather than placing his three *Benedicamus* settings after his set of Magnificats, Bruceña locates them after a single setting of the *Salve Regina* at the end of the print. This is a hint that the *Salve* Service continued to be celebrated in Zamora well into the seventeenth century.

Inventories of Portuguese sources suggest that the *Salve* Service probably was not practised there. The exception is a manuscript from the Santa Cruz Monastery, Coimbra BGU MM.7, which includes three *Salves*, followed by a *Benedicamus*. Bernadette Nelson

12 • The Spanish *Salve* Service may have developed from a similar practice in the Low Countries, called the *Lof*. For a discussion of the possible transmission to Spanish churches, see Knighton 2009, 137–46, and Knighton 2012, 29–58.

13 • Snow 1996, 65–74.

14 • Guatemala 4.

15 • Snow 1996, 76.

16 • Nelson 2010, 39–40.

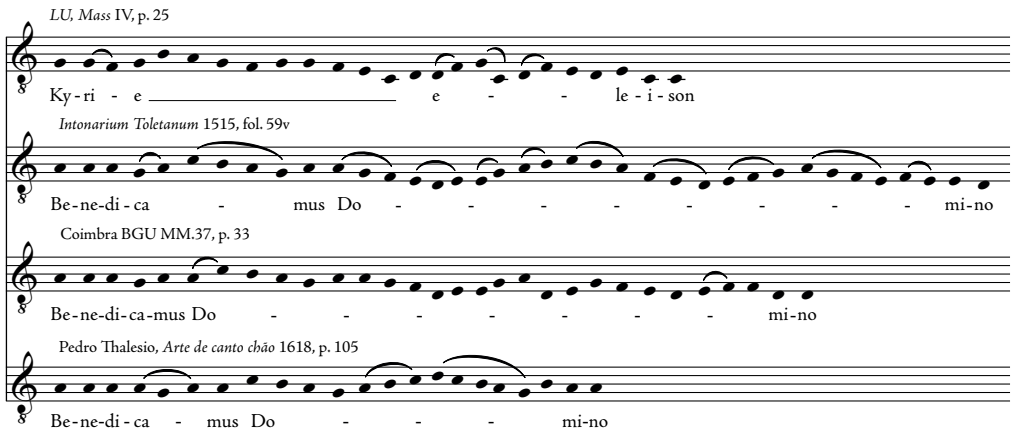
17 • For a discussion of the only extant copy of this print, see Noone 2020.

has identified one of those unattributed *Salves* as the popular setting by Juan de Anchieta that also appears in a Seville Cathedral manuscript dedicated to music for the *Salve* Service (Seville BCC 5-5-20).[18] Beyond this single source, however, there is insufficient evidence that the service was regularly sung in this form in Portugal.[19]

Plainchant sources for *Benedicamus* cantus firmi

The majority of Spanish and Portuguese polyphonic *Benedicamus* settings are constructed on a cantus firmus chant employed by the institution where the manuscript originated. Examination of chant manuscripts and instruction books reveals a considerable diversity and number of potential *Benedicamus* melodies. While further research is needed to match particular chants with polyphonic settings, the melodies can be categorised initially by their strong similarities to particular Kyrie chants. Anne Walters Robertson has shown that the medieval *Benedicamus* frequently adopted and adapted Kyrie melodies, and two of these became particular favourites of Iberian composers.[20] The *Benedicamus* settings composed on a cantus firmus related to Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor* (also known as *Rex virginum amator Deus* in Spain) are the most numerous, while a still substantial but lesser number are based on the Kyrie *Clemens rector* chant. Although certainly related to these two Kyries, all of the cantus firmus melodies found in polyphonic settings betray local plainchant variants. Example 17.1 presents the modern Kyrie *Cunctipotens* chant alongside three variants of the melody, which include an early sixteenth-century *Intonarium* from Toledo Cathedral, a Portuguese manuscript of chants once held by the Royal Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra (Coimbra BGU MM.37), and a page from Pedro Thalesio's 1618 *Arte de canto chão*. All three chants adhere faithfully to the opening Kyrie intonation but diverge considerably afterwards.

Example 17.1: Variants of Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor* as a plainchant melody and a cantus firmus in Iberian *Benedicamus* polyphony



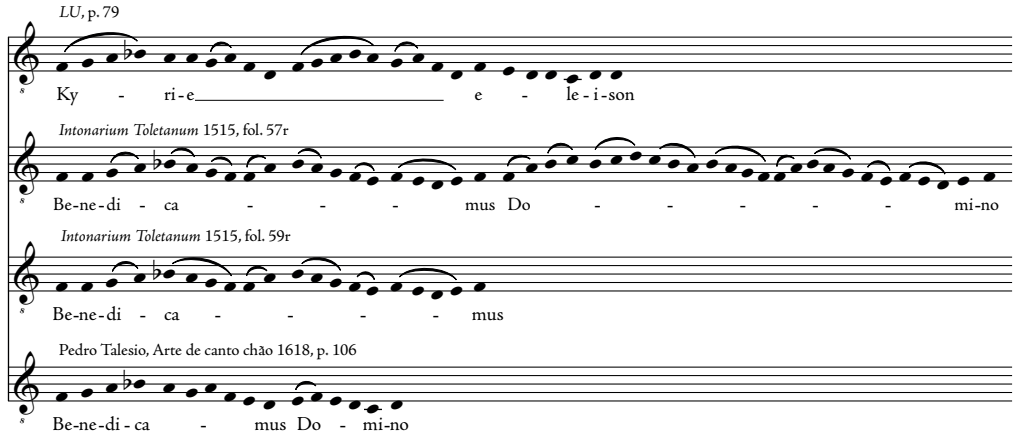
18 • Nelson 2019, 118.

19 • The study of the *Salve Regina* in Portuguese sources in Nelson 2019, 117 confirms this supposition.

20 • Robertson 1988.

A similar situation occurs in the examples based on Kyrie *Clemens rector*. All have the characteristic rising four-note motif with intervals of tone–tone–semitone followed by a descending line. This pattern usually starts on *F* in the soft (*mollis*) hexachord, but some polyphonic settings place the starting pitch on G and proceed in the hard (*durum*) hexachord. Example 17.2 presents the *Clemens rector* chant found in the 'Ad Libitum' section of the 1961 *Liber usualis* with two versions of the chant in the 1515 Toledo *Intonarium* and an example from Thalesio's seventeenth-century Portuguese chant tutor.

Example 17.2: Variants of Kyrie *Clemens rector* as a plainchant melody and a cantus firmus in Iberian *Benedicamus* polyphony



Some of the unidentified chant sources that share the rising opening line of *Clemens rector*, but with different intervals, may have been derived from that chant, but the association at present is too loose to assign them to this group. Considering the number of chant variants for both *Cunctipotens genitor* and *Clemens rector*, the chant sources will be referenced as 'families' to better describe how these settings are connected.

Chant sources can suggest the possible use of the polyphonic settings. For example, Snow pointed to the *Cunctipotens genitor* (*Rex virginum amator Deus*) Kyrie as one that the Spanish sang for Marian feasts. This is supported by the only version of that chant in the Toledo *Intonarium*. The rubric states that the chant should be sung on 'feasts of the blessed Virgin Mary and for solemn octave days at Vespers and Matins'.[21] That so many Spanish *Benedicamus* settings employed a version of this Kyrie melody suggests that these may have been especially favoured for use during Marian feast days and certainly appropriate for use in the *Salve* Service. Available Portuguese chant sources, while exhibiting more variants following a shared opening motif, do not necessarily specify this melody for Marian occasions. Rather, examples from Pedro Thalesio's *Arte de canto chão* and the Coimbra

21 • 'Cantus qui sequitur dicitur in festis beate Marie et per octauas diebus praecipuis ad vesperas et matutinas. Etiam dicitur ad missam quando vacat. Gloria in excelsis.' *Intonarium Toletanum* [Alcalá de Henares (Complutum), A. G. de Brocar, 1515], fol. 59v.

chant manuscript Coimbra BGU MM.37 assign the melody and its variants to everything from double major to simple feasts. Further study is needed, but Thalesio indicates that one of the Kyrie chants (on p. 106 of his tutor) is meant for Sundays of the Lenten season and feasts of angels. The first anonymous polyphonic *Benedicamus* setting in Coimbra BGU MM.33 (fols. 126v–127r) features a tenor line written in chant style and matching the Thalesio chant in all but text underlay, leaving a reasonable impression that it would also be used on those specified occasions. Similarly, the Aires Fernandes setting from Oporto 40, fols. 296v–297r, would be appropriate for use on double feasts, since it is based on the second of the two chants for double feasts specificed in Thalesio (on p. 105).

A ceremonial from Oviedo Cathedral in northern Spain prescribes occasions where the *Benedicamus* is sung in polyphony, while at other times the response *Deo dicamus gratias* is sung in that manner. This must have been a practice in Toledo as well since there are settings of the *Deo dicamus gratias* by Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco Guerrero in two manuscripts held there. Toledo 25 contains three settings by Morales and offers another opportunity to infer the use of a setting for particular occasions or types of feasts based on its chant source.[22] Each polyphonic setting is based on a different chant; the first clearly adopts the *Cunctipotens genitor* (*Rex virginum*) variant associated with Marian feasts found on fol. 59v of the Toledo *Intonarium*.[23] The second polyphonic *Benedicamus* is just as clearly based on a *Clemens rector* family chant (found on fol. 57r of the same Toledo *Intonarium*). The rubric for this chant related to *Clemens rector* assigns it for use throughout the year except during the Christmas and Easter seasons. Moreover, it specifies First Vespers for feasts of six copes and Second Vespers for feasts of four copes. Although the polyphonic *Benedicamus* setting does not make use of the entire chant, the association is convincing. The third *Benedicamus* of the Morales set takes as its cantus firmus a chant on fol. 56r of the Toledo *Intonarium*, for use at Christmas Eve for Vespers and Matins 'at all the great feasts' through the octave of Epiphany.

Benedicamus in canon

While most of the Iberian and Latin American *Benedicamus* settings are short and undramatically functional, some composers considered the text important enough to warrant a display of their contrapuntal prowess, in the form of canon:

Cristóbal de Morales Toledo 25, fols. 22v–23r (*Deo dicamus gratias*)	Canon at octave from altus creates altus 2
Rodrigo de Ceballos Seville CM 1, fols. 95v–96r (*Deo dicamus gratias*)	Canon at fifth from tenor creates altus 2
Anton de España Guatemala 4, fols. 147v–148r	Altus creates superius 2 in semibreves

22 • Noone 2002, 359–60.

23 • Catedral Primada de Toledo 1515. Although a printed source, this book is foliated rather than paginated.

Sebastian de Vivanco *Liber Magnificarum*, pp. 266–67 and pp. 268–69	Canon I is a mensuration canon, with the superius in twelfths and altus 2 in octaves from bassus; Canon II is an inversion canon with four realisations
Diego de Bruceña *Libro de canto de misas y magnificas y motetes y una salve*, pp. 294–95	Canonic instructions under tenor: *Bassus - Eam in Subdiapason / Superius - Basum in Duodezima. Altus - Superiu[s] in Subdiapason / Tenor - Altum in Subdiapason*. Below bassus part: *Quando fuerit hæc. Omnes he quatuor vozes. Ut sunt Anotate. Tenor: Canon non venio. Vado Retrosum & non venio* (the pages are too damaged to construct the canons)

The sophistication of the canons in these works ranges from simple canons at the octave displaced by a couple of breves to two impressive settings by Sebastian de Vivanco in his *Liber Magnificarum* of 1607.[24] The first of these is a five-voice mensuration canon with only three of the voices notated. The superius is generated from the bassus in a canon at the twelfth in doubled note values. This creates the effect of a long-note cantus firmus with the characteristic rising figure of the *Clemens rector* family of chants. The altus is also generated at the octave by halving the bassus note values (see Example 17.3). A similar rising line is heard in the second of Vivanco's learned approaches to the *Benedicamus*, which is a canon with four solutions in which the bassus may sing any of the lines. The glue of all four resolutions is the rising line, first in the bassus, followed by the altus at the octave, and then the superius at the twelfth for the final two resolutions. By setting the *Benedicamus* in this manner, and presenting it at the end of the print, Vivanco finishes the volume in the same way he began: with a set of canons. By employing a cantus firmus with a recognisable opening motif, he also made the *Benedicamus* appropriate for liturgical use, should it be so desired.

Juan de Esquivel

To return now to the short polyphonic *Benedicamus* by Juan de Esquivel. The placement of Esquivel's *Benedicamus* after the Magnificat settings corresponds to the practice found in many of the Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts, including that of his nearby colleague, Vivanco. Esquivel provided only a single *Benedicamus*, so matching the *Benedicamus* modally with his Magnificats certainly was not his goal. The polyphonic *Benedicamus* is not based on one of the more popular chant tunes: although it begins as if the superius will follow *Cuncipotens genitor* as a model, it does not take the requisite minor-third upward leap (see Ex. 17.4). Esquivel's use of homorhythm and triple metre recalls the five-voice setting by Rodrigo de Ceballos in Guadalupe 2, which may have served as a model or an inspiration. While there is yet no known chant source, it is set in transposed mode 1, keeping the Dorian quality of the more traditional *Benedicamus* melodies. The uncluttered texture results in a setting that recalls the style of early sixteenth-century secular polyphony.

The appearance of Esquivel's *Benedicamus* after the Magnificats for Second Vespers suggests that perhaps the cathedral in Ciudad Rodrigo reserved *Benedicamus* polyphony

24 • Sebastian de Vivanco, *Liber Magnificarum* (Salamanca: Taberniel, 1607).

Example 17.3: Canonic *Benedicamus Domino*, *Liber Magnificarum*, Sebastian de Vivanco (1607). Courtesy of Gareth Thomas



Example 17.4: Juan de Esquivel, *Benedicamus Domino, Psalmorum, hymnorum* (1613), pp. 312–13



for those occasions; unfortunately, any documentary evidence from that church was destroyed during the Napoleonic Wars.[25] Esquivel's first professional position, however, was in the northern city of Oviedo, and the 1588 cathedral statues there provide some insight into how that particular church operated. In the section dedicated to the duties of the organist, the document states that he was responsible for playing at both First and Second Vespers for double feasts during the hymn, Magnificat, and *Benedicamus*. The hymn and Magnificat were generally sung in alternatim with the organ.[26] The document therefore clarifies that the organist plays *Deo gratias* when there is no polyphony and *Benedicamus Domino* when there is.[27] Esquivel did not leave a setting of the *Deo gratias*, so he either chose later not to compose or publish one, or simply used another (such as those by Morales or Guerrero) during his time in Oviedo.

25 • See O'Connor 2006, 11–33.

26 • 'En la Salue, ó Regina coeli; quanto se dize a Canto de organo, tañese el organo alternando con los cantores.' Catedral de Oviedo 1588, fol. 27r.

27 • Ibid., fol. 56v.

Equivel's *Benedicamus* may have been used in the singing of the *Salve* Service. The Oviedo statutes make unambiguous reference to the *Salve* Service, stating that the chapel master will 'provide music every Saturday at the Salves of Lent'.[28] The statutes do not, however, outline any ceremonies or texts for this. Esquivel also served the cathedral in the Riojan city of Calahorra, where a manuscript book of *Salve*s and motets is listed in the cathedral inventory from 1578. This book, which is no longer extant, certainly shared the same purpose as the Seville and Guatemala manuscripts that contain the essential elements for the *Salve* Service in their liturgical order.[29] Esquivel may have composed his *Benedicamus* setting in Calahorra or later in Ciudad Rodrigo. The one tantalising piece of evidence that may point to the practice of the *Salve* Service in Ciudad Rodrigo is the woodcut image of Esquivel from his 1608 first book of Masses. The depiction of him kneeling before a portrait of the Virgin, apparently in a side chapel dedicated to her, matches the descriptions of how a *Salve* Service was conducted at the cathedrals in Seville and Palencia.[30] By 1613, Esquivel could have assembled a *Salve* Service consisting of all his own published compositions. The *Benedicamus* and *Salve Regina* in the 1613 print would be complemented by a Marian motet from his 1608 *Motecta festorum* or the setting of *Surge propera amica mea* from the 1613 print:[31]

Salve Regina á 5 (1613 print)

Versicle: *Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei Genitrix.*
Response: *Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.*

Oration: *Concede nos famulos tuos, quæsumus Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis santitate gaudere: et gloriosa Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis intercessione, a præsenti liberari tristitia, et æterna perfrui lætitia. Per Dominum nostrum.*
Response: *Amen.*

Sub tuum præsidium à 5 (1608 *Motecta festorum*)
(Marian motet appropriate to the season, feast, event, or in veneration of a painting or statue of the Virgin)

Versicle/response and oration chosen according to the season or feast

Votive antiphon invoking St Roch and/or St Sebastian

Versicle and response and oration depending on chosen antiphon

Benedicamus Domino à 4 (1613 print)

Conclusion

This chapter presents the first steps in a more substantial genre study of the Iberian and Latin American polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino*. Like motets, the polyphonic *Benedica-*

28 • 'Iten mas, sirua de musica todos los Sabbados á las Salues de Quaresma'; Catedral de Oviedo 1588, fol. 15v.

29 • 'Iten, otro libro de Salves y motetes enquadernado en pargamino'; Catedral de Calahorra, *Libro de fabrica de la madre yglesia de Calahorra*, 1554, fol. 103r.

30 • Suárez Martos 2010, 41–46.

31 • Esquivel's *Salve Regina à 5* (1613 print), the motet *Sub tuum præsidium à 5* (1608 *Motecta festorum*), and the *Benedicamus Domino à 4* (1613 print).

mus could be used in a variety of liturgical and paraliturgical situations. Further study of cathedral ceremonials and other documents that specify the use for each of these sources is necessary along with the cataloguing of chant sources to more accurately connect local chant variants to polyphonic examples. These short polyphonic versicle and response settings, often eminently functional in nature, were heard more frequently than the grandest Mass and Magnificat settings in certain cathedrals and monasteries. As a significant part of musical everyday life, they therefore merit greater scholarly attention.

APPENDIX

Benedicamus Domino settings in Iberian and Latin American sources c.1475–1625

(italics indicate later concordances or recopied versions)

Source	Composer(s)	No. of voices	Date(s)	Provenance
			Comments	
BnF NAF 4379 fol. 83v	Anon.	3	1475–1500	Paris (Seville)
			Benedicamus appears in Part IV with other Spanish items by Juan Fernández de Madrid and Juan de Urrede, which are believed to be missing folios from Seville BCC 7-1-28	
Seville BCC 7-1-28 fols. 93v–94r fols. 94v–95r	Juan de Triana (a) Juan de Triana (b)	3 3	1475–1500	Seville
			The 'Cancionero de Colombina' contains mostly secular polyphony, but these items are part of a small section of sacred works	
Lisbon AN 97 fol. 35r	Anon.	3	c.1504	Lisbon, Mosteiro de Lorvão Processional
Barcelona BNC 454 fols. 68v–69r fol. 69v *fols. 73v–74r**	Anon. Pedro de Monte *Anon.*	4 4 4	1500–35	Barcelona, *Cancionero musical de Barcelona*
			* copy of fols. 68v–69	
Barcelona BNC 681 fol. 1r fol. 89r	Anon. Anon.	4 4	c.1500–25	Barcelona, possibly Santa María del Mar
Tarazona 2/3 fol. 299v	Anon.	4	c.1500–50	Tarazona
			Deo gratias	
Barcelona OC 7 fols. 67r–68r	Anon.	2/4	c.1533–c.1564	Barcelona
			Troped *Benedicamus* followed by 4-voice *Deo gratias*	
Tarazona 5 fol. 91r fols. 91v–92r fols. 92v–93r	Anon. [Juan Basurto?] Pedro de Pastrana Martin de Rivaflecha	4 4 4	c.1530s–1550s	Tarazona
			fol. 91r follows a Basurto *Dic nobis Maria* [verse of *Victimae paschali laudes*] but in a section of works by Pastrana. Rivaflecha includes optional 'alleluias' for Pascal Season	
Coimbra BGU MM.6 fols. 50v–51r fols. 87v–88r	Anon. Anon.	4 4	c.1540–c.1555	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
			fols. 87v–88r concordance: Lisbon CIC 60, fols. 16v–17r	

Source	Composer(s)	No. of voices	Date(s)	Provenance
			Comments	
Coimbra BGU MM.12			c.1540–50	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 100v–101r	Anon.	4	fols. 100v–101r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.9, fols. 127v–128r, re-entered on top half of fols. 208v–209r of this MS fols. 133v–134r feature two untexted settings that are probably *Benedicamus*	
fols. 133v–134r	Anon. (a)	4		
fols. 133v–134r	Anon. (b)	4		
fols. 207v–208r	Anon.	4		
fols. 208v–209r	*Anon. (a)*	4		
fols. 208v–209r	Anon. (b)	4		
Coimbra BGU MM.9			c.1545–50	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 127v–128r	*Anon.*	4	fols. 127v–128r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.12, fols. 100v–101r and Arouca 32, fols. 76v–77r	
Toledo 25			1546/1549	Toledo
fols. 22v–23r	Cristóbal de Morales	5	All items are *Deo dicamus gratias*	
fols. 33v–34r	Cristóbal de Morales	4		
fols. 43v–44r	Cristóbal de Morales	5		
Coimbra BGU MM.7			mid-16th cent.	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fol. 32Av	Anon.	4		
Seville CM 1			1555	Seville
fols. 95v–96r	Rodrigo de Ceballos	5	All items are *Deo dicamus gratias*	
fols. 96v–98r	Pedro Fernández de	4		
fols. 97v–98r	Castilleja Francisco Guerrero	4		
Coimbra BGU MM.221			mid-16th cent.	Coimbra, Old Cathedral
fol. 3r	Anon. (a)	4		
fol. 3r	Anon. (b)	4		
fols. 4v–5r	Anon.	4		
Lisbon CIC 60			c.1570	Lisbon, 'Cancionero de Lisboa'
fols. 16v–17r	*Anon.*	4	fols. 16v–17r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.6, fols. 87v–88r *Benedicamus* settings added around 1570 by separate scribe	
fols. 68v–69r	Anon.	3		
fols. 69v–70r	Anon.	4		
fols. 70v–71r	Anon.	4		
fols. 71v–72r	Anon.	4		
Coimbra BGU MM.36			1570s–1580s	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 12v–13r	Pedro de Cristo (a)	4		
fols. 12v–13r	Pedro de Cristo (b)	4		
Coimbra BGU MM.33			1580s	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 123v–124r	[Pedro de Cristo]	4	fols. 123v–124r attributed to Pedro de Cristo in concordance in Coimbra BGU MM.44, fols. 121v–122r	

Source	Composer(s)	No. of voices	Date(s) / Comments	Provenance
(Coimbra BGU MM.33)				
fols. 123v–124r	Aires Fernandes	4	fols. 123v–124r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.44, fols. 122v–123r	
fols. 124v–125r	Anon. (a)	5	fols. 124v–125r (a) & (b) concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.53, fols. 73v–74r	
fols. 124v–125r	Anon. (b)	4	fol. 124v (a) *Voces duæ, alia a principio, altera a fine simul incipientes.* (Two voices, one from the beginning, the other from the end, beginning together)	
fols. 125v–126r	Anon.	5	fols. 125v–126r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.53, fols. 72v–73r	
fols. 126v–[127r]	Anon. (a)	4	fols. 126v–[127r] (a&b) concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.53 fols. 71v–72r	
fols. 126v–[127r]	Anon. (b)	4		
Coimbra BGU MM.44			1580s	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 120v–121r	Francisco de Santa Maria	4	fols. 121v–122r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.33, fols. 123v–124r	
fols. 121v–122r	*Pedro de Cristo*	4		
fols. 122v–123r	*Aires Fernandes*	4	fols. 122v–123r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.33, fols. 123v–124r	
fols. 123v–124r	Aires Fernandes	4	fols. 123v–124r concordance: Oporto 40, fols. 296v–297r and Arouca 32 fols. 29v–30r (a)	
fols. 124v–125r	Aires Fernandes	4		
fols. 125v–126r	Bartolomeu Trosilho	4	fols. 125v–126r concordance: Oporto 40, fols. 293v–294r and Oporto 76–79, p. 34 (only example in that source for 1st Vespers)	
fols. 132v–133r	Francisco de Santa Maria	4		
Oporto 40			c.1590	Oporto, [Mosteiro de São Bento de la Vitória]
fols. 292v–293r	Anon.	4		
fols. 293v–294r	*Bartolomeu Trosilho*	4	fols. 293v–294r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.44, fols. 125v–126r	
fols. 294v–295r	[Aires Fernandes]	4	fols. 294v–295r concordance: Arouca 32, fols. 29v–30r (composer identified there)	
fols. 295v–296r	Anon.	4		
fols. 296v–297r	Aires Fernandes	4		
Huesca 3			late 16th cent.	Huesca (Alquézar), Iglesia Colegiata, Alquézar
fol. 104v	Melchor Robledo	4		
fol. 105r	Melchor Robledo	5		
Coimbra BGU MM.53			c.1585–1600	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 71v–72r	*Anon.*	4	fols. 71v–72r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.33, fols. 126v–[127r]	
fols. 71v–72r	*Anon.*	4		
fols. 72v–73r	*Anon.*	4	fols. 72v–73r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.33, fols. 125v–126r	
fols. 73v–74r	*Anon.*	4	fols. 73v–74r has two items, both concordant with Coimbra BGU MM.33, fols. 124v–125r (a) & (b)	
fols. 73v–74r	*Anon.*	4		

Source	Composer(s)	No. of voices	Date(s)	Provenance
			Comments	
Barcelona IEM 1*			1601–03	Barcelona (Toledo)
fols. 36r–37r	Francisco Guerrero	3	*Superius partbook only	
fol. 49v	Cristóbal de Morales	?	Guerrero *'Deo gratias* is marked 'a3' in source and recopied on fol. 37r Both entries are *'Deo gratias*	
Barcelona Cath. 7			17th c.	Barcelona
fol. 29v	Joan Pujol	?	Manuscript lost. Item listed along with other contents in inventory	
Guatemala 2			1600	Guatemala City
fols. 32v–33r	Gaspar Fernandes (T1)	4	Fernández examples appear in order of matching tones to Magnificats (tone 1–8). The España, Franco, and anon. settings are labelled 'tono 8'	
fols. 46v–47r	Gaspar Fernandes (T2)	4		
fols. 72v–73r	Gaspar Fernandes (T3)	4		
fols. 91v–92r	Gaspar Fernandes (T4)	4		
fols. 112v–113r	Gaspar Fernandes (T5)	4		
fols. 132v–133r	Gaspar Fernandes (T6)	4		
fols. 158v–159r	Gaspar Fernandes (T7)	4		
fols. 178v–179r	Gaspar Fernandes (T8)	4		
fols. 179v–180r	Anton de España	5	fols. 179v–180r concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 147v–148r and Puebla 1, fols. 23v–24r	
fols. 180v–[181r]	Hernando Franco	5	fols. 180v–[181r] concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 188v–189r and Puebla 1, fols. 14v–15r	
fols. [181v–182r]	anon.	?	fols. 181r–183r are missing	
fols. [182v–183r]	anon.	?		
fols. 188v–189r				
Guatemala 4			1605	Guatemala City
fols. 142v–143r	Anon. [Hernando Franco?] *Antón de España*	4		
fols. 147v–148r		5	fols. 147v–148r concordance: Guatemala 2, fols. 179v–118r and Puebla 1, fols. 23v–24r	
fols. 152v–153r	Hernando Franco	4		
fols. 157v–158r	Hernando Franco	4		
fols. 162v–163r	anon.	4	fols. 162v–163r concordance: Guatemala 3, fols. 74v–75r (b)	
fols. 167v–168r	Hernando Franco	4		
fols. 188v–189r	*Hernando Franco*	5	fols. 188v–189r concordance: Guatemala 2, fols. 178v–179r and Puebla 1, fols. 14v–15r	
Coimbra MM.217A			early 1600s	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fol. 9r	Anon. (a)	?	Only a bassus partbook survives. Unknown no. of voices. Two items on fol. 9r	
fol. 9r	Anon. (b)	?		
Oporto 76–79			c.1610–15	Oporto, Mosteiro de São Bento de la Vitória (Santo Tirso)
p. 34	[Bartolomeu Trosilho]	4	4 partbooks (SATB) Concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.44, fols. 125v–126r and Oporto 40, fols. 293v–294r (composer identified)	

Source	Composer(s)	No. of voices	Date(s)	Provenance
			Comments	
Barcelona BSM 2			c.1620	Barcelona, Basílica del Santa María del Mar
no foliation	Joan Pujol	5		
			Lost during Spanish Civil War. Survives only as microfilm [Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya/Biblioteca Central, M.F. 26]	
Coimbra BGU MM.8			c.1610–20	Coimbra, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz
fols. 50v–51r	Anon.	6		
Arouca 32			c.1610–20	Arouca, Mosteiro de Arouca
fols. 29v–30r	*Aires Fernandes (a)*	*4*	fols. 29v–30r (a) concordance: Coimbra ASN LC s/c, fols. 128v–129r; Coimbra BGU MM.44, fols. 123v–124r; Coimbra SC 19, fols. 107v–108r; Oporto 40, fols. 294v–295r	
fols. 29v–30r	*Aires Fernandes (b)*	*4*	fols. 29v–30r (b) concordance: Coimbra SC 40, fols. 294v–295r	
fols. 76v–77r	*Anon.*	*4*	fols. 76v–77r concordance: Coimbra BGU MM.9, fols. 127v–128r; Coimbra BGU MM.12, fols. 100v–101r, fols. 208v–209r	
fols. 95v–96r	Anon.	4		
Barcelona BNC 789			1614	Barcelona
fols. 43v–44r	Joan Pujol	4	First two items concordant with Barcelona BSM 2	
fols. 76v–77r	Joan Pujol	4		
fols. 109v–110r	Joan Pujol	4		
Barcelona BNC 788			1623–26	Barcelona
fols. 40v–41r	Joan Pujol	4		
fols. 70v–71r	Joan Pujol	4		
Barcelona OC 59			c.1561–c.1643	Barcelona
fols. 18v–19r	Joan Pujol	5	Concordance: Barcelona BSM 2	
Guatemala 2			1603–c.1675	Real Monasterio de Santa Maria, Guadalupe (Cáceres)
fols. 103v–104r	Rodrigo de Ceballos	5		
fols. 104v–105r	Anon.	4	Códice 2	
Salamanca 2			late 1500s/ early 1600s	Salamanca
no. 26	[Sebastian de Vivanco?]	6		
no. 27	[Sebastian de Vivanco?]	5	Salamanca 2 contains only music by Vivanco and Morales. The *Benedicamus* are not ascribed in the source, but they can be tentatively assigned to Vivanco. No. 32 is ascribed to him in an eighteenth-century source (Salamanca 12), but it may have been copied from Salamanca 2	
no. 28	[Sebastian de Vivanco?]	4		
no. 29	[Sebastian de Vivanco?]	5		
no. 30	[Sebastian de Vivanco?]	4		
no. 32	[Sebastian de Vivanco?]	4		
Mexico City 10-4284			1627	Mexico City, 'Códice del Convento del Carmen'
pp. 70–71	Anon.	4		

Source	Composer(s)	No. of voices	Date(s)	Provenance
			Comments	
Puebla 1			c.1650–1700	Puebla
fols. 14v–15r	*Hernando Franco*	5	fols. 14v–15r concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 188v–189r	
fols. 23v–24r	*Anton de España*	5	fols. 23v–24r concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 147v–148r	
fols. 29v–30r	*Hernando Franco*	4	fols. 29v–30r concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 157v–158r	
fols. 37v–38r	*Hernando Franco*	4	fols. 37v–38r concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 152v–153r	
Guatemala 3			1500s–1700s	Guatemala City
fols. 1v–2r	Anon. (a)	4		
fols. 1v–2r	Anon. (b)	4		
fol. 73v	*Anon. (a)*	4	fol. 73v is a duplicate of fol. 74v in a different hand	
fol. 73v	*Anon. (b)*	4		
fols. 74v–75r	Anon. (a)	5		
fols. 74v–75r	*Anon. (b)*	4	fols. 74v–75r (b) concordance: Guatemala 4, fols. 162v–163r	
Valladolid 3			1700s	Valladolid
fols. 121v–122r	Anon.	4	Manuscript of polyphony from the 1500s and 1600s	
Vila Viçosa A-002			1700s	Vila Viçosa, Capela ducal
fols. 118v–119r	Anon.	4	*Benedicamus* follows a motet by Juan Navarro	

Printed Collections

Liber magnificarum			1607	Salamanca
pp. 266–67	Sebastian de Vivanco	5	Vivanco served the Cathedral and University of Salamanca	
pp. 268–69	Sebastian de Vivanco	4		
Psalmorum, hymnorum … Missarum tomus secundus	Juan de Esquivel	4	1613	Salamanca
pp. 312–13			Esquivel served the Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral	
Magnificats, misas, motetes …			1620	Salamanca
			Bruceña served the Zamora Cathedral	
pp. 294–95	Diego de Bruceña	4		
pp. 296–97	Diego de Bruceña	4	*Benedicamus* settings are badly damaged	
[pp. 298–99]	[Diego de Bruceña]	?	pp. 298–99 are missing	

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