

THE MUSIC AND LITURGY OF KLOSTER PREETZ: ANNA VON BUCHWALD'S
BUCH IM CHOR IN ITS FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CONTEXT

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz: Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* in Its Fifteenth-Century Context

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This dissertation investigates the music and liturgy of the German Benedictine convent of Kloster Preetz as reflected in three fifteenth-century manuscripts: the *Buch im Chor* of prioress Anna von Buchwald, an antiphoner and a gradual.

Chapter II describes the convent's music and liturgy and the cantrix's responsibilities, showing that the cloister practiced an unusually elaborate liturgy. It examines Anna's account of an episcopal visitation and explains resulting reforms.

Chapter III examines the musical and liturgical roles of the cloister's children. I also present evidence of a group of female "professional" singers who contributed to the music on important occasions and examine Anna's descriptions of rules governing children's lives, the training of young cantrices, and cloister entrance rites.

Chapter IV presents a physical description of the convent's gradual and antiphoner and an analysis of their scripts and notation, arguing for the presence of a convent scriptorium that fostered a unique notational lineage.

Chapter V discusses music for the mass in the gradual, focusing on the genres of introit trope, alleluia, and sequence. A comparative analysis suggests an early and melodically conservative transmission of tropes. An analysis of alleluia assignments suggests a likeness to the manuscript I-Rvat 181 (Erfurt) and to the liturgical predecessor of a repertoire eventually promulgated by the Bursfeld reform. I furthermore describe six previously undocumented alleluias. A comparison of the sequence repertoires of Preetz and Lübeck shows that the cloister maintained a rich and unique selection. A case study of the melody OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS confirms a Rhenish origin for the earliest repertoire. Four unusual late sequences are analyzed for their textual and theological complexity. The cloister's unique version of the sequence *Letabundus exultet* reflects the convent's Marian devotion, hints at its imperial origins, and serves as self-depiction of the nuns' devotional practices.

Chapter VI describes music for the office preserved in the antiphoner. An analysis of a previously unknown office for St. Blaise suggests that it may be a lost composition of tenth-century composer Reginold of Eichstätt. An added proper office for St. Matthias bespeaks a liturgical connection to Trier, likely transmitted through the Bursfeld movement.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Historical Background.....	7
Fifteenth-century Reforms.....	8
The Bursfeld Reform and Women’s Communities	9
Conventions of Orthography, Transcription, and Citation	12
II. LITURGY AND REFORM IN ANNA VON BUCHWALD’S <i>BUCH IM CHOR</i>	14
Methodology.....	19
Previous Studies and Genre.....	20
Summary of the Preetz Liturgy: A Spectrum of Liturgical Determination.....	24
The Mass.....	25
The Divine Office.....	26
Other Prescribed Rituals.....	28
Non-Prescribed Rituals.....	29
A Third Realm of Corporate Observance.....	30
Defining “Liturgy”	30
Defining “Votive” Observances.....	32
Description and Contents of the <i>Buch im Chor</i>	34
The Genre of the <i>Buch im Chor</i>	36
Content of the <i>Buch im Chor</i>	39
The <i>Buch im Chor</i> in Anna’s Words	41

Chapter	Page
The <i>Buch im Chor</i> and the Responsibilities of the Cantor	42
Negotiating Sanctorale, Temporale and Votive Cycles in the Mass and Office ...	45
The Mass.....	45
The Canonical Office.....	48
The Weekly Votive Cycle	49
Case Studies.....	57
Corpus Christi and the Feast of St. John the Baptist	57
The Feasts of St. Peter and St. Matthias	67
Votive Masses in the Octave of the Ascension	70
Summary.....	72
Honoring the Virgin Mary in Votive and Commemorative Offices.....	72
The Little Office	72
The Commemorative Office: Matins of the Assumption	81
Memorial Culture	82
Burial Practices.....	88
Liturgical Reform in Kloster Preetz	89
Episcopal Visitations	89
Conclusion.....	102
III. CHILDREN IN THE MUSIC AND LITURGY OF KLOSTER PREETZ	104
Introduction	104
Terminology for Children in the <i>Buch im Chor</i>	106
The <i>Pueri</i>	108

Chapter	Page
The <i>Scholares</i>	109
The <i>Iuencule</i>	111
The <i>Persone</i>	114
The <i>Scholastice</i>	115
Children’s Roles in the Liturgy	118
Liturgical Roles of the <i>Pueri</i>	118
Liturgical Roles of the <i>Scholares</i>	120
Liturgical Roles of the <i>Iuencule</i>	128
Outside Singers	130
Children in the <i>Per Curiam</i> Procession	135
The Reform of Cloister Entrance and Education	145
The Establishment of a Novitiate	146
Revised Cloister Entrance Ceremonies	148
The Vesting Ceremony at Kloster Preetz	153
The Crowning Ceremony at Kloster Preetz	167
The Crown and Veil	169
Cloister Entrance: Conclusion	171
Social Regulation and Musical Education	172
The Training of Choristers	175
From Aural Learning to Musical Literacy	177
Conclusion	179

Chapter	Page
IV. CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE KLOSTER PREETZ ARCHIVE	181
Introduction	181
The Preetz Gradual	190
Provenance.....	191
Physical Description and Collation	193
Page Layout	202
Comparison of Scripts	204
Description of Notation	207
Textual Scribes and Notators.....	215
Distinguishing Traits: the Left-facing Virga and Quilisma-like Pes	219
Additional Notational Hands in the Preetz Gradual	221
Rubrics.....	227
General Characteristics of Decoration.....	229
Artists and Their Styles	233
“Aurea:” the Primary Illuminator	234
Aurea’s Flower Initials	237
Further Elaborations: Shell Gold and Yellow Ink	240
The Master of Folio 53	244
“Rondella:” Assistant Illuminator	248
“Flora:” A Third Illuminator	251
Star Initials.....	255

Chapter	Page
Summary of Illumination Styles	257
The Gradual's Decoration in Regional Context	258
Summary: Decoration of the Gradual and Its Production and Use	263
The Kloster Preetz Antiphony	266
Physical Description and Collation	266
Text of the Antiphoner	277
Decoration	283
Redecoration	284
Natural Motives in The Visual World of Kloster Preetz	297
Conclusion	301
 V. MUSIC FOR THE MASS: STUDIES IN THE REPERTOIRE OF THE PREETZ GRADUAL.....	
Introduction	302
Introit Tropes	307
Alleluias.....	323
Post-Pentecost Sunday and Easter Week Alleluia Verses.....	323
Local Alleluias and Unica in the Preetz Gradual.....	329
Sequences	343
The Preetz Sequence Repertoire.....	345
Sequences for Easter Week	367
<i>Sancti merita Benedicti</i>	372
Case Study of OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS	378

Chapter	Page
Analysis of the OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS Melody	380
German and French Readings of OCCIDENTANA	397
Regional Melodic Variants in OCCIDENTANA	401
Eastern and Western Melodic Variants	402
Dialectical Variation.....	403
Eastern Variants of OCCIDENTANA.....	405
German Regional Subgroups.....	406
The Zone of Transition	407
Sequences of Local or Limited Distribution.....	408
<i>Hec est dies quam fecit pater</i>	409
<i>Gaude virgo mater Xristi</i>	414
<i>Scriba doctus</i>	416
<i>In hiis solemnitatiis</i>	423
<i>Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus</i>	430
Summary.....	436
Conclusion	437
VI. MUSIC FOR THE OFFICE: CASE STUDIES IN THE REPERTOIRE OF THE PREETZ ANTIPHONER.....	438
The Office of St. Blaise	442
Origins	442
The Texts	443
Review of Literature on Style and Chronology in Office Composition.....	444

Chapter	Page
Proper Offices for St. Blaise.....	451
Composition of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise	453
Matins Antiphons and their Relationship to Received Models	455
Double Antiphons.....	459
The Matins Antiphons of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	469
Summary: Modally Ordered Matins Antiphons in the Office of St Blaise	493
Modality of the Mode 4 Antiphons of the Preetz Office for Saint Blaise	494
Mode 4 Antiphons in the Late Style.....	505
A Lost Office of Reginold of Eichstätt?.....	510
Responsories of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise	519
Form in Responsories for the Offices of St. Blaise and St. Nicholas.....	522
An Aesthetic of Reduplication	534
Implications for Composition and Transmission	535
Historia <i>Universa plebs fidelis</i> for St. Matthias	539
Summary	540
VII. CONCLUSION.....	541

Chapter	Page
APPENDICES	
A. CLOISTER ENTRANCE RITES IN THE <i>BUCH IM CHOR</i>	547
B. TEXTS OF THE PREETZ OFFICE FOR ST. BLAISE COMPARED WITH SELECTIONS FROM VITA BHL 1377	550
C. FOUR PROPER OFFICES FOR ST. BLAISE	556
D. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.....	561
E. ABBREVIATIONS.....	564
REFERENCES CITED	565

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
3.1. Fourteenth-century Choir Stool Depicting Child Oblation	107
4.1. Outside Cover of the Preetz Gradual	193
4.2. Preetz Gradual, Typical Damage	194
4.3. Codicological Reconstruction of the Preetz Gradual, Gatherings 1–8.	197
4.4. Codicological Reconstruction of the Preetz Gradual, Gatherings 9–14	198
4.5. Sample undamaged page; Scribe 1/Notator A, Preetz Gradual	203
4.6. D-AAm 13, Aachen, Thirteenth Century	213
4.7. D-KNa W 270, Aachen ca.1339	213
4.8. D-Bsb 4 ° 664, Trier, Thirteenth Century.	214
4.9. NI-Uu 417, Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Utrecht	214
4.10. D-Bsb 2 °487, Augustinian, Lower Rhine (circa 1350–1400)	215
4.11. Change in Style Between Gatherings 3 and 4, Preetz Gradual.....	216
4.12. Opening Between Gathering 5 and Gathering 6, Preetz Gradual	217
4.13. Identical Minims and Virgae, Preetz Gradual	218
4.14. B-DEa ms. Cod. 9, the Hildegard Codex, Late Twelfth Century	220
4.15. The Koblenz Missal, Thirteenth Century	220
4.16. Marginal Addition in the Hand of Notator D	222
4.17. Hand of Notator G on Sixteenth-century Replacement Folio	223
4.18. <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Agnus dei</i> Melodies in the Hand of Notator I, Preetz Antiphoner	226
4.19. Marginal Neumed Ordinary Incipits in the Hand of Scribe 1/Notator A, Preetz Gradual	228

Figure	Page
4.20. Puzzle Initials with Filigree Pen Work, Preetz Gradual	231
4.21. Picture Initial <i>H</i> Painted around Notation, Preetz Gradual.....	232
4.22. Example of Unfinished Pen Work, Preetz Gradual	232
4.23. Example of Aurea’s Initial and Pen Work Styles, Preetz Gradual	236
4.24. Example of An Ornate Initial in Aurea’s Hand, Preetz Gradual	238
4.25. Detail of Initial <i>O</i> from the Sequence <i>O beata beatorum</i> , Preetz Gradual.....	239
4.26. Example of Mixed Puzzle and Flower Styles, from the Kyriale of the Preetz Gradual	239
4.27. Yellow Ink Used in Initial <i>L</i> and Marginal Oak Leaves in Powdered Gold, Preetz Gradual	241
4.28. Feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist, Preetz Gradual.....	243
4.29. Easter Sunday, Preetz Gradual	245
4.30. Introit <i>Resurrexi</i> , ‘Codex Gisle,’ D-OS Ma 101	246
4.31. Detail of Checkerboard Initials with Rondelle Motifs	249
4.32. Example of Checkerboard Initial with Rondella’s Interior Pen Work	250
4.33. Flora’s Pen Work.....	252
4.34. Example of Flora’s Pen Work Embellishing <i>R</i> of <i>Rorate</i>	253
4.35. Flora’s Interior and Exterior Pen Work.....	254
4.36. Example of a Star Initial	255
4.37. Star Initials with Rondella’s Filigree Pen Work.....	256
4.38. Puzzle Initial <i>P</i> of the Introit <i>Puer natus est</i> , D-LÜh 2° 11	259
4.39. Puzzle Initial <i>P</i> of the Introit <i>Puer natus est</i> , D-LÜh 2° 40	260

Figure	Page
4.40. Puzzle Initial <i>P</i> of the Introit <i>Puer natus est</i> , DK-Kk Thott 147	261
4.41. Puzzle Initial <i>P</i> of the Introit <i>Puer natus est</i> , DK-Kk Gl. Kgl. S.169	261
4.42. Puzzle Initial <i>D</i> of the Introit <i>Dum clamarem</i> , D-Bsb 2° 487	262
4.43. Outside Cover of the Preetz Antiphoner.....	267
4.44. Example of a Damaged Page, Preetz Antiphoner.....	268
4.45. Codicological Diagram of the Preetz Antiphoner (Gatherings 1–6).	269
4.46. Codicological Diagram of the Preetz Antiphoner (Gatherings 7–12).	270
4.47. Sample Page, Preetz Antiphoner,	276
4.48. First Page of Inserted Bifolio, Office for St. Matthias, Preetz Antiphoner	279
4.49. Detail of Preetz Antiphoner	280
4.50. Rubricator Corrects Melodies, Preetz Antiphoner.....	281
4.51. Example of Run-over Symbol	282
4.52. Large initial <i>B</i> of R. <i>Benedictus</i> , Feast of St. Scholastica	283
4.53. Painted Champie Initials Partially Obscuring Rubrics	285
4.54. Champie Initial, Zouch Hours	286
4.55. Historiated Initial with Bar Border, D-Dül 9.....	287
4.56. Champie Initial with Bar Borders, Shøyen Collection, ms.1368	289
4.57. Columnar Borders with Diamond and Flower Motifs.....	290
4.58. Columnar Borders with Diamond and Flower Motifs.....	291
4.59. Canon Tables, Evangeliar Preetz.....	292
4.60. Example of Combined Motifs: Bar Borders and Geometric Columns.....	294
4.61. Marginal Illumination, Feast of Saint Benedict.....	295

Figure	Page
4.62. Marginal Illumination, Feast of St. Sebastian	296
4.63. Detail, Fourteenth-century Choir Stool with Oak Leaf Motif	299
5.1. Troped Introit <i>Etenim sederunt</i>	309
5.2. John as <i>Scriba maiestatis</i>	419
5.3. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> with <i>Ornant te</i> Refrain	433
5.4. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> with <i>Ornant te</i> Refrain, D-LÜh 2° 17, Lübeck Cathedral...	435

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1. Summary of the Contents of the <i>Buch im Chor</i>	40
2.2. Advent Cycle of Votive Masses	50
2.3. Lenten Cycle of Votive Masses.....	55
2.4. Easter Cycle of Votive Masses.....	55
2.5. Summer Cycle of Votive Masses	56
2.6. Antiphons and Psalms for the Little Matins	73
2.7. The Little Matins in Advent	74
2.8. Compline and Matins, Pre- and Post-Reform.....	95
4.1. Summary of Collation and Contents of the Preetz Gradual	200
4.2. Original Textual Scribes of the Preetz Liturgical Books.....	205
4.3. Notational Hands from Kloster Preetz and Regional Manuscripts.....	209
4.4. Summary of Collation and Contents of the Preetz Antiphoner	271
4.5. Extant Advent Sunday Responsories from the Preetz Antiphoner.....	274
5.1. Trope Elements for the Introit <i>In Medio</i>	311
5.2. Trope Elements for the Introit <i>Etenim sederunt</i>	313
5.3. Post-Pentecost Sunday Alleluia Verses.....	326
5.4. Easter Week Alleluia Verses	328
5.5. Previously Undocumented Alleluias	330
5.6. Sequence Repertoire of Kloster Preetz.....	347
5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Preetz and Lübeck	354
5.8. Sequences for Easter Week	369

Table	Page
6.1. Matins Antiphons in Secular and Monastic Types of the St. Nicolas Office.....	513
6.2. Comparison of Responsories from Four Proper Offices for St. Blaise	522

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Musical Example	Page
2.1. <i>Gaudendum nobis est</i> , D-LÜh 2° 11	77
2.2. <i>Hec est dies</i> , D-OSd GE 01	78
2.3. <i>O flos florum</i> , D-LÜh 2° 11	79
3.1. R. <i>Absolve domine</i> , D-OSd GE 01	123
3.2. <i>Sanctifica nos</i> , NL-Uu 406	138
3.3. R. <i>Visita quesumus domine</i> , A-KN 1012	139
3.4. R. <i>Benedic domine domum istam</i> , D-OSd GE 01	141
3.5. <i>Nesciens mater</i> , NL-Uu 406	143
3.6. <i>Magnum hereditatis</i> , NL-Uu 406	144
3.7. <i>Que est ista</i> , D-Fru Hs. 1500, 14	155
3.8. <i>Fiat cor meum</i> , NL-Uu 406	159
3.9. <i>Regnum mundi</i> , D-Fru Hs. 1500, 14	161
3.10. <i>Veni in ortum meum</i> , NL-Uu 406	163
5.1. Troped Introit <i>Etenim sederunt</i>	316
5.2. <i>Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes</i>	332
5.3. <i>Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem</i>	334
5.4. <i>Alleluia, Felix summi sponsa regis</i>	336
5.5. <i>Alleluia, Regina misericordie</i>	339
5.6. <i>Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix</i>	341
5.7. <i>Sancti merita Benedicti</i>	373

Musical Example	Page
5.8. Added verses for <i>Sancti spiritus assit</i>	378
5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS	384
5.10. <i>Hec dies est quam fecit pater</i>	410
5.11. <i>Gaude virgo mater Xristi</i>	415
5.12. <i>Scriba doctus</i>	417
5.13. <i>In hiis solemnitatis</i> , D-LÜh ms. theol. lat 2°12	425
5.14. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> , G-mode versions	429
5.15. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> , F-mode versions.....	430
5.16. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> , Versicles 1a–1b, Preetz Gradual and Preetz Stadtkirche Missal.....	431
5.17. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> , versicles 1a–1b, D-LÜh 17 and Preetz Gradual.....	431
5.18. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> , versicles 6a–6b, D-LÜh 17 and Preetz Gradual.....	432
5.19. <i>Letabundus exultet</i> , Versicles 1a–1b with <i>Ornante</i> Refrain.....	434
6.1. <i>Hec est virgo sapiens</i> (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Text of Two Phrases).....	457
6.2. <i>Erant autem</i> (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Text of Three Phrases.....	457
6.3. <i>Sancta dei genitrix</i> (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Text of Four Phrases).....	458
6.4. <i>Ego sum lux</i> (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Double Antiphon)	461
6.5. <i>Libera me domine</i> (Mode 1, Melody “C”)	463
6.6. <i>Luciano venerabili</i> (Mode 1 Melody “C,” Double Antiphon)	464
6.7. <i>Beatus Blasius</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	472
6.8. <i>In patiencia</i> (Mode 2 Model Melody)	474
6.9. <i>Erat enim</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	475

Musical Example	Page
6.10. <i>Si quis per me</i> (Mode 3 Model Melody).....	476
6.11. <i>Instante</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	477
6.12. <i>Saepe expugnaverunt</i> (Mode 4 Model Melody).....	478
6.13. <i>Ibi magnis</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	479
6.14. Mode 5 <i>Bene fundata est</i> (Mode 5 Model Melody)	481
6.15. <i>Si quo ex illis</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	482
6.16. <i>Hiis et talibus</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	483
6.17. Opening Phrases of <i>O Xristi pietas</i> and <i>Hiis et talibus</i>	485
6.18. <i>Hauretis aquas</i> (Mode 7 Model Melody).....	486
6.19. <i>Idcirco hec tormenta</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	487
6.20. <i>Memento mei domine</i> (Mode 8 Model Melody).....	489
6.21. <i>Cum videret</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	489
6.22. <i>Ineffabile illud gaudium</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	492
6.23. <i>Sancti Blasi martyr</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	496
6.24. <i>Domine rex eterne</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	498
6.25. <i>Sancte Blasi intercede</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	500
6.26. <i>O vera summa</i> , Office for the Trinity	502
6.27. <i>Auro virginum</i> , Office for St. Nicolas	504
6.28. <i>Adest nobis celeberrimus dies</i> , Office for St. Blaise	506
6.29. <i>Sacerdotem et martirem</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	509
6.30. Four Mode 1 Antiphon Melodies	515
6.31. Mode 7 Antiphons <i>Pontifices almi</i> and <i>Idcirco hec tormenta</i>	517

Musical Example	Page
6.32. R. <i>Martyr Blasius iterum</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	520
6.33. Simplified Melody of R. <i>Cesus fustibus</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise.....	528
6.34. R. <i>Cesus fustibus</i> , Preetz Office for St. Blaise	529
6.35. Simplified Melody of R. <i>Qui cum audissent</i> , Office of St. Nicolas	530
6.36. R. <i>Qui cum audissent</i> , Office of St. Nicolas.....	531

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The former Benedictine convent of Kloster Preetz lies in the extreme north of Germany in the state of Schleswig-Holstein, just outside of the small town of Preetz, located between the cities of Lübeck and Kiel. The convent has been of great interest to art historians due to descriptions of specific artworks and donor relations detailed in the so-called *Buch im Chor* of Anna von Buchwald, prioress of the convent from 1484 to 1508.¹ Composed over the course of sixteen years (1471–1487), the *Buch im Chor* is an idiosyncratic manuscript whose main purpose was to supplement the community's now lost *liber ordinarius*. As such, the book gives extensive information about the musical and liturgical practices of the community, and is valuable as a source for understanding women's Benedictine musical traditions in Germany in the late fifteenth century, a period of marked ecclesiastical and monastic reform.

My investigation of the *Buch im Chor* began when the art historian Jeffrey F. Hamburger generously provided me with a microfilmed copy of the manuscript in the summer of 2005. In the summer of 2006, I was permitted brief access to the Kloster Preetz archive, where I photographed two sources from the cloister. Both previously unknown to musicologists, they are D-PREk Reihe V G1, an antiphoner that covers Advent through Lent of the Temporale and the winter portion of the Sanctorale, and D-PREk Reihe V G1, a gradual that covers the full liturgical year; hereafter I refer to these

¹ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998): 67. I will continue to use the name *Buch im Chor* that has been transmitted in the secondary literature since the nineteenth century. Anna herself referred to her book as the *Initien Bok*: in the future, it may be advisable to adopt the author's own terminology.

two sources as the Preetz Antiphonary and Preetz Gradual, respectively. My identification in 2008 of eight additional leaves of the Preetz Gradual was followed by a second, longer archival visit, at which time I was allowed access to a digital facsimile of Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor*. Unbeknownst to me at that time, the musicologist Victoria Goncharova had recently surveyed the *Buch im Chor*, translating selected passages of Anna's book in her introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript Tallinn, Historical Museum, MS 237.1.228a (XIX.184; 24075), a sixteenth-century liturgical book believed to be from Kloster Preetz.² The first modern scholarly attention given to the two older sources – i.e., the Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner — can be found in economic historian Johannes Rosenplänter's then unpublished dissertation which the author generously shared with me in 2008.³ A review of the secondary literature, germane to each chapter, will be conducted for each chapter in turn.

Chapter II of my dissertation examines the *Buch im Chor* for what it reveals about the musical and liturgical practices of Kloster Preetz, and about the responsibilities of the cantrix in managing the *opus dei* of the sung office and mass. I argue that the cloister practiced an unusually elaborate form of the liturgy, even in the context of increasing complexity of liturgy in the late Middle Ages. In addition to the daily mass and eight canonical hours of the divine office, the cloister observed an intricate weekly cycle of

² See Tallin, *Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Tallinn, Historical Museum), MS 237.1.228a (XIX.184; 24075)*, edited by Victoria Goncharova, Publications of mediaeval musical manuscripts, no. 35 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2008). Goncharova concludes that the Tallinn manuscript was for the use of the priests of Kloster Preetz, and not the nuns themselves. I submit that it is equally possible that the manuscript was used by the town church of Preetz, and not the convent.

³ Johannes Rosenplänter, "Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft. Sozialgefüge, Wirtschaftsbeziehungen und religiöser Alltag eines holsteinischen Frauenklosters um 1210–1550" (PhD diss., Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 2006). While Rosenplänter's dissertation was published in 2009, it has not yet become available to me; thus I will continue to refer to the unpublished version.

daily votive masses, which changed according to the liturgical season. The demands of this votive cycle added to the perennial challenge of coordinating the overlapping cycles of Temporale and Sanctorale, suggesting that the cantrix's task of liturgical scheduling was more complex at Preetz than in other documented religious communities.

Additionally, the cloister sang a daily Marian office, known today as little office of the Virgin Mary, which ran parallel to the canonical divine office, as well as a 12-lesson commemorative Matins of the Virgin every Saturday morning. These observances, along with the assorted non-canonical observances practiced by the community, resulted in a full and complex schedule at Kloster Preetz. Moreover, it seems that the community's *liber ordinarius*—a book that typically provided instructions for the performance of the liturgy and its music throughout the liturgical year—was no longer providing the necessary information to make all of the scheduling decisions with which Anna was faced as cantrix. Thus, the demands posed by the cloister's liturgical scheduling motivated for Anna's *Buch im Chor*. I propose that while the *Buch im Chor* was primarily driven by internal concerns, it is also possible to interpret the book as protecting the cloister's liturgical and musical practices, and the authority of the convent's female leadership to oversee its ritual life, against the incursion of outside regulation in the form of the Bursfeld reform movement.

I will also argue that the *Buch im Chor* reveals a spectrum of musical and liturgical activities that ranged from those that were the most determined, and over which the female leadership of the convent had the least choice, to those that were the least determined and were independently managed the convent. Placing activities on this

spectrum can assist in understanding the responsibilities of the cantrix, and also the degree of leeway that she had in making liturgico-musical decisions.

The final part of this chapter will describe Anna's encounter with an episcopal visitation following her election to the position of prioress in 1484, and an explanation of the reforms that followed this meeting.

Chapter III examines the musical and liturgical roles of the children of Kloster Preetz as reflected in Anna's *Buch im Chor*. After addressing the terminology used to refer to the cloister's children, I will argue that both the "spiritual children" (i.e. the convent's child oblates) and the so-called "worldly children" of the cloister's school played an important part in the liturgy of the community, singing parts of the daily office, masses, and particularly in Sunday and festal processions. This discussion also presents musical examples of processional music known to have been sung by the children, as reconstructed from other northern sources. I will also present evidence showing that a group of female, possibly "professional" singers from outside the convent: it is clear that they were engaged to supplement the children's choir, and occasionally, at least, to substitute for certain children in their choir duties. I consider who these outside singers may have been: current students or alumnae of the cloister's school, or older women who joined the community as lay corrodians. I further examine Anna's descriptions of the rules governing children's lives in the convent, and the training of young singers in cantorial duties. Finally, I turn to Anna's notes regarding cloister entrance ceremonies. I will describe these rites in the context of fifteenth-century reform of child oblation practices, arguing that the Preetz rites are of a unique, semi-reformed type.

Chapter IV presents a description of the codicology and decoration of the two musical manuscripts remaining in the cloister's archive, the Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner, along with an analysis of their scripts and notation. Although both books have been badly damaged due to the removal of decorated folios and initials, interior evidence from these manuscripts attests to the presence in the convent of a scriptorium. Moreover, they show the ongoing tradition of a house notational lineage that was markedly different from that of the surrounding diocese.

Chapter V offers a discussion of music for the mass as reflected in the Preetz Gradual, focusing on the genres of introit trope, alleluia and sequence. The presence of proprium tropes for the feasts following Christmas in this chant book qualifies the manuscript as an example of a *Kurztropar*, or short troper—albeit one that has been fully integrated within the gradual. I will present a study of the trope sets found in this source, discussing their origins. A synoptic transcription of the trope set for the introit *Etenim sederunt* suggests a comparatively early transmission of a melodically conservative trope set as found in the Preetz Gradual. As for the genre of alleluia, a study of the repertoire of Easter and post-Pentecost Sunday alleluia verses suggests a possible relationship to the reformed alleluia series preserved in the manuscript I-Rvat 181 (perhaps from Erfurt), and possibly to the liturgical predecessor of the ordering eventually promulgated by the Bursfeld reform movement. As for newer repertoire, the Preetz Gradual transmits six alleluias that were previously undocumented and have a limited manuscript distribution.⁴

In terms of sequences, I compare the extant repertoire of Kloster Preetz to those in other

⁴ See Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien I: bis 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968); *Alleluia-Melodien II: ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 8, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987); and idem, "Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire," edited by Bruno Stäblein. Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (München: Walther Riecke, 1965).

surviving manuscripts from the Diocese of Lübeck, showing that the cloister maintained a rich and unique selection of sequences. A case study of variants of the melody OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS confirms a Rhenish origin for the earliest repertoire. A study of four late sequences of local or regional distribution show the complexity of textual references and theological ideas in late examples of the genre, often simply dismissed as contrafacta of little significance. Finally, I argue that the cloister's uniquely expanded and ornamented version of the sequence *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus* speaks to the Marian devotion of the convent, hints at its imperial origins, and serves as self-depiction of the nuns' devotional singing.

Chapter VI turns to music for the divine office, as preserved in the Preetz Antiphoner. A case study of a unique office for St. Blaise contained therein focuses on the form of the double antiphon. I argue that this form represents a unique adaptation of received antiphon melodies that attests to a tenth-century origin for the office. A case study of mode 4 antiphons from the office helps in the identification of different layers of music in the office spanning several centuries of composition. Finally, relying on interior and exterior evidence, I argue that the Preetz office for St. Blaise is possibly a lost composition of renowned tenth-century composer Reginold of Eichstätt. An office for St. Matthias that was later added to the Preetz Antiphoner bespeaks a liturgical connection to the use of Trier. I suggest that this office may have been received during the years of influence from the Bursfeld reform movement, whose liturgy was influenced by that of Trier, most likely transmitted through the nearby Benedictine men's house of Kloster Cismar.

Historical Background

The Benedictine convent in Preetz (originally Porez) was founded circa 1211–1216. During the thirteenth century, the convent was relocated and renewed several times due to political struggles among local power holders, the diocese of Lübeck, and the Danish governor. An order from the bishop of Lübeck in 1220 gave the convent a role in the German colonization of the area, and promised an extensive foundation based on tithing of agricultural land and natural resources.⁵ To aid in the establishment of local parish churches and to serve the growing population of German colonists, the bishop of Lübeck moved the convent from place to place, changing location once the foundation for each new parish church had been successfully established. By 1260, the convent had moved to its present-day location just outside of the town center of Preetz.⁶

From the thirteenth century on, the convent had a bipartite leadership comprised of the provost, a male cleric who oversaw the administration and pastoral needs of the nuns, and an elected prioress who headed the convent itself. In addition, a lay representative from the local noble organization known as the Holstein knighthood served to protect the convent from assault. From early on, the convent had a strong relationship with the parish church of Preetz, owing to the former's work in founding local churches: the two institutions even shared a common church building during the early days of the convent. The first provost of the convent, Herderich (Herdericus), was also pastor of the parish church, as were many of his successors.⁷ By the end of the

⁵ Lorenz Hein, "Preetz," in *Die Frauenklöster in Niedersachsen, Schleswig-Holstein, und Bremen*, edited by Ulrich Faust, *Germania Benedictina*, vol. 11: Norddeutschland (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1984): 499.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 499.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 499–502.

thirteenth century, the convent's population of nuns was sizable: in a financial contract from 1286 regulating income between the prioress, convent and provost, Bishop Bucharth von Serken limited the number of nuns residing in the convent to seventy.⁸ A fire in 1307 destroyed the church and convent buildings, and all were rebuilt in their current form during the years 1325–1340.⁹ To summarize, by the mid-fourteenth century, the convent was a large and well-established house, was financially well-supported, and shared a close relationship with the local parish church and the nobility of Holstein.

The war between Denmark and Holstein (1415–1440) financially undermined the convent, for it was expected to provide horses, carts, and other provisions in support of the war effort. Nuns from the convent were sent out as far as Lübeck, Friesland, and Hamburg to collect funds to underwrite war-related projects. Benedictine historian Lorenz Hein has argued that these wartime exigencies forced the nuns increasingly to have contact with the outside world.¹⁰ This contact led Johannes Berthold, bishop of Lübeck, to issue an edict in 1437 forbidding the nuns of Preetz from all contact with men on pain of excommunication. This edict, as well as records of the convent's financial woes, have prompted Hein to depict Kloster Preetz in the mid-fifteenth century as a community in dire need of spiritual and financial reform.¹²

Fifteenth-century Reforms

The fifteenth century witnessed the two great reformist councils of Constance and Basel. North of the river Main, reform within the Benedictine order was led by the

⁸ Ibid., 501.

⁹ Ibid., 502.

¹⁰ Ibid., 503.

¹² Ibid., 502–504.

Bursfeld Congregation, as initiated by Johannes Hagen (1439–1469) and endorsed by Pope Pius II in 1459. While Preetz never became an official member of the Bursfeld Union, Hein proposes that the community came under the influence of the movement through Abbot Hagen’s reform of the nearby Benedictine monastery of Cismar, located in East Holstein. He points to the *Buch im Chor* of Prioress of Anna von Buchwald as a “milestone of this development” and “breathing the spirit of the Bursfeld renewal,” a characterization with which I will take issue throughout this document.¹³

The Bursfeld Reform and Women’s Communities

According to Edeltraud Kluebing, the primary goal of the Bursfeld reform was to re-establish the observance of the Benedictine rule to the letter of the law. It engaged its members in the strict maintenance of their vows, and sought to reaffirm the communal life of the abbey and convent, curbing the detrimental influence of social hierarchy and personal wealth within the community. This renewal involved the social restructuring of convents as a means of breaking the privilege of the nobility within Benedictine communities. Kluebing comments that, while this goal was attained in male communities, the doors of convents “remained closed to the daughters of the bourgeoisie.”¹⁴ In terms of the liturgy, one of the Bursfeld reform’s primary preoccupations was to renew an ideal of extreme simplicity in which all unnecessary expenditures were eliminated. In order to attain uniformity within the divine office, a *liber ordinarius* and a *ceremoniale* regulating

¹³ Ibid., 503.

¹⁴ Edeltraud Kluebing, “Les Pouvoirs des Abbesses dans les Couvents de Femmes de la Congrégation de Bursfeld,” in *Les Religieuses dans le Cloître et dans le Monde des Origines à Nos Jours*, edited by Nicole Bouter (Saint-Etienne: Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux, Université Jean Monnet, 1994), 224.

daily life appeared in the mid-fifteenth century. Both books were compiled under the order of the Chapter General, a representative committee of monasteries formally included in the Bursfeld Union, with separate versions for men's and women's communities.¹⁵

Unlike the male communities that became members of the Bursfeld Union, female communities were never fully incorporated within the union. With few exceptions, female communities were only integrated into the Bursfeld Union if they were already associated with a male congregation that became a Union member. Abbesses had no right to participate in the Chapter General of the Bursfeld Union, and therefore effectively had no voice within the organization. However, convents associated with the Bursfeld Union, while not full members, were required to live according the Bursfeld observance, to submit to the visitation of the Bursfeld abbots, and to provide regular payments to the Chapter General.¹⁶

The Bursfeld reform furthermore weakened the power of abbesses over their own communities, with many of their previous powers transferred to the Chapter General of the Bursfeld Union. According to the rule of St. Benedict, the abbot or abbess was accorded absolute power over his or her community. The reforms of the fifteenth century significantly reduced the power of the abbess, who until that time, had held an authority

¹⁵ Ibid., 223–224. Klueting adds that the only extant manuscript of the Bursfeld *ceremoniale* for women's communities, D-HVsta Ms. Z5, was burned in 1944. Klueting's research is based on an eighteenth-century redaction of the *ceremoniale* from the abbey of Herzebrock in Westphalia. Eva Schlotheuber reports another surviving copy of the Bursfeld *ceremoniale* the manuscript D-KBa Hs.70, 1495. See Schlotheuber, "Ebstorf und seine Schulerinnen," in *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter. Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24.–26. Febr. 1999*, edited by Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlotheuber, and Volker Honemann, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 99 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 90.

¹⁶ Ibid., 228–229.

and power equal to that of her male counterpart. Under the Bursfeld reform, strict enclosure was imposed upon women's communities, whose leadership regarding affairs with the outside world was subsumed by a male superior. The right to elect or dismiss the abbess and the overall administrative control of the convent shifted to an abbot-commissioner assigned to the convent. The abbess, nuns, and lay sisters associated with the convent all had to swear an oath of obedience to the abbot-commissioner who had ultimate authority over issues of enclosure, the convent novitiate, and the vows of the nuns. According to Klueting, these reforms resulted in economic losses for convents, and a reduction in the number of novices.¹⁸ At the same time, she gives evidence to suggest that these reforms were not altogether accepted, but rather met with some resistance, particularly in the question of the election of new abbesses.¹⁹ Klueting concludes that while the autonomy of women's houses was greatly reduced, they traded it for an association with a Union that oriented them towards a more uniform set of customs and presumably, organizational status and legitimacy.²⁰

It is against this historical background that I will examine the *Buch im Chor* and the music and liturgy of Preetz. I maintain that while neither the musical manuscripts nor the *Buch im Chor* were direct products of the Bursfeld reform, selected details in Anna's writing suggest that part of her book was in part written due to the fact that the cloister's musical and liturgical practices were being subjected to unprecedented outside scrutiny, and that liturgical autonomy and the authority of its female leadership were being called

¹⁸ Klueting, "Les pouvoirs des abbesses," 230–231.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 232–237.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 282.

into question. It is in this light that I turn to an examination of Anna's *Buch im Chor*, the subject of Chapter II.

Conventions of Orthography, Transcription, and Citation

All transcriptions and translations are mine, unless otherwise noted. My transcriptions preserve the orthography of the medieval Latin found in the manuscript sources: thus, the classical *haec* is written as *hec*, *iuvenculae* as *iuvencule*, *Christus* as *Xristus*, and so forth. Standard scribal abbreviations have been expanded without comment. Transcriptions from secondary sources will respect the orthography used by the authors of those sources. Chant incipits are given in italics. Because between ca. 900 to ca. 1100 sequence melodies were traditionally also circulated with melody names given in either majuscule or rustic capitals in the manuscripts, I have identified these melody names in small capitals. Thus, the texted sequence *Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia* was set to the melody known as OCCIDENTANA. Sequences from the edition *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* will be referred to by volume number and reference number, separated by a comma. Thus the second sequence in volume 54 will be cited as AH 54, 2. Editorial comments will be cited by AH volume number: page number.

All transcriptions are mine, unless otherwise noted. Latin prose will be transcribed in regular font, with embedded texts given in italics, and boldface used to indicate notated portions of the text. Note names will be italicized to distinguish them from the surrounding text. Notes from *A* below middle *C* through *G* above middle *C* will be written in capital letters. Notes from *a* above middle *C* to *g* above the treble clef will be written in small-case letters. Musical examples from the Preetz manuscripts will be

transcribed in treble clef to reflect their performance by women's voices. Examples from other manuscript sources will likewise be transcribed in treble clef for ease of comparison.

All photographs are mine, unless otherwise noted. Manuscript sigla will follow the conventions of RISM (Répertoire International de Sources Musicales). Thus, for example, in the RISM siglum D-PREk Reihe V G1, *D* represents the country code (Germany) *PRE* the city (Preetz), *k* the owning institution (Klosterarchiv) and *V G1*, the owning institution's shelfmark. Full citations of manuscripts transcribed, photographed, and surveyed can be found in Appendix D, "List of Manuscript Sigla."

CHAPTER II
LITURGY AND REFORM
IN ANNA VON BUCHWALD'S
BUCH IM CHOR

This chapter will describe aspects of the late fifteenth-century liturgy of Kloster Preetz as reflected in Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* (1471–1487). My analysis of the *Buch im Chor* will focus on the Latin portions of the book that address the liturgical order of the community. I will pay particular attention to those elements of the cloister's liturgical schedule that necessitated the book to be written, foremost among which was the unusually complex votive cycle maintained by the community. This weekly votive cycle prescribed two daily votive masses, in addition to the observation of feasts of the Temporale and Sanctorale. Unlike votive mass cycles described elsewhere, the cycle at Preetz was unusual in that its assignments of masses changed according to the liturgical season. The presence of this rich and dynamic cycle added an extra layer of complexity to the Benedictine monastic liturgy as practiced at Preetz. Many of the entries in the *Buch im Chor* have to do with establishing, on a case-by-case basis, the priority of masses in the Sanctorale, Temporale and votive cycles in order to plan the daily schedule of masses, the divine office, and other observances.

Part of the weekly votive cycle was comprised of memorial masses said on behalf of deceased patrons of the convent. The memorial culture of Kloster Preetz included masses said for several centuries of patrons. Many of the cloister's patrons, who donated

money, land, and goods to the cloister in exchange for the nuns' prayers, were related to the religious women of the convent. Thus the prayers for the dead constituted not only an important means of financial revenue for the community, but also supported the cloister's continued relationship with the families of its members, and with the political elite of the region.¹ Prayer for the dead was a critical part of the convent's spiritual work, and the schedule of memorial masses represented an important aspect of liturgical planning at Kloster Preetz.

The Marian votive office also constituted an important part of the daily ritual of Kloster Preetz, comprised of the little office of the Blessed Virgin, referred to as the *pervae hore* (*parvae horae*, or "little hours") and a commemorative Matins sung each Saturday. I will present evidence that shows that the little office, like the hours of the canonical divine office which it paralleled, also changed according to the liturgical season, and borrowed material from the canonical liturgy into its repertoire. In addition, I will discuss the convent's practice of singing the twelve-lesson Matins of the Assumption as a commemorative office of the Virgin on Saturday mornings. Unlike the commemorative office elsewhere, this Marian Matins was said in addition to the Matins of the divine office, instead of replacing the latter Matins, as was the usual practice. This practice led to some difficulties and redundancies in the liturgy, and this practice was one aspect of the cloister's liturgy that Anna sought to reform.

Regarding the genre of the *Buch im Chor*, I argue that it was written as a supplement to an existing house ordinal. Anna's book falls between the genre of ordinal,

¹ On memorial culture and its role in maintaining social networks, see Gudrun Gleba, *Klöster und Orden im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), 42–43.

customary, and reformed nuns' ceremonial.² As I have suggested above, the difficulties Anna encountered as cantrix consisted, in large part, of calendrical problems caused by the interaction of the multiple cycles of the liturgical calendar, including not only the feasts of the Temporale and Sanctorale, but also the rich weekly calendar of votive observances maintained by the community. The book also reflects liturgical practice from the point of view of the female leadership of the convent, as opposed to that of male reformers or the clergy that served the community. As such, it represents a unique book type that acts as a mirror of Benedictine women's liturgical practice in the late fifteenth century, and a late example of the practice of the Benedictine *vita contemplativa*. The book also allows us to see the powers and responsibilities of office of the cantrix.³ To explain the cantrix's role, I will introduce notion of a spectrum of regulation and control in liturgical practice that had an inverse relationship to the amount of choice and responsibility on the part of the cantrix. At the most regulated end of the spectrum were the masses celebrated according to the liturgical calendar, at the middle of the spectrum was the canonical office, and at the less regulated end of the spectrum were the votive masses and non-canonical practices over which the cantrix had more choice and responsibilities. It appears that the house's ordinal did not prescribe the order of these votive observances in detail. The cantrix of Kloster Preetz thus had much leeway to decide liturgical, musical, and calendrical matters not determined by the house ordinal: she was responsible for ordering these practices and for integrating them into the canonical liturgical calendar. In this way, Anna's book can be seen as a mirror of those

² See Aimé Georges Martimort, *Les "Ordines," les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, fasc. 56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 62–67.

³ The word *cantrix* is ambiguous—it may refer to either the office of the cantrix, or to any singer performing a cantorial function—and thus its meaning must be considered in context.

areas of liturgical life over which the cantrix must make decisions: those areas which were both her purview and her responsibility.

I will furthermore argue that Anna also sought to order those activities that fell outside of the scope of the liturgical calendar and the canonical office—activities often described as paraliturgical or votive. I will argue that these non-canonical liturgical activities should be considered an area of particular importance in a women's community. Because these areas of the community's ritual life were neither ordered by a typical *liber ordinarius*, nor required clerical officiation, the convent could be described as autonomous in carrying out these activities. Anna's book is an attempt to order and rationalize these elements within the order of canonical liturgy as dictated by the cloister's ordinal and the Benedictine Rule.

I will also put forth the thesis that the *Buch im Chor* should be read as an attempt to preserve the cloister's liturgical autonomy in the face of outside reform. Anna's book has previously been characterized variously as "imbued with the spirit of the Bursfeld reform" or as "reform from within." I will suggest that while both statements are true in part, and that the impulse for Anna's enormous effort to order and reform the liturgy of Kloster Preetz in the *Buch im Chor* may be read as an attempt to solidify the authority of convent leadership and the legitimacy of its practices in the face of the incursion of reform from the outside. In other words, the reform from within may, in fact, have been spurred by the threat of reform from without—that is, by the Bursfeld Reform movement and the threat it represented to the authority and autonomy of the convent's female leadership.

Finally, I will turn to the specific reforms requested by the prioress herself during the episcopal visitation of 1486 by the Bishop of Lübeck and the Abbot of Kloster Cismar. The reforms requested by Anna during this visitation were meant to resolve problems of procedure and scheduling generated by cloister's own calendar and house ordinal, rather than to adhere to standards imposed by the Bursfeld Reform movement. Some of Anna's requests were simply meant to lighten the enormous burden of performing not only the usual cycle of masses and the canonical Benedictine office, but also the little office of the Virgin, daily votive masses, and various other non-canonical observations on a daily and weekly basis. It appears that as cantrix, Anna may have been trying to harmonize a literal reading of the cloister's ordinal, which may or may not have been followed, with received practice as passed on in the cloister's unwritten tradition. This effort may have generated some of the particular difficulties she sought to resolve in her requests for liturgical simplification. In examining the kind of reforms Anna sought, it is important to distinguish between those kinds of decisions that the cantrix was free to make in practice without asking the permission of any higher authority, as opposed to those decisions that were defined by the *liber ordinarius*. In the latter case, Anna had to appeal to higher authorities, namely Bishop Albrecht of Lübeck and Abbot Hinricus of the Benedictine Kloster Cismar.

In sum, I will argue that the *Buch im Chor* is a unique and innovative book type, and that its content reveals the complex and layered liturgy that was practiced at Kloster Preetz. Its idiosyncratic organization and sometimes puzzling instructions reflect an independent effort to establish an order for practices in the cloister's liturgy for which no written order had previously existed. By bringing the cloister's unwritten practices into

the authoritative genre of the *liber ordinarius*, Anna sought to protect both the convent's traditions and the authority of its female leadership.

Methodology

This chapter will translate selected passages from the *Buch im Chor* in order to illustrate the kinds of calendrical problems and non-canonical corporate observances that Anna sought to order. Moreover, these passages will shed light on the daily ritual of the cloister and show why the book needed to be written. Overall, Anna's book reveals how liturgical observance and more mundane cloister activities were intertwined in the lived reality of cloister life. In describing the liturgy of the cloister, I will not attempt to measure the daily liturgical reality of Kloster Preetz against the "normative" practice of men's communities: rather, I will try to describe it in its own terms, for what the community *did* do, as opposed to what they did *not* do. Comparisons with the practices of men's communities as reflected in ordinals and customaries can, however, be helpful in contextualizing the abbreviated language and unexplained references of the *Buch im Chor*. These comparisons also shed light on the responsibilities of the cantrix, and show how certain activities that, in a men's community, would have remained the domain of ordained clergy, lay within the authority of the "unordained" prioress at Kloster Preetz.⁴

Selected musical examples will be transcribed, when available, from the fragmentary Preetz Gradual and Antiphony. To help flesh out an order that provided in the *Buch im Chor* by incipit only, I will supplement the music available in the cloister's fragmentary musical manuscripts with transcriptions from other late medieval notated

⁴ Gary Macy has argued that the historical view that women were not ordained relies on an anachronistic application of a modern definition of the term "ordination." See Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

sources from northern Europe. While these cannot provide specific information about the particular melodic repertoire of Kloster Preetz, they can help in painting a general picture of the cloister's musical practice.

Previous Studies and Genre

While the *Buch im Chor* has been of great interest to historians and literary scholars, studies have tended to focus on the material in the vernacular, while the Latin liturgical instructions that comprise bulk of the original one hundred and forty-four folios of the book have received minimal scholarly attention.⁵

Adam Jessien's 1839 publication of diplomatic records from Kloster Preetz represented the first historical consideration of the *Buch im Chor*. Jessien referred to Anna's book simply as the *Chorbuche* (or choir book); his selected transcriptions included Anna's prefatory poem, donor records, records of repairs to the cloister buildings, lists of the cloister's prioresses and provosts, and Anna's description of the 1486 episcopal visitation, without the following section on reforms requested by the prioress.⁶

Gustav von Buchwald's 1879 article on Anna von Buchwald was the first study to attempt an analysis of the *Buch im Chor*, along with an overview of the cloister's

⁵ Jeffrey H. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Johannes Rosenplänter, *Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft. Sozialgefüge, Wirtschaftsbeziehungen und religiöser Alltag eines holsteinischen Frauenklosters um 1210–1550* (PhD diss., Christian-Albrechts- zu Kiel, 2006)

⁶ Adam Jessien, *Diplomatarium des Klosters Preetz*. Urkundensammlung der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Geschichte, vol.1 (Kiel: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1839–49), 391–404.

economic registers.⁷ Von Buchwald's narrative summary focuses on the vernacular portions of the book that treat primarily non-liturgical topics. He transcribes only those Latin passages that describe specific ceremonial details or narrative accounts. His summary of the liturgical changes at Kloster Preetz is simplistic, and hampered by a lack of familiarity with Catholic music and liturgy, and does not attempt to compare the *Buch im Chor* to other monastic ordinals.⁸ Adam Jessien's transcriptions and Gustav von Buchwald's monograph provided the source for the majority of the subsequent secondary literature on Anna von Buchwald and the *Buch im Chor* for the next century.

In his 1984 description, Benedictine historian Lorenz Hein asserts that in the prescriptions of the *Buch im Chor* "the ordering of songs, prayers, and readings were subjected to liturgical simplification, in order to foster an inner involvement: a turning inward and deepening of faith, which was located in the power of benediction of the divine office: these were the goal of this liturgical reform."⁹ Hein points to the *Buch im Chor* of Prioress Anna von Buchwald as a "milestone of the development" of the Bursfeld Reform, "breathing the spirit of the Bursfeld renewal."¹⁰ As I will show in Chapters V and VI, there is very little evidence to suggest the influence of Bursfeld reform on the calendar or repertoire of Kloster Preetz; nevertheless, the book may have

⁷ Gustav von Buchwald, "Anna von Buchwald. Priörin des Klosters Preetz 1484–1508, nach den ungedruckten Quellen des Klosterarchivs," in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 9 (1879):1–98.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 16–19.

⁹ Lorenz Hein, "Preetz" in *Die Frauenklöster in Niedersachsen, Schleswig-Holstein, und Bremen*. Edited by Ulrich Faust, OSB. Germania Benedictina, Band XI: Norddeutschland (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1984), 503. Translations of Hein are mine.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 503.

been written, in part, in reaction to increased scrutiny from the outside of the cloister's liturgical practices.

More recently, the art historian Jeffrey Hamburger characterized the *Buch im Chor* as “chronicle, diary, account book, Rule, and liturgical handbook all combined into one” and calls an edition of the text “a desideratum, especially as the portion that Anna considered most important, the liturgical instructions, has never been published.”¹¹

Linda Maria Koldau's overview of the of the *Buch im Chor* included in her 2006 survey of musicological sources of nun's music is the first published musicological assessment of the *Buch im Chor*; however, it was based largely on earlier secondary studies by Gustav von Buchwald and Lorenz Hein, and therefore only takes into consideration selected passages transcribed or translated by those authors. Her study did not benefit from access to the original manuscript, and makes no mention of other musical manuscripts in the cloister archive.¹² Nevertheless, Koldau recognized the potential of the manuscript as a source for studying convent musical practices. She concludes:

To date, the *Buch im Chore* of Anna von Buchwald has not been received in Musicology. The innovations in pedagogical methods—unique for the fifteenth century—as well as the exact execution of when and where the choir served in the liturgy make a detailed study of this important source desirable.¹³

¹¹ Jeffrey H. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 67.

¹² Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen–Musik–Kultur: Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005) 671–677.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 675. Translation is mine. The interest in the liturgy and music in the communities of women religious in the German-speaking lands is reflected in the release of several other recent publications: see for instance, Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Verborgene Klänge: Inventar der handschriftlich überlieferten Musik aus den Lüneburger Frauenklöstern bis ca. 1500* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2008); Judith Oliver, *Singing with Angels: Liturgy, Music and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kersenbroeck* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007); Volker Schier, “The Cantus Sororum: Nuns Singing for their Supper, Singing for Saffron, Singing for Salvation,” in *Cantus Planus – Study Group of the International Musicological Society: Papers Read at the Twelfth Meeting, Lillafüred, Hungary, 23–28 August 2004*, edited by László Dobszay, et al. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), 857–870; Corine Schleif and Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows:*

Also completed in 2006, economic historian Johannes Rosenplänter’s dissertation studying the organization, economic situation, and everyday religious practice of Kloster Preetz provides the most detailed and accurate description of the *Buch im Chor*, its liturgical contents, and analysis of its relationship to reform.¹⁴ The author presents several previously unpublished sections from the liturgical portion of the *Buch im Chor* to illustrate problems in liturgical scheduling and the extraordinary Holy Thursday mandatum described in the book, and presents an example that showing the liturgical relationship of the *Buch im Chor* to the Preetz Gradual. Rosenplänter concludes that the *Initien Bok*, or “incipit book” as Anna referred to it, defies conventional genres.¹⁵ Rosenplänter identifies the liturgical portion of the book as a kind of *liber ordinarius* (or ordinal) but acknowledged that a comparative analysis of its contents awaits the creation of a complete edition of the text.¹⁶

Victoria Goncharova’s preface to the facsimile edition of Tallinn, Estonian History Museum, MS 237.1.228a (a Preetz manuscript dating from 1526–27) cites selected passages the *Buch im Chor* to provide liturgical background for the later manuscript. Goncharova’s discussion of the *Buch im Chor* highlights important passages that illustrate the singing duties of nuns, processions, and other points of ceremony.

Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, As Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

¹⁴ Johannes Rosenplänter, “Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft. Sozialgefüge, Wirtschaftsbeziehungen und religiöser Alltag eines holsteinischen Frauenklosters um 1210-1550” (PhD diss., Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 2006), 102–122.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 108–109.

Goncharova describes the *Buch im Chor* as “half ritual, half account book.”¹⁷ She describes the first part of the book as a combination of a *rituale* and a customary, in that it includes both instructions on how to perform the liturgy, including individual singing duties, incipits of which chants are to be sung, and also information about the convent’s customs.¹⁸ Goncharova appears to use the term *rituale* as equivalent to the term *liber ordinarius*: she is the first to suggest that its liturgical portion lies between the genres of ordinary and customary.

I will suggest that the book should more correctly be viewed as an idiosyncratic liturgical manual lying between the genres of ordinal, customary, and ceremonial. Evidence from the text suggests that it was created to supplement an earlier *liber ordinarius* or ordinal that was extant in Anna’s time, but that is now lost—a point that has been overlooked in previous studies of the *Buch im Chor*. As such, the *Buch im Chor* represents an innovative book type, whose contents and format reflect the particular conditions, liturgical practice, and organizational challenges of Anna’s community.

Summary of the Preetz Liturgy: A Spectrum of Liturgical Determination

From elsewhere in Anna’s writing, we learn that the community was in possession of an ordinal, but evidently, it was not enough to determine correct liturgical procedure for all of the convent’s musical and liturgical activities. Anna’s book likely reflects not only the normative practice of the convent as prescribed by the community’s ordinal, but also those unwritten aspects of the convent’s liturgical order and customs that

¹⁷ Victoria Goncharova ed., introduction to *Tallin, Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Tallin, Historical Museum), MS 237.1.228a (XIX.184; 24075)* (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2008), vi.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vi. Goncharova describes the original liturgical portion of the book as fols. 3–105v, and 109–117v. See table 3.1, below, for my view of the content of these sections.

remained flexible and were the cantrix's responsibility to regulate. Seen from the perspective of gender, the book reveals a spectrum of liturgical practices over which the nuns had varying control and responsibility. The more determined a given practice was, the less control and responsibility the cantrix and prioress had over it, and consequently, the less it is discussed in Anna's book. Conversely, the less determined a practice was, the more control and responsibility the prioress and cantrix had over its administration, and the more Anna writes about it. In this spectrum, gender was an important consideration: though women could not be ordained, the cantrix and prioress ironically were responsible for many aspects of the liturgy that in male communities, would have been administered by ordained clergy. Below, I will give a general summary of how the liturgy was practiced at Preetz, before delving into the particular problems that necessitated Anna's book to be written.

The Mass

Two to three masses were celebrated per day at Kloster Preetz. The *prima missa* (first mass) and *summa missa* (high mass) were sung daily. Certain calendrical circumstances could result in two high masses said in one day. For instance, Anna writes that if the feast of Thomas should fall on Saturday of the Ember Days of Advent,

On that day, let two high masses be sung: the first for the Apostle, and when that is finished, let the one for the season begin.¹⁹

A third mass, when required by the liturgical calendar, was usually read.²⁰ However, on some occasions, a third mass was sung in an overlapping fashion with the first mass, as will be discussed further below.

¹⁹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 10v.

The sacramental nature of the mass meant that it had to be officiated by ordained male clergy. In addition to the priests' sacramental duties, it seems that they were usually responsible as well for singing one of the daily masses. During Eastertide, when two alleluias were sung for each mass, nuns and priests sang together in the same mass, with the convent singing one alleluia, and the priests singing the other. As determined by the cloister's own schedule, masses were often preceded or followed by processions in which the children of the community appear to have played an important role.

The number of choices and the degree of responsibility of the cantrix in managing the performance of the mass were considerable. Anna's texts shows that it was the cantrix's responsibility to resolve calendrical conflicts between Temporale, Sanctorale, and an unusually rich weekly votive cycles in order to decide the schedule of masses, and to determine for each mass which proper and ordinary chants should be sung, and by whom. While the proper chants were provided in the Preetz Gradual, the gradual chant, alleluia and sequence of the mass remained mutable elements. In other words, if a mass was repeated, or if it coincided with another feast, these elements might change in response. As for the ordinary chants of the mass, the fragmentary ordinary at the end of the Preetz Gradual does not assign particular ordinaries to particular days: Anna's notes in the *Buch im Chor* and the marginal additions in the Preetz Gradual both reflect cantorial efforts made to regularize this practice.

The Divine Office

As for the divine office, the nuns sang the canonical or "great" hours, that is, the daily hours of prayer as mandated by the of St. Benedict, which followed the liturgical

²⁰ Examples of third, read mass may be found in *ibid.*, fols. 32r, 62r–v, 68v, 69v–70r, 71r, 84r, 89r.

calendar. The canonical office consisted of eight standard hours of sung prayer per day: Matins (up to two and a half hours); Lauds (roughly half an hour); Prime, Terce, Sext, and None (each approximately fifteen minutes); Vespers (about half an hour), and Compline (around twenty minutes.) The nuns usually sang the canonical hours without clerical officiation, but were joined by the priests for the Vespers of solemn feasts. Gisela Muschiol has drawn attention to the fact that especially for women's houses, the daily celebration of the divine office was of greater historical importance than the mass, which was, at times, performed only weekly, or sometimes less frequently. While this had changed by the high middle ages, the divine office continued to hold a special place in women's communities, where it was usually performed without clerical officiation.²¹

In addition to the canonical office at, the community of Kloster Preetz sang the votive or little office (*perve hore*) dedicated to the Virgin Mary on a daily basis. The little office consisted of a cursus of hours parallel to that of the canonical office, but having a somewhat abbreviated format, with texts devoted to the Virgin Mary. Additionally, on Saturday mornings, the shorter, little Matins of the Virgin was replaced by the longer twelve-lesson Matins of the Assumption, sung in addition to the Matins of the canonical office. The practice of singing a Saturday office for the Virgin Mary has been termed the “commemorative office”—normally, this observation would have replaced the hours of the canonical office for that day. At Kloster Preetz, however, the commemorative Matins of the Virgin seemed to replace the Matins of the little office, and was thus sung in

²¹ Gisela Muschiol, “Time and Space: Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages” in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti and translated by Dietlinde Hamburger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 192.

addition to the canonical matins of the day. Like the canonical office, the votive little office and commemorative Matins were usually celebrated without clerical officiation.

The practice of the divine office at Kloster Preetz lies in the middle of the spectrum of determined practice and cantorial choice. The canonical office, while following the rule of St. Benedict, was celebrated in Kloster Preetz largely without clerical officiation: thus, the community was relatively autonomous, and the responsibility of the cantrix was also greater in term of musical choices. While the cloister's Antiphoner in theory did assign musical material for each day of the Sanctorable and Temporale, we learn from Anna's book that there were still considerable choices to be made in how each office was performed, including the integration of multiple observances into one office, and the addition of further devotions in the form of suffrages, memorials, Marian antiphons, and processions. Managing the interplay between the liturgical calendar and the Marian little office and commemorative office were additional factors in the planning and performance of the divine office.

Other Prescribed Rituals

The daily meeting in the convent's chapter house and its associated penitential activities formed another important aspect of convent ritual. Other activities added to the chapter meeting included the monastic *mandatum* or foot-washing, practiced on Saturdays of Advent and Lent, and the *capitulum anime*, or chapter of the departed souls, that was said on a regular basis for deceased sisters and convent patrons. The convent's two daily meals provided another venue for prayer and the reading of biblical and devotional texts. While both the chapter, and table readings were activities prescribed by

the Benedictine Rule, they were overseen by the prioress and seem not to have involved the male clergy. Procedure in the chapterhouse, and the choice of texts read at the table, may thus be considered areas of ritual self-governance.

Non-prescribed Rituals

Other non-canonical corporate activities in the convent included the *collationes*, or “collations,” an evening service of devotional readings and prayers. Other practices based in the recitation of psalms included the *trine oratio*, the reading of specific groups of psalms such as the penitential and so-called “gradual” psalms, and the reading of entire psalters for specific occasions or intentions. These practices lay at the furthest end of the spectrum of regulation, in that they appear neither to have been regulated by the convent’s liturgical books, nor to have involved clerical participation. In these practices, we might describe the convent as ritually autonomous: the prioress and cantrix were responsible for leading a host of corporate observances that have been alternately referred to as “votive,” “para-liturgical,” “devotional” or simply as “accretions to the liturgy.” What these observances have in common is that they were *not* determined by the liturgical calendar of the Roman rite or by Rule of St. Benedict. Anna’s book is truly innovative in that she attempts to regularize these practices, which, due to their non-canonical nature, were not treated in an ordinal in the same detail as the canonical mass and office.

In all, Kloster Preetz maintained an extensive and complex liturgy that exceeded the demands of the Benedictine Rule. The convent’s liturgical life functioned largely independently of ordained clergy: the responsibility of the cantrix for liturgical planning

and oversight was great, as was the role of the prioress in officiating prayer for her community.

A Third Realm of Corporate Observance

I have already suggested that the arena of “votive” or “para-liturgical” ritual activity was the area in which Anna and her sister Dilla encountered the most uncertainty with regard to correct procedure. Yet, in Anna’s attempt to establish rules for the interaction of these observances and those determined by the liturgical calendar, she reveals that these practices were no less a part of the convent’s ritual life than the mass and canonical office. There exists no appropriate terminology to discuss this “third realm” of corporate observances that were neither mass nor canonical office, and yet these were rituals that involved the entire community.

Defining “Liturgy”

The boundary between the term “liturgy,” that is, practices performed in public, and “devotion,” which consisted of private prayer, has been challenged in recent scholarship. Flanigan, Ashley, and Sheingorn have argued that the received definition of “liturgy” as the prescribed services of the church, and the written texts that order those services, excludes the laity, especially women, as official liturgical practitioners. As a corollary, the term “para-liturgical” marginalizes rituals conducted by women and the

laity. Taking an ethnographic and cultural approach, the authors argue for an expansion of what has been called “liturgy” to encompass a wider, more inclusive range of ritual.²²

Boynton has offered a definition of the term “liturgy” to designate acts of structured communal worship (such as the mass, divine office, processions and other ceremonies in which clergy preside) in contrast to ‘devotion’ which she uses to refer to more flexible practices that can be performed by an individual and do not involve clergy.²³ This definition, developed for the study of male communities, must be adapted to describe the ritual activity of a women’s religious community such as Preetz. We cannot define an activity as liturgical only on the basis of the presence of clergy. For example, the canonical divine office is certainly considered to be liturgical by all other definitions, and is officiated by clergy in a men’s community. Evidence reveals, however, that the divine office was usually celebrated at Kloster Preetz without clerical officiation.

Other forms of non-canonical communal observances—for example, the Marian little office, weekly processions, or the chapter meeting—were likewise not officiated by clergy at Kloster Preetz. Therefore, the boundary between the unofficiated canonical office and other forms of unofficiated, non-canonical corporate observance may have been of lesser prominence in women’s communities than in men’s communities. This is not to say there was no perceived difference, but rather that the involvement of clergy cannot be the hallmark of the “liturgical” in a women’s house. I would therefore put forth a definition of liturgy for women’s houses as *structured acts of communal worship, canonical and non-canonical, that may or may not involve clergy.*

²² C. Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Scheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definitions,” in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, edited by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications), 695–714.

²³ Susan Boynton, “Prayer as Liturgical Performance” *Speculum* 82 (2007), 896.

Defining “Votive” Observances

When I use the term “votive” to refer to a particular observance, I am not suggesting that these observances are non-liturgical, but rather that they are non-canonical. Liturgical scholar Sally Harper has noted in her study of English Benedictine liturgy that the idea of a category of “votive” observances is a modern construct, albeit a useful one. She writes that what all “votive” observances have in common is that their celebration was not dictated by the liturgical calendar; most “votive” observances function either as replacements for the regular liturgy, or as appendages to it.²⁴ Harper notes that while such votive observances were common and widespread, they have received little scholarly attention:

...while liturgy has been recognized as an indispensable part of the study of the context and use of medieval chant and polyphony, most work has been directed to consideration of the principal forms of the office and mass. But throughout the Middle Ages these celebrations were constantly complemented or expanded by an abundance of supplementary observances.²⁵

Votive and other non-canonical corporate observances were important in the daily liturgical life of Kloster Preetz, and are central issues in the *Buch im Chor*. For the purpose of this study, I will define “votive” as *any non-canonical corporate liturgical activity outside the rule of St. Benedict and the Roman Rite*. This chapter will inquire into genres identified by Harper: the weekly cycle of votive masses, the little office of the Blessed Virgin, the commemorative office, suffrages and memorials, Marian antiphons, other practices based in the recitation of psalms (the *trine oratio*, etc.), as well as

²⁴ Sally Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950-1540* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), xv.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, xiv.

processional practice, stationary liturgies, memorials, and the chapter meeting. It is noteworthy that these practices likely took up almost as much of the nuns' time as the performance of the masses of the Sanctorale and Temporale and the canonical divine office.

Because the realm of non-sacramental, non-canonical communal observation neither required nor involved clerical officiation, the form and orders of these practices were not necessarily accounted for in the genre of the *liber ordinarius*. Furthermore, in a women's community, these practices may bear a particular significance in that they were activities that were ordered and presided over by the female leadership of the convent. In the realm of these activities, the prioress and cantrices are the chief ritual practitioners. This is not to say that these activities did not take place in male communities—they did—but in female communities, they represented a realm in which the house was liturgically autonomous. Perhaps because these non-canonical forms of ritual were non-sacramental and therefore often estimated to have been of lesser significance, the women's role within them has been underestimated both by contemporary clerical authorities and by modern historians. They represent an important area in which the female leadership of the convent exercised ritual authority on a daily basis.

The recognition of this autonomous facet of convent ritual life casts the prioress and her liturgical administration in a new light. Anna's effort to create an order for those liturgical practices that had previously been the most fluid defines for us the scope of liturgical choice that was the responsibility of the cantrix. We also gain a glimpse of the pivotal ritual role of the prioress within her community. Instead of viewing convent reform as something imposed from the outside by a male clergy, we learn of specific

reforms that stemmed from cantrix—and later prioress—Anna von Buchwald’s desire to better regulate the liturgy within her community, in particular, those aspects in which the women were in charge.

Description and Contents of the *Buch im Chor*

The *Buch im Chor* of Anna von Buchwald is written in Latin, with intervening passages in Middle Low German. The original text comprises fols. 3–144 and is written in an abbreviated Gothic textura in black and red ink. Typically, incipits of pieces are given in black with a vertical line of red ink added to the first letter. Rubrics are written in alternating black and red ink, often with the color change indicating a change in topic. Unlike some ordinals, the book has a mixed Temporale and Sanctorale, but generally follows the liturgical year, beginning with Advent, with numerous topical discursions resulting in temporal leaps.²⁶ Figure 2.1 gives a sample page of the *Buch im Chor*.

Primarily in Latin, this portion of the book gives notes regarding the liturgical order of the convent. The bulk of the text was not copied in Anna’s hand, but rather in that of the scribe Thomas Schroeder from the nearby Benedictine men’s house of Kloster Cismar.²⁷ This scribal arrangement could have been an issue of practicality: there were originally three copies of the book, and Anna could have called on a skilled scribe to create the manuscripts for practical reasons. It is also possible that, in the effort to solidify the cloister’s unwritten practices in the authoritative genre of the *liber*

²⁶ Aimé-Georges Martimort has commented that the ordinal with mixed Temporale and Sanctorale probably represents an older form than the ordinal that separates Temporale and Sanctorale, the type which predominated from the thirteenth century on. See Martimort, *Les "Ordines," les Ordinaires et les Cérémoniaux*, 64.

²⁷ D-PREk HS 01, 143v.

prioress, and others entered by subsequent prioresses as late as 1651. These later addenda have attracted scholarly attention due to their records of patronage, the use of sacred images, and Anna's efforts to rebuild cloister buildings and improve living conditions.²⁸ The Latin liturgical instructions that comprise the original folios of the book have received less attention, due in part to paleographical challenges and their unusual organization, and in part to due to the intricacies of late medieval Benedictine liturgy. As Sally Harper has noted in the study of English Benedictine liturgy, "the study of monastic liturgy is complicated by the individual characteristics of the autonomous Benedictine houses...and by the loss of monastic books."²⁹ This is certainly true in the case for Kloster Preetz, which Anna's notes reveal once possessed a second volume of the Antiphoner, an ordinal, a lectionary, a prioress's manual, and many other books used in corporate reading and individual study.

The Genre of the Buch im Chor

In terms of genre, the *Buch im Chor* falls between the conventional monastic genres of ordinal and customary, with certain aspects akin to the fifteen-century reformed ceremonials of reformed convents, books often described as processions or *rituale*. Martimort has defined the ordinal as a book which describes the local usage of a given institution through the course of the liturgical year with its celebrations: office, mass, processions, usually listing items to be sung in the mass and divine office by incipit. The

²⁸ See Jeffrey F. Hamberger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 67–71, 98–100, 488.

²⁹ Sally Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, xiii.

ordinal may also offer resolutions to calendrical uncertainties caused by the overlapping of observances of the Temporale and Sanctorale. Martimort describes the closely related genre of customary as the describing the usage and rites of the communal life, such as the prescriptions of the Rule, the election and benediction of the abbot, rites of vesting and profession, sickness and death, and other daily customs of the community.³⁰ Together with the calendar, the ordinal and customary may be considered interlocking guides that order the liturgy of a foundation, establishing the what, when, and how of a community's worship. The genre of *ceremonial* describes in greater detail the order of rites and exceptional circumstances of communal life, listing their participants, and describing details of dress, gesture, location, and processional order.³¹

David Chadd has commented that the generic dichotomy of ordinal, which deals with rite, versus customary which deals with ceremony, “does not do justice to the remarkably fluid nature of these texts in general, which perhaps more than any other liturgical works of the Middle Ages refuse to submit themselves to easy and generalized categorization.”³² Thus he writes that “the idiosyncrasies of any particular text of this type may be explained by the function that the book was intended to fulfill, rather than by reference to some abstract norm, and this is likely to be especially the case where...the intention was that the book was to be used within the originating community.”³³

³⁰ Martimort, *Les "Ordines," les Ordinaires et les Cérémoniaux*, 63–67.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 89.

³² David Chadd, ed. *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity of Fécamp (Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, Ms 186)*, 2 vols. Henry Bradshaw Society 111 (London: The Boydell Press, 2000), 5–6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 9.

In light of these comments, Anna's book is best defined as a mixed ordinal-customary-ceremonial that was written to supplement an existing *liber ordinarius*. No comprehensive handbook, the aim of her book was to supplement, clarify, and reform practice contained in an existing *liber ordinarius*, to which she refers, but which is now lost. Anna mentions the house's ordinal in two passages. In the first passage, she describes her request to Bishop Albrecht of Lübeck for permission to change certain "aggravations" from "our ordinal."³⁴ Among the practices Anna wishes to change are the frequent administration of flagellation as part of the penitential practices of Advent and Lent:

Item per adventum et quadragesimam. singulis diebus secundum ordinarium nostrum corpalem recepimus disciplinam. et insuper per totum annum certis et statutis diebus. secundum que idem ordinarius dictat et ostendit ut patet inspicienti eum.³⁵

Likewise, on each day of Advent and Lent, we received corporal discipline, according to our ordinal, and, in addition, on certain established days throughout the whole year, according to what the same ordinal dictates and shows, as is obvious to those who inspect it.

Momentarily setting aside the questions of corporal discipline and reform, this second passage implies that, according to Anna, the ordinal was not regularly consulted. We learn that Anna had access to the house ordinal, was confident in her ability to read and interpret the book, and consulted it as an authoritative source. We learn, as well, that practices in the book had an authority that could not be altered except by permission of the bishop of Lübeck. Anna's *Buch im Chor*, then, should be understood as a supplement to the house ordinal (now lost) and includes a section on revisions to established tradition understood and governed by the bishop of Lübeck. Written for the leadership of the

³⁴ "aggravancia...ex ordinario nostro." D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 133r.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.

convent, the book assumes that the reader possesses a fluent knowledge of everyday liturgical practice.

Contents of the Buch im Chor

The *Buch im Chor* contains neither chapter headings, nor the typical divisions between Temporale, Sanctorale, and Common of Saints that characterize other ordinals: rather, its text proceeds in stream-of consciousness style through a mixed discussion of Temporale and Sanctorale that generally follows the calendar liturgical year, with many digressions, and temporal leaps. I suggest that this idiosyncratic organization mirrors the same calendrical problems resulting from the same overlapping votive and liturgical cycles that the book was created to address. Moreover, the book freely integrates strictly liturgical actions with other corporate ritual observances and more mundane aspects of cloister life, such as eating and bathing. Whereas a text following a formal genre and book-type might have separated these activities, the seemingly chaotic form of the *Buch im Chor* may, in fact, better represent the integration and inseparability of those liturgical observances required by the Benedictine Rule, and the host of other rituals and daily activities practiced by the community. The portions of the book that deal with the socio-musical organization of the cloister—the duties and capacities of various ranks of nuns, the liturgical role of children, and their education—will be discussed in the next chapter.

The unusual organization and discursive nature of Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* make only a general summary possible, as given in Table 2.1.³⁶

³⁶ This table represents an adaptation and expansion of that given in Johannes Rosenplänter's dissertation; see Rosenplänter, *Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft*, 105.

Table 2.1. Summary of the Contents of the *Buch im Chor*

Folio	Contents	Language
1r	Prefatory poem	Latin
2r	Tract: <i>On confession before communion</i>	Latin
2v	Title page	Latin
3r–14v	<i>Liber ordinarius</i> : Advent and Christmas/Winter Sanctoreale	Latin
15r–17r	Computus for determining the beginning of Lent	German
17r	Summary of computus	Latin
17r	Prioress's ritual on the feast of the Circumcision	Latin
17r–32v	<i>Liber ordinarius</i> : feasts following Christmas–Sexagesima/Winter Sanctoreale	Latin
32v–33r	Calendrical notes	German
33r–43r	<i>Liber ordinarius</i> : Quinquagesima–Holy Thursday/Winter Sanctoreale	Latin
43r–44v	Order of Holy Thursday mandatum	Latin
44v–91r	<i>Liber ordinarius</i> : Good Friday–Trinity/Summer Sanctoreale	Latin
91r	Readings for the collocations	Latin
91r–91v	Prioress's prayer against thunder	Latin
91v–92v	Procedure for the death of a nun	Latin
92v–94r	Procedures of the infirmary	Latin
94r–94v	Office versicles for the Common of Saints (incipits only)	Latin
94v–106r	Benedictions and versicles for Matins (incipits only)	Latin
106r–109v	Chapters of the Benedictine Rule (incipits only)	Latin
109v–117v	Refectory readings	Latin
117v–118v	Notes on the training of cantrices and rules for children	Latin
118v–119r	Procedure for the death of a priest	Latin
119r–119v	Procedure for the death of a Rantzowe (Rantzau)	Latin
119v–120v	Procedure for changing cells, seating order, etc.	Latin
120v–122r	Notes on the vesting of a child	Latin/German
122r–123r	Notes on the crowning ceremony	Latin
123r–123v	Mass against pestilence	Latin
123v	Mass to beg for rain	Latin
123v	Mass for peace	Latin
123v–130r	Benefactors, donations, and memorials	Latin
130v–132r	Account of founder Albert, Duke of Holstein	Latin
132v–133r	Account of 1486 Visitation by Bishop Albrecht of Lübeck and Abbott Hinricus of Cismar	Latin
133v–137v	Revisions of liturgical practice	Latin
137v–138r	Donation records	Latin
138r–139r	Revisions of the promotion of novices	Latin
139r–140r	Anna's request for prayers	Latin
140r–141v	Rebuilding of furnace and conflict with provost over firewood	Latin
141v–142r	Bishop's visit and liturgical revisions	Latin
142r	Addition to the <i>liber ordinarius</i> : Finding of the Holy Cross	Latin
142v–144v	Colophon, 1487	Latin
144v–169r	Additions, 1495–1620	German

The Buch im Chor in Anna's Words

A close reading of Anna's introductory poem may give some indication of her reasons for writing the *Buch im Chor*, details of her process of gathering materials, and the importance she attributed to her spiritual charge. Anna first draws attention to her authority as "mistress prioress" and to the fact that she was no mere copyist, but was herself responsible for the assembly of its contents. Yet while the material in the book was newly compiled and written down, Anna ascribes the authority of its content not to herself, but to the knowledge of her elders:

Proprio non scripsit ex sensu, sed seniorum
Ab hiis quesitis et ex verbis relatorum³⁷

She did not write out of her own understanding,
rather by seeking out and relating the words of her elders.

Anna's account, taken at face value, suggests that the book consists of previously unwritten tradition maintained by the elder members of the community, though whether these were elder nuns or the priests who served them is uncertain. There is also evidence that suggests that Anna may have edited some of the material from other texts. On the title page, following her large initials: A.B., she writes:

Anno domino mccccclxxi in vigilia omnium sanctorum est
iste liber inceptus colligendo et querendo per me Annam de Bockwolde.³⁸

In the year of the Lord 1471, on the vigil of All Saints,
this book started to be arranged and researched by me, Anna von Buchwald.

³⁷ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 1r.

³⁸ Ibid., fol. 2v.

Other evidence suggests that some of the more creative liturgical solutions in the book were devised by Anna herself. In a passage relating how to celebrate saints' days that coincide with the celebration of Easter, Anna writes:

Illo anno venit dies sancti benedicti super vigiliam pasche sed celebratur tercia feria Iudica. Et quinta feria est rectus dies sancti gregorii et ibidem celebratur Anno domini millesimo quadravringentesimo septuaginta octavo celebrabatur ut hic ante dictum est collectum per me Annam van Buckwolden.³⁹

In the year when Saint Benedict's day (21 March) comes on the Easter Vigil, it should be celebrated instead on the Tuesday after *Iudica* Sunday. And Thursday is the exact day of Saint Gregory (12 March) and should be celebrated then. In the year 1478 it was celebrated as explained above, as arranged by me, Anna von Buchwald. Pray to God for me with an angelic salutation.

Thus, when the feast of St. Benedict (21 March) coincided with the Easter Vigil in 1478, Anna devised the solution of celebrating his feast on Tuesday after *Iudica* (or Passion) Sunday, that is, 10 March of that year, anticipating his feast by eleven days. The feast of St. Gregory was celebrated two days later on Thursday, on its assigned feast day of 12 March. Anna seems to take pride in having devised this unusual solution herself, and it is possible that other liturgical solutions in the book were also of Anna's creation.

The Buch im Chor and the Responsibilities of the Cantrix

Anna acknowledges the help of her sister Dilla, who succeeded Anna as cantrix, in the creation of the book. As Margot Fassler has shown, the office of the cantor in the late Middle Ages consisted not only of singing, but also of determining liturgical order, as well as maintaining and correcting liturgical books.⁴⁰ Anne Bagnall Yardley has

³⁹ Ibid., fol. 26v.

⁴⁰ Margot Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor in Early Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29, 49–51.

translated the following passage from the ordinal of the Benedictine nuns of Barking Abbey, compiled in 1404, describing some the duties of liturgical scheduling for which the cantrix was responsible:

The cantrices should be diligent and should examine the calendar with watchful care. When Septuagesima and Quadragesima as well as Easter and Pentecost have ended, and when the number of the aforementioned weeks from the octave of Trinity until Advent have been figured out without error, they should carefully count so that the observance is ordered according to the lesser, greater, or equal number of Sundays, lest—God forbid—due to their carelessness or negligence the divine office be performed irrationally.⁴¹

A description from the Brigittine Abbey at Syon is even more explicit about the responsibilities of the cantrix:

The chantress and the sub chantresses should all be skillful and perfect in reading and singing, having experience with the ordinal and with making the table for the choir, and also having good vocal ability. The abbess should assign one of them to be the chief chantress. Her main charge is to be industrious about the divine service so that everything is done according to the rule and that nothing is left out because of her negligence nor anything else in her power.⁴²

In order to be promoted to the position of cantrix, Anna and Dilla must have been strong singers possessing a functional literacy in liturgical Latin, familiar with the calendar and the intricacies of liturgical scheduling, and knowledgeable about the community's unwritten rituals and customs. First Anna, then Dilla had the responsibility of interpreting the convent's ordinal in order to accurately assign the chants for the mass and office given in the community's Gradual and Antiphoner, respectively.⁴³

⁴¹ Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 55.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴³ See also Rebecca L. R. Garber, *Feminae Figurae: Representations of Gender in Religious Texts by Medieval German Women Writers, 1100–1375* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 71–73.

Despite the training in chant that these two sisters must have received from childhood, Anna emphasizes the effort required in determining correct liturgical procedure. In a prefatory poem found on the flyleaf of the *Buch im Chor*, Anna states:

*Hunc librum edidit per se domina priorissa
Anna de Bockwold, noviter conscripsit eundem.
Utilis est cunctis: plurimos nam aufert errores,
Qui saepius per graves evitabantur labores.
Contulit iuvamen Dilla, soror priorissae,
Ad opus inceptum fertur haec multa fecisse.
Proprio non scripsit ex sensu, sed seniorum
Ab hiis quaesitis et ex verbis relatorum
Ut error vitetur, hic liber legi iubetur:
Monstrat nam cuncta, qualiter tibi sunt facienda.
Si ipsum legeris, nunquam tu decipieris.⁴⁴*

Mistress Prioress Anna von Buchwald edited this book herself, [and] newly committed the same to writing. It is useful for resolving all the many errors which oftentimes were avoided through great labor. Dilla, the sister of the prioress, conferred assistance to begin this work, and contributed much to it. She did not write out of her own understanding, rather by seeking out and relating the words of her elders. In order that error might be avoided, one is directed to read this book, for it shows all that one should do, and how. If you read it, you will never be disappointed.

The foregoing poem shows that Anna was confident in the comprehensive utility of her book to resolve questions regarding her community's liturgical life. The visitation records included at the end of the book bear witness to the kind of pressure and scrutiny the female leadership experienced during an episcopal visitation. It is possible that the inception of the *Buch im Chor* may have been prompted by a similar critical encounter that occurred earlier in Anna's tenure as cantrix.

⁴⁴D-PREk HS 01, fol. 1r. Latin transcription from Adam Jessien, "Diplomatarium des Klosters Preetz," in *Urkundensammlung der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Geschichte* 1 (Kiel: Commission der Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1839–1849.), Appendix II, 393.

Negotiating Sanctore, Temporale and Votive Cycles in the Mass and Office

The Mass

Anna's book seeks to resolve liturgical procedure when calendrical cycles overlap; in particular, how the Temporale—the calendrical cycle that includes moveable Sundays and feasts within the liturgical seasons of Advent, Lent, and Easter, were to be celebrated in conjunction with Saint's feasts of the Sanctore, which are assigned to specific calendar days. This problem was complicated by two developments in the later Middle Ages: the growth of the number of feasts of the Sanctore, and the prolongation of certain feasts to the octave (that is, for a week following the feast.)⁴⁵ The fact that important feasts of both the Temporale and Sanctore were not merely points in time, but cast a shadow from their vigils through the duration of their octaves increased the number of liturgical scheduling difficulties. The interaction of these two temporal cycles was further complicated at Kloster Preetz by an additional layer of votive observances—both masses and offices—attached to particular days of the week, and the additional daily recitation of the *perve hore*, or little office of the Blessed Virgin.

Beyond those masses ordained by the liturgical calendar, two votive masses were assigned to each weekday; when overlaid with the cycles of the Sanctore and Temporale, this resulted in up to four possible choices of mass for each day, a maximum of three of which were observed on a single day. To resolve the overlapping calendrical cycles of Sanctore, Temporale, and votive cycles, the cantrix had to decide which masses were to be said on a daily basis, and by whom. Moreover, the relative importance

⁴⁵ Martimort, "*Les Ordines*" *les Ordinaires et les Cérémoniaux*, 64.

of liturgical occasions had to be weighed to determine which mass was to be celebrated as the *prima* or first mass, and which was celebrated as the *summa*, or high mass. Certain calendrical circumstances could result in two high masses said in one day. For instance, Anna writes that if the feast of Thomas should fall on Saturday of the Ember Days of Advent,

Ipso die cantatur due summe misse prima
erit de apostolo illa finita tunc incipietur de tempore.⁴⁶

On that day, let two high masses be sung: the first for the apostle, and when that is finished, let the one for the season begin.

When required by the liturgical calendar, a third mass, sometimes referred to as the *prior missa* (prior mass) was read.⁴⁷ On some occasions, this additional mass was sung in an overlapping manner with the first mass. For example, on the day of the dedication that occurred a day before the feast of the Nativity of Mary, Anna writes:

Prima missa cantatur post prima in sanctuario Terribilis. inter summam missam post sermonem cantatur pro defunctis in ecclesiam.⁴⁸

The first mass *Terribilis* is sung after Prime in the sanctuary. During the high mass, after the sermon, the [mass] for the dead is sung in the church.

From this passage, we can surmise that the high mass was sung in the nuns' choir, while the mass for the dead was simultaneously sung, most likely by the priests, in the lay church that occupied the south aisle of the convent church. The two masses would have thus been spatially, but not acoustically, separated. László Dobszay has documented a similar practice in the liturgical usage of Eger Cathedral, in which the Requiem mass was

⁴⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 10v.

⁴⁷ For examples of a third read masses, see *ibid.*, fols. 32r, 62r–62v, 68v, 69v–70r, 71r, 84r, 89r.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 81v–82r.

sung by the priest and choirboys as far as the *Sanctus*. The priest would continue the mass silently from that point, while the choirboys would sing the *Salve regina* in procession to the high altar where the high mass would begin.⁴⁹ As will be discussed below, this practice at Preetz was criticized during an episcopal visit that followed Anna's election to the position of prioress.

While the scheduling of masses was primarily the duty of the cantrix, she is occasionally instructed to defer to the prioress. For example, regarding the celebration of the Vigil of St. Andrew, Anna writes:

Quando vigilia sancti Andrei venit super dominicam *Ad te levavi*...prima missa de apostolo et summa de tempore. si vero vigilia andree venerit in feriam. tunc erit prima missa quid priorissa vult.⁵⁰

When the vigil of St. Andrew comes on the Sunday *Ad te levavi*...the first mass [is] for the Apostle and the high mass, for the season. If, truly, the vigil of Andrew shall come on a weekday, then the first mass will be what the prioress wishes.

In sum, the cantrix was responsible for negotiating the overlapping liturgical cycles of Temporale, Sanctorale, and votive observances so as to determine the scheduling of the two to three masses sung on any given day. Still, the cantrix deferred to the authority of the prioress on points of mass scheduling. Liturgical planning was the responsibility of the female leadership of the convent, and not of the priests who served the community.

The cantrix also had to choose which chants were sung in any given mass, as appropriate to the liturgical season. The proper chants of the mass: the introit, offertory and communion, and to a lesser extent the gradual chant, alleluia, tract, and sequence were usually determined by the repertoire given in the convent's gradual. The *Buch im*

⁴⁹ László Dobszay, "Pueri vociferati—Children in Eger Cathedral" in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Sixth Meeting, Eger, 1993*, edited by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1995), 94–95.

⁵⁰ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 5v–6r.

Chor treats only those aspects of the celebration of the mass over which the cantrix had control. Other variables such as readings, collects, and other prayers appear to have been the purview of the priest, and are therefore not discussed in Anna's book.

Usually, the introit, gradual, offertory and communion chants for each mass were provided in the Preetz Gradual. The cantrix was responsible for substituting the alleluia with an appropriate tract during Lent, for replacing the gradual chant with a second alleluia during Easter, and for choosing the appropriate sequence, when not given in the Preetz Gradual. When Sunday masses were repeated on weekdays, or festal masses during the octave following the feast, it was often with different alleluias, and sometimes with a *divisio*, that is, selected versicles of the latter portion of the sequence.

The cantrix was also responsible for choosing the appropriate ordinary chants of the mass—namely the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus dei. While several Glorias appear in the Kyriale of the Preetz Gradual, their absence from Anna's book suggests that these ordinary chants, normally intoned by the priest, were not usually chosen by the cantrix.

As will be discussed further in the next chapter, the cantrix was also responsible for determining which personnel—nuns, priests, or children—would be assigned as singers of the mass. Selected case studies in the difficulties Anna encountered in liturgical scheduling will be given below.

The Canonical Office

As with the mass, the cantrix was in charge of implementing the calendar with its overlapping liturgical cycles. The cloister's repertoire for the hours of the canonical

office was contained in a pair of antiphoners, the second of which is now lost.⁵¹ The cantrix was responsible for interpreting the repertoire from the Preetz Antiphoner, and for determining the variable parts of each office: for example, choosing appropriate lessons and chapters, hymns, responsories, versicles and responses, collects, and canticle antiphons for the office. She was also responsible for assigning the verses of the Matins invitatory and verses of the responsories to soloists or pairs of singers.

The office at Kloster Preetz functioned largely without clerical presence or officiation. From several references, we learn that the priest participated in the convent's sung Vespers only on solemnities.⁵² This meant that the prioress, cantrix, *hebdomedaria* (or weekly cantrix), and other singers with assigned cantorial duties would have chanted readings such as the lessons and chapters, and prayers such as versicles and collects, in addition to intoning the choral antiphons, psalms, responsories and hymns that made up the divine office. In sum, the cantrix had an enormous responsibility in ensuring correct liturgical scheduling and performance of the divine office.

The Weekly Votive Cycle

The perpetual challenge of resolving the overlapping calendars of the Temporale and Sanctorale were further complicated at Kloster Preetz by the presence of a third cycle of votive masses assigned to the days of the week. The practice of observing a weekly cycle of votive masses dates back to the ninth century, and has been ascribed to Alcuin of York (c.735–804). Alcuin provided formularies for each day of the week, of which the

⁵¹ I will refer to D-PREk Reihe V G1, the extant first volume of the set, as the “Preetz Antiphoner.”

⁵² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 33v, 36v, 46v–47r, 56r, 135v–136r.

Saturday mass for the Virgin—not documented before Alcuin’s writings—held pride of place. The popularity of Alcuin’s collection is evidenced by its incorporation into numerous sacramentaries and missals as a stable collection for several centuries.⁵³

At Kloster Preetz, it is possible to detect the influence of Alcuin’s prescribed masses, but in a modified form. Unlike Alcuin’s cycle, the cycle at Kloster Preetz was not static, but rather changed throughout the year according to the liturgical season. Table 2.2 reconstructs the schedule of votive masses celebrated at the cloister during Advent.⁵⁴

Table 2.2. Advent Cycle of Votive Masses

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Convent	Sunday	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Si enim</i>	Sunday	<i>Si enim</i>	Sunday	<i>Rorate</i>
Priests		<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Da pacem</i>	<i>Cibavit</i>	<i>Nos autem</i>	<i>Si enim</i>

On each week day, two masses were sung, one by the convent and one by the priests. On Monday and Tuesday, the mass *Si enim* for the dead was sung twice, once by the convent, and once by the priests; additional masses for the dead were sung on Thursday and Saturday. On Wednesday and Friday, the mass of the previous Sunday was repeated by the convent. On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the priests sang votive masses for Peace (*Da pacem*), for the Body of Christ (*Cibavit*) and for the Holy Cross (*Nos autem*). The mass *Nos autem* and the Saturday mass for the Virgin (in this case *Rorate* for Advent) are held in common with Alcuin’s formulary, as well as those of Leofric and Jumièges.⁵⁵ Apart from these examples, the practice at Kloster Preetz bears little resemblance to that in other documented sources, particularly in the way that the votive

⁵³ Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, xvi, 42–43.

⁵⁴ See D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 6r. Note that the order of Table 2.2 does not indicate which mass was *prima* and *summa*, but only who sang each of the masses.

⁵⁵ Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, 208, Table 6.

mass cycles adapt to the liturgical season. For example, the Saturday votive mass for the Virgin changed according to the liturgical season. During Advent, the Saturday Marian mass was *Rorate*. Between the feasts of the Circumcision and Epiphany, this was replaced by the mass *Vultum tuum*.⁵⁶ After the feast of the Epiphany, the mass *Salve sancta parens* was sung in honor of the Virgin once every Wednesday and Saturday for the rest of the year, unless a feast was observed on that day.⁵⁷ During festive liturgical seasons—namely, between Christmas and Septuagesima, during Paschaltide, and from the feast of the Assumption to the feast of the Nativity of Mary—two masses were sung each Saturday for the Virgin. During the first two of these liturgical seasons the women would sing one mass, and the priests another, but during the third, both masses were assigned to the convent.

A brief example will suffice to illustrate the kind of scheduling problems that Anna sought to resolve that involved Temporale, Sanctorale, and the votive cycle on the octaves of Stephen (26 December), John (27 December) and Holy Innocents (28 December)—thus, 2, 3 and 4 January. These octaves occurred during the time that the Marian mass *Vultum tuum* was sung (between the feast of the Circumcision, 1 January and the feast of Epiphany, 6 January). Anna writes:

In octavam Steffani prima missa pro defunctis summa de sancto. Si est dominica prima missa et summa ambe erunt de sancto. Sed si est sabatum tunc cantatur *Vultum tuum* de domina nostra et tunc cantatur pro defunctis in octavam innocentum. In octavam iohannis ambe misse erunt de eo. In octavam innocentum prima missa de domina nostra silicet *Vultum tuum* summa de innocentibus. Si est secunda feria tunc erit prima missa pro defunctis si est dominica tunc erunt

⁵⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 17v, 18v.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 18v, 23r. For the Wednesday *Salve*, see fols. 24r, 33r, 47r, and 64v.

ambe misse de innocentibus et missa *Vultum tuum* cantatur tunc in octavam Steffani.⁵⁸

On the octave of Stephen, the first mass [is] for the dead and the high mass [is] for the saint. If it is Sunday, then the first and high [masses] will both be for the saint. But if it is Saturday, then let *Vultum tuum* be sung for Our Lady, and then let the [mass] for the dead be sung on the octave of the Innocents. On the octave of John, let both masses be for him. On the octave of Innocents, the first mass [is] for Our Lady, namely *Vultum tuum*, and the high mass [is] for the Innocents. If it is Monday, then the first mass [is] for the dead. If it is Sunday, then both masses [are] for the Innocents, and let the mass *Vultum tuum* then be sung on the octave of Stephen.

As this example shows, the masses for the dead were routinely moved to accommodate Saints' feast days, and Sunday masses could also be replaced by festal masses. *Vultum tuum* would retain its place on Saturday when it coincided with the feasts of Stephen or the Innocents; however, if the feast of St. John came on a Saturday, both masses would be celebrated for him, and *Vultum tuum* would be celebrated a day earlier on Friday. Thus, the cantrix's planning had to take into account the liturgical season, the day of the week, and the relative importance of saints' feasts in order to determine which masses to sing, and when. The existence of the votive cycle at Kloster Preetz compounded already complex problems of liturgical planning caused by overlapping cycles of Temporale and Sanctorale, and it fell on the cantrix to make the right decisions regarding scheduling.

Unlike votive cycles documented elsewhere, the weekly votive cycle at Kloster Preetz changed according to the liturgical season, which added an additional layer of complication in liturgical scheduling. Between the feast of the Epiphany and Septuagesima Sunday, it is unclear which votive masses were sung besides the Marian *Salve sancta parens*, which was sung on Wednesday and twice on Saturday: once by the convent, and once by the priests. The scheduling of this season was complicated by two

⁵⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols.17v–18r.

factors. The first factor was the variable number of *Adorate* Sundays that occurred between the fixed feast of the Epiphany (6 January) and the arrival of Septuagesima Sunday period (18 January–22 February) that began a three-week pre-Lenten period. The second factor was the day of the week on which the Marian feast of the Purification (2 February) arrived, and whether or not it arrived after Septuagesima Sunday: depending on the year, the feast of the Purification fell either into an extended post-Epiphany season, or in the pre-Lenten time following Septuagesima Sunday. Anna spends five folios on this particular liturgical problem, a full discussion of which lies outside the bounds of this study.⁵⁹ This example is of interest because it shows how the votive cycle is affected by the season, especially the content of the votive Marian mass. Anna writes,

Omnibus sabatis infra festum epiphanie et purificationis quando missa cantatur de domina nostra tunc erit introitus *Salve sancta parens* graduale *Benedicta* Alleluia, *Felix* Sequentia *Letabundus* offertorium *Felix* communion *Beata viscera* Ad prima missam erit *Alleluia, Post partum*. et ad summam [*Alleluia, Felix*].⁶⁰

On all Saturdays between the feast of the Epiphany and the Purification when the mass of Our Lady is sung, then the introit will be *Salve sancta parens* [with] the gradual chant *Benedicta, Alleluia, Felix*, the sequence *Letabundus*, the offertory *Felix*, the communion *Beata viscera*. At the first mass it will be *Alleluia, Post partum* and at the high mass, *Alleluia, Felix*.

From this excerpt, we can see how the proper chant of the Alleluia varied between two masses on the same day. Moreover, selection of sequence varied according to the season, to the day of the week, and according to who was assigned to sing the mass. The following passage describes a situation in which the mass *Adorate* proper to the Sunday after the octave of Epiphany would be sung for several Sundays in a row to fill extra weeks in the calendar before the beginning of Lent. Anna discusses how the presence of

⁵⁹ Ibid., fol. 23v–25v.

⁶⁰ Ibid., fol. 23r.

additional *Adorate* Sundays and the timing of the feast of the Purification (2 February) impact the votive cycle:

Item quando ter cantatur *Adorate* et dies domine nostre venit super sextam feriam ad secundum *Adorate* tunc quarta feria autem cantat conventus *Salve* cum sequentiam *Salve proles* et sacerdotes quinta feria *Salve* cum sequentiam *Ave preclara*.⁶¹

Likewise, when *Adorate* [Sunday] is sung three times, and the day of Our Lady (i.e. the feast of the Purification) comes on Friday after the second *Adorate* [Sunday], then the convent still sings *Salve* on Wednesday, and the priests sing *Salve* on Thursday with the sequence *Ave Preclara*.

In this example, Anna gives a carefully-weighed solution to a scheduling problem involving the Temporale, namely, the variable number of Sundays before the beginning of Lent; the Sanctorale, that is, the feast of the Purification that always occurs on 2 February, and the weekly votive mass cycle. If the Purification lands on Friday, two things happen: first, instead of repeating the mass of Sunday, the convent would sing the Marian *Salve* mass on Wednesday. Second, the mass normally sung by the priests on Thursday, most likely *Cibavit* for the Body of Christ, would be replaced by a second Marian *Salve* mass, most likely transferred from the following Saturday, and this time with a different sequence. Thus, the votive cycle would be rearranged to give the Marian mass precedence over the regular masses of Wednesday and Thursday, due to the location of the feast of the Purification on the intervening Friday.

During Lent, the convent sang only one votive mass per day in the position of the *prima missa* (first mass); the *summa missa* (high mass) was reserved for the mass of the

⁶¹ Ibid., fol. 24r.

calendar.⁶² From Lent, the mass *Cibavit*, the Thursday votive mass for the body of Christ, was sung with a different ordinary, and with all but the introit replaced with another set of proper chants.⁶³ The Lenten votive cycle is summarized in Table 2.3:

Table 2.3. Lenten Cycle of Votive Masses (First Mass Only)

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Sunday	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Da pacem</i>	<i>Cibavit</i>	<i>Nos autem</i>	<i>Salve</i>

While Anna does not give details that allow for the reconstruction of a complete cycle for Easter, she does mention that Sunday mass was to be repeated on Wednesday and Friday, as in Advent. The mass for the souls of the departed was usually said on Monday. The mass for peace was sung, as was the Saturday *Salve*: this schedule is summarized in Table 2.4. These masses were sung with different ordinaries, and with a changing series of Paschal alleluias and sequences proper to the season.⁶⁴

Table 2.4. Easter Cycle of Votive Masses (Partial Reconstruction)

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
<i>Si enim</i>	...	Sunday	<i>Si enim (?)</i>	Sunday	<i>Salve</i>
...	..	<i>Da pacem</i>	<i>Cibavit</i>	<i>Nos autem (?)</i>	<i>Salve</i>

During the summer season that followed, another set of votive masses was added to the cycle. From the feast of St. John, a votive mass was sung in honor of the saint on Tuesdays. From the octave of Corpus Christi, additional votive masses were sung on

⁶² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 37v.

⁶³ Ibid., fol. 37v. During Lent, *Cibavit* was sung with the gradual *Oculi*, the tract *Laudate dominum*, the offertory *Sacerdotes*, and the communion *Panem de celo*. This communion was used through the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost.

⁶⁴ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 48v–50r, 53r.

Sundays for the Trinity and on Thursdays for the Holy Spirit. The Sunday mass dedicated to the Trinity finds a precedent in the cycles of Alcuin, Leofric, and Jumièges.⁶⁵ At Kloster Preetz, Anna indicates that during the summer season, the nuns and the priests should sing the mass for the Trinity on alternating Sundays, and would alternate on Thursdays between singing the mass for the Holy Spirit and the Body of Christ. Elsewhere, she notes that the masses of the Body of Christ (*Cibavit*) and the Holy Cross (*Nos autem*) are to be sung by the priests throughout the entire year.⁶⁶

The three additional votive masses were sung on a weekly basis from the octave of Corpus Christi until beginning of the historia *Vidi [dominum sedentem]*, in other words, the beginning of the series of night office lessons from the Books of the Prophets, read in November.⁶⁷ While in Advent, masses for the dead were sung on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the Sunday mass was repeated on Tuesdays and Thursdays, during the summer, it seems that the Sunday mass was not typically repeated, and masses for the dead were sung on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Fridays. The summer votive mass cycle is represented in table 2.5:

Table 2.5. Summer Cycle of Votive Masses

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Holy Spirit	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Salve</i>	Holy Spirit	<i>Si enim</i>	<i>Salve</i>
	<i>Si enim</i>	St. John	<i>Da pacem</i>	<i>Cibavit</i>	Nos autem	<i>Salve</i>

⁶⁵ Sally Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, 208, Table 2.6.

⁶⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 72r.

⁶⁷ See David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 307. Hiley writes that it was customary to refer to the summer Sundays by the biblical book from which the lessons for the night office were taken. According to Hiley, the response R. *Vidi [dominum sedentem]* (ca. 7875) is the first response for the lessons from the books of Prophets, read in November. Anna von Buchwald writes that the previous historia *Adaperiat*, with lessons from the Book of Maccabees, is sung for five Sundays following the feast of St. Remigius. This confirms that the historia R. *Vidi [dominum sedentem]* would begin in the first week of November.

Not only did the schedule of votive masses vary by season, but their content also varied according to the day of the week. For instance, Anna prescribes a different communion chant for *Si enim*, the mass for the dead, according to the day of the week on which it was sung. If it is sung on Monday or Friday, she writes, it should have the communion *Amen*; if on Tuesday, the communion *Absolve*; and on Thursday (as during Advent) the communion *Animas de corpore*.⁶⁸

In short, the weekly votive cycle observed at Kloster Preetz was complex and dynamic, and added an additional layer of complexity to the already difficult problem of negotiating the cycles of Sanctorale and Temporale in liturgical scheduling.

Case Studies

Corpus Christi and the Feast of St. John the Baptist

This case study has to do with calendrical conflict between the Temporale and Sanctorale when saints' feasts fall within the octave of Corpus Christi. As a feast of the Temporale, Corpus Christi always falls on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and its octave consequently falls on the following Thursday: the actual calendar date is variable and changes according to the date of Easter. There are various feasts of the Sanctorale, among them St. Vitus (15 June) and St. John the Baptist (24 June) that can conceivably fall within the octave of Corpus Christi.

⁶⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 89r.

In the thirteenth-century *Breviarium Eberhardi Cantoris*, written for the cathedral of Bamberg, the cantor Eberhard describes what happens if the feast of St. Vitus (15 June) falls within the octave of Corpus Christi:

Infra hanc octavam semper cantantur ad horas antiphone de corpore Christi...si festum fuerit habens plenum officium propter indulgencias. Si festum sancti Viti in diem Corporis Christi evenerit, in feriam sextam subsequentem differatur anticipetur in feriam quartam in choro tantum.

Within this octave, antiphons for Corpus Christi are sung at the hours...if there shall be a feast having a full office, on account of the indulgences. If the feast of St. Vitus shall happen on the day of Corpus Christi, it shall be put off until the following Friday, and anticipated on Wednesday in choir only.⁶⁹

Thus, at the Bamberg Cathedral, if the feast of St. Vitus falls on Corpus Christi Thursday, it is postponed until the following day, but its office is anticipated on Wednesday, the day before Corpus Christi.

If the feast of John the Baptist (24 June) coincides with Corpus Christi, the solution is more complex, due to the extensive liturgy that takes place on the eve of that saint's feast. Eberhard writes:

Notandum si festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste in die corporis Christi evenit, tunc predictum festum in quartam feriam precedentem anticipetur et vigilia ieiunio processione et ceteris aliis in tertia feria precedenti peragatur et tunc in prima vespera Ymnus *Ut queant laxis* totus decantetur quia in secundis vesperis nichil dicitur de sancto Iohanne preter Ant. *Et factum est* et oratio ad suffragia. Si vero predictum festum sancti Iohanne in proximam sextam feriam post festum corporis Christi evenerit, differatur in sabbatum subsequentem.⁷⁰

It should be noted that if the feast of John the Baptist should occur on the day of Corpus Christi, then the aforementioned feast is anticipated on the previous Wednesday and the vigil with fasting and procession and everything else is observed on the preceding Tuesday, and then in the first Vespers the hymn *Ut queant laxis* is chanted in full, because nothing will be said for St. John in the

⁶⁹Edmund Karl Farrenkopf, ed. *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris: Die mittelalterliche Gottesdienstordnung des Domes zu Bamberg mit einer historischen Einleitung* (Münster in Westphalia: Aschendorff, 1969), 100.

⁷⁰Ibid., 101.

second Vespers except the antiphon *Et factum est* and a prayer at the suffrages. If truly, the aforesaid feast of St. John happens on the Friday following the feast of Corpus Christi, let it be postponed until the following Saturday.

In this case, the feast of John is transferred to the previous day (Wednesday) and its celebration is abbreviated by the removal of its second vespers, save a suffrage for the saint made at the first vespers of Corpus Christi. If the feast of St. John falls on the following Friday, it is postponed until Saturday, so that the celebration of its vigil does not interfere with the octave of Corpus Christi.

A later editor of the Bamberg ordinal evidently disagreed with the transferral of the mass of St. John, and made the following amendment to the text, arguing instead that the mass should remain on Corpus Christi, and only the office should be transferred:

Notandum, quod celebraciones festorum non solent in ecclesiam transferri, sed solum officium choro. Ideo rubrica de sancto Iohanne non videtur esse tenenda sed potius festum debet postponi in choro tantum, ut celebratio maneat in die Corporis Christi.⁷¹

It should be noted that the masses of a feast should not be transferred, only the office. For this reason, the rubric about St. John should not be taken as it appears, but rather only the office of the feast should be postponed, so that the mass remains on the day of Corpus Christi.

Thus, Eberhard and the later editor of the text offered different solutions to the problem of the calendrical conflict between the feasts. The solutions offered are limited to transferring the mass or office of the saint's feast, and replacing the second Vespers of the feast with a suffrage.

Anna von Buchwald treats the same problem in the *Buch im Chor*, but her detailed prescriptions offer a more intricate solution. Her solutions involve not only the transferral of feasts, but also the adaptation of the content of masses and office to include the observation of both Sanctorale and Temporale, the Sunday mass, and other votive

⁷¹ Ibid., 101.

observances within a single liturgy. For each day in question, Anna determines which will be the first mass, and which will be the second mass, and if a third, spoken mass should be added. She specifies performing forces, and variable elements of the mass such as the alleluia and sequence. Let us compare, first of all, what Anna von Buchwald prescribes when the feast of St. Vitus, a relatively minor saint at Preetz, coincides with the feast of Corpus Christi:

Item nota que dies sancti Viti occurerit in diem corporis xristi. transponitur in sextam feriam sed cum memoria fiet de eo ad vespervas antiphona Magnificemus ad matutinas antiphona Gaudens Item in die corporis xristi ad vespervas Magnificemus. Feria sexta celebrabitur per totum secunde vespere erunt de eo et summa missa eciam de eo. notandum quando sanctus Vitus venit infra octavam corporis xristi ad primas vespervas erunt antiphone et psalmi de corpore xristi. sed ad secundas vespervas erunt antiphone et psalmi de Sancto Vito.⁷²

Likewise, note that when the day of St. Vitus shall occur on the day of Corpus Christi, it is transferred to Friday, with a memorial made for him at Vespers [with] the antiphon *Magnificemus* and at Matins [with] the antiphon *Gaudens*; likewise on the day of Corpus Christi at Vespers with the antiphon *Magnificemus*. On Friday, the entire second Vespers will be for him, and the high mass for him as well. It should be noted that when St. Vitus comes within the octave of Corpus Christi, at first Vespers, the psalms and antiphons will be for Corpus Christi, but at second Vespers, the psalms and antiphons will be for St. Vitus.

In the above passage, we see that Anna treats the process of transferral of the feast of St. Vitus in greater detail than did the cantor Eberhard, allowing for office memorials to be sung for the saint on the original date of the feast, and specifying a substitution of the first Vespers of Corpus Christi for that of St. Vitus when his feast falls within the octave of the latter feast.

Anna's prescriptions are yet more complex in her solution to the coincidence of the feast of St. John the Baptist with Corpus Christ, both important feasts at Kloster Preetz that involved processions and other special observances throughout their

⁷² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 64v.

respective octaves. First, Anna indicates that when the Vigil of St. John comes on a Sunday, then Matins is divided between Sunday Matins (responsories 1–6), the summer Sunday votive observance of the Trinity as noted above (responsory 7) and for St. John, the third nocturn (responsories 9–12):

Item quando vigilia iohannis venit in dominicam. tunc septimum responsorium de sancta trinitate. duo ultima responsoria tercio nocturno de sancta iohanne duodecimum versum cantant due persone.⁷³

Likewise, when the Vigil of St. John comes on Sunday, then the seventh response is for the Holy Trinity. The last two responsories of the third nocturn [are] for St. John. Two persons shall sing the twelfth verse.

Thus the Summer votive observance of the Trinity on Sundays, seen in the votive mass cycles described above, also impacts the celebration of the office of Matins. It is noteworthy that Anna proposes the unusual solution of dividing the Matins responsories (and therefore, presumably, the readings to which they respond) between those assigned to Sunday, the Holy Spirit honored on Summer Sundays, and for the feast of St. John.

However, if the Vigil of St. John occurs on the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi (ie. from the Thursday after Trinity Sunday) then a greater portion of Matins is devoted to St. John, with the antiphon *O sacrum convivium* sung as a memorial of Corpus Christi at all the hours, and the hymn *Pange lingua* for Corpus Christi sung at Matins:

Nota si vigilia sancti iohannis venit super dominicam infra octavam corporis xristi tunc habemus duos nocturnes de corpore xristi et tercius nocturnum de sancto iohanna cum omelia et responsoriis et capitulis et lau. et omnes horas de eo. Ad primas vespervas et ad secundas tenetur memoria de corpore xristi scilicet *O sacrum*. versus *O salutaris hostia* cantatur ad omnes horas...Nota si vigilia iohannis venerit infra octavam corporis xristi tunc tenentur omnes hore de eo sed ympnus *Pange lingua* cantetur in primo nocturno et cetera omnia de sancto iohanne.⁷⁴

⁷³Ibid., fol. 66r. See chapter III for a discussion of the word *persona/e*.

Note that if the vigil of St. John comes on Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, then we will have two nocturns for Corpus Christi and the third nocturn for St. John. then both the third nocturn of St. John with homily and responsories, and chapters, and Lauds and all the hours [are] for him. At the first vespers and the second, a memorial for the Body of Christ, namely *O sacrum* with the verse *O salutaris hostia* is sung at all the hours... Likewise, note that if the vigil of St. John shall come within the octave of Corpus Christi, then all the hours shall be for him, but let the hymn *Pange lingua* be sung in the first nocturn, and [let] all the rest [be sung] for St. John.⁷⁵

Thus, even when the hours are dedicated to St. John, selected pieces in the same office would still be dedicated to the Corpus Christi: namely, the antiphon *O sacrum*, the verse *O salutaris*, and hymn *Pange lingua*. Again, the mixing of elements from two different offices into a single office is an unusual solution to the coincidence of two feasts.

Anna additionally discusses the two masses of the Vigil of St. John. If the vigil falls on a Sunday, the masses for St. John would replace the Sunday mass, which would instead be read on Wednesday or Friday. Within the octave of Corpus Christi, the feast of St. John would still take pride of place as the high mass. Anna required that the priests assist in singing the mass of St. John, implying that this was the case for other feasts as well. She specifies the melodies for the ordinary chants, and the alleluias and sequences for Sunday and weekdays within the octave. She writes:

In vigilia iohannis ambe misse erunt de eo. Si est dominica tunc cantabunt cantrices *Alleluia*, *Erat iohannes* et missa de dominica legetur. Per octavam Iohannis cantetur super una missa de eo si nescit cantari tunc debit legi... Quando dies iohannis vel aliquod festum venerit dominica infra octavam corporis tunc legentur evangelium dominicale quarta iohannes occurerit infra octavam corpore xristi summa de sancto iohanne. summa iuvabunt sacerdotes cantare propter festum **Kyrie Sanctus Agnus** Si est dominica tunc cantatur *Alleluia*:

⁷⁴ Ibid., fols. 66r–66v.

⁷⁵ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 66r–66v. *O salutaris* is the penultimate verse of the Lauds hymn *Verbum supernum prodiens* (CAO 8409) attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas. It was traditionally used, along with the doxology verse that follows, for benediction of the sacrament. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11334a.htm> [Accessed 3 June 2010]

*Erat et si non est dominica tamen cantatur Alleluia sine dubio. sequentia Ecce panis et in sancto die erit prima missa Cibavit sequentia Lauda Sion et similiter tenetur si venit super rectam octavam.*⁷⁶

On the vigil of St. John, both masses shall be for him. If it is Sunday, then the cantrices shall sing *Alleluia, Erat Iohannes* and the Sunday mass shall be read. During the octave of John, let an additional mass be sung for him. If [one] cannot sing it, then let it be read. . . . When the day of St. John, or any feast should come on the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, then the Sunday gospel shall be read on Wednesday, and if [one] cannot, then on Friday. If St. John shall occur within the octave of Corpus Christi, then the high mass [is] for St. John. The priests shall assist in singing, on account of the feast, [with] **Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus**. If it is Sunday, then *Alleluia, Erat* is sung, and if it not Sunday, the *Alleluia* is still sung, without a doubt, [with] the sequence *Ecce panis*. And on the holy day, the first mass will be *Cibavit* with the sequence *Lauda Sion*, and the same holds when it [the feast of St. John] comes on the octave itself.

The Preetz Gradual gives two choices of alleluias for the feast of St. John the Baptist.⁷⁷

Here, Anna has specified one of these: *Alleluia, Erat*, to be sung by the cantrices when the feast falls on a Sunday. During the week, an alleluia is still sung, but with the divisio *Ecce panis* of the sequence *Lauda Sion salvatorem* for Corpus Christi. The mass *Cibavit* is the votive mass sung throughout the year for the body of Christ: here, it is sung as a first mass on the feast of St. John celebrated during or on the octave of Corpus Christi. As with the example previously given above, it seems that in this scenario, three masses might be celebrated on one day—two sung, and the third read.

Anna goes on to describe how the masses and office are to be said when the Vigil or feast of St. John falls on the octave of Corpus Christi. As with the example above, she often divides the content of individual masses and offices to respond to both liturgical occasions: she goes beyond simply indicating suffrages or memorials to be said for

⁷⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 66v–67r. The incipits of *Kyrie, Sanctus* and *Agnus* are notated, and thus given in boldface type.

⁷⁷ D-PREk Reihe V G2 (the Preetz Gradual), fols. 94r–95r.

whichever occasion is not being celebrated. Each calendrical scenario requires a different division of the hours between the observation of the two feasts. Anna writes:

Quando vigilia iohannis venerit super rectam octavam corporis xristi tunc legetur duodecima lectio. si scilicet *Fuit in diebus Herodis*. sed non festive. omnibus stantibus. prima missa cantatur de iohanne ad completorium versus *O salutaris* vespere cantabuntur de eo cum ypmnis. sed psalmi de corpore xristi. Capitulum non agetur illo die. Nota eciam que per totam octavam corporis xristi nichil iecipit (sic) sanctus iohannes quando venit infra octavam nisi suffragia ad vespervas. et ad matutinas. quia per octavam corporis xristi est duplex festum. Sed legetur semper una missa de sancto iohanne per octavam. quando dies sancti iohannis venit super rectam octavam corporis xristi quarta feria quando est vigilia eius. tunc nichil cantatur de corpore xristi ad matutinas. nisi primus ympnus scilicet *Pange lingua* cetera omnia de sancto iohane tam in vigilia quam in die sed versus *O salutaris hostia* cantatur ad horas.⁷⁸

When the vigil of St. John shall come right on the octave of Corpus Christi, then the twelfth lesson is read, namely *Fuit in diebus Herodis*, but not festively, with everyone standing. Let the first mass be sung for John. At Compline, the verse *O salutaris*. Vespers shall be sung for him, with the hymn, but [with] the psalms for Corpus Christi. The chapter is not held on that day. But note that for the whole octave of Corpus Christi, St. John receives nothing, when [his feast] comes within the octave, except for the suffrages at Vespers and at Matins, because through the octave of Corpus Christi, [it] is a duplex feast. But let a mass for St. John always be read through the octave. When the day of St. John comes right on the octave of Corpus Christi, Wednesday, when it is his vigil, nothing is sung for Corpus Christi at Matins, except for the first hymn *Pange lingua*—all else [is] for St. John, both on the vigil, and on the day. But let the verse *O salutaris hostia* be sung at the hours.

Thus, when the vigil of St. John fell on the octave of Corpus Christi, Matins would be said as usual for the octave of Corpus Christi, but with the twelfth lesson *Fuit in diebus Herodis* for John (Luke 1:5.) The first mass would be sung for John, and likely, the second for Corpus Christi. Compline would include the verse *O salutaris hostia*, for Corpus Christi. The vespers antiphons and hymn would be for John, but with psalms for Corpus Christi. A mass for John would be read for the entire octave. Anna explains that no other feast besides St. John would earn this kind of status within the week of the

⁷⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 67v–68r.

duplex feast of Corpus Christi, rather, it would be observed only with suffrages at Vespers and Matins. When the feast itself fell on the octave, then Matins would be entirely dedicated to St. John, save the hymn *Pange lingua* for Corpus Christi. The body of Christ would likewise be memorialized at the hours with the verse *O salutaris hostia*.

Processional activity was also affected by calendrical conflict that resulting in overlapping feasts. Anna writes about how the Mass of St. John during the octave of Corpus Christi would be preceded by a procession in honor of the body of Christ:

Si sanctus iohannes venerit infra octavam corporis xriste. procession fiet de corpore xristi R. *Cenantibus* ymnpnus *Verbum supernum* ad introitum *O sacrum* versus *O Salutaris* ad horas.⁷⁹

If St. John shall come within the octave of Corpus Christi, a procession is made for Corpus Christi [with] the response *Cenantibus*, [and with] the hymn *Verbum supernum* at the entrance.

Anna also provides detail about how the Saturday Marian votive mass *Salve sancta parens* is to be sung within the octave of St. John:

Quando *Salve* cantatur infra octavam iohannis tunc erit prima missa de sancto iohanne et de dominica legetur. si nescit alio die cantari.⁸⁰

When the *Salve* is sung within the octave of St. John, then the first mass will be for St. John, and let the Sunday mass be read if it cannot be sung on another day.

Thus, the first mass would be for John, implying that the Marian *Salve* would retain pride of place as the high mass. The mass of Sunday would be sung on another day, and when not possible, would be read as a third mass on the same day.

In all of these cases, the basic principle is that the feast of Saint John is trumped by the Feast of Corpus Christi, when the saint's day falls on the latter feast or its octave. When the feast of St. John falls within the octave of Corpus Christi, however, its

⁷⁹ Ibid., fol. 68r.

⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 68v.

observation trumps that of the latter feast. In instances when the important feasts of the Temporale and Sanctorale coincide, Anna often indicates how the office of the feast being observed is supplemented by elements from the other feast, for example, suffrages and memorials dedicated to the other feast. In other cases, Anna replaces elements of one office—the hymn, the psalms, readings, or responsories—within the framework of another, creating an integrated office that may simultaneously respond to feasts of the Sanctorale and Temporale and the dedication of the day within the weekly votive cycle.

In the case study given above moreover shows that the cycle of votive masses was not static: both the schedule of votive masses and their content changed according to the liturgical season, and even according to the day. This votive practice was much more complex than that of other documented traditions, and added an unprecedented layer of complexity to the planning and execution of the liturgy at Kloster Preetz. The cantrix of Kloster Preetz was responsible for knowing which votive masses for should be sung on any given day, and for determining proper and ordinary chants for those masses that shifted on a seasonal, and sometimes daily, basis. She also determined who should sing the mass—the nuns, the children, the priests, or a combined force of singers.

This case study also highlights the cantrix's responsibility for negotiating this weekly schedule of votive masses within the larger cycles of Temporale and Sanctorale. This consisted of weighing the relative importance of the each liturgical occasion and deciding which three masses would be sung as the *prior*, *prima*, and *summa* mass of each day, which occasions would be anticipated, postponed, or integrated, and how the proper and ordinary chants of each of the three masses should chosen to reflect the liturgical season. There are countless examples of this kind of liturgical scheduling problem in the

Buch in Chor; collectively, they denote an overarching concern with the coordination of cycles.

The Feasts of St. Peter and St. Matthias

In another example, Anna discusses scheduling procedure when the feasts of the Apostles St. Peter (St. Peter's Chair, 22 February) and St. Matthias (24 February) happen to fall on significant days in Lent. It should be noted that elsewhere in her book, Anna writes that when a feast having twelve lessons falls on a Saturday during Lent or Advent, then the monastic *mandatum* (foot washing) that usually occurred on those Saturdays would be cancelled, with the exception of the Saturday before *Ad te levavi* and *Invocavit* Sundays—the first Sundays of Advent and Lent, respectively.⁸¹ The Monday after *Invocavit* was also a special day in which the nuns confessed, and when books were distributed among the community for study.⁸² In this example, Anna handles the coincidence of feasts on the three days from the Saturday before *Invocavit* to the Monday after by prescribing not only the transferral of feasts, but also the integration of more than one feast into a single observance. She writes:

Quando dies sancti mathie vel dies sancti petri venit super secundam feriam *Invocavit* ibidem celebrabuntur Et capitulum agitur ipso die. Lectos de quadragesima legantur. Libru dividuntur et omnes emendant sicut ipso die solent Quando dies petri venit super dominicam *Remiscere* tunc transponitur in secundam feriam Et secunde vespere erunt de sancto mathia sed psalmi de sancto petro et antiphona super psalmum *Universa plebs* et tantum memoria de sancto petro Quando dies mathie venit super dominicam *Esto* in ibidem celebrabitur et tantum memoria de dominica sed R. *Benedicens* cantatur ad introitum Secunda feria nocte legetur evangelium dominicale cum tribus parviis responsoriis scilicet *Quadragesima Edificavit Periveniet ipsum*. Capitula et

⁸¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 5r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 35v,

colleccionem leguntur ad horas de dominica antiphona ad primas *Servite domino* et Summa missa erit *Esto mihi* Quando sanctus mathias venit in quadragesima: tunc cantant sacerdotes in vigilia primam missam de eo: et summa erit de tempore In sancto die ambe misse erunt de eo: et officium de tempore legetur post summam missam Si est dominica tantum erit prima missa de apostolo.⁸³

When the day of St. Matthias or the day of St. Peter comes on the Monday after *Invocavit*, they shall be celebrated on that same day, and the chapter meeting shall be held on the same day. The books are distributed, and all confess, as they should on that day. When the day of Peter comes on *Remiscere* Sunday, then it is transferred to Monday. And the second vespers shall be for St. Matthias, but with psalms for St. Peter, and the antiphon for the psalms *Universa plebs fidelis*, and with a memorial for St. Peter. When the day of Matthias comes on *Esto* Sunday, it is celebrated that day with a memorial for Sunday, but the responsory *Benedicens* is sung at the entrance. On Monday night the Sunday gospel is read with the three short responsories, namely: *Quadraginta*,⁸⁴ *Edificavit*, *Perveniet ipsum*. The Sunday chapter and collect are read at the hours. The antiphon at prime [is] *Servite domino* and the high mass shall be *Esto michi*. When St. Matthias comes in Lent, then the priests sing the first mass for him as a vigil, and the high mass is of the season. On the day itself, both masses will be for him, and the mass of the time will be read after the high mass. If it is Sunday, then the first mass will be for the Apostle.

In other words, if the feast of Matthias were to happen on the Monday after *Invocavit* (the first Sunday of Lent) it would be observed in spite of the special penitential activities that normally took place on that day. If the day of St. Peter were to fall on *Reminiscere* (the second Sunday of Lent) then the Saint's feast would be transferred to the next day, but the Sunday vespers should integrate the antiphons for St. Matthias with the psalms for St. Peter, thus creating a combined observation of both saints' feasts. If it the day of St. Matthias should fall on *Esto* (Quinquegesima Sunday), then the Sunday mass would be transferred to the next day. However, the entrance procession for Sunday mass with the responsory *Benedicens* would remain on Sunday and not be transferred, and likewise for the Sunday readings at the hours. If the feast of St. Matthias were to happen during Lent,

⁸³ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 31v–32r.

⁸⁴ CAO 7454.

then the first mass of the previous day should be celebrated for him, while the high mass should be that of the time. On the day itself, two masses were to be said for the apostle, and the mass of the time will be *read* after the second mass. If it happened to be a Sunday, however, only the first mass would be for the Apostle, and the second would be for the Sunday.

The meticulous detail of these instructions exemplifies the style of the entire book: Anna discusses scheduling conflicts on a case-by-case basis, going through all possible scenarios in a way that is thorough, albeit not strictly chronological. In this way, the organization of the book reflects the same calendrical conundrums it tries to solve: in contrast to the orderly chronological movement through first *Temporale* and then *Sanctorale* of a typical late medieval *liber ordinarius*, the mixed calendar and temporal backtracking of the *Buch im Chor* mimic the very problem of the integration of multiple liturgical cycles that Anna sought to address.

The passage translated above continues on to explain how the liturgical observation of the vigil of an apostle impacts the weekly cycle of votive masses and the Sunday mass.

Nota que super in vigiliis apostolorum erit summa missa de apostolis: et prima de tempore quando vigilia alicuius apostolis venit super dominicam: tamen erit summa missa de apostolo et prima de dominica Quando die mathie venit super dominicam *Invocavit* tunc transponitur in secundam feriam et ordinetur ut hic ante dictum est de eo et de sancto petro sed sabato ante cantetur prima missa de apostolo.⁸⁵

Note that when the vigil of an apostle, or of any saint having a first mass, comes on a Saturday, then on the Friday before, the first mass will be *Nos autem* and the high mass *Salve*. Then on Saturday, the first mass will then be *Salve* and the high mass [will be] for the saint. Note, in addition, that on the vigils of apostles, the high mass will be for the apostle, and the first mass [will be] of the season, even when the high mass will be for the apostle and the first mass for Sunday. When

⁸⁵ Ibid., fols. 32r–32v.

the day of Matthias comes on *Invocavit* Sunday, then it is transferred to Monday, and it is ordained thus, as has been stated, for him and for St. Peter, but the Saturday before, the first mass is sung for the apostle.

In other words, the vigil mass of an Apostle, when said on Saturday displaces one of the *Salve* masses for the blessed Virgin and taking pride of place as the high mass (*summa missa*) leaving a single Marian *Salve* mass in the position of first mass (*prima missa*). In a cascading effect, an additional *Salve* mass is then transferred to the day before, Friday, as the *summa missa*, leaving the Friday mass for the Holy Cross (*Nos autem*) into the position of *prima missa*. This would mean that one of the masses of Friday—either a mass for the dead, a mass of the season, or a repetition of the previous Sunday’s mass, depending on the season—would be omitted. This shows the importance the convent placed on singing both of the Saturday masses for the Virgin, even if one had to be transferred to the previous day.

Similarly, when the vigil of an apostle comes on a Sunday, it took the position of *summa missa*, leaving the Sunday mass in the position of *prima missa*. If the day of the feast itself falls on a Sunday, it is transferred to Monday, but the vigil remains on the previous Saturday. This unusual practice of liturgical scheduling exemplifies Anna’s creative efforts to coordinate the calendars of the Sanctorale and the Sundays of Lent.

Votive Masses in the Octave of the Ascension

In another example, Anna states that the mass *Exaudi*, proper to the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension, should be repeated on Wednesday and Friday of the following week, as was typical for Sunday masses. “But”, she writes,

Si si (sic) aliquis sanctus venit in ipsam sextam feriam xii lectiones habens.
ibidem celebratur sed tunc celebratur dominica integraliter quarta feria infra
octavam cum missa et horis tunc cantat conventus tercia feria missam
de beate virgine

...if any saint comes on that same Friday having twelve lessons, then [his or her feast] is celebrated on that same day, and the mass of Sunday is celebrated completely on Wednesday within the octave with a mass and hours. Then the convent sings the mass for the Blessed Virgin on Tuesday.⁸⁶

Thus, in a cascading effect, the Sunday mass *Exaudi* is repeated not on Friday, but on Wednesday. The Wednesday mass for the Virgin is then transferred back a day to Tuesday, likely replacing a mass for the dead that would otherwise have been sung then. Similar examples are too many to enumerate, each of which required a careful balancing of the weight of the various occasions to determine their relative order. Feasts of the Temporale and Sanctorale compete in importance, while votive occasions are often omitted or transferred to accommodate them. The only votive mass that was always transferred, and never replaced, was that of the Blessed Virgin. This attests to high regard in which this weekly votive observation was held at Kloster Preetz.

As with the mass, the negotiation of the different calendrical cycles of Temporale, Sanctorale, and votive observances within the divine office was a considerable task. The cantrix had to decide which liturgical occasions took precedence and had to set the variable elements of the office for each occasion. This included choosing the appropriate antiphons and responses, hymns, readings, responses, memorials and suffrages, and Marian antiphons. It is not unusual for memorials and suffrages to be made at the end of Vespers or Matins for saints whose feasts coincide with the given day, but do not receive a full office. What is unusual about Anna's prescriptions, as illustrated above with the case of the feasts of Sts. Peter and Matthias, is that a single office might consist of

⁸⁶ Ibid., fol. 58r.

combined elements from more than one feast in order to observe overlapping occasions from the Temporale, Sanctorale, and the weekly votive cycle.

Summary

As the foregoing cases have shown, the complex and mutable votive cycle observed at Kloster Preetz created an extremely complex liturgical calendar, and constituted one of the chief problems of liturgical scheduling addressed in the *Buch im Chor*.

Honoring the Virgin Mary in Votive and Commemorative Offices

The Little Office

In addition to the canonical hours, the convent also chanted the little office of the Virgin on a daily basis. The little office (or *perve hore* in the *Buch im Chor*) consisted of a shorter version of hours of the canonical office: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline—with texts devoted to the Virgin Mary. Additionally, a twelve-lesson Matins of the Assumption of the Virgin was sung each Saturday as a commemorative office, in addition to the Matins of the canonical office.

The origins of the little office of the Virgin date back to the Carolingian period; it was practiced by the tenth century, with substantial local variation.⁸⁷ Rebecca Balzer has documented the little office of the Virgin at Notre Dame in Paris by the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Sally Harper has shown that communal daily recitation of the little

⁸⁷ Rebecca A. Balzer, “The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary’s Role at Paris” in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* edited by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Balzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 463.

Office of the virgin was commonplace in English Benedictine houses by 1250.⁸⁸

Typically, the little office of the Virgin included seasonal items (readings and responsories) but its principle texts remained constant throughout the year. Unlike the Benedictine canonical Matins that consisted of three nocturns, the Matins of the little office at Preetz consisted of two nocturns: the first having three psalms with antiphons and the melismatic responses to three readings, and the second consisting of a single antiphon, canticle and response, as opposed to the much longer monastic cursus of three nocturns.⁸⁹ Anna specifies those psalms and antiphons to be sung at the little Matins throughout the year, summarized in Table 2.6:⁹⁰

Table 2.6. Antiphons and Psalms for the Little Matins

Day	Psalm	Psalm Incipit	Antiphon	CAO number
Sunday, Monday, and Thursday	8	<i>Domine domini noster</i>	None specified	
	18	<i>Celi enarrant</i>		
	23	<i>Domini est terra</i>		
Tuesday and Friday	44	<i>Eructavit</i>	<i>Glorificamus te</i>	2952
	45	<i>Deus noster</i>	<i>Sancta Maria virgo</i>	4705
	86	<i>Fundamenta</i>	<i>Sicut letancium</i>	4936
Between Christmas and the Purification			<i>Homo natus</i>	3010
Wednesday and Saturday	?	<i>Cantate domino</i>	<i>Hec est qui nescivit</i>	3001
	92	<i>Dominus regnavit</i>	<i>Dignare me</i>	2217
	?	<i>Cantate domino</i>	<i>In prole mater</i>	3274
Octave of Easter, all days	8	<i>Domine domini noster</i>	<i>Attollite portas principes (sic)</i>	5158
	18	<i>Celi enarrant</i>		
	23	<i>Domini est terra</i>		

⁸⁸ Ibid., 463, and Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, 57.

⁸⁹ Compare with Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy*, 133–124. Harper writes that the Little Office of the Virgin was typically not said in choir between Christmas Eve and the Feast of the Circumcision, Epiphany Eve and the octave of the Epiphany, Maundy Thursday and the Saturday after Easter, the Eve of Pentecost through Trinity Sunday, on Feasts of the Virgin and their octaves, or on double feasts.

⁹⁰ D-PREk HS 01, fols. 40v–41r.

It should be noted that little office was recited in addition to the canonical office, which would have reflected the day of the week and liturgical season in its choice of psalms, antiphons, and responses. While incomplete, Anna’s list of antiphons and psalms for the little Matins reveals that the little office, as practiced at Kloster Preetz, likewise changed to reflect the weekday and liturgical season. The antiphons given above consist of short, one-line pieces variously assigned to the Marian feasts of the Assumption, Nativity, and Purification, with the exception of the Easter processional antiphon, *Attolite portas principes*, sung here during the octave of Easter.⁹¹ The use of this antiphon shows that material from outside the little office, and indeed, outside of Marian usage, was incorporated into the little office according to the liturgical season.

The adaptation of the little office to the liturgical season is further witnessed in a list given by Anna of the pieces to be sung at the little matins during the liturgical season of Advent, given below:

Table 2.7. The Little Matins in Advent

Genre	Incipit	CAO number	Preetz Antiphoner folio
Hymn	<i>Fit porta</i>	8305c	
Antiphon	<i>Maria turbatur</i>	3706	106r
Antiphon	<i>Respondens</i>	4629	106r
Antiphon	<i>Ecce concipies</i>	2499	106r
Responsory	<i>Ingressus angelus</i>	6963	106r
Responsory	<i>Benedicta tu</i>	6244	106v
Responsory	<i>Xristi virgo</i>	6278	107v
Antiphon	<i>Sub tuum</i>	5041	
Responsory	<i>Elegit eam</i>	?	
Hymn	<i>Veni redemptor</i>	8408a	
Versicle	<i>Speciosa</i>	8202	
Benedictus antiphon	<i>Spiritus sanctus</i>	?	

⁹¹ Note that none of these antiphon selections overlap with the English practices documented by Sally Harper (see Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, 220, table 3.7.)

The first three antiphons given above appear in the extant repertoire of the Preetz Antiphoner and are proper to the feast of the Annunciation. The reflection of the feast of the Annunciation (25 March) that pervades the canonical office during the liturgical season of Advent is also visible here.⁹² The adaptation of music from the feast of the Annunciation shows that material from within the cloister's repertoire proper to a single day of the year was reused for the little office for the entire season of Advent: this reuse of liturgical material in the votive context, also seen in the processional practice of Kloster Preetz, has implications for the way music was taught, learned and performed in the convent.

Anna indicates that the little office should be adapted not only to the greater liturgical season, but also to individual Marian feasts. For example, regarding the little office on the octave of the Annunciation, Anna writes:

In octavam annuntiationis legitur ad pervas vespervas super magnificat antiphona *Gaudendum* ad matutinas *Hec est dies* ad secundas vespervas *O flos florum*.⁹³

On the octave of the Annunciation, at the little Vespers, the antiphon *Gaudendum* is read for the Magnificat. At Matins, [the antiphon] *Hec est dies*. At second vespers, *O flos florum*.

The three antiphons named in this passage recur together in two other instances in Anna's book: they are all antiphons with lengthy texts, found in manuscripts from the thirteenth century on and assigned to Marian feasts throughout the year, usually as canticle antiphons.

⁹² Baltzer had commented on the strong liturgical presence of Mary during Advent (See "The Little Office of the Virgin," 464. Many Marian liturgical texts from during Advent harken back to the Feast of the Annunciation.

⁹³ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 39r–39v.

Anna assigns these pieces to accompany as canticle antiphons, and for processional use, both in the canonical office and the little office.⁹⁴ While the pieces are not contained in the fragmentary Preetz Antiphoner, they may be reconstructed from the fifteenth-century gradual D-LÜh 2° 11 (from an unidentified Lübeck cloister) and the processional D-OS Ge 01, a fifteenth-century processional from the Benedictine convent of Gertrudenberg. The antiphons are remarkable for their texts, as well as their music.

The mode 1 antiphon *Gaudendum nobis est*, transcribed as Musical Example 2.1, is found in a large collection of unassigned Marian antiphons in the fifteenth-century gradual D-LÜh 2° 11 and is The antiphon bears the hallmarks of the so-called “late style,” current from the twelfth century on: a combined plagal and authentic range, a focus on the final, fifth, and octave as melodic poles, the use of recurring melodic motives, and the use of large leaps and scalar motifs.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ibid., fols. 26r–26v, 38v–39r.

⁹⁵ See chapter VI for further discussion of the “late style” in the repertoire of the Preetz Antiphoner.

Gau-den-dum no - bis est quod Xri - stus me - di - a - tor de - i et ho - mi - num

de sanc - ti - ssi - ma vir - gi - num vir - gi - ne na - tus nostra na - tu - ra in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis sub - li - ma - vera persona

hunc pre - omni - bus ame - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - ce - mus hoc se - pe sub - nec - ten - tes Ma - ri - a Ma - ri - a

to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis tu prin - ci - pa - lis - gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter - ser - vi - en - tes

ab ho - stis an - ti - qui mil - le mil - le - vis fra - u - di - bus con - ser - va E U O U A E

Musical Example 2.1. Antiphon *Gaudendum nobis est*, D-LÜh 2° 11, fol. 170v–171r.

The antiphon *Hec est dies* is usually assigned as a canticle antiphon for the feast of the Annunciation.⁹⁶ The use of this antiphon for the little office on the octave of the Annunciation shows that the little office was subject to change throughout the year, and responded in particular to Marian feasts within the Sanctorable: in other words, items in the little office could be substituted with items proper to the “Marian season.” The antiphon *Hec est dies*, while not extant in the Preetz Antiphoner, may be found in D-OS Ge 01, the fifteenth-century processional of the Benedictine women’s house of Gertrudenberg near Osnabrück where it was sung for the feast of the Annunciation.⁹⁷ The antiphon is transcribed below as Musical Example 2.2.

⁹⁶ CAO 2997, D-PREK HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 26v, 38v–39v.

⁹⁷ D-OS GE 01, fols. 40v–41r. The accompanying rubric reads: *In annunciatione domini hodie at cras.*

Hec est dies quam fecit dominus

Hodie dominus afflicti omnem populum suscipere

et redempti omnem misit Hodie mortem quam femina intulit femina fugavit

Hodie deus homo factus id quod fuit permanens

et quod non erat assumpsit Ergo exordium nos tere demptio nis devote

decolamus et exultemus dicentes gloria tibi domine

Musical Example 2.2. *Hec est dies*, D-OS GE 01, fols. 40v–41r.

The antiphon takes as its text an expansion of the psalm 117/118 verse 24: *Haec est dies quam fecit dominus exultemus et laetemur in ea*, found in many texts for Easter. The interior statements beginning *Hodie* refer to the mystery of the incarnation, while referencing the feast of the Annunciation. The mode 4 musical setting has the extended range of *C–c*, with phrases invariably concluding in variations of a formulaic undertone cadence to the *finalis*: *D–E–E*. The melody avoids the fifth of the mode, tending to gravitate instead around the reciting center of *a* with occasional leaps up to *c*. The final phrase consists of an exordium to prayer. Musically, a sense of urgency is created by the evasion of cadences to *E* on the phrases *decolamus* and *exultemus*.⁹⁸

The third antiphon mentioned, *O flos florum*, can be identified as the antiphon klo0381, generally assigned to the Assumption as a Magnificat or processional antiphon.

⁹⁸ See chapter 6 for further discussion of *E* mode pieces in the “late style.”

This mode 4 antiphon has an intercessory text, set to a melody that is very similar to that of *Hec est dies*. It is transcribed as Musical Example 2.3, from the collection of unassigned Marian antiphons in the fifteenth-century gradual D-LÜh 2° 11.

O _____ flos ___ flo - rum O ___ do-mi-ci-li-um vir - tu-tum O _____ e-lec-ti-ssi - ma mu-li - e - rum

be - a - ta _____ vir - go Ma - ri - a cu - ius so-li - us com-mer-ci - o fra-gi-li-tas gene-ris hu-ma-ni

in - ve - - - nit ad - di-tum re - cu - pe - ran - di ad ___ mit - - - te pre - ces ___ no - stras

in - tra sac - ra - ri - um e - xau - di - ci - o - nis et _____ re - por - ta ___ no - bis

gra - - - - ci - am re - con - ci - li - a - ti - o - nis sit per te ex - cu - sa - bi - le

quod per te in - ger - ri - mus a - cci - pe _____ quod of - fe - ri - mus ___ in - pe - tra

quod ro - ga - mus qui - a nec po - ten - ti - o - rem me - ri - tis ad pla - can - dam ___ i - ram vin - di - cis

in veni - mus quam te que me - ru - i - sti ___ ma - ter ex - i - ste - re e - ius - dem re - demp - to - ris et iu - di - cis EUOU AE

Musical Example 2.3. *O flos florum*, D-LÜh 2° 11, fols. 171r–171v.

It is not known if these late antiphons were used elsewhere in the canonical office at Kloster Preetz, or if their use was exclusively in a devotional setting for processions and for the little office. Anna's assignment of these antiphons shows how the little office was adapted to reflect the importance and solemnity of the Marian feast of the Annunciation, both in the substitution of special antiphons, and by the length and prolixity of the particular choices. This example shows how the little office as celebrated at Kloster Preetz was dynamic and adaptable to liturgical circumstances.

Anna's *Buch im Chor* reveals that little office was still sung at other times *not* allowed according to the Roman Rite, namely, within the octave of Christmas and from Holy Thursday through the octave of Easter.⁹⁹ In regard to the restrictions on when the little office was sung, Anna only specifies that it should not be sung on Christmas Eve.¹⁰⁰ In other words, the little office was sung likely more often at Kloster Preetz than was typical.

In short, the practice of the little office at Kloster Preetz was remarkable for its degree of weekly and seasonal variation, and its adaptation within the octave of important Marian feasts. Anna's prescription for Vespers and Matins on the octave of the Annunciation is marked by a series of late Marian antiphons of unusual length and prolixity. Finally, with the exception of Christmas Eve, the cloister seems to lack the injunctions against singing the little office on occasions of great solemnity and liturgical activity, attesting to the place the cloister's culture held by Marian devotion.

⁹⁹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 14v, 17v, and 45r (see ft. nt. 36.) Baltzer also mentions Advent as a time when the Little Office was not said in Paris, though this seems to have changed over the course of the thirteenth century. Other prohibited periods included Christmas through the octave of Epiphany, Passion Sunday through the octave of Easter, and c through Trinity; Baltzer, "The Little Office", 464.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 12v.

The Commemorative Office: Matins of the Assumption

Unlike the Marian little office that is said in addition to the main office of the day, the commemorative office of the Blessed Virgin refers to a Marian office that displaced the canonical office on one day per week, usually on Saturday.¹⁰¹ The commemorative office in the Roman Breviary had four sets of texts and music that changed according to the liturgical season. Like the little office of the Virgin, the commemorative office was commonly omitted during Christmas and the octave of Epiphany, during Lent: coincidence with a primary or double feast would result in the transference of the commemorative office to another day.¹⁰² From Anna's single reference to the commemorative office, it is evident that the practice at Preetz differed from that of the Roman Breviary in several important ways.

First, the commemorative office, as sung at Preetz, consisted only of a twelve-lesson Matins of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin that was sung every Saturday. As we learn in Anna's requests for reform, the commemorative Matins was sung in addition to the Matins of the canonical office: there was no provision in the ordinal for the transference of the Matins to another day when calendrical conflicts arose, even in the case of conflict with Marian feasts. This resulted in two complete Matins of twelve lessons, each approximately two and a half hours long, being sung in succession.¹⁰³ Anna's critique of this situation and the solution that was decided upon included below in discussion of reform.

¹⁰¹ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy*, 133–134.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 134–135.

¹⁰³ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*) fol. 133v.

In sum, the Marian devotions practiced at Kloster Preetz were extensive and complex. In addition to the weekly votive masses for the Virgin Mary that took place on Saturdays, and sometimes other weekdays, the community recited a daily little office of the virgin that ran parallel to the canonical office, as well as a weekly commemorative Matins of twelve lessons. The content of the little office at Preetz changed in relationship to the liturgical season, and incorporated material from the canonical office. Unlike in other religious establishments, Preetz seemed not to have any prohibitions against the singing of the little office during the most intensive liturgical seasons of the year. Moreover, the commemorative office in the form of the twelve-lesson Matins of the Assumption did not replace the Saturday Matins as might be expected, but was rather sung in addition to the Matins of the day. The Marian devotions at Kloster Preetz thus were an added layer of liturgical observation that, together with the demands of the Sanctorale, Temporale, and votive cycles, created an unusually full calendar and resulted in extremely difficult scheduling problems for the cantrix.

Memorial Culture

The practice of praying for the dead—namely for the convent’s noble, bourgeois and clerical patrons—comprised an important part of the convent’s financial base and reciprocal spiritual work, and represented an additional layer of liturgical observation in the cloister’s schedule. As Gisela Muschiol has written, intercessory prayer for the founders and benefactors of the convent, as well as living and deceased family members, was one of the fundamental obligations of cloistered women. According to Muschiol,

such prayer “determined the identity of the community and lent it legitimacy.”¹⁰⁴ Due to their purity, virgins’ prayers were considered by some theologians to be especially effective, because of their closer proximity to God.¹⁰⁵ With the shift of liturgical emphasis from the divine office to the mass over the course of the Middle Ages, memorial prayer in the form of psalmodic recitation gave way to the practice of singing memorial masses. Muschiol contends that because a priest was required to officiate the mass, this shift put women’s communities at a financial disadvantage, given that memorial services were an important source of income for the community.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, Anna conveys that at Kloster Preetz, the saying of memorial masses on behalf of the dead was an activity to which a significant amount of time was devoted.

As seen above, the memorial mass for the dead, *Si enim*, was said several times per week. The *Buch im Chor* lists twenty-nine examples of individual men, women, and families that were memorialized in masses, sometimes more than once per year, with more donors appearing in earlier records dating from the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷ June L. Mecham has argued that “for women, and for the later Middle Ages, the boundaries between religious and secular life were far more fluid than scholars have heretofore recognized.”¹⁰⁸ In particular, the support of the laywomen took the form of small donations and bequests, especially those of a memorial nature, such as anniversary

¹⁰⁴ Gisela Muschiol, “Time and Space: Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages,” 195.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 195.

¹⁰⁷ Rosenplänter, “Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft,” 171–172; D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 123v–127v.

¹⁰⁸ June L. Mecham, “Cooperative Piety among Monastic and Secular Women in Late Medieval Germany,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 88, no. 4 (2008): 584.

masses, liturgical furnishings that included textiles and other liturgical furnishings, and the distribution of alms. It is therefore not surprising that at Kloster Preetz, female patrons are prominently listed along with the male patrons. Female patrons include both religious and lay women, many of whom were related to nuns in the convent. Each entry names the patron, what they gave to the convent, including land, cloth for liturgical vestments, other liturgical furnishings such as banners, windows, and silver implements, funds dedicated to the repair of convent buildings, and gifts of money and agricultural income. The gifts range from the humble to the extravagant. For instance, a commemoration was made for a nun who gave a monetary donation to the cloister: “For our sister Tale Swaff, in the week of *Adorate*, [the responsory] *Absolve* is sung once. She is celebrated, because she gave us 200 marks.”¹⁰⁹ And later:

Vor Margarete Renentlowen soror nostra celebratur semel in anno ad festum Martini Absolve cantatur que dedit nobis c mar et Benedicta Breiden soror nostra apponitur que dedit nobis xxx mar tho der witthen samittes caselem.

For Margarete Renentlowe, our sister [a memorial] is celebrated once yearly on the feast of St. Martin. Let [the responsory] *Absolve* is sung, because she gave us 100 marks. And Benedicta Breiden, our sister, is included, for she gave us 30 marks, and a white samite chasuble.¹¹⁰

From these passages, we see that the nuns themselves were donors to the convent, both of money and of liturgical goods, and remembered for their donations in its memorial culture.

Most of the outside donors listed share surnames with the nuns of the convent, thus revealing that relatives of the nuns in the convent were active in supporting the

¹⁰⁹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 124r.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 126v.

community, even over generations. The Rantzowe family—Anna’s maternal relatives—figure prominently in those donors listed by Anna. For instance, she writes:

Her Breide Rantzowe celebratur bis in anno. primo dominica quarta post corpus xristi secundo in vigilia conceptionis. Sacerdotes cantabunt vigiliis in die nicolai et conventus legit nisi quodlibet per se. *Ne tradas* cantatur que dedit nobis villam Ebbendorpe. Et uxor sua argentum calicem scilicet vor tale.

Herr Breide Rantzowe is celebrated twice in the year: first, on the fourth Sunday after Corpus Christi, and second on the vigil of the Conception. The priests shall sing the vigils on the day of Nicholas, and the convent shall only read whatever it wishes by itself. *Ne tradas* is sung, for he gave us the village of Ebbendorpe. And his wife gave us a silver chalice, that is, for Tale.¹¹¹

Evidence from elsewhere in the liturgical instructions of the *Buch im Chor* confirm that the vigils of Breide Rantzowe were indeed sung on the feast of St. Nicolas: “On the feast of St. Nicholas, the convent reads the vigils of Herr Breide, going into the choir. But the priests sing.”¹¹² Convent donors were remembered with commendations, vigils, and masses, and the chapter of the dead. As has been shown elsewhere in the discussion of votive cycles, depending on the season, the convent celebrated between four and six masses for the dead per week, evenly divided between the priests and the nuns. In the above passage and in others, we see that the priests were often given the additional responsibility of singing the vigils of the dead, perhaps in order to alleviate some burden of singing for the nuns.

Finally, who was the “Tale” for whom Herr Breide’s wife donated a silver chalice? Likely, this was a donation in the memory of the nun Tale Rantzowe, who died

¹¹¹ Ibid., fol. 125r.

¹¹² Ibid., fols. 7v–8r.

in 1435.¹¹³ This piece of evidence shows that donations were not made only for the donor, but on the behalf of his or her deceased relatives as well. Nuns of the convent made donations, as did their male and female relatives from outside of the convent. The donors not only gained the prayers following their death; through their gifts, they supported their female relatives within the convent. This evidence makes one appreciate how the convent operated, for certain noble families, at least, as an extension of the family. We see how several generations of women from the same family might live in the convent, praying for members of their family, living and deceased. Convent members and their relatives alike supported the convent and its memorial activities through gifts in cash and kind.

From Anna's book, we learn that prior to reform, the *commendatio anime* was said daily in memory of the dead.¹¹⁴ The following passage displays how a more extensive memorial consisting of a mass and the *capitulum anime* (chapter of the departed souls) was observed:

In secunda lata feria celebrantur anime cum una missa et commendacione. R. *Ne tradas*. capitulum agitur omnes debent ad esse que de lectis sunt. et sic ad omnia capitula animarum. illa que sumptum dat eciam debet ad esse. cum omnibus procuratricibus suis conventus recipiet disciplinam septena legetur. cum collectus *Tibi domine commendamus* illo die non licet laborare aperte.¹¹⁵

On the next free day, the souls [of the dead] are celebrated with a mass and commendation, [with] the response *Ne tradas*. The chapter is held and all the elect should be there, and likewise, at every chapter of the dead. She who gave the donation [in kind] should also be there, with all of her [female] agents. Let the

¹¹³ See Rosenplänter, "Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft," 386. Rosenplänter has identified three Tale Rantsowes; the other two were still living in 1491.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., fols. 135v–136.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., fols. 85v–86r.

convent receive discipline, and let the seven penitential psalms be read, with the collect *Tibi domine commendamus*. On that day, working outside is not permitted.

Thus, donors—typically female, according to the passage above—gave to the convent in exchange for memorial services. On the day the services were held, the donor was expected to attend along with her staff. Along with spoken and sung prayers, the penitential act of flagellation served as a method of prayer on behalf of the souls of the departed.

Certain patrons were to be remembered on one or two particular days per year; others seem to have been remembered in observances honoring groups of patrons. In the passage below, Anna describes such a yearly occasion. Note that the nuns pray for deceased clergy, and for the souls of their benefactors—a group that included their own relatives:

Dominica *Circumdede runt* cantantur vigilie tonaliter prelatis nostris. secunda feria celebrantur cum una missa. tractus *Commovisti*. *Absolve* cantatur ad commendacionem. quecum persona dat conventum sumptum tercia feria post latam secundam feriam. Illius parentes et benefactores celebrantur ipso die cum multis missis. et commendatione *Absolve* cantatur. Vigilia cantantur quando tempus admittet. psalterium hostias legitur. Lumen exponit que sumptum preest. Sacerdotes cantabunt vigilias in ipso die.¹¹⁶

On *Circumdede runt* Sunday, vigils are sung for our prelates. On Monday, they are celebrated with a mass, [with the] tract *Commovisti*. *Absolve* is sung at the commendation. Any nun who donates to the convent [is celebrated] on the Tuesday after the free Monday.¹¹⁷ Her parents and benefactors are celebrated on that same day with many masses, and the commendation *R. Absolve* is sung. The vigil is sung when the season allows. A Psalter is read for the hosts. A light is set forth when a donation [in kind] is present. The priests shall sing the vigils on that day.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., fols. 126v–127r.

¹¹⁷ I read *persona* here as a woman who has taken vows, i.e., a nun. See Chapter III for further discussion of this word.

The prioress and cantrix were in charge of keeping all of these dates, and determining which masses, commendations, and vigils were to be sung on which dates, and by whom.

Burial Practices

Anna also provides some details of the burial of nuns, priests, and the “spiritual children” (or child oblates). In the following passage, Anna gives special instructions regarding the burial of a member of the Rantzowe family, maternal relatives of Anna and Dilla, whose ancestral tomb was located in the cloister’s graveyard:

Quando aliquis moritur de curialibus silicet Rantzowe qui habent hic sepultura eorum. conventus ibit funem obviam extra valvam sub arbores in via legitur *Verba mea* quando funus ducitur in ecclesiam. ibi manebit conventus. donec integra commendacio cum omnibus responsoriis est cantata. si est ante prandum. tunc ibit conventus ad choram. post missam cantatur iterum integra commendacio. quando sepeliter. si vero con nocturnum temporis quando funus venit. que nescit sepeliri tamen ponatur in ecclesiam. commendacio cantatur. et custodes ponantur ad vigilandum. apud funerus hoc promonet priorissa cum consensu propinquorum illius defuncti que ipsi remunerabunt custodibus et dimittent eis fieri quicumque indigent simili modo tenetur cum commendacionem quando sacerdotes moriuntur¹¹⁸

When someone dies from the courts, namely, the Rantzowes, who have their tombs here, the convent goes outside the gates, to meet the body beneath the trees. On the way, *Verba mea* is read as the body is lead into the church. There the convent stays, until the entire commendation is sung with all its responsories. If it is before lunch, then convent goes to the choir. After mass, the entire commendation is sung again, when it is buried. If it is indeed happens to be night when the body needing to be buried arrives, then it is still placed in the church. The commendation is sung, and guards are placed next to the body to watch over it. Let this be arranged by the prioress with the consent of the relatives of the deceased, who themselves shall pay the guards and dismiss them. Let it be done thus for anyone who requires it. The same holds for the commendation when a priest dies.

In sum, the convent provided memorial services for their own members, and for the families and benefactors of its members. The Rantzowe family—to whom Anna was

¹¹⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 119r–119v.

related through her maternal lineage—had a particularly close relationship with the convent, where their ancestral tomb was located. Memorial activities were held often, with masses for the dead sung several times a week, and the commendation of the souls performed on a daily basis. These activities constituted another layer of liturgical obligation that needed to be considered in the cloister’s scheduling, in addition to the demands of the Sanctorale, Temporale, and votive cycles, and daily Marian observances.

Liturgical Reform in Kloster Preetz

The latter section of the *Buch im Chor*, from approximately fol. 91r on, is comprised of materials that reflect ongoing reform. This section is made up of sundry information including an index of the Benedictine rule, lists of readings (described above), notes on reformed cloister entrance ceremonies and education, and records of reforms that took place as a result of two episcopal visitations by the bishop of Lübeck and the abbot of Cismar Abbey, the nearby Benedictine men’s house and founding member of the Bursfeld Union.

Episcopal Visitations

One visitation is recorded as having taken place in 1486; no date is mentioned for the other occasion, which may have possibly taken place in 1484 at the time of the confirmation of the newly-elected prioress. Anna’s account of the latter visitation, translated below, gives us a glimpse of what reform looked like through the eyes of the newly-elected prioress.

Anna describes how the visiting Bishop Albrecht II of Lübeck and Abbot Hinricus of Kloster Cismar attacked her for one of the community’s unwritten musical customs. As discussed above, in addition to the usual two masses that were sung on a

daily basis—the first mass and the high mass—certain liturgical occasions required a third mass, the so-called *prior missa* or “prior mass.” We learn that it was the community’s custom, in these cases, to sing the prior and first masses simultaneously. Possibly, one mass was sung in the nun’s choir, while the second mass was sung at the same time in the southern aisle of the church used by the cloister’s priests. Anna relates how this custom was discovered and attacked by visiting clergy:

Dilectissime. olim consuetum fuit que prima et prior missa cantabantur simul. quadam vice. audiens graciosus dominus. dominus albertus episcopus lubicensis propter quod informans me et arguens me: non unam tam vice. sed sepius: tandem contigit. que prepositus noster fecit computationem. coram prefato episcopo: et reverendo domino abbati cismarensi. ibi ambobum prelatis arguentibus me. publice coram tota congregatione. altera die ordinabant sic. que recordare cantetur omni die quando sanctus cantatur ad primam missam. et missa terminetur legendo. tam in solempnitatibus quam in ferialibus.

Most beloved: it was previously our custom that the first mass and the prior mass were sung at the same time. On a certain occasion, the gracious lord, Lord Albrecht, bishop of Lübeck heard this, on account of which he accused me and instructed me: not once, but numerous times. Finally, it happened that our provost made a reckoning before the aforementioned bishop and the Reverend Lord Abbot of Cismar, there, with both the prelates accusing me, in public, before the entire congregation. On the next day they ordained thus: let it be remembered that on all days [the prior mass] is to be sung when the *Sanctus* is sung at the first mass, and let the [first] mass be read to its conclusion.¹¹⁹

Elsewhere in the text we learn that the location used by the visiting clergy for these proceedings was the convent’s chapter house.¹²⁰ The chapter house was the site of the nuns’ daily confession and censure, and the prioress’s administration of penance and discipline—acts which reaffirmed the hierarchy of the convent. By taking Anna, the newly-elected prioress to task in the chapter house, publically, in front of her entire congregation, the visiting bishop of Lübeck and the abbot of Cismar made a visible

¹¹⁹ Ibid., fols. 141v–142r.

¹²⁰ See *ibid.*, fol. 132v.

display of their own superior position within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, embarrassing and undermining the authority of the newly-elected prioress. Thus we learn what the potential price of liturgical and musical error were: at stake were the convent's customs, its musical traditions, and the authority of its female leadership.

In this situation, any unwritten custom that was not contained in the convent's ordinal, and was therefore the responsibility of the cantrix to determine, was subject to attack in the name of the Bursfeld reform, which held individual Benedictine communities up to unprecedented scrutiny and required increasing adherence to a standardized, reformed liturgy. Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* may be seen as an attempt to codify the musical and liturgical practice in the authoritative genre of the ordinal or *liber ordinarius*, thereby protecting the cloister's customs, its complex and unusual musical tradition, and the authority of its female leadership in the face of increasing outside regulation.

In a longer account of the episcopal visitation of 1486, Anna describes not only the visitation itself, but also gives a narrative account of changes that were made to the convent's practice as a result. Her account gives valuable information regarding cloister's liturgy prior to reform. It also suggests that the reforms, made at the prioress's own request, addressed difficulties the convent experienced in executing its liturgy, versus responding to the pressure of reform from the outside. The narrative is unusual in that the visitation was recorded from the perspective of the prioress and not from that of the visiting authorities. We learn something of the relationship between Anna von Buchwald and her male superiors: despite ultimate authority of the bishop and the humiliation the Anna reports suffering at his hands, she was ultimately granted the reforms she sought.

Anna seems to have manipulated her position in the hierarchy to her advantage by making a conscious display of *humilitas* in order to achieve the reforms that she sought.

Anna describes how on the Saturday of the *Remiscere* Sunday in 1486, Albrecht, bishop of Lübeck, and Hinricus, abbot of Cloister Cismar, visited the convent. At this point, we should remember that Anna had only recently been elected prioress from the position of cantrix, and according to her report, had already been working on the *Buch im Chor* for fifteen years: improving the convent's liturgy was still very much on her mind. In her account, Anna seems to take pride in the efficacious display of *humilitas* she performed before bishop and abbot:

Anno domini mccccclxxxvi Sabato ante Reminiscere erant in monasterio nostro poretze. et in loco capitolari. nobiscum consituti. Reverendus in Xristo pater et dominus Dominus Albertus Episcopus lubicensis et venerabilis pater Dominus hinricus abbas cismarensis. domini et prelati nostri. in quorum omnes sanctimoniales monasterii huius michi Anna de bockwolde priorisse licet indigne. Tunc fecerunt manualementem obedienciam. Quo facto Ego Anna memorata genibus flexis ante pedes decorum prelatorum nostrorum. me humiliter et devote prosternebam.

In the year of Our Lord 1486, on the Saturday before *Reminiscere*, there were in our monastery of Preetz, and in our chapter house, the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ Lord Albertus, Bishop of Lübeck, and the venerable father Lord Hinricus, Abbot of Cismar, our gracious lords and prelates, in the presence all the nuns of whose monastery I, Anna von Buchwald, [am] prioress, albeit unworthy. Then they made manual obedience.¹²¹ This having been done, I, Anna, mindfully, on bent knee, humbly and properly prostrated myself before the feet of our good prelates.¹²²

Anna's account goes on to describe how she begged for liturgical revisions to alleviate the "weariness and aggravation that constant singing, reading, and doing other things

¹²¹ This sentence is added in the margin: *tunc fecerunt manualementem obedienciam*. This means a kiss on the hand of the superior individual by the one swearing obedience: it is unclear if the nuns were swearing obedience to Anna as prioress, or to the visiting bishop of Lübeck and abbot of Cismar.

¹²² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 132v–133r.

beyond our ability that afflicted and aggravated our bodily strength.” Having thought it over, the bishop granted the authority to Abbot Hinricus of Cismar to grant revisions to the liturgy as he saw fit. Anna relates that Abbot Hinricus “...alleviated, changed, and lessened for us certain extremely aggravating things from our ordinal and absolved us all therefrom.”¹²³ Thus, we learn that the “aggravations” in the cloister’s practice of which Anna complained were dictated by the cloister’s ordinal, a book whose existence is only known from Anna’s description of the reforms.

Anna’s first complaint was that the cloister was accustomed to singing the entire Matins of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin every Saturday, regardless of whether or not it was a ferial day, a feast day, or indeed, a feast of the Virgin. As described above, this extra Matins service, sung on a weekly basis, was a form of Marian commemorative office that took place every Saturday in addition to the day’s regular canonical hours as stipulated by the Benedictine Rule. When the commemorative Matins took place on a ferial Saturday, it would result in fifteen lessons sung, three lessons for the Matins of the season, and twelve for the Blessed Virgin, a total of more than three hours of prayer sung before sunrise.¹²⁴

However, when Saturday coincided with a feast day, it would result in two consecutive Matins services of twelve lessons each, or approximately five hours of consecutive singing in the darkest hours of the morning. If another feast of the Virgin fell on a Saturday, this would result in two twelve-lesson Matins sung consecutively that

¹²³ Ibid., fols. 133r–133v.

¹²⁴ Ibid, fols. 133v–134r.

would have shared much material. On the feast of the Assumption itself, two identical matins would be sung consecutively.

In addition, it seems that the Matins of the Virgin was sung every morning during the octave of Marian feasts. This evidently caused a problem following the feast of the Visitation (2 July), which coincided with the octave of the feast of Peter and Paul (29 June), during which the twelve-lesson Matins for these feasts were also sung on a nightly basis. A similar situation occurred during the octave of the feast of the Nativity of Mary (8 September), which coincided with the octave of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The solution to these situations that would have resulted in the consecutive singing of two twelve-lesson Matins, was the following revision:

Pro istis singulis xii lectionibus de beatam (sic) virgine iam dictis. Iam nunc legentur ad matutinis beate marie virginis. et istis temporibus. iam enarratis. tantum tres lectiones. que nobis superdictus abbas misericorditer relaxavit et minuitavit. (sic)

Instead of all of these aforementioned twelve lessons of the Virgin Mary, [there] now shall be read at Matins of the Blessed Virgin Mary and at those times described above, only three lessons, as mercifully relaxed and reduced by our aforementioned abbot.¹²⁵

Thus, in the situation described above of a Saturday coinciding with a feast day there would still be fifteen lessons sung: twelve for the feast, and three for the Blessed Virgin, or more than three hours of sung prayer. This solution still resulted in a service that was lengthier than the canonical Matins that range in length from 3–12 lessons. In other words, the situation that Anna achieved with the requested reform still exceeded the requirements of the canonical hours as defined by the Benedictine Rule.

Likewise, we learn that the little office of the Virgin—which probably included a shorter Matins of the Blessed Virgin for days other than Saturday—was read on a daily

¹²⁵ Ibid., fol. 134r.

basis, in addition to the cycle of the canonical hours. This resulted in a “double cursus” that would have been twice as long as the regular monastic observance. Added to this schedule was yet more devotional material, as revealed in the following passage:

Likewise, every night after reading the Threefold Prayers and before the beginning of Matins, it was always our custom to read the Fifteen Steps (the gradual psalms), together with their attached collects. Instead of these, we shall now read the Matins of the Virgin, with the seasonal lessons of the same, which, up to this point were usually read following the Great Matins. Likewise, every day after the Compline of the Blessed Virgin, we were accustomed to reading these psalms, namely: *Usquequo*, *Iudica me deus*, *Deus misereatur nostri*, *Nisi dominus*, [and] *De profundis* with *Kyrie eleison* and prayers and collects. From that we are now simply absolved.¹²⁶

Based on this description, the following table summarizes how Compline through Matins would have been observed pre- and post-reform. Elements that remained unchanged through the reform are given in bold.

Table 2.8. Compline and Matins, Pre- and Post-Reform.

PRE-REFORM	POST-REFORM
Canonical Compline	Canonical Compline
Little Compline of the Virgin	Little Compline of the Virgin
5 Psalms with prayers and collects	(omitted)
Three-fold Prayers	Three-fold Prayers
15 Gradual Psalms with collects	(omitted)
Great (canonical) Matins	Little Matins of the Virgin
Little Matins of the Virgin	Great (canonical) Compline

Thus, the extra recitation of groups of five and fifteen psalms were eliminated, leaving in place hours of the canonical office, the Marian office, and the *Trine Oratio*. The Matins of the Virgin were moved to before the great (canonical) Matins, in the place formerly held by the fifteen gradual psalms. It is not clear if the Compline of the Blessed Virgin, with the five psalms that followed, were positioned before or after the canonical

¹²⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 134r–134v.

Compline. Other canonical hours underwent similar revision to remove prayers that had been added to the canonical liturgy, or to find shorter substitutions for lengthy prayers.

Likewise, every single day at Prime we were accustomed either singing or reading the Athanasian psalm or symbol¹²⁷ *Quicumque vult*, with those long prayers, namely *Repleatur os meum laude*.¹²⁸ And at Compline we sing those prayers: *Benedictus es domine deus* et cetera. Instead of which, we shall now read the minor prayers.¹²⁹ From everything else mentioned here, we are also absolved. Likewise, on all the ferial days at all of our canonical hours we have always sung the nine-fold *Kyrie eleison*. Now, we shall read only three. Likewise, every single night, at least on the ferial days, at all of our canonical hours we sing the psalm *Miserere mei deus*, which now at the hours we shall have only three times: the first [time] at Lauds, the second [time] after Lauds, and the third [time] at Vespers, and at the other hours, truly not. In Advent and [in] Lent at Matins and at Vespers we were always accustomed to reading the Great Prayers,¹³⁰ namely *Oremus* for all the ranks of the church hierarchy—at least on ferial days. Instead of this, at Matins and at Vespers we now read or sing these prayers, namely: *Ego dixi domine* [and] *Miserere mei* which are now said in place of the Great Prayers.¹³¹

In other words, the recitation of the Athanasian creed at Prime with associated prayers, and other lengthy prayers at Compline were replaced with the minor prayers. The sung, nine-fold *Kyrie* at the canonical hours was replaced with a recited, three-fold *Kyrie*. The singing of the psalm *Miserere mei deus*, sung at each of the canonical hours, was reduced to three times per day. The great prayers—that is, the petitions for all levels of the church hierarchy—which previously, were sung daily during Lent and Advent were replaced with a single line of the Psalm: *Ego dixi Domine miserere mei*.

The reform of the practice as described above appears to be in a similar vein to that of the Bursfeld reform, which sought to remove liturgical accretions from the

¹²⁷ The Athanasian Creed was sung in the manner of antiphonal psalmody.

¹²⁸ *Repleatur os meum laude ut possim cantare. Gaudebunt labia mea dum cantavero tibi.*

¹²⁹ *Preces minores.*

¹³⁰ *Preces maiores.*

¹³¹ D–PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 134v–135r.

Benedictine office and to establish a uniform liturgy. However, it appears that the reforms that were made were ones that were granted following Anna's request. These reforms were not imposed from the outside, but rather were from within the cloister.

A second aspect of reform at Kloster Preetz was perhaps less typical of Benedictine reform in general, and addressed difficulties that arose from the particular circumstances of Kloster Preetz as a women's community. The first of these was the responsibility of performing the commemorations of the dead for the numerous patrons of Kloster Preetz. As described above, convent's prayers for their patrons represented an important form of financial support for the convent, and helped to maintain social and familial networks. However, the burden of the convent's memorial obligations had become heavy by Anna's time. From her request for reform, we learn that the commendation of the dead took place during the chapter meeting.¹³² With the reform, the daily recitation of the commendations of the departed souls was reduced to twice a week:

Likewise, every single day we were accustomed to reading the commendation with eight collects and *Tibi domine commendamus* which now we shall read only twice a week, namely [on] Monday and Friday with three short collects. Following the commendation, truly, we read those psalms: *Dominus regit me*, *Deus miseratur nostri* [and] *Exaudiat* with another three collects, which we are now not required to do, but from which we are actually absolved.¹³³

Additionally, the service was shortened: the three psalms and collects that followed the commendation were omitted. It is difficult to say what impact this change would have had, beyond simply taking less time. It is possible that the burden of reciprocal prayer for the convent's patrons was a weightier task for women's communities, because they relied heavily on this form of support.

¹³² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 19v.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, fols. 135v–136r.

The next item of reform also dealt with prayers for the cloister's patrons, and certainly involved different issues for a women's community than for a men's community. This reform addresses the musical involvement of the cloister's resident priests who were trained in outside traditions, and remained to some degree, less familiar with the cloister's music and liturgy than the nuns who spent a lifetime there. In terms of revisions, we can see the attempt to avoid complex situations involving the priests in the following reform:

Likewise, whenever our priests sang Vespers together with us, namely, on solemnities, then we were accustomed to always singing the suffrages of our patrons. Now, truly, we shall have no suffrage when the priests are there at Vespers, nor shall there occur a memorial for any saint on that day. But on Thursdays, if there shall be a feast then, let the suffrages of Corpus Christi always be observed.¹³⁴

From this passage, we learn that the office of Vespers was usually carried out without clerical officiation. When the priests did attend on solemnities, at which time they would presumably officiate, problems seem to have occurred in the singing of the suffrages for the patrons of the cloister. It is possible that the priests were unfamiliar as well with how this house custom was carried out, and were unfamiliar with the sizable list of nuns, relatives, and patrons to be remembered in prayer and the calendar according to which these memorials took place. As I will discuss further in the following chapter, the musical division of labor between the cloister's nuns and resident priests seems to have been an important issue throughout the book, and not just at the moment of reform.

Anna goes on to discuss the reform of the practice of corporal discipline, that is to say, the penitential practice of ritual flagellation. As surprising or distasteful as this practice may seem to the reader today, flagellation was certainly within the realm of

¹³⁴ Ibid., fols. 135v–136r.

accepted penitential practices in the German Middle Ages.¹³⁵ According to Anna, the cloister's ordinal prescribed ritual flagellation, along with prayers begging for mercy, on a daily basis during Lent and Advent, and on certain other days throughout the year. Anna reduces this to three times per week during Lent and Advent, and more throughout the year, only if one should desire it. Finally, at the flagellation on Holy Saturday, she allows the nuns to recite certain prayers as many times as they desire:

Likewise, on every single day of Advent and Lent we received corporal discipline, according to our ordinal, and moreover, throughout the whole year on certain and established days, after which, likewise according to the ordinal dictates and clearly shows to anyone inspecting it. Now, then, during Advent and during Lent we shall receive it only three times per week, that is, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, receiving discipline from the hand of the prioress or someone whom the prioress entrusts. She who receives [it] says *Confiteor*. The prioress, or the one entrusted, adds *Miseratur. Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum tribuat tibi omnipotens pater et misericors dominus*. She who receives says *Amen*. Through the year, we are not obliged to receive [corporal discipline] unless someone freely should want it. Let it be noted that on Holy Saturday when corporal discipline is undertaken then let [she who receives it] read, as many times as she likes *Confiteor, Miserere mei deus, five Paters*, in honor of the five wounds of Christ, *Cristus factus est, Respice quesumus domine, De profundis, Pater noster, A porta, Fidelium*.¹³⁶

It is noteworthy that Anna specifies that the corporal discipline should be administered either by the prioress herself, or by one to whom she has entrusted the task. This presumably reflects a change: either it was previously administered only by the prioress, or perhaps by one of the priests. It is also significant that Anna allows the nuns to choose whether or not they wish to receive discipline throughout the year, and that they may choose how many times the prayers are read. This allowance for personal choice in the

¹³⁵ For examples of ritual flagellation and chastisement of the body, see Henry Suso: *The Exemplar, with Two German Sermons*, edited by Frank Tobin (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 70–71, 87–99, 100–101; Erica Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York: Columbia University, 2009), 21 nt. 55; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 112, 178.

¹³⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 136r–136v.

practice of flagellation transformed the practice (outside of Advent and Lent) from a communal penitential ritual into an exercise of personal conscience.

In her discussion of flagellation, Anna emphasizes that the practice was prescribed in the convent's *liber ordinarius*, as the book "clearly shows to anyone inspecting it."¹³⁷ It can be inferred from Anna's language that the ordinal was *not* always consulted. It is possible that she was attempting to follow the book more carefully than had her predecessors and to align practice with what was prescribed in the cloister's ordinal. By contrast, the passages in which she mentions the ordinal clearly represent the opposite: she requests a revision of the ordinal itself to create a less taxing practice.

Anna goes on to discuss simplifications in the community's practice of psalmody recitation outside of the hours of the canonical office:

On that day [Holy Saturday] we have been accustomed to reading at discipline the Passion Psalms,¹³⁸ *Deus deus meus respice, Usque, In manus tuas, Miserere mei deus*, five *Pater nosters*, *Respice quesumus domine*. Likewise, in Lent we were accustomed to reading the penitential psalms¹³⁹ in order to beg pardon, and chanting them in this way: kneeling with prostrations of the body for we chant for divine mercy. Likewise, on *Invocavit* Sunday until the Vigil of Easter every single day we read an entire Psalter for [our] sins dividing it between as many people in her prayers from which we are absolved. Likewise, during the octave of the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary every single day we were accustomed to reading a Psalter in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and also on certain other feasts of the Saints and similarly on particular Sundays. Instead of which now as many people as desired shall read a *Miserere* for as many times as desired. On the day, truly, and when it is appropriate to read [...] The prioress shall faithfully begin [the Psalter] as well each person just/fair other whose we were accustomed to sing for forgiveness. which now wants to omit may rightfully do so. which from this fully out of duty we shall not do. Likewise, every single year on [Holy] Saturday we were also accustomed to being in the choir at the fifth hour in the morning reading the seven penitential psalms and having finished, we read an

¹³⁷ Ibid., fol. 136.

¹³⁸ Psalms 21–30.

¹³⁹ *Prostrates psalmos*.

entire Psalter, with us of all standing, for which we shall now read this nocturn: *Domine in virtute* through *Exultate iusti in domino* with litanies and collects.¹⁴⁰

We learn of the cloister's practice of reading an entire Psalter on certain days: every day from *Invocavit* Sunday (in Lent) to the Vigil of Easter for the forgiveness of sins, and in the octaves of the Marian feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity, and on selected other feasts and Sundays. This practice was replaced by Anna, who states that on these occasions, whoever wishes to can instead read the psalm *Miserere mei deus* as many times as desired. This again reflects not only simplification of a time-consuming practice, but also the turning over of responsibility to the individual nuns to pray as dictated by their own conscience. While Anna does not specify when the entire Psalter should be read, she does allow for this practice to continue, noting that the prioress should begin the Psalter, and that it should be continued by other sisters according to their conscience.

In sum, the liturgical reforms in the *Buch im Chor* represent solutions to specific difficulties posed by the convent's internal practices, both as contained in the house's ordinal, and in unwritten custom. By appealing to the bishop, who designated Abbot Hinricus of the Benedictine Cismar to work out the details of reform, Anna was able to streamline time consuming non-canonical practices of psalmodic recitation, to remove redundancies between the commemorative office of the Virgin and the canonical office, and to reduce the application of flagellation to an optional penitential practice. Through her demands for reform, we learn that the convent possessed an ordinal, and that the permission of male ecclesiastical authorities was required to change any practice prescribed by the book. As a corollary, by setting these episcopal-sanctioned reforms, as well as the convent's unwritten practices and her own liturgical solutions into the

¹⁴⁰ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 136v–137r.

authoritative genre of a *liber ordinarius*, Anna ordered and established her community's practices in an unassailable form.

Conclusion

Anna's colophon to her work of sixteen years is striking for the attention it draws to her independent effort and the important achievement of the completion of her book.

She writes:

In the year 1487, on the feast of St. Michael, this book, which was begun by me, Anna de Bockwold, in 1471, was completed and finished. It is not to be thought that this book has been written and compiled out of other books, but through the grace and inspiration of the Highest One. The names and words contained in this book were not first written in some other book, which came into possession of the convent. How much work I had in carefully seeking out, compiling, and writing no man would believe, but is known by God alone. May He, to whom I offer the book for the use and requirements of the convent and the entire community, be my reward for so much work. I pray therefore to all to use this book, and to faithfully pray to God for me, that he might grant me in eternity that which I desire, namely, the crown of eternal glory. Amen. Pray for my dear sister Dilla who faithfully [departing] left behind its writing. This book was written and finished by me, Lord Thomas Scroder.¹⁴¹

First as cantrix, and then as prioress, Anna von Buchwald dedicated sixteen years of her life to writing the *Buch im Chor* in an effort to order the elaborate liturgy of her community. As I have shown above, the unusually complex votive cycle practiced at Kloster Preetz was the primary element which complicated the nuns' liturgical and musical practice. This, combined with the heavy burden of memorial rituals observed by the community, added to a liturgy which, by the late Middle Ages had become increasingly complex due to additions to the Sanctorale and a growth in the number of feasts observed for the length of an octave.

¹⁴¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*) fols.142v–143v; translated by Jeffrey F. Hamburger *Nuns as Artists*, 67. The last three sentences are my translation.

The cloister also practiced an extensive cycle of Marian observations in the form of the little office of the Virgin, and the commemorative office, both of which were of unusual length and complexity. These multiple layers of observance meant that the cantrix of Kloster Preetz had an enormous responsibility in determining correct liturgical scheduling. I have found no precedent for Anna's effort to define the schedule of votive masses, superimposed on an already-complex liturgical calendar. Anna's effort to regulate these practices is truly innovative. The calendrical problems that Anna sought to remedy in her book determine to a large part its seemingly haphazard organization. The genre of the *Buch im Chor* is therefore unique, reflecting the innovative and ambitious nature of its contents.

The demands of singing a minimum of two daily masses and extended divine office was another factor which may have caused Anna to deploy the convent's priests as an additional singing force, assigning to them to sing approximately half of the masses celebrated in the convent. Despite the presence of ordained men who lived in residence at the convent and attended to the sacramental needs of the nuns, it appears that in other aspects, the women's community was ritually self-sufficient. From Anna's reforms in particular, we see a host of non-canonical practices of prayer, particularly types based in psalmodic recitation. These practices, as well as the divine office, Marian votive offices, and processions were led and officiated by the female leadership of the convent. The book therefore reflects the practice of a women's community in precisely those areas of ritual life in which the cantrix and prioress had the greatest degree of control, and which evidently were not sufficiently addressed in the convent's *liber ordinarius*.

CHAPTER III
CHILDREN IN THE MUSIC AND LITURGY OF
KLOSTER PREETZ

Introduction

Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* is an important source for understanding the lives of girls in a late medieval Benedictine convent. It gives information regarding cloister entrance ceremonies, the girls' daily routine, their musical training, and their musical role in convent liturgy. This chapter will examine the socio-musical organization of the convent, with particular attention to the role of children in the cloister's music and liturgy, as reflected in the *Buch im Chor*. I will argue that the *Buch im Chor* must be analyzed as consisting of two discrete parts: the first part of the book, most likely written while Anna was still Cantrix, gives instructions for the yearly liturgical cycle, and includes scattered references to the children and their liturgical duties.¹ A comparison of these liturgical assignments with the surviving parts of the Kloster Preetz repertoire allows us to examine the role of children in the convent's liturgy prior to its association with the Bursfeld reform. Transcription and analysis of extant pieces that Anna assigned to young singers from the Kloster Preetz chant books, and from other fifteenth-century convent sources, will provide illustrations of the girls' musical practice.

Regarding the place of children in the Kloster Preetz liturgy, I argue that while the girls' participation generally is in agreement with documented Benedictine monastic practice, certain important differences are visible. These divergences include an unusual emphasis on the symbolic role of children, and the assignment of pieces unique to the

¹ I will use *Cantrix* to refer to the office of the Cantrix, and *cantrix* to refer to the use of *cantrix* in the functional sense of the singer who intones chants and may sing solo verses.

cloister's repertoire to its female singers—including children—rather than to its priests. Second, I suggest that a group of outside female singers was engaged to supplement the children's choir on important liturgical occasions, and at least sometimes were hired to replace certain children in the latter's liturgical duties. While the identity of these women is uncertain, it is likely that they had been educated in the cloister as girls, and were therefore familiar with Preetz's unique liturgy and music. Most likely, they were, or had been, among the "worldly children": that is, they were either current students or alumnae of these cloister school. Thus the *Buch im Chor* may provide one of the earliest recorded examples of female professional musicians in the context of the sung liturgy. Their presence attests to the premium put on the quality of performance of liturgical music within the convent, and challenges assumptions regarding the involvement of convent school children in the musical life of the convent. Furthermore, references to these singers helps shed light on the central role of children in the processional activities of the convent.

The second part of the book, most likely written after Anna became prioress in 1484, includes details of cloister entrance ceremonies, rules governing the lives of young oblates, and information regarding the training of young singers in cantorial duties. I will argue that this part of the book includes evidence suggesting the influence of the late fifteenth-century Bursfeld reform of Benedictine monasticism. I will propose that Kloster Preetz maintained the practice of child oblation late into the fifteenth century, and that in response to the pressure of reform, Anna von Buchwald revised cloister entrance ceremonies, and established a formal novitiate.² This section of Anna's book gives notes

² Regarding the practice of child oblation and the reform of this practice, see Mayke De Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, vol. 12 (Leiden

on an idiosyncratic cloister entrance process that seems to be at an intermediate stage of reform. It also provides evidence of a newly formed novitiate that included an unusually long educational period of eight years. Anna furthermore describes the training of cantrices, and advocates for musical literacy over rote learning of chants. These reforms of musical and liturgical education may reflect a renewed commitment to Latin education and to accurate liturgical performance, as demanded by the late-fifteenth century Bursfeld Reform of Benedictine monasticism.

Terminology for Children in the *Buch im Chor*

Founded in the 1220s, Kloster Preetz was a large community that housed up to seventy nuns. Women of noble origin comprised an increasing percentage of the cloister's membership, growing from around ten percent in the thirteenth century to over ninety-eight percent by 1491.³ The cloister educated both "worldly children" destined for a secular life, and "spiritual children," that is, child oblates. The latter—girls given to the convent by their parents—took vows upon entrance that bound them for a lifetime in the convent.⁴ While child oblation had declined in male Benedictine monasteries since the

and New York: E. J. Brill, 1996); John Boswell, "Expositio and Oblatio: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984):10–33; Maria Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder. Ein Beitrag zur Liturgie- und Sozialgeschichte des Mönchtums in Hohen Mittelalter* (Altenberge: Oros, 1991); Susan Boynton, "The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries from the Central Middle Ages," *Studia Liturgica* 28 (1998): 10–11; Greg Peters, "Offering Sons to God in the Monastery: Child Oblation, Monastic Benevolence, and the Cistercian Order in the Middle Ages," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38.3 (2003): 285–295; Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung: Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des ‚Konventstagesbuchs‘ einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig (1484–1507)*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, Neue Reihe 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 58–103, 175–264.

³ Johannes Rosenplänter, "Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft. Sozialgefüge, Wirtschaftsbeziehungen und religiöser Alltag eines holsteinischen Frauenklosters um 1210–1550" (PhD diss., Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 2006), 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 157–159.

twelfth century, the practice persisted in north German convents into the fifteenth century.⁵ Figure 3.1, a fourteenth-century choir stool from Kloster Preetz, depicts the maturation of a child oblate from her time of entry to adulthood.



Figure 3.1. Fourteenth-century Choir Stool Depicting Child Oblation.

In order to comprehend the personnel participating in the liturgy as cited in Anna's book, we must first sort out the terminology Anna uses to refer to the cloister's children. The first portion of the *Buch im Chor* (fols. 1–90) runs through the entire liturgical year, providing notes on liturgical scheduling, assignments of chants and readings, and convent ritual. In this section of the book, Anna uses three terms to

⁵ See Susan Boynton, "Boy Singers in Medieval Monasteries and Cathedrals," in *Young Choristers 650-1700*, edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 37; Susan Boynton, "The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries from the Central Middle Ages," *Studia Liturgica* 28 (1998): 194; and Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 27.

designate the cloister's children: *puer*, *scholaris*, and *iuvencula*, given here in rank from lowest to highest. Nowhere does Anna define her terms; nevertheless, a contextual analysis of their occurrence can provide a likely definition of these terms, supporting, in turn, an explanation of their liturgical roles and function.

It seems that while the term *scholares* usually indicates a child of a higher status than the term *puer*, Anna sometimes uses the terms interchangeably. It is clear from context that *iuvencula* refers to a distinct group of girls of higher rank than the *scholares*. I will argue below that the *scholares* most likely refer to the “worldly children” of both genders in the cloister's school, while the *iuvencule* refer to the female child oblates. The term *puer* should simply be translated as “child” and usually refers to the *scholares* or “worldly children” in the cloister's school, but may sometimes be used to refer to all the children in the convent.

The Pueri

In Anna's text, we often encounter the term *puer*, in Latin, literally “boy.” It is apparent from context in the *Buch im Chor*, as well as from additional cloister sources, that this term is used in a gender-neutral way, as with the German word *Kind*, that is, “child.”⁶ The term is also used in the cloister's registers of students, where the majority of the names refer to female students.⁷ Thus it seems clear that *pueri* does not refer exclusively to boys, but rather to a group of mixed gender, and even to girls alone. References to children in the *Buch im Chor* typically give no indication of the gender of

⁶ While other studies of the *Buch im Chor* have assumed that the term *puer* referred only to male children; Rosenplänter correctly identified this term as designating primarily female, but occasionally male children as well. See Rosenplänter, “Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft,” 157–160.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

the children described, but several passages provide exceptions: Anna advises that the boys and girls do not fast on the Vigil of Epiphany with the phrase *ipsa die non ieiuniant pueri et puellae*: “on this day, the boys and girls do not fast.”⁸ This passage confirms that boys as well as girls were in the convent, but does not distinguish between the child oblates and the children educated in the cloister’s school. Because this example includes male children, the term *pueri* here most likely includes the “worldly children,” as there were presumably no male oblates in the convent.

In a second passage, Anna gives notes regarding the vesting of child oblates, or “spiritual children” that begins: “notandum est quod tenetur quando puer vestitur...”⁹ (It should be noted how to proceed when a child is vested...) In this passage, *puer* is used to indicate a female child oblate. Anna thus referred to both the “spiritual children” or oblates and the “worldly children” (or school children) as *pueri*. Unless a distinction based on gender is made, the term *puer* should be understood in a gender-neutral sense as “child.”

The Scholares

A second term used to refer to children within the convent is *scholaris* (pl. *scholares*). As with *puer*, this term is never defined and must be read in context. Although *scholaris* is grammatically masculine, it is clear from the use of the feminine relative pronouns and adjectival forms in the *Buch im Chor* that it refers to girls.¹⁰ Anna seems to use the word *scholaris* to refer to girls who have more soloistic responsibilities,

⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*) fols. 18v–19r.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 120v.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 85r.

while *pueri* usually refers to children who were younger or of a lower status. However, *pueri* and *scholares* are used completely interchangeably in the following passage:

Tunc accedant scolares qui cantabunt *Fiat domine*. Conventus. *Gloria patri*. Pueri repetant secundo. *Fiat domine*.¹¹

Then the *scholares* who shall sing *Fiat domine* approach. The convent [sings] *Gloria patri*. The *pueri* repeat again *Fiat domine*.

In this example, the *scholares* and *pueri* are used to denote a single performing force that sings the antiphon twice in the standard performance practice of antiphon-verse-antiphon.

In his study of the liturgical role of children in the 1509 ordinal of Eger Cathedral, László Dobszay shows how *puer* and *scholaris* are terms that were used in an overlapping fashion. Dobszay offers a definition of the term *puer* as a young schoolboy (*scholaris*) of the lower grade, approximately under the age of twelve. The term *iuuenis*, he argues, is a schoolboy of the upper grades, but still prepubescent. Dobszay notes that the difference between these two ranks of *scholares* was matched by the rank of feast assigned to them: days of lesser importance were assigned to the *pueri* to perform, while those of higher importance were assigned to the *iuuenes*.¹²

The usage of the term at Kloster Preetz seems partially consistent with Dobszay's findings: the *pueri* seem to represent the younger children, but the term is sometimes used interchangeably with *scholares*, or school children. Further analysis below will show that the *scholares* at times sang alongside professed nuns or *persone* (including child oblates) in the convent's liturgy as part of their liturgical education, yet it is clear

¹¹ Ibid., fol. 121r.

¹² László Dobszay, "Pueri vociferati—Children in Eger Cathedral," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Sixth Meeting, Eger, 1993*, edited by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1995), 93–95.

that their responsibilities were limited. At times, the text mentions that they, like the *pueri*, are to be accompanied by the *scholastice* or school teachers.¹³

Finally, it is important to distinguish use of the term *scholaris* to denote female students in the *Buch im Chor* from how it is used in other cloister documents. Elsewhere, the term *scholaris* is used to refer to the newly-ordained young priests who served the cloister provost and prioress as scribes.¹⁴

The Iuencule

Throughout the first portion of the book, Anna uses the term *iuencula* to denote a girl higher in rank than a *scholaris*, or child in the cloister's school. The meaning of the term *iuencula* is the female diminutive form of the term *iuvenis*, for instance, used in Eger to denote the older *scholares*, or school children. The *iuencule* seem to be of a higher status and separate from the *pueri* and *scholares*, at least in the first part of the *Buch im Chor*. For example, in the following passage the *iuencule* and *scholares* appear together reading and singing the first great responsory on the Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent: the first verse is sung by the one *scholaris*, and the other two verses by the two *iuencule*.

Sabato ante *Ad te levavi* quando legitur littera ad capitulum tunc legentur due iuencule et unis scholaris ad primum responsorium. Et omnis tres imponunt dominica nocte R. *Aspiciens* et ibunt pariter in medium chori ad primum versum. Scholaris cantat primum versum et due persone alios duos versus et *Gloria patri* cantant omnis pariter.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid., fols. 8r–8v, 11r, 42r, 81v, 84v–85r.

¹⁴ Rosenplänter, “Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft,” 149.

¹⁵ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*, 4r.)

When the epistle is read on the Saturday before *Ad te levavi*, then it is read by two *iuvencule* and one *scholaris* at the first responsory. And all three sing [at Matins] Sunday night the responsory *Aspiciens* and go together into the middle of the choir at the first verse. The *scholaris* sings the first verse and the two other *persone* the other two verses, and all sing the *Gloria patri* together.

As Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin have noted in the case of the monastery of Cluny, the order in which responsory verses were sung replicates the hierarchy of the entire monastic community, with the lowest ranking members of the community singing first.¹⁶ Thus this passage shows the lower rank of the *scholaris* as reflected by her assignment of singing the first verse to the responsory.

Moreover, this example illustrates what I will refer to as the two-plus-one rule. In the given passage, Anna specifies that one *scholaris* will read and sing with two higher-ranking *iuvencule*. Throughout the text, when we see three women of differing ranks singing together, the rule is that two of higher rank or experience—in this case, the two *iuvencule*—sing with one of lower rank—in this case, a *scholaris*. In another passage, two cantrices sing with another woman who is on duty:

In vigilia pasche et in vigilia pentecostes cantant tres persone letanias. Due cantrices: et illa que habet officium.¹⁷

On the vigil of Easter and the vigil of Pentecost, three *persone* sing the litany: two cantrices and she who is on duty.

This example confirms that the practice at Preetz was to have two higher-ranking women, in this example, two nuns identified as cantrices, with one woman who was performing a rotating duty. The woman on duty in the above example most likely occupies the weekly

¹⁶ Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, “The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates in the Abbey of Cluny in the Eleventh Century,” in *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, edited by Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 13.

¹⁷ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*) fol. 46r.

rotating position of *hebdomedaria*, or weekly cantrix, and was thus responsible for assisting with cantorial duties for that given week.¹⁸ The *hebdomadaria* is seen in other passages of the book assigned important, but limited cantorial duties such as singing the litany on the Easter Vigil, and intoning the Alleluias of the Marian votive masses and Saint's feasts during Paschaltide.¹⁹ The above illustration of the two-plus-one rule confirms that in the first part of the book, Anna uses the term *iuuencula* to denote a higher rank than that of *scholaris*.

A second passage again contrasts the terms *iuuencula* and *scholaris*, but shows that a *iuuencula* in her first year receives the same treatment as a *scholaris*:

ipsa die dabit priorissa sacrificium conventum illis iuuenculis nichil dat quarum in primo anno est (sic). et scholares eciam nichil acquirunt.²⁰

On that day the prioress shall give the convent a gift (sacrifice). She gives nothing to those *iuuencule* who are in their first year, and the *scholares* likewise get nothing.

Thus, the *iuuencule* seem to be of higher status, but only a rank above the *scholares*.

It is possible that *iuuencula* referred to the child oblates, girls who took binding vows upon their entry into the convent at approximately six years of age, while the terms *scholaris* and *pueri* referred to the “worldly children” of the cloister’s school.²¹

¹⁸ For the age of girls at entrance, see Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 66–69, and Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 121, 175. Schlotheuber has noted that *iuuencula* is used in the rule for Clarissan nuns approved by Pope Eugene IV in 1253 to refer to girls who had entered the convent, but it is not clear if this term is used only prior to vesting and profession. See Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 218, nt.190.

¹⁹ D-PREK HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 41v–42r, 50r–50v.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 9r.

²¹ Schlotheuber has shown that the statutes of the Lüne cloister required girls to be five years of age at entry, but has documented cases of girls entering the cloister at as young as four years of age. Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 121, 175.

It would not be surprising that the *iuuencule* were given a higher status as professed members of the convent, reflecting their binding vows to the community and presumably, their more intensive liturgical training. This hypothesis, if true, also suggests that the *scholares*, or “worldly children” enrolled in the cloister’s school, were also assigned significant singing duties.²²

The Persone

The word *persona* (plural: *persone*), found in the foregoing passage, serves to further distinguish the *iuuencule* and other higher-ranking professed nuns from the *scholares*. The term *persona* can simply mean an individual, but can also have the more specific connotations of rank or office, meaning official or clergyman invested with a lifetime appointment by the bishop.²³ This latter meaning, in the context of the convent, appears to indicate a nun who had taken binding vows, including the child oblates. In the foregoing translated passage describing the singing of the responsory *Aspiciens a longe*, the term *persone* was used to distinguish the professed “spiritual children,” or *iuuencule* from the “worldly” *pueri* or *scholares*. Further passages confirm this usage, and establish that the term *persona* can include higher-ranking nuns as well, such as the cantrices and weekly cantrix, or *hebdomedaria*:

²² For more on the history of monastic schools and education, see Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), esp. 49–110; Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, esp. 111–120, 147–151, and 268–296; Eva Schlotheuber, “Sprachkompetenz und Lateinvermittlung. Die intellektuelle Ausbildung der Nonnen im Spätmittelalter. Eine Bestandsaufnahme” in *Kloster und Bildung im Mittelalter*, edited by Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke, Studien zur Germania Sacra 28 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2006), 61–88; and Nathalie Kruppa, “Zur Bildung von Adeligen im nord- und mitteldeutschen Raum von 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert. Ein Überblick” in *Kloster und Bildung im Mittelalter*, edited by Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke, Studien zur Germania Sacra 28 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2006), 155–176.

²³ See MLLM, 1030b–1032a.

In vigilia pasche: et in vigilia pentecostes: cantant tres persone letanias. Due cantrices: et illa que habet officium.²⁴

At the Easter Vigil and on the Vigil of Pentecost, three *persone* sing the litany: two cantrices and she who is on duty.

This passage suggest that the term *persona* was used to refer to adult nuns, both those having a permanent and rotating duties, as well as the *iuvencule*.

The Scholastice

The final term associated with the education of children within the monastery is *scholastica* (plural: *scholastice*). Analysis of passages containing this word shows that it is often associated with the school children. For instance, on the vigil of the Feast of All Souls at None, the head (*maior*) *scholastica* accompanies the children as they leave following the Commendation read for the souls of the departed:

Commendacio legitur collectus *Absolve*. Ad commendacionem ibit maior scolastica (sic) cum pueris.²⁵

The commendation is read [with] the collect *Absolve*. At the commendation, the *scholastica* leaves with the children.

On the Vigil of Saint Michael, the presence of the *scholares* in choir necessitates that the *scholastice* also attend:

Ipsa die cantantur vigile omnibus fidelibus defunctis collectus Deus indul Scolastice debent ad esse cum scolaribus. que sederunt in choro et coincanerunt. debent eciam ad esse.²⁶

²⁴ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 46r.

²⁵ Ibid., fol. 88r.

²⁶ Ibid., fol. 85r.

On that day the vigils of all faithful departed are sung [with] the collect *Deus indul.* The *scholasticae* should be there with the *scholares*, who sit in the choir and sing along. Indeed, they should be there.

Here, Anna not only states that the *scholastice* should be present to accompany the scholars, but emphasizes this necessity with an additional sentence. From this and other contextual references, it is clear that the *scholastice* were charged with the duty of governing the convent's children. We also learn that *scholastica* referred to an official rank, comparable to the office of the sacristan or cellarer.²⁷ The word is perhaps most accurately translated as “school teacher” with the understanding that teaching chant was foremost among her duties, which also included chaperoning the children in the choir and chapter meeting. This definition concurs with the use of the term in the Cistercian community of Kloster Lüne, where the care of girls would be ceremonially handed over from the *scholastica* to the prioress at the conclusion of their schooling.²⁸

The *scholastice*'s knowledge of music and liturgy furthermore allowed them to serve as cantrices on occasion, intoning and singing solo verses when it was required of them. Discussing the training of choristers for cantorial roles, Anna remarks:

Ulla officia possunt habere infra quatuor annos. propter officium cantrici sed si necesse esset. tunc posset eiam scolastica poni.²⁹

Within four years, [they] can have any duty, according to the office of the cantrices. But if it should be necessary, then [it] may be taken by a *scholastica*.

²⁷ Ibid., fol.144r. Anna writes: Scitote karissime sorores quod ego prefata Anna dedi ad officium sacristarum Ad officium cellerariarum et ad officium scolasticarum omnia iura que michi nota erant Et presentam eis anno mcccc lxxxvii In vigilia Simonis et Iude que propter orate deum pro me. (Know, dearest ones, that I, the afore-mentioned Anna, gave to the Office of the Sacristan, to the Office of the Cellarer, and to the Office of the Scholastica, all duties known to me, and I grant [these duties] to them on the Vigil of Sts. Simon and Jude in the year 1487. On account of this, pray to God for me.)

²⁸ Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 150–151.

²⁹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 117v.

Thus, if the cantrix-in-training was not able to execute a given singing responsibility correctly, then a more experienced *scholastica* could substitute for her.

To conclude, an analysis of the terminology used in the first part of the *Buch im Chor* has shown that *scholares* refers to children of both genders, and most likely indicated the “worldly children” of the cloister school. The term *pueri*—literally, “boys” indicates children of both genders, and was used interchangeably with *scholares*. *Iuencule* appears to refer to children of a higher status, and is equated with the term *persone*: this latter likely indicates that the *iuencule* had already taken vows. Most likely, therefore, *iuencule* signified more narrowly the “spiritual children” or child oblates who took binding vows as children. The *scholastice* were singing teachers who seem to have the added responsibility of governing the children during liturgies. Though they were of lower rank than *cantrices*, at times, they could be called on to fulfill cantorial duties.

The shift of terminology in the middle of the *Buch im Chor* (from folio 91r on) most likely results from the cloister’s establishment of a novitiate following its association with the Bursfeld Reform through the nearby men’s community of Kloster Cismar. In the second half of the book, the term *novicia* is introduced to mean very specifically “novice,” with the term *iuencula* now used to mean girls from their entrance into the convent through eight years of their education, that is, prior to the taking of binding vows. With the establishment of a novitiate and resulting delay in the taking of binding vows, the former distinction between child oblates and school children seems to

have been diminished. With this shift, *iuvencule* came to be used in a broader sense, encompassing both the *pueri* and the *scholares*.³⁰

Children's Roles in the Liturgy

Liturgical Roles of the Pueri

The first section of Anna's book was likely written before 1484, while Anna held the office of Cantrix. This portion of the book includes musical and liturgical directives for the entire year, with scattered references to the singing roles taken by the various members of the community. Regarding girls in their first year, Anna writes:

Eciam non licet eis diem habere de choro propter communionem. et nichil licet eis cantare pro cantrice. sed xii versum *Benedictus* cantant cum cantrice quando officium habunt. interim que officium non habuerunt nichil licet eis cantare cum cantrice. in secundo anno bene possunt cantare pro cantrice. quando *Asperges* cantant. tunc ibunt in sedes.

They are not allowed to have a day away from the choir on account of friendly relations, and they are not allowed to sing anything as cantrix. But they may sing the twelve verses of the *Benedictus* as cantrix when they are on duty. However, when they are not on duty, they may not sing anything with the cantrix. In the second year, they may well sing as cantrix when they sing the *Asperges*. Then they take their seats.³¹

This passage confirms that girls were required to be seated in choir and singing already during their first year. It also shows that they were assigned, presumably on a rotating bases, limited cantorial responsibilities—Anna's use of the word *cantrix* here should probably be understood in its functional sense, as the able singer who intones the chants

³⁰ For a discussion of terminology of internal and external schools in medieval St. Gall, see Anna Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, 53–79. In medieval St. Gall, *oblatus* referred to child oblates in the internal school. The exterior school trained secular clerics, or *canonicae*. *Scolasticus* referred to “student,” and in some cases, “advanced student” or “teaching assistant.”

³¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 118v.

of the liturgy and sings their solo verses. Doubtless, the girls took part in the antiphonal psalmody that comprised the foundation of the choral office, along with the entire community. As Susan Boynton, Anne Bagnall Yardley, Katherine Zieman, and others have emphasized, the singing of psalmody by children in the monastery was much more than musical training: it was foremost an act of enculturation in the principal spiritual work of the community.³² Moreover, the internalization of psalmodic texts constituted a fundamental aspect of achieving Latin literacy.³³ Additionally, the children of Kloster Preetz were also directed to sing the *Benedicamus domino*—which concluded each of the eight daily hours—a typical monastic singing assignment for children, but one that seemed to have often functioned as a showcase for trained singers as well.³⁴ Anna’s instructions cite exceptional times when only one child is assigned to sing the *Benedicamus*, implying that two or more children singing together was the norm.³⁵ Other typical singing assignments for the office included the singing of short, syllabic, often formulaic melodies, such as the solo verses of the brief responses at Vespers and verses

³² Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 30–44; and Susan Boynton, “Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education,” in *Medieval Monastic Education*, edited by George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessic (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 7–8, 14; Susan Boynton “Boy Singers in Medieval Monasteries and Cathedrals,” in *Young Choristers 650–1700*, edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 38; Anne Bagnall Yardley, “The Musical Education of Young Girls in Medieval English Nunneries,” in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 76–77.

³³ Susan Boynton, “Boy singers,” 40–48.

³⁴ Anne Walters Robertson, “*Benedicamus domino*: The Unwritten Tradition,” *JAMS* 41, no.1 (Spring 1988), 6. Robertson further discusses performance practice of the *Benedicamus Domino*, its manuscript tradition, and the origin of its repertoire in the adaptation *ex tempore* of melodies from a repertoire of well-known melismas.

³⁵ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 4r, 4v, 26v, 37r.

of the *Venite* at Matins, typically sung in pairs.³⁶ These references confirm that the children were in choir for the divine office, including the beginning, at least, of the lengthy night office of Matins. These duties were generally in keeping with the roles of boys in monastic customaries from the central to late Middle Ages, as discussed by Susan Boynton, László Dobszay, and Alejandro Planchart.³⁷ In light of their young age, the children were allowed to have shorter periods of fasting than the adult nuns, and were also allowed to leave certain liturgies early, in the company of the *scholastice*.³⁸

Liturgical Roles of the Scholares

The *scholares*, or “worldly children” of the cloister’s school, are also occasionally called on to read the lessons of Matins and to sing the melismatic verses of the responsories that followed. Regarding the singing of the Saturday commemorative Matins of the Virgin on ferial days, Anna writes that the lessons were read by heart by one of the nuns. On festal Saturdays on which two Matins of twelve lessons would be read in succession, the lessons for the Marian Matins would be read by one of the novices or *scholares*.³⁹ The memorization and performance of texts would have constituted an

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 17v, 85v.

³⁷ In addition to the studies given in no. 23 above, see Susan Boynton, “The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries from the Central Middle Ages,” *Studia Liturgica* 28 (1998): 194–209; Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, “The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates at the Abbey of Cluny in the Eleventh Century,” in *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth* edited by Susan Boynton and Roemin Kok (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 3–24; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “Choirboys in Cambrai in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Young Choristers 650–1700*, edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 123–145, and László Dobszay, “Pueri vociferati—Children in Eger Cathedral,” in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Sixth Meeting, Eger, 1993*, edited by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1995), 93–100.

³⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 18v, 19r, 88r.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 133v. See below for discussion of the late appearance of the term *novitius*.

important step not only in learning to read, but in learning the rules for liturgical recitation patterns to which readings were sung.

As we have seen above, in the case of Matins of the first Sunday of Advent, the *scholares* were occasionally assigned to sing the melismatic verses of the Matins responsories.⁴⁰ According to Anna's instructions, as noted above, all three girls would intone the responsory, which reads:

*Aspiciens a longe ecce video dei potentiam venientem et nebulam totam terram tegentem. Ite, obviam ei et dicite nuntia nobis si tu es ipse qui regnaturus es in populo.*⁴¹

Gazing from afar, behold, I see the approaching power of God, and a cloud covering the entire earth. Go, meet him, and say, "Tell us if you are he who is to reign over the people."

The *scholaris* would then sing the first verse:

Quique terrigenae et filii hominum, simul in unum dives et pauper.

Whosoever born of the earth and the children of men, rich and poor alike.

It is noteworthy that the girl of the most humble rank would sing the verse emphasizing parity between rich and poor. After the verse, the second half of the responsory would then be repeated from *Ite*; this pattern would follow for the next two verses, sung by the *iuvencule*:

*Qui regis Israel intende qui deducis velut ovem Joseph qui sedes super cherubim. Ite.
Tollite portas principes vestras et elevamini portae aeternales et introibit. Ite.*

⁴⁰ The singing of the responsory *Aspiciens a longe* was also assigned to children in the thirteenth-century Sarum antiphonal. See Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for the Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 28.

⁴¹ CAO 6129.

You who rule Israel, listen, you who shepherd Joseph, who sit above the cherubim. Go.

Princes, lift high your gates, and lift your eternal gates, that he might enter. Go.

Thus, the girl's voices prophesied the coming of Christ to earthly rulers, mirroring the overturning of earthly hierarchies brought by the arrival of the Christ child. A doxology verse would then follow, sung by all three girls. In singing the first responsory of the liturgical year, the children's voices played an important role, impersonating the voices of prophets, as well as with each repetition of the responsory, repeatedly urging the entire community to, "go out to meet him and say, 'tell us if you are the one who will rule the people.'" Just as Anna used the children's voices to sing the *Benedictus dominus dei Israel*, the children's voices here assume a prophetic role.

Children also played a role in the memorial culture of the convent. During the *commendatio anime* (commendation of the soul) which followed the singing of the memorial mass for the dead, two children were assigned to sing the responsory *Absolve domine*.⁴² This particular responsory was sung at the commendation of the soul for deceased monks, priests, and other religious, as well as secular rulers and nobility.⁴³ Musical Example 3.1 transcribes this piece, not extant in the fragmentary Preetz Antiphoner, from D-OS GE 01, a fifteenth-century processional of the Benedictine nuns of Gertrudenberg.⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid., fol. 88r.

⁴³ Ibid., fol. 89r.

⁴⁴ D-OS GE 01.

roles in singing the most melismatic and difficult responsory chants of the mass, that is, the gradual, and the alleluia, a practice that was not unprecedented in monastic custom.⁴⁶ That the children regularly sang the gradual is shown by the rule that they do not sing it during Eastertide, when the gradual was replaced by a second Alleluia. Concerning the repetition of Sunday mass on Wednesday and Fridays during the Paschal season, Anna writes:

A pascha usque ascensionis cantetur dominice bis in ebdomedis quando tunc admittit... pueri non cantant graduale quando dominice cantatur sed ambo alleluia incipiat ebdomedaria.⁴⁷

From Easter to the Ascension, let the Sunday [mass] be sung twice during the week when then (ie. the season) allows...the children do not sing the gradual when the Sunday [mass] is sung. Rather, let the *hebdomedaria* begin both alleluias.

At other times during the Paschal season, Anna stipulates that the children sing one of the two alleluias of the mass. While the nuns and priests usually sang separate masses, during Eastertide, by contrast, they often sang parts of same mass. For example, the children often sang the first alleluia of the mass, while the priests sang the second, with the nuns singing the remaining proper chants. Anna gives such an arrangement on three occasions. For the Octave of Easter (or Quasimodo Sunday) she writes:

Dominica *Quasi modo geniti* cantabunt pueri *Alleluia, Hec dies* sacerdotes *Alleluia, Pascha nostrum*.⁴⁸

On *Quasimodo geniti* Sunday, the children shall sing *Alleluia, Hec dies*, and the priests, *Alleluia, Pascha nostrum*.

ibit, ibunt, or itur), are found in conjunction with the phrase *per curiam*, or with phrases referring to other forms of procession, the verb should be translated as “to process.” See MLLM, 732a.

⁴⁶ See László Dobszay “Pueri vociferati,” 95–98, Alejandro Enrique Planchart: “Choirboys in Cambrai,” 123–145; and Susan Boynton “The Liturgical Role of Children,” 199–204.

⁴⁷ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 50r.

⁴⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 47v.

It is important to note that when the nuns and children sang in alternation with the priests, they were assigned material less frequently sung, or that was unique to the cloister's repertoire, while the priests sang more common repertoire. In the example above, the priests repeat the familiar *Alleluia, Pascha nostrum*, universally sung for Easter Sunday, and which would have already been repeated at Preetz twice during the octave. The children sing *Alleluia, Hec dies*, proper to the Saturday of Easter week.⁴⁹

It is also possible that symbolic reasons lead Anna to assign one of the alleluias to the children during the week of *Quasimodo geniti* Sunday, which takes its name from the text of the Sunday introit chant: *Quasimodo geniti infantes*, or "in the manner of newborn babes." Anna writes regarding the masses of saints that occur during the week following the octave of Easter:

Si dies philippi et iacobi venerit in ebdomeda *Quasimodo geniti* pueri cantabunt primum *Alleluia, Stabunt iusti* sacerdotes secundam *Alleluia, Vove cor nostrum* si vero venerit post dominicam *Misericordia* tunc cantabunt sacerdotes primum *Alleluia, Stabunt iusti* conventus *Alleluia: Surrexit pastor bonus* eadem teneatur de sancto georgio et de sancto marco.⁵⁰

If the day of Philip and James should come during the week of *Quasimodo geniti*, then the children shall sing the first *Alleluia, Stabunt iusti*, and the priests the second *Alleluia, Vove cor nostrum*. If truly [the day of Philip and James] comes after *Misericordia* Sunday, then the priests sing the first *Alleluia, Stabunt iusti*, and the convent sings *Alleluia, Surrexit pastor bonus*. Let the same hold for St. George and St. Mark.

⁴⁹ Anna's assignment implies a reordering of the alleluias given in the Preetz Gradual, which assigns *Alleluia, Pascha nostrum* to Easter Sunday, and *Alleluia, Hec dies* to the Saturday before the octave. See D-PREk Reihe V G2, (the Preetz Gradual,) fol. 44r, 50r–50v.

⁵⁰ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 54r–54v.

From the above passage, it appears that once the week of *Quasimodo* is over, in other words, after *Misericordia* Sunday (the second Sunday after Easter), the children no longer sang the Alleluia.

A third passage suggests that Anna reserved the singing of the cloister's *unica* for the convent, while assigning the priests more familiar material. Take, for example, the piece *Alleluia, Regina misericordie*, sung at the Friday Marian mass during the week of Ascension:⁵¹

Sexta feria post ascensionis prima missa *Salve prima Alleluia, Regina. secundum Dominus in Syna.*⁵²

On that Friday...the children shall sing the first *Alleluia, Regina*. The priests sing the second [*Alleluia,*] *Dominus in Syna...*⁵³

Unlike *Alleluia, Dominus in Syna*, the well-known and widely distributed Alleluia proper to the Feast of the Ascension and assigned to the priests, *Alleluia, Regina misericordie* is unique in the region to the local repertoire of this women's house, and would not have been familiar to the priests, educated elsewhere in the diocese. The length, range, and melodically complexity of the Alleluia demand vocal stamina and a good memory, suggesting a high degree of musical competence and knowledge of repertoire on the part of the cloister's girls. It is noteworthy that Anna would choose the children to sing this piece, thereby ensuring that the musical *unica* of the cloister's repertoire would be preserved in the malleable memories of its youngest members.

⁵¹ This text does not appear in either of Schlager's thematic catalogs, but the melody is a northern variant of ThK 169. This text is also found in the fifteenth-century Rhenish sources D-BK 148, fol. 141v (from Trier) and D-Müd 269, from the Enniger Pfarrkirche, fols. 297v–298. For further discussion and a transcription of this piece, see Chapter V.

⁵² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 57v

It also seems that the children were sometimes assigned material for symbolic reasons. As mentioned above, for example, the girls, beginning in their first year, took turns serving as cantrix for the *Benedictus*, or Canticle of Zachary from the Gospel of Luke, sung daily during the morning office of Lauds. The *Benedictus* must have held particular importance for Anna, for it is the only text for which she provides an exegetical commentary. Regarding the Vigil of John the Baptist, Anna writes:

Ipsa die dimittit priorissa legere pro conventum quinquaginta *pater noster* et *ave maria* ad primas decem *Ne timeas Zacharea* et ad alias decem *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* in honore illius gaudii quod habuit Zacharias quando sanctus Gabriel nunciavit sibi nativitatem sancti iohannis et in honore illius gaudi quod mater misericordie primum levavit puerum sanctus iohannes et posuit in gremium suum pris sui priusque in summi matris sue. et tunc primum aperuit sanctus zacharias os suum et dixit *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* quando dominus aperiat orationem quorum adiutorium indigemus⁵⁴

On that day, let the prioress read, on behalf of the convent, fifty *Our Fathers* and *Ave Marias*—at the first decade, *Ne timeas Zacharea*, and at the other decades, *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* in honor of those joys that Zachary had when Saint Gabriel announced to him the birth of Saint John, and in honor of those joys when the Mother of Mercy first lifted the child St. John and held him in her lap, before putting him into the lap of his own mother. And then when Saint Zachary first opened his mouth and said: *Benedictus dominus deus Israel*, when the Lord, by his prayer, opened the mouths of all men on whose help we rely.⁵⁵

The angel Gabriel's prophesy to Zachary promised that salvation would come through the children of Israel. Zachary, struck mute for his lack of faith, regained his voice at the birth of his son. His song of joy, the *Benedictus*, represents both the return of his faith, and of his voice, and reiterates the angel's prophecy:

And thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest;
for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 65v.

⁵⁵ This account is based on that of Jacobus de Voragine; see his *Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 330.

⁵⁶ Luke 1:76.

The *Benedictus* thus emphasizes the role of the child as prophet and leader. It can be no accident that Anna chose to have children sing this text. Her choice did not merely dramatize the liturgy. It furthermore emphasized for the girls that, just as for Zachary, whose faith was equated with his ability to pray out loud in song, the acts of praying and singing in the convent were one. Song was no vain adornment, but an act of faith, as powerful as the monastic silence with which it contrasted.

Liturgical Roles of the Iuencule

As I have suggested above, the iuencule were most likely those girls who had been given to the cloister as child oblates; their binding vows, taken upon entrance, gave them the rank of *persone*, or nuns who had taken vows. As we have seen in examples above, they often were assigned singing roles, as well as the reading of the lessons of Matins. Despite these duties, it seems from Anna's notes that the *iuencule*—and perhaps the other children as well—did not universally attend all hours of the divine office.

Regarding the days just prior to Ash Wednesday, Anna writes:

Sabato ante *Esto mihi* cantantur ad vespervas antiphona *Alma redemptoris, Sanctorum* et dominica die ad vespervas antiphona *Ave domina mundi* et omnes iuencule debent adesse. et similiter tercia feria debent esse ad primam propter missam *Salve* que tunc cantatur et quarta feria in nocte ibunt omnes ad matutinas sed priorissa dabit eis licenciam in ii nocturne vel quando vult.⁵⁷

On the Saturday before *Esto mihi* [Sunday] the antiphons *Alma redemptoris* [and] *Sanctorum* (notated incipit), and on Sunday at Vespers the antiphon *Ave domina mundi*, and all the iuencule should be present. And similarly, on Tuesday, they should be at Prime for the *Salve* mass, which is sung then. And on Wednesday night, all go to Matins, but the prioress gives them permission to leave at the second nocturn, or when she wants.

⁵⁷ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 33r.

Thus, the *iuvencule* were certainly in choir for important occasions, but were allowed to leave Matins after the first nocturn. We see elsewhere in Anna's book that the *iuvencule* were assigned other ceremonial duties. For example, she writes that during the anointing of the body of a deceased nun,

Priorissa et senior sacrista. portabunt lumina coram sacramento Sed quando
inungitur tunc portabunt iiii iuvencule lumina. crucem. et thuribulum⁵⁸

The prioress and senior sacristan shall carry candles before the sacrament. But when the body is anointed, then four oblates shall carry the candles, the cross, and the thurible.

By providing such ceremonial assistance, the young nuns not only provided logistical support, but they also learned the responsibilities of the offices of prioress and sacristan, offices which some would assume in their maturity.

The young nuns were also assigned, in turn, to read the hagiographic and devotional readings read at meals in the refectory, which assumes a level of working literacy in Latin, and would have constituted a portion of their training in Latin.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. 92r

⁵⁹ Ibid., 90v–91r. Several factors argue for the reading of these texts in Latin, and not in translation. First, Anna writes about these texts in Latin, and gives their textual incipits in Latin. By contrast, elsewhere in the book, Anna uses the vernacular to discuss texts that are used in the vernacular: namely, as in her discussion of the vernacular computus for determining the date of Easter, and for the vernacular dialog that begins the vesting ceremony (discussed below). Had the readings been recited in the vernacular, it is likely that Anna would have written about them in the vernacular, and referred to the texts by their vernacular incipits. Eva Schlotheuber has reported table readings in both Latin and the vernacular from Kloster Ebstorf. See Eva Schlotheuber, "Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Studien und Texte zur Literarischen und Materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter: Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24.–26. Febr. 1999* edited by Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlotheuber, and Volker Honemann, 169–221 (Leiden and Boston, Brill: 2004), 173, 176–177. Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner has concluded that southern German Dominican houses recited table readings in Latin. See Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, "Puellae litteratae: The Use of the Vernacular in the Dominican Convents of Southern Germany," in *Medieval Women in Their Communities*, edited by Dianne Watt (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 49–71.

In the second half of Anna's book, there appears to be a shift in the way in which girls were brought into the convent, and their training. These changes will be discussed below under the heading of convent reform.

Outside Singers

Among the most surprising findings from the *Buch im Chor* is the cloister's apparent engagement of outside singers for important feasts. These singers supplemented the children's choir, and on occasion at least, took the place of individual child singers. It is impossible to say much that is definite about these singers, however, the numerous references to them do reveal certain facts. They were female, but their age is not known. They lived outside the cloister, but were evidently familiar with its music and liturgy, and journeyed there to stay for periods of days or weeks. One possible explanation is that they were drawn from among the *scholares* or "worldly children" educated in the cloister—either current students, or former *scholares* who had left for the secular world. This theory, if true, reveals that the "worldly" as well as "spiritual" children were educated musically and participated in the sung liturgy—though it often has been assumed otherwise. These singers might also be considered among the earliest recorded examples of female professional singers of liturgical music. In the following passage, Anna describes when these substitute singers would come, and lists the occasions on which they would be required to sing.

Si aliqua cantat puero rogat licenciam secunda feria *Quasimodo geniti*. et ibit per curiam in dominicis diebus infra pascha et ascensionis. In vigilia ascensionis venit ad vespervas In vigilia pentecostes venit ad primam et manebit in choro usque in quartam feriam ad primam. tunc rogat licenciam manendi. In vigilia Iohannis baptiste et in vigilia Assumptionis Marie ibit ad primam. Ad omnia alia festa venit nisi ad vespervas excepto vigilia Epiphanie. In quadragesima et in adventum non

licet licenciam habere cum pueris cantando. si illa servit interim que puero cantat. non est necesse ut eat ad choro.⁶⁰

If someone sings for a child, she asks permission on the Monday following *Quasimodo geniti* [Sunday]. She processes *per curiam* on the Sundays between Easter and Ascension. On the Vigil of Ascension, she comes at Vespers. On the Vigil of Pentecost she comes at [the hour of] Prime and shall remain in choir until Wednesday at Prime. Then she asks for permission to remain. On the Vigil of John the Baptist and the Vigil of the Assumption of Mary she goes at Prime. On all other feasts, she comes only at Vespers except on the Vigil of Epiphany. In Lent and in Advent she is not permitted to sing with the children. If the child she serves sings at the same time, it is not necessary that she go to the choir.

The foregoing passage suggests that certain children in the cloister were able to arrange for a singer to substitute for them in performing their choir duties; the pronoun *aliqua* immediately identifies these singers as female. It seems that the child for whom the substitute was to sing was not normally present when the substitute was there. According to Anna's instructions, a substitute singer should arrive on the Monday following *Quasimodo* Sunday, or the Octave of Easter. Anna emphasizes that her work includes processing in the *per curiam* entrance procession that preceded the high mass during the Sundays of Paschaltide; participation in the cloister's Sunday and festal processions seems to have been an important aspect of children's liturgical and musical participation, but it is possible that the substitute singer would have participated in the other Sunday liturgies as well. Elsewhere, Anna writes that "on all Saturdays in the Ember Days, and on all Vigils of Apostles, the convent processes, except on vigils of duplex feasts. Then they process only to choir."⁶¹ This would explain why the girl had to arrive at Prime, that is to say before the first mass, on the Vigil of John the Baptist and the Assumption of Mary: the same seems to be the case for the Vigil of Epiphany. It seems that the

⁶⁰D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 50r–50v.

⁶¹Ibid., fol. 9r.

substitute singers also came on other feasts at Vespers, that is to say, in the evening of the feast's vigil. During the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent, substitute singers were not allowed to sing.

Six additional passages in Anna's book refer to a group of singers as *omnes que delectis sunt* literally, "all who are among the chosen" or "the elect." The verb *delegere* can also have the sense of selecting, enrolling, or levying; *delectis* as an adjective can refer to picked men, an advisory staff, or the elite. While the adjective *delectis* is in the masculine, the pronoun *que* (*quae* in classical spelling) indicates that the singers are female. Six passages in Anna's *Buch im Chor* specifically request their presence for the pre-mass (or *per curiam*) procession on occasions of particular importance, including the Feast of the Epiphany, the Feast of the Purification, the Rogation Days, the Feast of the Ascension, and the Feast of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.⁶²

Two of these passages imply that it is because the children are required to sing that the elect are required to attend. The first occasion mentioned is the Vigil of St.

Margaret, 20 July:

In profesto margarete prior missa quid tempus postulat summa de sancto thebaldo (sic) omnes que de lectis sunt debent ad esse eciam que pueris cantant. Sacerdotes iuvabunt.⁶³

On the Vigil of Margaret the first mass [is] as the season requires; the high mass [is] for St. Theobaldo. All the elect should be present, for they sing with [or in place of] the children. The priests shall help.

It is not clear from the passages above whether *eciam que pueris cantant* means that they sang *with* the children, or *instead of* the children—that is to say, as substitute singers, as in the longer passage enumerating numerous feasts. Yet another passage refers to the

⁶² Ibid., fol. 19v.

dedication of an altar that took place on Sunday before the Feast of St. Martin (11 November). This passage gives more detail about what the children were required to sing.

Nota que dominica ante festum martini est dedicacio in ambitu ad altare apud chorum omnes que delectis sunt debent esse ad *Visita*. eciam que pueris cantant... conventus ibit per circuitum cum domina. Et cum vexillis interius per ambitum. *Sanctifica* non cantatur, sed *R. Benedic* cum versu.⁶⁴

Note that the Sunday before the feast of Martin is the dedication of the altar in the aisle next to the choir. All the elect should be present at *Visita*, for they sing with [in place of] the children...the convent processes *per circuitum* with the [image of] Our Lady, and processes inside around the aisle with banners. *Sanctifica* is not sung, but instead the responsory *R. Benedic* with verses.

While this passage contains the same grammatical ambiguity as the previous passage, it does seem clear that the elect must be present because the children are required to sing in procession. The responsory *R. Visita quesumus domine* from Saturday Matins, and the responsory *R. Benedic domine domum istam* from the Matins of the dedication of a church are pieces that were typically sung during the Sunday pre-mass procession that blessed the cloister buildings and church.⁶⁵ At Kloster Preetz, this procession typically involved the singing of a responsory or antiphon in procession, another item at a stational altar, and a final piece for the procession's entry into the church.⁶⁶

These passages witnessing the presence of outside singers who came to the cloister for days, weeks or months out of the year to substitute for child singers has several implications. First, it shows that certain children—perhaps those who were less

⁶⁴ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 89v. *Cum domina* refers to an image of the Virgin Mary that was carried in procession.

⁶⁵ CAO 7908; CAO 6235.

⁶⁶ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 9v, 21r, 22r–22v, 31v, 81r–81v, 89v. See the following chapter for further discussion of processions and their music.

talented and whose families could afford to hire ‘ringers’—were able to get out of their choir duties, including the *per curiam* prior to Sunday high mass and processions on festal occasions.

Second, it shows that there was a group of capable female singers who were not permanent members of the community, but who served in children’s stead as singers. It is possible that they were among the “worldly children” who attended the cloister school, possibly in exchange for their musical services Johannes. Rosenplänter has documented how individual nuns paid for the tuition of unrelated “worldly children,” and has suggested that these girls provided some sort of domestic service in return.⁶⁷ It is also possible that they were, in fact, sponsored in exchange for their musical services, in which case, they represented one of the earliest recorded instances of female professional singers in an ecclesiastical context. It also shows that students in the convent school were not uninvolved in convent’s liturgy: by contrast, some of them played an important role by singing in the convent’s processional liturgy. Their extended stays suggest that they may have sung in other liturgies as well.

Another possibility is that these women were secular alumnae of the cloister’s school, whose familiarity with the music and liturgy of the convent allowed them to rejoin the cloister’s children’s choir for festal occasions as an act of pious service. It is plausible that this group of singers may have been lay corrodians: typically, widows of means who exchanged their income for material support and prayers from the community, yet who retained their secular status. June Meham has characterized lay corrodians as occupying “a marginal position that straddled the boundary between the

⁶⁷ Johannes Rosenplänter, “Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft,” 159.

sacred and mundane.”⁶⁸ In this latter scenario, it is possible that lay corrodians, perhaps alumnae of the cloister’s school, joined in singing during the highpoints of the liturgical year as a form of pious devotion.

Whether they were scholarship students who “sang for their supper,” or secular alumnae of the cloister’s school who rejoined the community to pray and sing as lay corrodians, the presence of these singers in the cloister’s liturgy shows that enclosure at Kloster Preetz was relatively porous: a number of women who participated in the cloister’s sung liturgies came and went during the year. It also attests to the fluidity between secular and religious life among women who were not professed nuns, but nevertheless, were closely involved with performing the community’s sung liturgies. The addition of these experienced singers to the children’s choir doubtless augmented the resulting sound, and may also have aided in the oral transmission of repertoire across the generations.

Children in the *Per Curiam* Procession

As already shown, the children of Kloster Preetz played a prominent role in the *per curiam* procession which proceeded the Sunday high mass and festal masses. One can imagine various reasons for this: unlike the older nuns, especially the elderly and infirm sisters who might have difficulty processing, one can imagine how the cloister’s children, some of who might have been as young as six years of age, would have benefitted from

⁶⁸ June L. Meecham, “Katherina von Hoya’s Saint Anne Chapel: The Creation of Sacred Space and the Performance of Piety,” in *Frauen–Kloster–Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung “Krone und Schleier,”* edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jaggi, Susan Marti, and Hedwig Rockelein (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 180.

the physical exercise of processing, before returning to the choir to attend the second of two daily masses. John Harper has estimated that a community might hold as many as a hundred such *per curiam* processions a year on Sundays and double feasts, making it a regular, yet little-examined liturgical practice.⁶⁹ Harper writes that the precise practices of the Sunday pre-mass procession indeed varied according to region, but that the procession typically moved through the cloister, blessing both the church and residential buildings:

In secular churches the Sunday procession included the sprinkling of the altars with holy water. In monastic churches this act of purification with holy water commonly moved through the domestic buildings as well as the church, so that the whole house was cleansed before Mass. At the very least an antiphon was sung while the procession left the choir; versicle and collect were usually sung at a station (altar, font, or rood); an antiphon was sung as the procession returned to the choir; and the ceremony ended with a versicle and collect.⁷⁰

Thus, the procession involved the singing of at least two items, separated by a stational liturgy. The following passage from the *Buch im Chor* gives an example of pieces that were assigned to be sung during this processional liturgy, including its stop at a stational altar, as it occurred from Sunday after the octave of Epiphany up to the Feast of the Purification. It is noteworthy that in this and similar passages, Anna never mentions the presence of clergy; while they may have been present, it was the children, and perhaps some of the adult women, who sang for the procession, and the Cantrix evidently determined its order.

Dominica post octavam epiphanie usque ad festum purificationis Marie quando intratur per curiam tunc cantatur *Sanctifica nos* et R. *Benedic* ad stacionem *Nesciens mater* Ad introitum *Magnum hereditatis*.⁷¹

⁶⁹ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy*, 128–129.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 128–129.

⁷¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 22r.

[From] the Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany to the Feast of the Purification of Mary, when [the church] is entered *per curiam* then *Sanctifica nos* is sung and the responsory *Benedic*. At the station *Nesciens mater*, and at the entrance *Magnum hereditatis*.

It seems that there was a standard group of musical pieces that accompanied the *per curiam* procession. As seen in the foregoing and other passages, this group includes the antiphon *Sanctifica nos*, used as both a canticle antiphon and processional antiphon in honor of the holy cross, and the responsories *Visita quaesumus domine* and *Benedic domine domum istam* from the Matins of the dedication of a church.⁷² Other pieces reflecting the liturgy of the season or saints' feasts, such as *Nesciens mater* and *Magnum hereditatis* in the foregoing passage, were chosen to accompany the stationary liturgy at the altars located in the north aisle of the church that was reserved for the nuns' use.⁷³

As described by Harper, the chants sung in the *per curiam* procession accompanied the blessing of the house and church preceding the Sunday high mass, and would have been sung throughout the year, supplemented or substituted with seasonal material. None of most commonly used pieces are extant in the fragmentary Kloster Preetz antiphoner; the transcriptions presented below are from other monastic sources. They can therefore illustrate the cloister's processional music in general terms, but cannot be considered representative at the level of melodic variation or ornamentation.

⁷² Both responsories appear on fol. 11r of CH-SGs 391, the Hartker Codex.

⁷³ D-PREk Reihe V G 1 (the Preetz Antiphoner) lists incipits of pieces to be used in the *per curiam* procession for feast days, typically drawn from Matins of the previous night. The north aisle of the cloister church connected the nuns' choir with the cloister buildings located to the north of the church. The south aisle was used as a lay chapel, and is referred to by Anna as the "ambitus sacerdotum" (the priest's aisle.) See D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 54v, 62r, 81v.

Musical Example 3.2 transcribes the antiphon *Sanctifica nos*, used as a Magnificat antiphon and processional antiphon in honor of the holy cross.⁷⁴

Sanc - ti - fi - ca nos — do - mi - ne sig - na - cu - lo — sanc - te — cru - cis

ut — fi - at no - bis ob - sta - cu - lum — con - tra se - va - ia - cu - la i - ni - mi - co - rum

de - fen - de nos — do - mi - ne per — lig - num sanc - tum et per pre - ci - um iusti san - gui - nis tu - i

cum quo — nos re - de - mi - sti al - le - - - - - lu - ia

Musical Example 3.2. *Sanctifica nos*, NL-Uu 406, fol. 111v–112r.

The text of this piece translates as:

Lord, sanctify us by the sign of the holy cross
 that it might be for us an obstacle against the savage darts of the enemy.
 Defend us, Lord, by the holy wood, and by the price of your just blood
 with which you have redeemed us, alleluia.

With this prayer, sung in procession, the girls asked to be blessed and protected by the sign of the cross. The cross was no abstract image in the context of procession: the processional cross that accompanied the group as they made their way through the cloister buildings was a visual sign of the sanctity and protection for which the girls prayed. The antiphon *Sanctifica nos* was typically followed by the responsory *Visita quesumus domine*, transcribed as Musical Example 3.3:

⁷⁴ CAO 4744. The piece is variously assigned to the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

Vi - - - si - ta - - - que - su - mus do - - - mi - ne - - -

ha - bi - ta - - - - - ci - o - - nem is - - - tam - - -

Et om - - - nes in - si - di - as i - ni - mi - ci

ab - - - e - - - - - a lon - - - - - ge

re - pel - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - le

V.Be - ne - dic do - mi - ne do - - - mum is - - - tam

et om - nes ha - bi - tan - tes in e - a

V.Glori - a pa - tri et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to

Musical Example 3.3. R. *Visita quesumus domine*, A-KN 1012, fol. 77r.

The text of the responsory and its verse translate as follows:

R. Visit, we pray, Lord, this dwelling,
and all drive far away all treacheries of the enemy.

V. Lord, bless this house and all who dwell in it.

This piece has been transcribed from the manuscript A-KN 1012, where it was used for the dedication of a church. This text is appropriate to the first part of the procession, as it moved through the cloister buildings ritually cleansing and blessing the space. It first asks God to visit and drive out all evil, then requests God’s blessing of the house and its inhabitants: “Bless, Lord, this house and all its inhabitants.” Thus, the women and girls in the procession were performing a prayer that was at once protective, purgative, and salutary; with this song, they spiritually cleansed the physical space of the cloister as they moved through its buildings. The Mode 3 piece is lengthy and melismatic. The final melisma on the word *repelle*, “to drive out,” may be interpreted as a significant example of word painting. The repetendum that concludes in this melisma is sung three times by the whole ensemble, emphatically beseeching God to drive away evil influence. The melisma, beginning on the second (and accented) syllable *-pe-* of *repelle* leaps up in a series of neumatic groupings that outline the pitches *G-c-e-f*. The melody then arrives on *d*, which has served until now only as an upper neighbor to the tenor of *c*—certainly distant territory within this mode. The sudden drop of a fifth that follows from *d* to *G* is disconcerting: the final act of “repelling” the melody, before leading the singer into a more typical Mode 3 cadential pattern.

The responsory R. *Benedic domine domum istam* which follows is transcribed from the Gertrudenberg processional as Musical Example 3.4.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ D-OSd GE 01, fols. 107r–107v.

Be - - - ne - - - dic do-mi - ne do - - - mum is - - - tam

et _____ om - nes ha - bi - tan - - - tes in _____ il - la

sit que__ in__ e _____ a__ sa - ni - tas hu - mi - li - - tas sanc - ti - - tas

cas-ti-tas vir - - - tus vic - to - ri - a fi-des spes et__ ca - ri - tas be - - - nig-ni - tas

tem - pe - ran-ci-a pa - ci - en - ci - a spi-ri-tu - a - lis di-sci - pli - na et o-be-di-en - - - ci - a

11 Per _____ in - fi - ni - ta se - cu - la. V.Con - ser - va do-mi - ne

13 in e - a ti - men - tes _____ te pu - - - sil - loscum _____ ma - io - ri - bus. Per. _____

V.Glo - ri - - a __ pa-tri _____ et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu-i _____ san - - - - cto. Per. _____

Musical Example 3.4. R. *Benedic domine domum istam*, D-OSd GE 01, fols. 107r–107v.

The text of the responsory and its verse translate as:

R. Lord, bless this house and all those who dwell in it.
 And may there be in it cleanliness, humility
 sanctity
 chastity, virtue, victory, faith, hope, and charity
 blessedness, temperance, patience, spiritual discipline, and obedience,
 for the infinite ages.

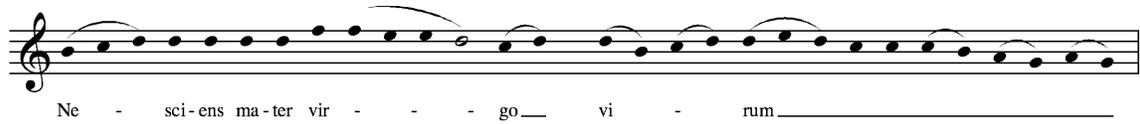
V. O lord, keep in it all those who fear you, the weak and great alike.

V. Glory be to the father and the son, and to the holy spirit.

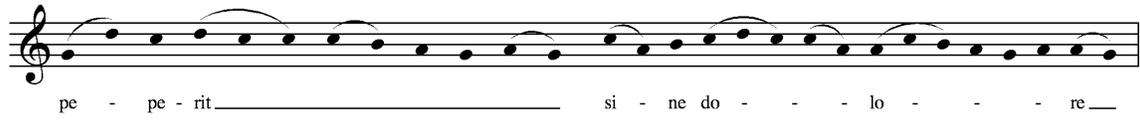
In a similar vein as *Visita quesumus domine*, the text of *Benedic domine domum istam* also asks for God's blessing of the house and its inhabitants. The text furthermore reiterates core principles of the monastic life: cleanliness, humility, holiness, chastity, the power of victory, faith, hope, and charity, blessedness, temperance, patience, spiritual discipline, and obedience for eternity. As the girls processed through the cloister buildings singing this responsory, their voices made audible the values of monastic life, culminating in the principles of discipline and obedience, the ordering principles of the community. A soloist, or pair of soloists, would have sung the verse which reads "Save in [this house] those who fear you, weak and great alike," to which the chorus would have responded "for the infinite ages." The singing of this text on a weekly basis would have been a powerful reminder, both for young and old, of their mutual vulnerability and equal need for prayer.

As demonstrated above, the music for the *per curiam* procession varied by season. For the season between the Octave of the Epiphany and the Feast of the Purification, the nuns sang the antiphon *Nesciens mater*, likely as part of a stationary liturgy for the Blessed Virgin at the altar of the Annunciation that was located in the north aisle of the church.⁷⁶ The short Marian antiphon *Magnum hereditatis* followed, perhaps as the procession reentered the church.

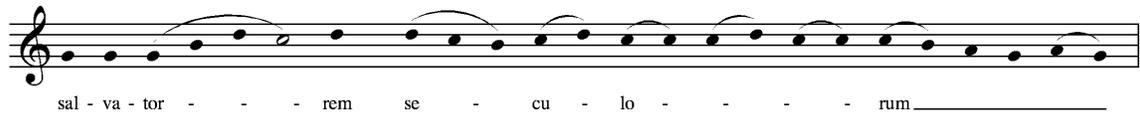
⁷⁶ Marlies Buchholz, *Anna Selbdritt: Bilder einer wirkungsmächtigen Heiligen* (Königstein in Taunus: Die Blauen Bücher, 2005), 24.



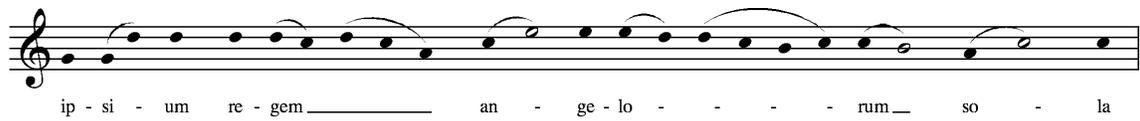
Ne - sci - ens ma - ter vir - - - go__ vi - rum__



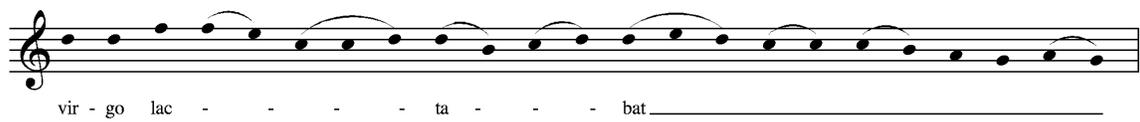
pe - pe - rit__ si - ne do - - - lo - - - re__



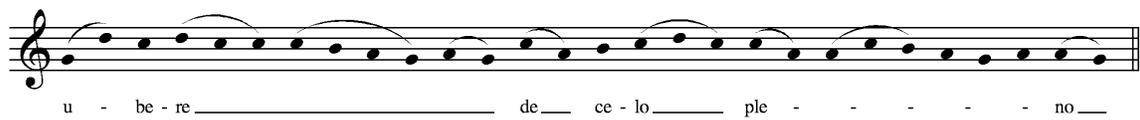
sal - va - tor - - - rem se - cu - lo - - - rum__



ip - si - um re - gem__ an - ge - lo - - - rum__ so - la



vir - go lac - - - ta - - - bat__



u - be - re__ de__ ce - lo__ ple - - - no__

Musical Example 3.5. *Nesciens mater*, NL-Uu 406, fol. 35r.

Mag - - - - num he - re - di - ta - tis ___ mi - ste - - - - - ri - um

templum de - i fac - tus ___ est u - te - rus ne - sci - ens ___ vi - rum

non est pol - lu - tus ex e - a car - nem as - su - mens

om - - - - nes ___ gen - tes ve - ni - ent _____ di - cen - - - - tes

glo - ri - a ti - bi do - - - - - - - - - - mi - ne

Musical Example 3.6. *Magnum hereditatis*, NL-Uu 406, fol. 37r.

In sum, the children, in singing these pieces as they traversed the space of the church and cloister buildings, performed important spiritual work of praying for the blessing and protection of their entire community. Moreover, the texts reiterated the basic monastic values and tenets of their faith, helping to inculcate the shared beliefs of the community in the minds of its youngest members. We can well imagine how the words and melodies sung along a processional route that traversed the physical space of the cloister were imprinted onto the girls’ spatial memory of the convent, becoming part of their mental map of the shared space in which they lived. Moreover, singing in the spatially dispersed arrangement of the procession, and outside of the resonant space of the choir would have given the girls practice in projecting their voices, while simultaneously listening to each

other to stay together. This experience would have given confidence in singing melismatic chants that they could apply to participation in the sung mass and office.

The Reform of Cloister Entrance and Education

The latter part of the *Buch im Chor*, most likely written after 1484, differs significantly from the first. This portion of Anna's book was likely written during her tenure as prioress, and may reflect the impact of the later fifteenth-century Bursfeld reform of Benedictine monasticism. Many of these changes may be explained by the fact that among the goals of the Bursfeld Reform were the revision of the practice of child oblation, and the establishment of a novitiate in its place.

The second half of the *Buch im Chor* begins with list of table readings: this may reflect a the emphasis reformers placed on the monastic ideal of the common table.⁷⁷ An index of the chapters of the Rule of St. Benedict follows, each given a subheading derived from the text of the chapter. The presence of this index in the second half of the book may reflect a reformist interest in closer adherence to the Rule. Following the index of the Benedictine Rule in the *Buch im Chor* appear a revised cloister entrance ceremony for child oblates, regulations governing the girls' daily lives, and details of the training of young singers.⁷⁸ The revision of cloister entrance ceremonies and education can be explained by the fact that the Bursfeld Reform held among its goals the reform of the practice of child oblation, and the institution of a formal novitiate in its stead.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ See Eva Schlotheuber, "Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," 173.

⁷⁸ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 106–109.

⁷⁹ Stephanus Hilpisch, *History of Benedictine Nuns* (Collegeville: St. John's Abbey Press, 1958), 54–55; See also Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 175–267.

The Establishment of a Novitiate

In the second section of the book, Anna uses the more specific term *novicia* to designate novice, while using *iuventule* in a broader sense, seemingly to denote girls from their entry into the convent on. In this wider sense, the *iuventula* seems to encompass a wide age range, from the time of entry in the convent until the transfer to the novitiate. This usage coincides with Anne Bagnall Yardley's definition of *iuventule* as school-aged girls.⁸⁰ By contrast, Anna uses the term *novicia* in two instances, both occurring late in the manuscript. The two passages treat liturgical and educational reform. In a section detailing liturgical simplifications that Anna had requested of the bishop, she writes:

Sabatis ferialibus huiusmodi lectiones exterius et mente tenus. per unam
legebantur monialium. Sabatis festivis per unam de noviciis. sive de scholaribus.⁸¹

On ferial Saturdays, the lessons were in this way memorized and read by heart by one nun, [and] on festal Saturdays, by one of the novices or *scholares*.

From this passage, we see that in the second half of Anna's book, the *scholares* comprise a group distinct from the *novices*. Laurentia McLauclan has argued in the case of the Barking Ordinal that *scholaris* seems to designate a novice, while the *iuventule* were "most probably girls receiving their education in the abbey."⁸² In the *Buch im Chor*, the *iuventule* seem to be girls admitted at a young age, who were later admitted into the formal novitiate.

⁸⁰ Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 181.

⁸¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 133v

⁸² Laurentia McLauclan, as cited in Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Musical Education*, 52.

I propose that this shift of terminology in the middle of Anna's book likely stems from the reform of child oblation and the establishment of a novitiate. Prior to the establishment of a novitiate, the school children and child oblates constituted two separate categories of children. With the reform, the former distinction between oblates and school children (the "spiritual" and "worldly" children, respectively) has disappeared, and the terms *scholares* and *iuencule* became synonymous, meaning girls from their entrance into the convent through eight years of their education. The term *novicia* was introduced to mean very specifically "novice." This shift in organization and terminology doubtless resulted from the cloister's encounter with the Bursfeld Reform movement that reformed the cloister's method of accepting and educating its youngest members.

A second passage in the later portion of the book describes how three girls were transferred from the cloister school to the novitiate based on their competency in learning repertoire. Anna writes:

Item notandum est que scholares nostre hactenus consueverunt cantus duorum antiphoniariorum. et graduale. externis cantare et restare (for recitare?) magistris suis. nisi per preces quorundam (sic) prelatorum. sive amicorum alicui gracia largita fuit... Sic contigit anno peroratus mei tercio que scholis tradite fuerant quedam (sic) novice nostro videlicet Wernetrudis Hoken. Anna Rantsowe. et Margareta Rantsowe. huiusmodi cantum adincorporandum more consueto.⁸³

Also it should be noted that our *scholares* have been accustomed to learning to sing from memory and recite the chants of the two antiphoners and the gradual from their teachers, if not from the prayers of certain prelates, or from friends who are kind enough to show them favor... thus it happened that in the third year of my tenure as prioress, certain novices were transferred from our school, namely Wernetrudis Hoken, Anna Rantsowe, and Margareta Rantsowe, whose methods of chant should be incorporated into the accustomed manner.

⁸³ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 138r.

In the context of this passage, it would appear that the *scholares* refer to girls who are still in the convent school, and that they become novices at the time of their transfer from the school to the novitiate.⁸⁴

Revised Cloister Entrance Ceremonies

Fifteenth-century Kloster Preetz, like other Benedictine convents of the late Middle Ages, maintained the tradition of receiving child oblates, that is, the “spiritual children” or girls to be raised by the cloister, and who took binding vows upon entrance. While the oblation of male children had largely ended by the twelfth century, female children in German continued to be given to cloisters as child oblates into the fifteenth century.⁸⁵ As Benedictine historian Stephan Hilpisch has written, the reformed statutes of convents, based on those for male congregations, stipulated that no child under the age of twelve could be received as a novice. If children were brought as oblates, they could not take binding vows until they reached the age of maturity, with profession generally made at the age of sixteen.⁸⁶

Partial records of the ceremonies of vesting and crowning that exist in the *Buch im Chor* give us a glimpse of the ceremonial process by which girls became members of the community. I suggest that the vesting ceremony in particular shows evidence of reform, but also retains traces of the earlier practice of the reception of children into the convent. It seems that even after reform, the cloister continued to accept girls at a young age, though the former distinction between “worldly” and “spiritual” children had been

⁸⁵ See Eva Schlotheuber, *Kloster Eintritt und Bildung*, 175–267.

⁸⁶ Eva Schlotheuber, *Kloster Eintritt und Bildung*, 222–234; Stephanus Hilpisch, *History of Benedictine Nuns* (Collegeville: St. John’s Abbey Press, 1958) 54–55.

minimized. The evidence to support this conclusion is three-fold: first, the ceremony of vesting contains the element of formal oblation of a child according to the Benedictine Rule, consisting of the symbolic wrapping of the child's hands in the altar cloth. Reformers of the fifteenth century criticized the widespread practice of oblation in which the child was literally placed on the altar of the church as a gift: the return to the practice as described in the Benedictine Rule thus provides evidence of reform. Second, the vesting ceremony, which, in a reformed context, would mark the girl's entry into the novitiate, retains at Kloster Preetz, elements of the *introductio*, or girl's first acceptance into the cloister, and ends in the "wedding feast" associated with the ceremony of oblation. Thus, the vesting seems to take place soon after the girl's entrance into the cloister, and does not mark her entrance into the novitiate. Further evidence suggests that between the girls' vesting and transfer from the cloister school to the novitiate, they received eight years of education. This confirms that the girls entered the convent in childhood, significantly before the age of maturity, even in the reformed ceremony.

The ceremony of crowning, as will be discussed below, was not a constitutive act of cloister entrance. Thus, it could be performed at any stage during the girl's formation. A complete transcription of Anna's notes on the ceremonies of vesting and crowning are included as Appendix A .

Though brief, the description of the vesting ceremony from the *Buch im Chor* conveys a sense of the musical and theological framing of the girls' entry into the convent. The musical incipits in the *Buch im Chor* only represent a portion of the music used, yet give us some idea of the arc of the ceremony. The sung texts were taken from the Feast of Pentecost, from the Common of Virgins, from the Marian Feasts of the

Assumption and the Nativity, and most prominently, from the Song of Songs. While the music does not remain, the sung texts form an integral part of the ceremony and convey its significance through their subject matter. Together, they create a narrative that first dwells on physical beauty, then moves to the transformation of the body and senses and the abnegation of worldly pleasure and power. Aside from a few incipits shared with other sources, the liturgical assignments preserved in the *Buch im Chor* seem to be unique to the vesting ceremony of Kloster Preetz.

In the last ten years, a growing interest in the music of convent entrance rites has been reflected in a number of publications. Anne Bagnall Yardley's study of English consecration ceremonies describes the rite of consecration as an enactment of a complex marriage ceremony, whose prayers and chants evoke the imagery of the nun as "bride of Christ", as witnessed in English pontificals of the eleventh through sixteenth century. Yardley supplements the rubrics and incipits from the pontificals with notated musical examples from other sources. Yardley has shown how the ritual was expanded, dramatized, and how the woman being professed took an active role in the ceremony over several centuries.⁸⁷ While Yardley's description is useful to this study as background for the description of entrance ceremonies at Preetz, the ceremonies at the German convent differ in that they are divided into two parts: the initial reception of the girl, which mixes elements of oblation and vesting ceremonies, and the later crowning ceremony, which, although not sacramental in nature, was conducted by the bishop. Because the former ceremony was not presided over by a bishop, the liturgical details of the ceremony and its music would not be found in a pontifical.

⁸⁷ Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety*, 159–177.

James Borders's 2006 article surveyed the distribution and arrangement of the chants for the rite of consecration as reflected in pontificals from the eleventh through fourteenth centuries.⁸⁸ Part of a larger study, Borders's article reports a diverse repertoire and order of chants used in the rite of consecration. Borders' sources are primarily English, French and Italian. German sources reflecting the Romano-German Pontifical and the twelfth-century Roman Pontifical provide an overlap with the repertoire of Kloster Preetz, but do not contain all of the chants found in the Preetz ceremony. Furthermore, Borders' sources, like Yardley's, do not treat any aspect of an entrance ceremony in which the bishop does not take place, including notated versions of the chants for the liturgy. Ulrike Hascher-Burger's work in identifying the surviving manuscripts from the Lüne cloisters has identified several sources containing prayers and music for cloister entrance ceremonies, including D-Lk Hs.14 and D-Gs Cod. Ms. theol. 230a (both from Kloster Lüne), and GB-Cu 8850 from Kloster Medingen.⁸⁹ Other late-fifteenth century *rituales* with notated musical examples include D-FRu Hs. 1500, 14 from the Penitential Convent of Mary Magdalene, Strasbourg (Augustinian usage) and D-KNd Cod. 1099 from the Augustinian foundation of St. Maximin, Cologne. While these sources are relevant because they provide notated musical examples, they contain reformed entrance ceremonies that focus on the profession of vows, and no longer contain elements of former oblation ceremonies. Clearly, more work is needed to identify

⁸⁸ James Borders, "Distribution of Chants for the Consecration of Nuns." *Papers Read at the Thirteenth Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Niederaltaich, Germany 2006. August 29–September 4*, edited by Barbara Hagg and László Dobszay (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009) 85–103.

⁸⁹ Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Verborgene Klänge*, 53, 61.

manuscript sources containing German rites of oblation and consecration that predate the reforms of the fifteenth century.

I have found no record of how an unreformed rite would have been performed, that is, a rite of oblation. This is not contained in a pontifical, because as the evidence from Kloster Preetz suggests, it was performed by the cloister's provost and not by the bishop. The crowning ceremony, Anna writes, was contained in the book of the prioress: thus, even though it was administered by the bishop, it was not sacramental, and not a constitutive act of profession. Therefore, it is likely that neither of these ceremonies, current in Germany in the late fifteenth century would have been documented in a pontifical.

What were the rites of oblation, vesting, and crowning like? The skeleton of the former are found in the Benedictine Rule, but the liturgical elaboration of those rites are not witnessed in manuscript sources, only in visitation records and other reform documents critical of the practice of child oblation and the taking of permanent vows by children.⁹⁰ A pre-reformed liturgy of the crowning ceremony is not described in any surviving *rituale*, to my knowledge.

The reformed Strasbourg and Cologne *rituales* divide entrance rites into two ceremonies: the first part consists of the vesting, and following a probationary period of one year, the second part, comprised of the profession. These reformed ceremonies have departed from the pre-reformed elements of oblation and crowning elements. It is possible that crowning remained an element of earlier entrance rites in Kloster Lüne and Kloster Medingen. In Kloster Preetz, of the six musical elements named in Anna's book,

⁹⁰ See, for example, Schlotheuber's discussion of the 1482 "Questio de puellis offerendis," *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 234–258.

two are unique to the rite as specified by this manuscript. Most unusual in Anna's notes is the evidence of lingering elements of an oblation ceremony that carried over into the rite of vesting, alongside reformist elements. There exists no other description, to my knowledge, of the crowning as detailed in its dramaturgy as that given in the *Buch im Chor*.

The Vesting Ceremony at Kloster Preetz

Anna's instructions regarding the vesting are in a mixture of Middle Low German and Latin (see transcription in Appendix A.) From context, we can assume that the mass proceeds through the reading of the Gospel, at which point the ceremony of vesting takes place. First, the child to be vested is presented to the cloister provost at the door of the choir, where he questions her in the vernacular about her willingness to obey the Benedictine rule.

At the beginning of the ceremony, the cloister provost asks three questions of the girl in German: "Do you wish to be received into spiritual life?" "Do you wish to live according to the rule of St. Benedict?" and "Do you wish to be submissive and be obedient to the Master Prelate and serve well with these virgins?" The provost then declares in Latin "I receive you in grace in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

In sentiment, these questions may be seen as an abbreviated version of Chapter 58 of the Rule of St. Benedict: *The Procedure for Receiving Brothers*, that tests the prospective monk's sincerity, comprehension, and perseverance in choosing the monastic life.⁹¹ In the context of fifteenth-century convent reform, the presence of these questions

⁹¹ See RB 1980 59: *The Procedure for Receiving Brothers*. The Rule of St. Benedict should be read in its entirety to the prospective brother and told "This is the law under which you are choosing to serve. If you

indicates a reformist desire to establish that the child truly enters the convent willingly, and not simply in accord with the will of her parents.⁹² In the case of Kloster Preetz, the fact that Anna von Buchwald uses the vernacular only in this section of the vesting ceremony suggests that the girl was not yet educated in Latin. It underscores the desire that she understand the choice she is making, yet also communicates that she is very young and at the beginning of her education. She is not, as prescribed by later reformed statutes, entering the novitiate at the age of maturity, following several years of study. Anna's inclusion of this passage in the *Buch im Chor* probably reflects a change in practice, and thus indicates the clarification of correct procedure, or the introduction of a new element into the ceremony.

Similarly, Anna's description of Vesting goes on to describe how the girl's hands should be wrapped in the altar cloth:

Post hec cantatur *Accende lumen* Interea sedet puer coram altari in genibus.
Prepositus involvat manus pueri in palla altaris et tenet dominam nostram super
caput pueri.⁹³

After this, *Accende lumen* is sung, while the child kneels before the altar. The provost wraps the child's hands in the altar cloth and holds Our Lady above the child's head.

Schlotheuber has noted that this act was a point frequently emphasized by reformers. For example, the 1482 *Questio de puellis offerendis* records a visitation to the reformed

can keep it, come in. If not, feel free to leave...After six months, the rule is read to him, so that he may know what he is entering. If once more he stands firm, let four months go by, and then read this rule to him again...When he is to be received, he comes before the whole community in the oratory and promises stability, fidelity to monastic life, and obedience. (RB 1980, 267–269.)

⁹² See Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 129.

⁹³ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 121r. Our Lady is an image of the Virgin Mary, also carried in procession at Kloster Preetz.

Kloster Wienhausen. The document states that girls should no longer be offered on the altar as gifts, but rather, their hands should be wrapped in the altar cloth, as instructed by the Rule of St. Benedict.⁹⁴ Again, Anna likely includes a description of this act in order to emphasize a change in practice.

Following the questioning of the girl by the cloister provost, the antiphon *Que est ista* is sung. A comparison with sources from Kloster Lüne and Kloster Medingen suggest that this incipit refers to an adaptation of a widely-disseminated Marian antiphon used for Matins of the Feast of the Assumption, whose text draws from the Song of Songs. Musical Example 3.7 transcribes this antiphon from the fifteenth century *liber ritualis*/processional of the Penitential convent of Strasbourg, who followed an Augustinian rite.

Que est is - ta que as - ce - dit si - cut au - ro - ra con - sur - gens

pul - chra ut lu - na e - lec - ta ut sol

ter - ri - bi - lis ut cas - tro - rum a - ci - es or - di - na ta

Musical Example 3.7. *Que est ista*, D-FRu Hs. 1500, 14, fol. 107v.

The text of the antiphon translates:

Who is this who goes forth, rising like the dawn, beautiful as the moon, excellent as the sun, terrible as a fortress bristling with spears?

⁹⁴ Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 234.

The text asks the identity of the newly arrived girl, and praises her physical beauty in the image of the dawn, the moon, the sun, and the might of a military fortification. The text simultaneously conveys a sense of erotic beauty from the original *Song of Songs* text on which it is based, while hearkening to the image of the Virgin as the woman clothed in the sun from the Apocalypse of St. John. Its liturgical association with the Feast of the Assumption also brings to mind the assumption of the body, drawing an implicit metaphor: just as Mary's body was assumed into heaven, so the girl's body is assumed into another state of being. As Schlotheuber states, "...die Parallele und die Vorbildfunktion, die Maria Zukam, ist deutlich zu erkennen."⁹⁵ In the context of the vesting, the antiphon begins a series of texts focusing on the transformation of the body. The texts shift from the glorification of physical beauty, to the abandonment of worldly adornment for the love of Christ, and finally, the reception of a new immaculate heart and body.

After the antiphon *Que est ista* is sung, the provost dismisses the child, saying in German "now go in God's name and take leave of the elderly Lord."

At this point the ceremony, the hymn invoking the Holy Spirit, *Veni Creator spiritus*, was sung.⁹⁶ In Kloster Preetz, with the singing of the verse *Accende lumen sensibus* the child knelt facing the altar:

*Accende lumen sensibus
infunde amorem cordibus
infirmi nostri corporis
virtute firmans perpeti*⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 170.

⁹⁶ Hymn for Pentecost Sunday, CAO 8407.

Kindle the light of [our] senses,
pour love into [our] hearts,
strengthening our weak bodies
with everlasting power

As this prayer to the Holy Spirit for awakened senses, love-filled hearts, and strengthened bodies was sung, the provost wrapped the hands of the kneeling child in the altar cloth, while an image of the Virgin was held over her head. The practice of wrapping the child's hands in the altar cloth is described in chapter 59 of the Benedictine Rule. In the Rule, it was the child's parents who performed this action, wrapping their child's hands in the altar cloth, along with a document granting him or her to the abbey.⁹⁸ It is possible that this action is emphasized at Preetz as part of the effort to reform the practice of child oblation. As in other reformed cloisters, the return to the standard Benedictine ritual of wrapping the child's hands in the altar cloth likely replaced the widespread custom of placing the child on the altar as a gift.

The Preetz vesting can be read as transferring sanctity to the child by means of two physical acts. First, sanctity is transferred to the child through contact with the altar cloth, which connects her body to the altar, the location of the relic that sanctifies the entire physical building of the church. During this process, an image of the Virgin is simultaneously held above the girl's head. This act symbolizes in concrete form the intercessory role of Mary, whose image is situated between the child's head and heaven. This symbolic representation of Marian intercession parallels the means of receiving

⁹⁷ CAO 8407c. from *Veni creator spiritus*. This verse was also documented in the vesting ceremony from the Lüne Kloster, sung with the organ. No other verses are documented. See Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 142–143.

⁹⁸ See translation and commentary in *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in English and Latin*, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN, 1980), 270–273.

communion at Kloster Preetz as described by Jeffrey Hamburger. In this practice, communion wine was distributed to the nuns from a chalice held in a copper hand connected to a statue of the Virgin Mary, commissioned by Anna von Buchwald for this purpose.⁹⁹ Both practices manifest the pivotal intercessory role of Mary in blessing and salvation at Kloster Preetz—a cloister that was, in fact, dedicated to the Virgin.¹⁰⁰

Next in the ceremony, the strophe *Per [te] sciamus* from the same hymn, *Veni creator spiritus*, is sung:¹⁰¹

*Per te sciamus da patrem
noscamus atque filium
teque utriusque spiritum
credamus omni tempore*

Grant that we may through you know the father
and through you recognize the son,
and in you as spirit of them both
believe for all time.

The use of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* in conjunction with other contemporary nuns' vesting ceremonies appears to be rare. Phillip Hofmeister states that the use of the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus* and the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* reflect two different traditions of invoking the Holy Spirit at the beginning of the Benedictine Rite of Profession. The use of these two different pieces may show that Kloster Preetz belonged to a different liturgical lineage than the cloisters of north Germany.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary* (New York: Zone Books, 1998) 99, nt. 297.

¹⁰⁰ An image of the Virgin was also carried in procession by the oldest girl in the Kloster Lüne crowning ceremony. See Schlothuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 170.

¹⁰¹ CAO 8407e (from the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*)

¹⁰² See Philipp Hofmeister, "Benediktinische Profeßriten," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 74 (1974), 252–253. According to Philipp Hofmeister, it was common practice to begin the rite of profession with an invocation of the Holy Spirit: congregations in Switzerland used the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus*, while Solesmes and Silvestiner monks used hymn *Veni creator spiritus*. *Veni creator*

After the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* was sung, the *scholares* approach and sing the following antiphon, taken from the Matins of St. Cecilia, transcribed below as

Musical Example 3.8.¹⁰³

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some notes beamed together. Below the staff, the Latin text is written with hyphens under the notes: "Fi - at do - mi - ne cor _____ me - um et _____ cor - pus me - um". The second staff continues the melody with similar note values and rests. Below it, the text continues: "im - ma - cu - la - tum _____ ut _____ non _____ ef - fun - dar".

Musical Example 3.8. *Fiat cor meum*, NL-Uu 406, fol. 201r–201v.

The text translates:

May the Lord make my heart and body immaculate,
that I might not be confounded.

In the context of the hagiography of St. Cecilia, this antiphon recounts the desire to preserve virginity in marriage. Transferred to the ceremony of the vesting, the girl's entry into the convent is thus described as a chaste marriage. The prayer for physical and inner purity further prepares the girl to receive her new, spiritual clothes—a concrete symbol of her physical purity and agreement of submission to the community.

spiritus was also used by Cistercians (rite of 1689) and Gallican Augustinians (1778.) It appears that Kloster Lüne and Medingen began their rites of Vesting with *Veni sancte spiritus*. See D-Gs 14 and GB-Cu 8850.)

¹⁰³ Matins antiphon for Cecilia, with doxology verse. CAO 2863.

The provost then blesses, censes, and sprinkles holy water on the new garments that the child will don. Her own clothes are then removed and she is redressed in spiritual clothes, while the cantrices sing *Regnum mundi*. This responsory, taken from the Common of Virgins, also appears in the ceremony for the consecration of virgins in the Roman Pontifical, and appears in several later vesting ceremonies.¹⁰⁴ The responsory, transcribed from the processional of the Reuerinnenkloster, is given as Musical Example 3.9.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ See Andrieu, *Pontificale de Guillaume de Durand*, 416, ln. 14-15: “Et sic indute mox seriatim reudent ad episcopo cantando responsorium *Regnum mundi*, et cet. Require in natalis unius virginis.” In Eva Schlotheuber’s study, this responsory, identifiable by its verse *V. Eructavit cor meum*, appears incorrectly written or transcribed in a description of the vesting ceremony from Wienhausen (See Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 235, no. 275.) It is possible that the otherwise unidentifiable incipit *Regnum benedictum* from the Braunschweig vesting ceremony also refers to this piece (see Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung* 143, nt.113.)

¹⁰⁵ Matins responsory, Common of Virgins. CAO 7524.

Reg - num _____ mun - - - - - di _____

et _____ om - nem _____ or - na - tam _____ se - cu - li _____ con - temp - si

prop - ter a - mo - rem _____ do - mi - ni _____ me - - - - - i Ihe - su _____ Xri - sti

Quem _____ vi - - - di que a - ma - - - - vi

In quem cre - di - di _____ que _____ di - - - le - - - xi

R.Fruc - ta - - - - vit _____ cor _____ me - um ver - bum _____ bo - num

di - co _____ e - go _____ o - - - - pe - ra me - a _____ Quem _____

V.Glo - ri - - a _____ pa - tri et _____ fi - li - - - o

Musical Example 3.9. *Regnum mundi*, 5 D-Fru Hs. 1500, 14, fols. 59r–59v.

The responsory’s text expresses the contempt for worldly power and ornaments for the love of Jesus Christ:

I have scorned the kingdom of the world and the ornament of the world for the love of my Lord Jesus Christ. Whom I have seen, whom I have loved, in whom I have believed, and whom I hold dear.

The priests sing the verse and the doxology:

Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea regi. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

My heart has burst forth in song, I speak of the works of my king. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and Holy Spirit.

In the performance practice of the responsory, the verse and doxology are each followed by a repetition of the repetendum from the words: “Whom I have seen...” One can imagine the voices of the priests alternating with that of the convent’s cantrices as they return to the text “whom I have seen...” at the end of each verse. With these words declaring love for Jesus and devotion through song, the girl leaves behind her own clothes and their association with worldly beauty and power. She thereupon prostrates herself to beg forgiveness.

The prioress intones the litany, which is followed by a series of versicles and responses, and a collect: only the texts of the nuns’ responses are given. The offertory is then sung, while the prioress accompanies the child to the altar. There, the girl offers a ring to be blessed, and the prioress a gold coin. The child is then lead back to the choir.

When the mass is finished, the provost removes his chasuble and carrying a candle in his hand, enters the choir and takes the child, leading her before the altar. The cantrices sing *Veni in [h]ortum meum*, transcribed from NL-Uu 406 as Musical Example 3.10.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ CAO 5325, Matins antiphon for the Assumption or Nativity of Mary

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef, treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written on a five-line staff. The first staff contains the lyrics: "Ve - ni _____ in or - tum ____ me - um so - ror me - a". The second staff contains the lyrics: "spon - - - sa me - su - i mi - ram__ me - am cum a - ro - ma - ti - bus__ me - is". The lyrics are written in a simple, sans-serif font, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes or rests.

Musical Example 3.10. *Veni in ortum meum*, NL-Uu 406, fol.168v.

Come into my garden, my sister, my bride;
I have reaped my myrrh with my sweet odors.

The text of this Marian antiphon, taken from the *Song of Songs*, underscores the likeness of the ceremony to a worldly marriage. With this song, the community of nuns welcomes the newly vested girl as sister and bride, while the space of the convent becomes the garden of the antiphon. The liturgical association with the Assumption and Nativity furthermore underscore the child’s transformation as a liminal act of crossing into a sacred space and spiritual union.

When the antiphon has finished, the child once again prostrates herself to beg forgiveness. The provost reads a collect, and the prioress reads the psalms: *Levavi*, *Ad te levavi*, and *Ecce quam bonum*, followed by *Kyrie*, perhaps signaling another litany. The provost concludes another *Pater noster* with the versicle and response:

V. *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.*
R. *Sed libera nos a malo.*

Collects for the community follow. The prioress then leads the child back into the choir, “where she shall remain.” This passage refers to the installation of the newly vested girl in the choir stall she would occupy for her lifetime. According to Eva Schlotheuber, this step was common to the end of the rite of profession in both Cistercian and Benedictine

customs.¹⁰⁷ It is significant here that in Preetz this action seems to come much earlier, in conjunction with the girl's formal entry into the convent.

The prioress then exits the church with the child and leads her to the table in the cloister where her feast will be held:

prioress ducit puerum in chorum ubi manebit tunc ibit cum puero per porticum et ducit eum in mensam suam.¹⁰⁸

The prioress leads the child into the choir where she will remain, then goes with the child through the portico and leads her to her table.

If, indeed, the ceremony of vesting occurred as the girl entered the cloister, it would imply that the child, established in her permanent seat in the choir, would have joined in the choral performance of the liturgical office from the very beginning of her education. It suggests a very long period of liturgical learning “in choir” as well as formal schooling. The young age at cloister entrance and immediate presence in the choir would explain the lengthy, nine-year period of education of the girls of Kloster Preetz, as opposed to the three to five years of schooling that took place in the reformed Kloster Lüne prior to admission into novitiate.

Eva Schlotheuber's landmark study of cloister entrance and education serves an important comparative source for understanding the vesting and crowning ceremonies at Kloster Preetz. In particular, her case study of the reformed statutes of Kloster Lüne, and discussion of less reformed practices from Kloster Medingen and the Heiliges Kreuz Kloster in Braunschweig provide important parallels. Schlotheuber has argued that the reformed statutes of Lüne provide a long and logically ordered multi-stage process into the cloister, designed to prevent the profession of vows before the age of maturity. The

¹⁰⁷ See Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 139.

¹⁰⁸ D-PREK HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol.121v–122r.

reformed entrance process took the form of the following steps: cloister entrance, *introductio*, vesting, release from cloister school, and final profession of vows, followed by the crowning ceremony. In the reformed statutes, a year-long trial period would follow the girl's entrance, after which would occur the *introductio*: an ceremony in which the girl pledged obedience to the cloister provost and her willingness to obey the Benedictine Rule. At this point, the girl's own clothes were removed, and she was given a simple black tunic with a cloth nun's crown over her loose hair.

The ceremony of vesting, attended by family and friends, would come later and mark their formal entry into the novitiate. During the vesting, the girl would be redressed in her nun's habit. Her nun's crown would be temporarily removed and set aside, to be returned at her crowning. Also during the vesting, the girl would be formally installed in the choir stall that she would occupy in the choir her whole career. The ceremony of vesting occurred typically between ten and twelve years of age, and thus at least three years after her entry into the convent, marking then the entry of the girl into the cloister's novitiate. However, the girl's age at vesting depended on many factors including her age at entry, her familial connections, her competency in singing the office, and above all, the availability of a cell and space in the choir for her.¹⁰⁹

When her studies came to an end, the girl would formally be released from the cloister school. Her final profession of vows would be followed by the crowning ceremony, in which she would mystically marry Christ in the form of the bishop, and receive from him a ring signifying her mystical union with Christ. Finally, the girl would receive her crown back, now decorated with a red embroidered cross. Unlike the *introductio* and vesting, the crowning, although it took part during a mass, was not a

¹⁰⁹ Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 134–146.

constitutive part of the ritual process by which the girl became a nun. Rather, it was a celebration in which the girls married the bishop as a stand-in for Christ. The practice became wide spread especially in the north of Germany during the later Middle Ages, in imitation of the secular wedding ceremony.

Schlotheuber further demonstrates that the specificity of the reformed statutes at Lüne reflect a desire on the part of reformers to end the practice of child oblation whereby girls were given to the cloister, sometimes at a very young age, and forced to make binding vows before the age of maturity. She reviews visitation records that forbid, for example, the placing of children on the altar as gifts of oblation, the taking of vows before the age of maturity, or the practice of the crowning the nuns before they had made their profession. Further evidence gleaned from visitation records at the Cistercian Kloster Wienhausen and the Heilig-Kreuzkloster in Braunschweig and other reformist writings show that prior practices associate with child oblation persisted, despite the attempts of the Bursfeld reformers to revise them.

The ceremony of vesting at Kloster Preetz thus appears to combine what, in a reformed context, became two discreet steps: the *introductio* or the questioning by the cloister provost that would occur within the first year of a girl's entry into the cloister, and the vesting which in a reformed context, occurred some years later that marked her entry into the novitiate. Schlotheuber describes a similar pre-reform ceremony as practiced in the Heilig-Kreuzkloster in Braunschweig. Prior to the reform, girls as young as four years of age were accepted into the Heilig-Kreuzkloster. They underwent a trial period of at least a year, during which time they had guest status in the cloister. The offering ceremony or *oblatio* marked the girl's simultaneous departure from her family

and binding entry into the convent. It was an occasion of great meaning to its participants, who referred to it as the *dies nuptiarum*—the wedding day. The ceremony was followed by a feast that was provided by the family of the girl.¹¹⁰ Anna's book provides only one detail of the involvement of the girl's family in the festivities and ceremony of her vesting: she writes:

Nota quando puer vestitur in quadragesima tunc erit prima missa de tempore et summa quid cognata pueri vult: et sic tenetur semper quando puer vestitur secundum voluntatem cognate.¹¹¹

Note that when a child is vested in Lent, then the first mass will be for the season and the high [mass] what the kinswoman of the child wants: and this holds always when a child is vested, according to the wish of her kinswoman.

This passage is striking, because it shows that a female relative was responsible for arranging the vesting, and she had the right to decide which high mass would be sung on that day. Given the high degree of interrelatedness among the cloister's women, it seems likely that an older female relative in the convent was often the one who made the liturgical choices for her younger sister, niece, or cousin's vesting.

In conclusion, the Kloster Preetz vesting ceremony shows evidence of reform, while retaining elements of an older oblation ceremony. In light of this evidence, along with an unusually long period of education, it appears that Kloster Preetz maintained a modified form of child oblation even after the establishment of a formal novitiate.

The Crowning Ceremony at Kloster Preetz

Following her description of the ceremony of vesting, Anna gives only a few details on the ceremony for the crowning of nuns, transcribed in Appendix A. Anna's

¹¹⁰ Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 175–176.

¹¹¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 37v–38r.

description of the ceremony is incomplete: as she mentions, the entire ceremony is to be found in the now-lost “book of the prioress” (*liber priorisse*.) This suggests that it was a pre-existent ceremony, and underwent less revision than the ceremony of vesting.

Like the vesting, the crowning ceremony took place in the context of a mass. There is nothing to suggest the degree of participation of family that is found in the former ceremony. The ceremony of vesting was conducted by the cloister’s provost for one child at a time. The girl’s family was allowed to choose the liturgical occasion on which the vesting would be held and the mass with which it would be celebrated, and provided the accompanying feast. By contrast, the crowning was conducted by the bishop, and for multiple girls. As Schlotheuber notes in her study, because the crowning took place only when the bishop was available, it was held for several girls at a time, at different points in their formation. Anna’s notes on the crowning ceremony, furthermore, contain little musical information. Her description of the mass begins at the point during the preface, and seems to be chiefly concerned with correctly performing the exchange of responses with the bishop. We learn that the children (*pueri*) take communion, while small children (*parvi pueri*) receive absolution:

comunio que finita. pueri communicant. si sunt ibi parvi pueri. accipiunt
absolutionem¹¹²

When the communion [antiphon] is finished, the children commune. If small children are there, they receive absolution.

When the mass is finished, those girls being crowned leave to follow the bishop into the chapel where there they make an offering of candles and money, and they receive rings from the bishop:

missa finita. vadit cum omnibus preparientis suis in capellam pueri sequuntur

¹¹² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol.122r.

sacrificant ibi lumina unumquodque de talenta. sacerdotes episcopi acquerant
Episcopus acquirit annulos ipse presentat priorisse pueros tunc reducuntur ad
chorum¹¹³

The mass having finished, [the bishop] exits with all of his attendants into the chapel; the children follow, where they offer candles for each of the talents that the priests receive from the bishop. The bishop gets the rings himself and presents them to the prioress, who then leads the children back to the choir.

The rings are a standard signifier of the “spiritual marriage” into which the girl enters in the crowning ceremony. Anna’s book make no mention of the actual reception of the crown, from which the ceremony takes its name; however, one must remember that the fragmentary nature of her notes may result in the omission of the most important and obvious aspects of the ritual. The final part of her entry on the crowning shows that the ceremony itself lasted three days. During this time, the girls were not allowed to sing the verse of Matins, the gradual, or any other of their accustomed singing duties. They were to remain together and go nowhere without the permission of the prioress. On the third day, the confessor cuts their hair following his mass.

Illo die quando coronantur non licet eis versus habere nec graduale cantare nec officium habere per illos tres dies nusque ibunt nisi priorissa presente vel ea iubente sed omnibus pariter manentibus. tercia die confessor abscidet eis crines post missam suam¹¹⁴

On that day when they are crowned, they are not allowed to have the verse, nor sing the gradual, nor to have [any] duty for those three days, nor go anywhere unless the prioress is present, or orders it, rather all stay together. On the third day, the confessor cuts their hair after his mass.

The Crown and Veil

While a complete consideration of nun’s clothing customs relating to vesting and crowning remain outside the scope of this study, details in the *Buch im Chor* regarding

¹¹³ D-PREk HS 01(the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 122r–122v.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 122r–122v.

clothing may offer clarification of the process of cloister entrance, and the attainment of stages of the girl's progress.¹¹⁵

In the vesting ceremony of Kloster Lüne, the girl takes the communion from the hand of the cloister provost. She is re-dressed in an over-garment (*toga*) and crown (*vitta*), while a *pannus* is placed on her head.¹¹⁶ The word *pannus*—simply meaning cloth—is an uncommon word for veil, which Anna usually refers to as *velum*.¹¹⁷ the *pannus* appears throughout the Kloster Preetz text as a head covering which is worn in conjunction with the *mantellum* or cloak.¹¹⁸ It is likely that it refers to the top of two veils, also referred to by Anna as *duplicia vela* or “double veil:”

ipso die habebunt omnes duplicia vela: exceptis iuvenclis.¹¹⁹

On that day all shall have the duplex veil, except the *iuvenclis*.

The terminology used at Kloster Preetz for the nun's crown is even more unusual. The typical terms for nun's crown—*corona* or the less-common *vitta*—used to describe the head-piece made of intersecting bands of white cloth worn over the veil—do not appear

¹¹⁵ In 2005 in Essen, Germany, an exhibition featuring images and texts emanating from female monasteries. See Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds. *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, translated by Dietlinde Hamburger with a Foreword by Caroline Walker Bynum (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); a collection of essays accompanying the catalog can be found in Hamburger, et al. eds. *Frauen, Kloster, Kunst : Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters: Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung "Krone und Schleier"*. In cooperation with the Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007).

¹¹⁶ Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 143.

¹¹⁷ Anna uses the word *velum* more often than the word *velamen*.

¹¹⁸ See D-PREK HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 43v, 44r, 46v, 62r.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 45r.

in the Kloster Preetz text. Rather, a single passage refers to a *cerebrarium*, an unusual term that refers to a skull-cap or close-fitting armored helmet, usually made of metal.¹²⁰

If we interpret this term in the context of the *Buch im Chor* to mean “crown” then the following passage may also refer to the crowning ceremony:

Quando fuerunt octo annos de scolis. tunc petunt propter cerebraria. sed per illum annum non licet eis ire sine pannis in cerebralibus. non servire in hoc eciam non communicare.

When they have completed eight years of school, then [the *scholars*] ask for their crowns. But for that year, they may not process in their crowns without the double veil. They may not serve and may not receive communion in it.

If we read *cerebrarium* to mean nun’s crown, then we find that the girls may not ask for their crown and *pannus* (double veil) until after eight years of schooling. For that year, they may not process in the crown without the second veil covering it, and may not wear the crown when serving at the liturgy or taking communion. This stipulation would be consistent with a reformist insistence that the crowning takes place after the final profession of vows, or at least, after the age of maturity. It is also consistent with the interpretation of the *pannus* as the outer of the *duplicia vela*, which the *iuvencule* (or child oblates) were not to wear.

Cloister Entrance: Conclusion

Comparison with more complete sources—both from reformed and unreformed cloister rituals—suggest that Kloster Preetz combined the introduction of the novitiate with a revised cloister entrance ceremony that preserved some aspects of child oblation.

The textual and musical order are unique to the practice of the cloister, and provided a

¹²⁰ From *cerebellaris*: a brain-covering or head-covering. See the entry for *cervelliere* (*cervellerium*, *cerebrarium*)—“A skull-cap of steel or iron,” in J. R. Planché, *A Cyclopaedia of Costume* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876–79), 88–89.

rich theological framework accompanying the girl's entrance into the cloister. The girls served in choir from their entrance into the cloister, and their period of schooling lasted a full eight years before the novitiate year. At the crowning ceremony, the girls received the final elements of their habits: the crown and double veil. The wearing of these ritual elements of clothing was limited to specific liturgical occasions. These conclusions attest to the unique local practice of Preetz as embodied in the semi-reformed entrance ceremonies and education of its nuns.

Social Regulation and Musical Education

Below, I will examine a passage that gives us some idea of the long and gradual learning process a girl would have experienced as she gradually became acculturated to convent life, and to performing its music and liturgy. In this long passage, found toward the end of Anna's book, the prioress details the restrictions on the girls in residence, and the cantorial duties that might be progressively assigned to young singers over the course of their eight year education prior to entry into the novitiate. It should be noted that this education was far longer than the five to six years estimated by Eva Schlotheuber as average number of years of schooling before profession in the example of Kloster Lüne.¹²¹

Let us first consider the regulations on the life of young oblates, and what they can tell us. From Anna's description, we learn that great care was taken to discourage contact with the outside. The girls were not allowed to have any guests, except for their mothers. The detail that she without a mother was allowed to choose one to serve as her mother recognizes the need for parental contact for a child's well-being, and attests to the

¹²¹ Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 150–151.

attention paid to the young girls' emotional needs during their transition into convent life. The concern with restricting visitors from the outside may have reflected the Bursfeld reforms emphasis on enclosure; however, many of the restrictions that follow reflect a desire to remove distractions from the girls' lives, and things that would interfere with the discipline and equality of convent life. Anna lists such things as being furnished with extra personal possessions, receiving emotional comfort, and even such distractions as gazing out the window or coming to the speaking wheel are to be avoided. The injunction included that the girls were only allowed out of bed to attend to nature, and not for friendly relations, attests to the difficulty of maintaining discipline among young girls in dormitory life.

For the first year, the girls were to sit in the refectory from the noon meal until Vigils, which were usually read in the refectory.¹²² The afternoon time in the refectory was taken up with praying, listening to pious readings or studying. Readings were typically for saints on their feasts, and their Vespers were sometimes said in the refectory. We learn this through the detail that on Palm Sunday, readings and Vespers were not read, rather, the passion should be read.¹²³ At other times, the nuns were supposed to study from books in the refectory:

Nota que in adventum et in quadragesima et per totum annum quando itur ad refectorium si est dominica et quando vacamus et quando non predicatur vel non cantatur vigilie tunc debet conventus studere in libris¹²⁴

¹²² D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 79v. An exception to practice is given: "Note that on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Vigils are not read in the refectory."

¹²³ Ibid., fol. 37r. An additional exception to the practice is given: "When the Feast of St. Ambrose falls on Palm Sunday, then in the refectory, it is not read for the saint, nor do we sing his vespers, rather it is read from the Passion of the Lord."

¹²⁴ Ibid., fol. 7r.

Note that in Advent and Lent and throughout the year when [we] go into the refectory, if it is Sunday and when we have free time and when nothing is being preached or sung, then the convent should study from books.

What was read in the refectory? A partial answer may be found in the collection of texts given to be read at the *collationes*, which followed the office of None and preceded Vespers. The selection of biblical and devotional texts included the Song of Songs, Sister Mechtild (most likely Mechtild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratie*), the *Visio Tundaliis*, the *Miracula beate virginis*, the *Duodecim tribuus* and the *Vitas patrii*.¹²⁵

While in the refectory, the girl's female relatives were not allowed to approach her at her table; however, from the second year, the girl was allowed to sit at her kinswomen's table. As Johannes Rosenplänter has shown, many of the convent's nuns were closely related: this rule was perhaps put in place to maintain discipline and equality among the young girls, in light of the presence of older sisters, cousins, and aunts living in the convent.¹²⁶

After seven years, the girls gained more freedom and could ask permission from one of the senior nuns to descend from the dormitory after Compline, in a display of their maturity and independence. Only after nine full years of school (the *full Anna* emphasizes) may they approach the Prioress to ask for the key to descend after Compline and before Prime. At eight years, they receive certain elements of their habit—the *cerebraria* or crown, and the *pannus* or second veil, indicating their crowning. This time possibly coincides with their official transition into the novitiate.

¹²⁵ See D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 19r, 91r.

¹²⁶ Rosenplänter, "Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft," 167–171.

The Training of Choristers

Anna's *Buch im Chor* gives special instructions for the girls who are to be trained as choristers. As noted above, Anna appears to use the word *cantrix* in two ways—in a specific sense, to refer to the office of the Cantrix, and in a general sense, referring to the able singers entrusted with intoning chants and singing solo verses in the performance practice of liturgical chant.

From the first year, a chorister training for cantorial duties was not allowed to be absent from choir for the purpose of “friendly relations,” presumably visiting relatives or entertaining visitors as outlined in the general instructions above. Thus, she was immersed in the singing of antiphonal psalmody, antiphons, hymns and responsories that made up the choral office. Anna mentions no books, thus we can assume that the choral office was learned primarily by ear during the first year.

Furthermore, a singer was not allowed to serve as a cantrix, with the exception of the *Benedictus*—the Canticle of Zachary—discussed above. In her second year, a girl was allowed to serve as cantrix for the *Asperges* at the beginning of mass, after which, Anna emphasizes, she returns to her seat. This provides evidence that the girls were also attending mass; as we have learned above, the children were also regularly assigned the gradual chant of the mass, and during Paschal time, the alleluia.

In the following passage, Anna provides additional information on the training of certain young singers in cantorial duties:

Quando aliqua iuvencula erit cantrix infra quatuor annos tamen servat versus cantantes et legentes. sed quando ipsa cantat. tunc non habebit versum ante *Magnificat* et ante *Benedictus*. Alias habent omnes versus. ulla officia possunt habere infra quatuor annos. propter officium cantrix sed si necesse esset. tunc posset eciam scolastica poni. Nota que iuvencule servabunt quatuor annos. versus. refectorium. et capitulum. sex annos stabunt ad trinas oraciones. Octo

annos servabunt collacionem.¹²⁷

When an oblate will be cantrix within four years, then she must observe the verses, both sung and read. But when she sings, then she will not have the verse before the *Magnificat* and before the *Benedictus*. They shall have all other verses. They can have any other duty within [the first] four years according to the office of the Cantrix, but if it should be necessary, then a *scholastica* can take it. Note that the oblates shall observe the verses in the refectory and chapter for four years. For six years, they stand for the three-fold prayer. For eight years, they observe the collations.

Thus, it appears that for the first four years, the girls attended the convents' services in the refectory and chapter, learning to perform recited and sung verses through observation and imitation. During these first four years, they were allowed to perform limited cantorial duties such as singing verses, and other duties pertaining to the Office of Cantrix as assigned. However, as mentioned above, these duties could also be assigned to a *scholastica*—a school teacher—presumably, if the young choristers were not able to perform them satisfactorily.

Anna also forbids the girls from cantoring the sung verses before the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*. This almost certainly refers to the short, formulaic versicles that come before the Vespers and Lauds canticles.¹²⁸ These simple verses would have presented no musical difficulty: the problem would rather have been one of choosing liturgically appropriate texts, and inflecting them correctly according to set melodic formulae.

For six years, the girls were required stand for the three-fold prayer (*trine oraciones*) which was sung most likely directly after Lauds. After this time, they might presumably engage in the cantoring the psalms and prayers that made up this observation.

¹²⁷ See D-PREk HS 01(the *Buch im Chor*), fol. 117v.

¹²⁸ For example, see the versicles in the Preetz antiphoner fol. 19r *Crastina die* and fol. 21r *Verbum caro factum est*.

Similarly, after eight years of attending and observing the collations—an evening service comprised of the reading of selected non-biblical texts—the girls might presumably assist in cantoring the service. Thus the training of choristers to sing in a cantorial capacity was a long process that was based in aural absorption and imitation. Beginning with formulaic verses, the girls gradually learned and assumed the cantorial duties of intoning psalms, reciting prayers, and reading the hagiographic and other pious readings of the collations out loud for the community.

From Aural Learning to Musical Literacy

In one passage from the latter half of the *Buch im Chor*, Anna advocates a shift from aural learning to one dependant on musical literacy. In this passage, mentioned in an earlier excerpt, Anna explains her decision to transfer three students from the school to the novitiate, giving us a glimpse into a learning practice in flux. She writes:

Item notandum est que scholares nostre hactenus consueverunt cantus duorum antiphoniarum. et graduale. externis cantare et restare (sic) magistris suis. nisi per preces quorundam prelatorum. sive amicorum alicui gracia largita fuit. sic sempiternis accidit que illa que boni ingenii fuit gratiam consecuta est. et que duri ingenii gratiam non recepit quod illi tunc maximus labor et gravis dolor fuit. ut patet curialibus consideranti. Sic contigit anno peroratus mei tercio que scholis tradite fuerant quedam novice nostro videlicet Wernetrudis Hoken. Anna Rantzowe. et Margareta Rantzowe. huiusmodi cantum adincorporandum more consueto. Consideram namque qualitatem ingenii. et gravem laborem earum. gratiam exhibui eis. et non solum ilis. sed et omnibus aliis noviciis. scolis in futurum mancipandis sic que huius modi cantus ex libris et non exterius cantare tenentur.

Likewise, it should be noted that our *scholares* have been accustomed to singing the chants of the two antiphoners and the gradual from memory, learned from their teachers, if not from the prayers of certain prelates, or from friends who are kind enough to show them favor. Thus, it always happens that she who is talented obtains favor, while she who is less able does not receive that for which she expends the greatest labor and most painful grief, namely the consideration of the community. Thus it happened that in the third year of my tenure as prioress,

certain [girls] were transferred from the school to our novitiate, namely Wernetrudis Hoken, Anna Rantzowe and Margareta Rantzowe, whose methods of chant should be incorporated as the accustomed manner. For I considered the quality of their ability and their serious work and granted favor to them. And not only to them, but to all other novices who, in the future, being transferred from the school in this way master the singing of chants from books and not by memory.¹²⁹

Thus we learn that the convent's process of oral transmission was not flawless. It was unsystematic, relied on personal relationships, and benefited the talented while frustrating the less gifted. It is also possible that Anna also wanted to defend her choice of these particular girls on the basis of their own merits, and not their family connections. As far the Rantzowe girls were concerned, they were Anna's relations through marriage. Rosenplänter names nineteen nuns from the noble Rantzowe family whose names were recorded during the fifteenth century, and the cloister graveyard housed their family tomb.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, to Anna, the implementation of musical literacy was an attempt to improve the level of musical performance across the board. Anticipating some resistance to this change of learning style, Anna begs her successors to maintain this new way of learning:

Rogo ergo ego Anna memorata priorissa omnes successores meas. locum meum in futurum fungentes. ut hec gracia istis scolaribus misericorditer largita. ita apud eas inperpetuum permaneat. ne propter gravem laborem earum ut adiscendo cantum naturam nimis debilitant. sed ut in servo deo forcium cantando serviant. et ut cantum perfectius. et diligencius student. et que diligecians non fecerit disciplinam recipiet. loco quo sedeat. Si vero que absit quedam proterve scolares essent. reprobum sensum habentes. et cantum suum modo iam dicto discere nolentes. et huius graciae abjici eis hec graciae negetur. et in morem pristinum sive antiquum committetur sine alicuius contradictione.¹³¹

¹²⁹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol.138r–138v.

¹³⁰ Johannes Rosenplänter, "Kloster Preetz und seine Grundherrschaft," 385–386; D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol.125. Margarete had been appointed Sacristan by the time of the Register of 1491. Two Anna Rantzowes are listed, both as absent; one is appointed guest master in 1493. Wernetrudis Hokken is listed in the 1491 register, and donated money from 1492 to 1507.

¹³¹ D-PREk HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fol.138v–139r.

Therefore I, Anna, prioress of memory, beseech all my successors who occupy my position in the future, to mercifully grant [this] favor to these *scholares*, that it thus might remain with them forever. Not that the learning of chant might weaken their constitutions, but rather that in the manner of a servant, they may serve God through strong singing and that they may study chant more perfectly and diligently. And may she who does not do it diligently receive discipline on that place she sits on. If truly, God forbid, there are certain impudent *scholares* of base understanding who do not wish to learn their chant in the method described and who cast aside this favor, then let this favor be refused to them, and let [their learning] proceed in the original old way without anyone's opposition.

Anna's desire to have students learn the chants of the mass and office from the gradual and antiphoner may have been provoked by a situation of musical disorder within the community. At the same time, her wish to "serve God through strong singing"—*ut deo fortius cantando serviant*—may reflect, in part, the Bursfeld Reform's goals of improving education and the performance of the liturgy. As Eva Schlotheuber has argued, while the reform of southern German convents led to increased use of the vernacular, the response of northern convents was to strengthen nuns' Latin learning.¹³² The evidence from Kloster Preetz supports a similar reaction in Anna's efforts to strengthen musical education and performance, but with little evidence of the reformist aim of creating a unified liturgy.

Conclusion

Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* presents a rich resource for understanding the musical and liturgical life of a Benedictine convent undergoing reform. The first part

¹³² Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 273–281; Eva Schlotheuber, "Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen," esp. 181–183. This may be compared with the wide use of the vernacular among the Dominican women's communities of southern Germany. See Ehrenschtendner, "*Puellae litteratae*: The Use of the Vernacular in the Dominican Convents of Southern Germany," 49–71.

of her book witnesses a musical practice in which both child oblates and the cloister's schoolchildren took important singing roles. The cloister placed unusual emphasis on the symbolism of children in the liturgy, and assigned the unica of the cloister's repertoire to its female singers—including children—and not to its priests. The *Buch im Chor* furthermore witnesses the unusual practice of employing substitute singers—most likely students or alumnae of the cloister school, or possibly lay corrodians—to substitute for individual children, or to supplement the children's choir on important liturgical occasions. The second part of Anna's book witnesses the early impact of reform on the cloister's socio-musical organization. In this section, Anna provides details of the vesting and crowning ceremonies that suggest that a modified form of child oblation continued at the cloister, despite the establishment of a formal novitiate. Her writings on the reform of education emphasize the practical aspects of discipline and enclosure. Anna's notes on the training of cantrices shows that the knowledge of correct liturgical assignments was the most advanced aspect of their education. Finally, Anna's advocacy for a shift from aural learning to one based in musical literacy reflects a reformist concern with the strengthening of Latin education.

CHAPTER IV
CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE KLOSTER PREETZ ARCHIVE

Introduction

In addition to the *Buch im Chor*, two notated musical manuscripts from Preetz remain in the cloister's archive, both previously unknown to musicologists. The first is a fragmentary gradual that covers the full liturgical year (Preetz, Klosterarchiv, Reihe V G2), hereafter the Preetz Gradual. The other is the first volume from a two-volume antiphoner (Preetz, Klosterarchiv, Reihe V G1), hereafter the Preetz Antiphoner. This manuscript contains material for the liturgical seasons of Advent through Lent as well as the Winter portion of the Sanctorale. These two notated manuscripts preserve the convent's pre-reformation musical practice, albeit in a fragmentary state: both books have been damaged by the removal of decorated initials, marginal illuminations, and, in some cases, entire leaves or gatherings. Approximately two-thirds of the books' folios remain intact. The identification of an additional two bifolios in the manuscript holdings of the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg, has restored eight missing pages to the Preetz Gradual.

Relatively little musicological work has been done on the musical-liturgical books from women's houses in German-speaking lands. To date, the study of manuscripts produced and used by cloistered women has focused more on their decoration and illumination than on their musical content or liturgical usage. The art historian Jeffrey

Hamburger has shown how the significance of art created and used by nuns had been historically dismissed as mere *Nonnenarbeit* or “Nuns’ work.” Hamburger explains:

Far from providing an apt, let alone productive characterization of the images it seeks to define, *Nonnenarbeit* stands by definition for deficiency: a lack of both skill and sophistication.¹

Hamburger explains that to dismiss simple, yet compelling, images as *Nonnenarbeit* judges these artworks by criteria that they were not created to meet. He suggests that in contrast to the role of the image in clerical culture, nuns made devotional images as “an integral, even dispensable part of their piety.”² Hamburger describes the art history of female monasticism as one of “exclusion and disregard.”³ He urges instead that “*Nonnenarbeit* can be seen as their makers saw them, as ends in themselves, not as antecedents or analogues.”⁴ Hamburger’s work was foundational in that it was the first to take seriously those images made by women for their own use: by contextualizing them as a form of piety based on the contemplation of images, which, with the reading of devotional texts served as an “equal avenue of access to the divine.”⁵ Hamburger’s analysis focuses on the use of individual devotional images, and not the decoration of service books in liturgical usage; nor was he concerned with the process of production of liturgical books, their script, notation, or decoration.

¹ Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: the Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 3.

² *Ibid.*, 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

Judith Oliver has shown that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, cloistered women produced numerous psalters, graduals and antiphoners for their own use. In spite of a shift to largely urban, professional book production in the thirteenth century, nuns continued to be engaged in the craft of book production into the late Middle Ages.⁶ Oliver explains how the pejorative term *Nonnenbücher* arose as an art historical term used to dismiss the naive decorative style of nuns' books as inferior to that of their professional counterparts. In response, feminist art scholarship moved away from an assessment of the books based on aesthetic criteria to focus on how the books were produced, used, and how they shaped the devotional lives of the user. Oliver argues, however, that an analysis of what the book's makers express by aesthetic means may also shed light on the function and meaning of these books in the lives of their users.⁷

Oliver cites examples of manuscripts containing illuminations of high quality that were documented to have been produced in women's houses, most notably in the so-called 'Codex Gisle,' D-OS Ma 101.⁸ According to Oliver, "there seems no reason a priori to assume that all books of high style must be the work of lay professionals."⁹ Indeed, she argues, the care with which the liturgical chants contained in the Codex Gisle have been embellished reflects a knowledge of local liturgical usage and the chant

⁶ Judith Oliver, "Worship of the Word: Some Gothic *Nonnenbücher* in their Devotional Context," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*. Edited by Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London: The British Library and Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 106–107.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 108–109. See also Judith Oliver, *Singing with the Angels: Liturgy, Music and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kerksenbroek* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2007) and Christian Dolfen and Martin Wackernagel, *Codex Gisle* (Berlin: Buchenau and Reichert, 1926).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

repertoire that points to clerics or cloistered nuns as the scribes of the book.¹⁰ Oliver suggests that there are stylistic aspects that distinguish books decorated by nuns from other medieval manuscripts.¹¹ Oliver cites the redecoration of the Walters Homiliary by the nuns who used the book, as containing a “liturgical consciousness” in the attention given to textual decoration of significant words or passages.¹² The same attention to the word is found in the Codex Gisle. Oliver argues:

This sort of liturgically based embellishment of individual words with special significance is an unusual trait which is not in fact typical of monastic service and devotional books, but which does give visual expression to fundamental elements of monastic culture. *Lectio divina*, or pious reading, filled much of a nun’s day. Reading was an active process of memorization in which one recited words orally ‘in order to sound the depths of the their full meaning. Each word was an object of meditation.’¹³

Finally, Oliver argues that the basic aesthetic elements that distinguish *Nonnenbücher*: “a love of bold patterns and exquisite detail, large areas of bright solid color, and flat compositions with figures heavily outlined in black” all originate in the women’s art of embroidery, widely practiced in medieval convents. Thus, the production of women’s books followed an aesthetic that was inspired by needlework, and remained closer to the ideal of *lectio divina* in its attention to the embellishment of the word than did books produced in secular ateliers.¹⁴

Oliver’s discussion is useful in that it points to a range of decorative quality in the books. She shows that a separate aesthetic tradition informed the decoration of typical

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 110.

¹² Ibid., 111–112.

¹³ Ibid., 114.

¹⁴ Ibid., 116.

Nonnenbücher, and points to an underlying attention to the word in the books nuns produced, despite different levels of sophistication and quality. Her study does not try to identify individual artists, or the workings of a convent scriptorium, nor does it pay attention to particular lineages of script or notation.

Susan Marti's study of the liturgical manuscripts of the Dominican convent of Paradies bei Soest has shown that while questions remain about provenance of the manuscripts from the convent, she states that

one thing is clear, however: richly illuminated liturgical manuscripts were highly esteemed in female monasteries in northern Germany of the later Middle Ages, and the nuns were involved in their production at several levels—not only as their users, but also as patrons, scribes, and sometimes even illuminators. Collaboration between a monastic scriptorium and lay illuminators also occurred.¹⁵

Marti documents the case of one scribe, Sister Elisabeth von Lünen, who wrote, notated, and provided the intricate filigree initials for a gradual, circa 1360.¹⁶ Other manuscript examples show features that Marti establishes as typical of nunneries:

A somewhat unskilled figural style; unusual, often up-to-date iconography side by side with much older and more traditional forms; and the collaboration of hands of greater and lesser skill. It seems possible that older sisters collaborated with younger ones in the scriptorium and that each of them maintained a different working style.¹⁷

Marti describes how, in certain cases, hands of different ability or training can be seen working in different systems of decoration even on a single bifolio, suggesting a close collaboration between artists, and the coexistence of a diversity of hands and decorative

¹⁵ Susan Marti, "Sisters in the Margins? Scribes and Illuminators in the Scriptorium of Paradies bei Soest." In *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of St. John at the Dominican Convent Paradies bei Soest*, edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger. Houghton Library Studies, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Houghton Library, 2008), [19](#).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20–23. See figure 1.8 of the gradual Dortmund, Probsteiarchiv MS B 6, fol. 15v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

styles in the Dominican cloister of Paradies after 1400.¹⁸ She describes the creation of manuscripts at Paradies as carefully planned productions that reflect an exceptional level of education and book culture, not just for a nunnery, but for any monastery in northern Germany of the late Middle Ages.¹⁹ Marti describes flexible and changing production methods coexisting, with some books executed in temporary collaboration with professional artists, and others created entirely in-house. Decoration was adapted to use, both of the house, and of outside patrons for whom manuscripts were created in the convent scriptorium. According to Marti, “self-conscious deliberate decisions stood behind the decorative program of the extant manuscripts.”²⁰ At Soest, distinctive style of filigree decoration was developed and practiced that included ornamental forms with micrographic letters and miniature self-portraiture.²¹ This unique style coexisted with other styles used simultaneously, including collaboration of professional artists. Marti’s study is valuable for its detailed assessment of decorative programs and what it tells us about the nature of collaborative production within a convent scriptorium. However, due to the art-historical nature of the study, there is little paleographic assessment of script and no consideration of notation.

Ulrike Hascher-Burger’s inventory of medieval musical manuscripts from the Lüneburger cloisters is a study devoted to cataloging liturgical manuscripts containing music used in the six Benedictine and Cistercian women’s communities closely joined in

¹⁸ Ibid., 25–28.

¹⁹ Ibid., 28.

²⁰ Ibid., 28–29.

²¹ Ibid., 29–35.

a local monastic network.²² The primary goal of the catalog was to make the material known in a simple form with a sample image and short description of contents, in order to lay the groundwork for future musicological, hymnological, and liturgical analysis.²³ Hascher-Burger cautions against ascribing provenance to the books, and in particular, to the musical fragments recovered from book bindings that could have originated from outside sources. However, she uses details of script, binding, and decorative schema to establish likely provenance in certain cases.²⁴ She notes that the six cloisters maintained conservative styles of script and notation styles that sometimes make the manuscripts appear to be older than they actually are. Also, she notes that in certain cases, adiastematic notation appears alongside scripts in a newer style, while examples in modern, four-line diastematic notation appear paired with seemingly older scripts. Therefore, the catalog offers preliminary dates that must be refined by further research.²⁵ Most of the notation is in so-called *Hufnagel* or gothic notation. Examples of adiastematic notation are present, but not in the guise of early German neumes, rather, gothic notation written in *campo aperto*. Also, in certain examples from the Cistercian Kloster Wienhausen, there is a visible influence of Messine notation.²⁶

This first phase of Hascher-Burger's ongoing work is limited to a descriptive catalog, nevertheless, her initial observations are important in that they alert researchers

²² Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Verborgene Klänge: Inventar der handschriftlich überlieferten Musik aus den Lüneburger Frauenklöstern bis ca. 1550. Mit einer Darstellung der Musik-Ikonographie von Ulrike Volkhardt* (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008), 10–11.

²³ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 15–16.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

to the difficulty with which nuns' manuscripts can be dated. Also, the catalog demonstrates the plentitude and variety of liturgical and other musical sources produced and used in convents, and Hascher-Burger suggests that these represent only a fraction of what existed before the monastic reforms of the fifteenth century and the Protestant reformation that followed rendered them useless.²⁷

In the same volume, Ulrike Volkhardt's essay argues that representations of instrumental practice in the Lüneburger manuscripts represents not abstract ideas of heavenly music, but rather a concrete instrumental practice. This argument is based "ex negativo" on passages from cloister chronicles and prayer books that stipulate that instruments should be silent on certain days.²⁸ Together, the essays in the catalog, along with the entries, provide a starting point for further research on the production of liturgical books and musical practice with the Lüneburger convents. The visual images in the catalog suggest an array of scribal and notational practices distinct from those of Kloster Preetz. This initial inventory includes no in-depth study of decor, script, or notation, nor of the process of the production of the books in cloister scriptoria, nor their use in liturgical or devotional settings. However, the inventory is remarkable for its assembly of over one hundred manuscripts and fragments from private and public archives, laying the groundwork for future study.

Drawing on previous studies of nuns' manuscripts, this chapter will present a physical description of the Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner using the tools of codicology, paleography, and a stylistic analysis of their decoration. I will draw on these studies as

²⁷ Ibid., 10–11.

²⁸ Ulrike Volkhardt, "Musikdarstellungen in den mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Lüneburger Klöster," in Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Verborgene Klänge*, 139–[192](#).

well as general paleographic handbooks and studies, analyses of the decoration and notation of regional manuscripts, and art historical studies to assess the script, decoration, and notation of the liturgical manuscripts of Kloster Preetz within a comparative regional and historical context, and to support hypotheses concerning their scribal and artistic production and subsequent use. I will furthermore propose codicological models for both the Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner that reconstruct, as far as possible, the original collation of the two manuscripts. The codicological models reconstruct a physical context within which to examine the stylistic evidence of the fragmentary manuscripts, helping to support hypotheses regarding how the various artists collaborated and contributed to the production—the content, notation, script, and decoration—of the completed books.

Although elements of illumination and decoration of the two books are quite different, I argue that these two books, written in a similar script and distinctive notational style, originate from a single scriptorium. The script, notation, and decoration of the books suggests the involvement of multiple artists. In the case of the antiphoner, the re-decoration of the book at a later date shows the value placed on their decorative elements. The notation used in corrections and marginal additions further attests to the on-going use and adaptation of the liturgical books, as well as the presence of a continuous local scribal lineage among the women who sang, taught, and learned from these manuscripts.

The Preetz Gradual

The book listed in the Kloster Preetz archive's unpublished catalog as "Reihe V G2: Missale ca.15. Jahrhundert" is a gradual with an intercalated sequentiary. (I will refer hereafter to the manuscript as "the Preetz Gradual" or simply "the Gradual"). Based on its content and style, I estimate the book to be from the late fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century. This dating remains provisional due to the lack of numerous folios, the absence of a calendar, and the lack of comparable notational hands. Moreover, as Ulrike Hascher-Burger has observed, convent manuscripts can be difficult to date, as the effects of claustration often resulted in the persistence in convents of notational and scribal styles that had fallen out of mainstream use. This problem is compounded by the adoption of self-consciously conservative styles in certain manuscripts produced following reform.²⁹

Despite the lack of a calendar, evidence from feasts contained in the Preetz Gradual offers insight into possible boundary dates of its production. The manuscript contains the Feast of Corpus Christi instituted as a universal feast by Pope Urban IV in 1264, as well as Trinity Sunday made a universal feast by John XXII in 1334. This would suggest 1334 as a *terminus post quem* for the copying of the book. Additionally, the Feast of the Visitation, extended to the entire Church by Urban VI, on 6 April, 1389 (Decree published by Boniface IX, 9 November, 1389) is not included in the body of the Preetz Gradual, providing a theoretical *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the manuscript. On the other hand, the Feast of the Visitation does not yet appear in the gradual D-LÜh 2° 11, which was bound in 1415, suggesting that that the feast had not yet been adopted in the diocese. The sequence *In hiis solemnis*, a local Lübeck sequence for the Feast of the

²⁹ Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Verborgene Klänge*, 16.

Visitation appears as a later addition to the Preetz Gradual, entered onto the flyleaf (fol. 1r.) This addendum indicates that the manuscript predated the cloister's adoption of the feast, but remained in use well after that time and was later modified to include a sequence for the occasion.³⁰ The sequence *In hiis solemnibus*, idiomatic to Lübeck practice, appears in a number of late fifteenth-century sources, including the gradual D-LÜh 2°12 from the Lübeck Cathedral, dating from 1442.³¹ The fact that the sequence was firmly integrated into Lübeck observance by 1442 suggests an earlier date of production for the original portion of the Preetz Gradual. It also shows that the convent was both receptive to the addition of new feasts into its observance, and also selectively adopted locally composed material from the diocese of Lübeck into its repertoire. Based on the calendrical date and repertorial evidence, I suggest a possible window of production from 1350–1450.³²

Provenance

The Preetz Gradual bears no direct information regarding its origin, date, or circumstances of its creation. However, it contains pieces in both the sequence and alleluia repertoires whose known distribution is restricted to the diocese of Lübeck.

³⁰ *In hiis solemnibus*, AH 8, 52 (p.50) had a local distribution in fifteenth-century manuscript sources from Lübeck and printed Brandenburg missals of 1489 and 1510. The Kloster Preetz instantiation is likely among the earliest documented examples.

³¹ D-Lü 2° 12, fol.191v. The sequence also appears in the printed *Missale Lubicense* of 1486, and in the fifteenth-century manuscripts D-Lü 2° 22, D-Lü 2° 40, and D-Lü 2° 46, and in an unnumbered single folio housed in the manuscript holdings of the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg.

³² The dating of the Preetz Gradual is further complicated by the resemblance of the Post-Pentecost Alleluia rows to manuscripts from the Bursfeld Benedictine congregation. This resemblance could reflect the impact of late fifteenth-century reform, putting the production of the manuscript in the latter half of the fifteenth century. However, this is unlikely, given that other areas of the manuscript's content show no evidence of reform. The second possibility is that the gradual came from a similar manuscript lineage as the original model on which the Bursfeld-reformed liturgy was based. As no gradual or missal remains from the Bursfeld congregation from prior to the founding of the Bursfeld Union, this question must remain unanswered for the time being.

Sequences particular to the use of Lübeck include *Scriba doctus* (AH 9:251) for St. John the Evangelist and the afore mentioned *In hiis solemnitate* (AH 8:52) for the Feast of the Visitation. Furthermore, rubrics giving performance instructions referring to the convent or *conventus* (fol. 33v), female *cantrices* (fol. 60v, 81r), and the male *prepositus* or provost (fol. 33v) indicate without a doubt that the book was created for the use of a women's house. There is no direct evidence to prove that the Preetz Gradual was written in the scriptorium of the convent. However, an analysis of content and comparison of hands within the book suggests that it was copied as a compilation from multiple sources, reflecting local regional, and an older usages not shared with the region. Furthermore, the presence of an intercalated sequentiary—not found in any other German graduals of this time—suggests that the chief model for the Preetz Gradual may have actually been a full missal that was altered for the use of a convent, thus producing a book type that was uniquely useful to a female congregation. The distinctive notational style of the Preetz Gradual, visible across the multiple hands that contributed to the original manuscript, resembles no other style in liturgical manuscripts from Lübeck or from the neighboring Benedictine community of Kloster Cismar. As I will show, it can be established that this notational style was maintained and emulated by subsequent generations of users in the form of marginal notations, additions, and corrections, suggesting the existence of a scribal practice that was unique to Kloster Preetz that persisted over several generations. Together, these pieces of evidence support the hypothesis that the manuscript was indeed produced in the scriptorium of Kloster Preetz.

Physical Description and Collation

The bound manuscript measures approximately 40 x 30 x 8 centimeters (15.7 x 11.8 x 3.1 inches), with folios measuring 39 x 29 centimeters (15.4 x 11.4 inches.) The manuscript is bound in white leather over wooden boards, protected by raised decorative metal bosses and corner pieces, and held together with leather straps. The separation of the front cover from the spine reveals raised split cords used to secure the gatherings to the binding, as seen in figure 4.1.



Figure 4.1. Outside Cover of the Preetz Gradual.

The book has been heavily damaged by the removal of individual decorated initials, full pages, and in one instance, an entire gathering from the manuscript. This damage was documented as early as 1801 in a passage describing “a few missals” in possession of the

cloister “from which, however, childish hands have cut out the painted and gilt initials.”³³

Figure 4.2 shows an example of typical damage on fol. 135v, a page from the Kyriale section of the Preetz Gradual.



Figure 4.2. Preetz Gradual, fol. 135v: an Example of Typical Damage Resulting from the Removal of Decorated Initials.

As may be seen in figure 4.2, the hole that appears in the left hand margin results from the removal of initials on the verso side of the folio pictured, while the hole in the upper right margin results from removal of initials that decorated the reverse side of the folio.

³³ Bernhard Fabian, ed., *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa*, (Hildesheim: Olms Neue Medien, 2003). http://134.76.163.162/fabian?Kloster_Preetz [accessed May 28, 2009].

As this example shows, the collateral removal of incipits complicates the identification and transcription of pieces on both recto and verso sides of the folio. The removal of entire pages is a yet more serious obstacle to the book's codicological and repertorial reconstruction. The Preetz Gradual was never foliated, thus making an absolute reconstruction of its original collation close to impossible without removing the actual manuscript from its binding. However, I will present a plausible model for the reconstruction of the book. By comparing codicological, repertorial, and calendrical evidence, I have identified the original number of folios per gathering, and can propose a model that reconstructs—with relative certainty—the original contents and organization of the book.

The surviving text of the Preetz Gradual begins in Advent and spans points of the entire Temporale followed by the Sanctorale, a Common of Saints, and finally, a partial Kyriale. As noted above, there are numerous lacunae in the text due to the removal of parts of the manuscript. A codicological analysis of the Preetz Gradual makes it possible to determine what the approximate original format of the Preetz Gradual was and which sections of content are missing. Figures 4.3–4.4 present a diagrams of the Preetz Gradual's collation, with additions and lacunae noted. The codicological model was arrived at from an examination of the physical evidence from the manuscript itself, and confirmed by an analysis of lacunae in the contents of the Preetz Gradual. An analysis of the complete and near-complete gatherings (gatherings 3, 7–8, and 10) allowed me to establish a standard model of five bifolios per gathering. Finally, I applied this model to gatherings with more substantial lacunae to determine the number and location of missing folios. I then tested this reconstruction against each of the extant folios of the manuscript

in order to determine that all lacunae in content were accounted for. Thus, by combining the model with repertorial evidence, I reconstructed a probable reconstruction of the original collation of the Preetz Gradual which includes later additions to the manuscript.

The manuscript appears to have consisted of fourteen original gatherings, as illustrated in figures 4.3–4.4. Each gathering appears to have been comprised of a *quinio*, or five bifolios, folded in half to create ten folios. Extant folios are indicated in figures 4.3–4.4 by a black line; missing folios by a dashed line.

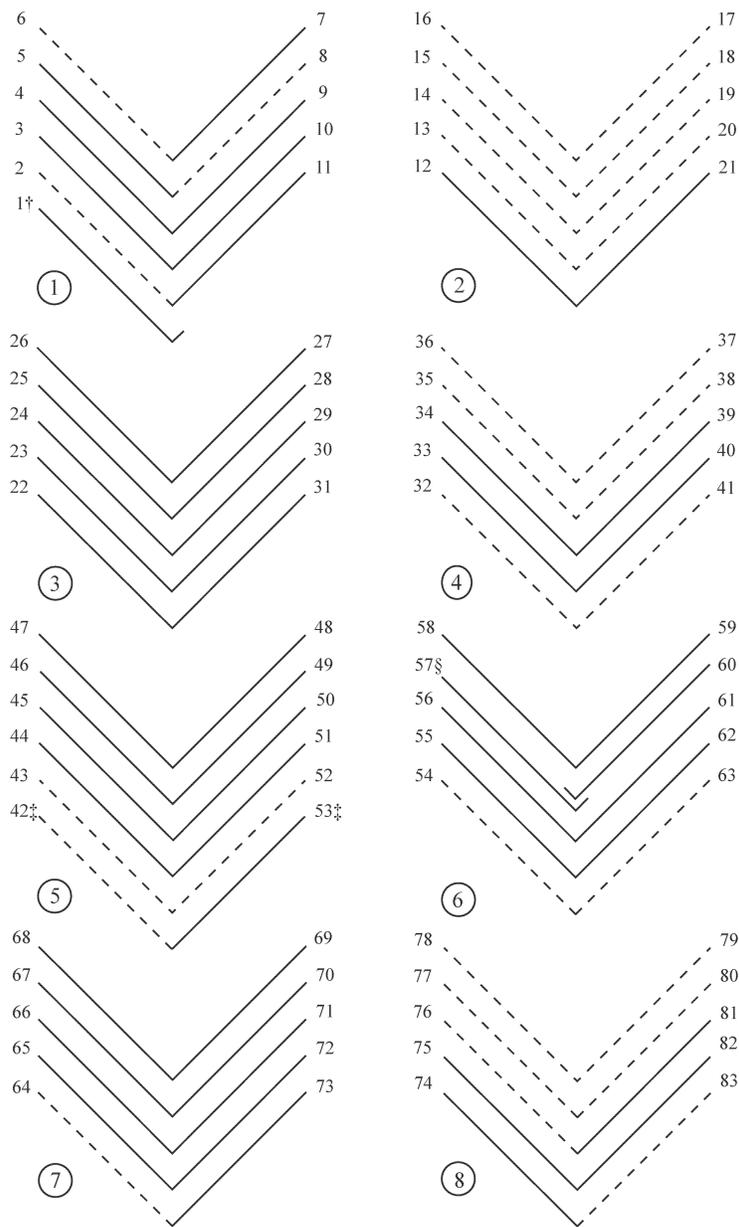


Figure 4.3. Codicological Reconstruction of the Preetz Gradual, Gatherings 1–8.

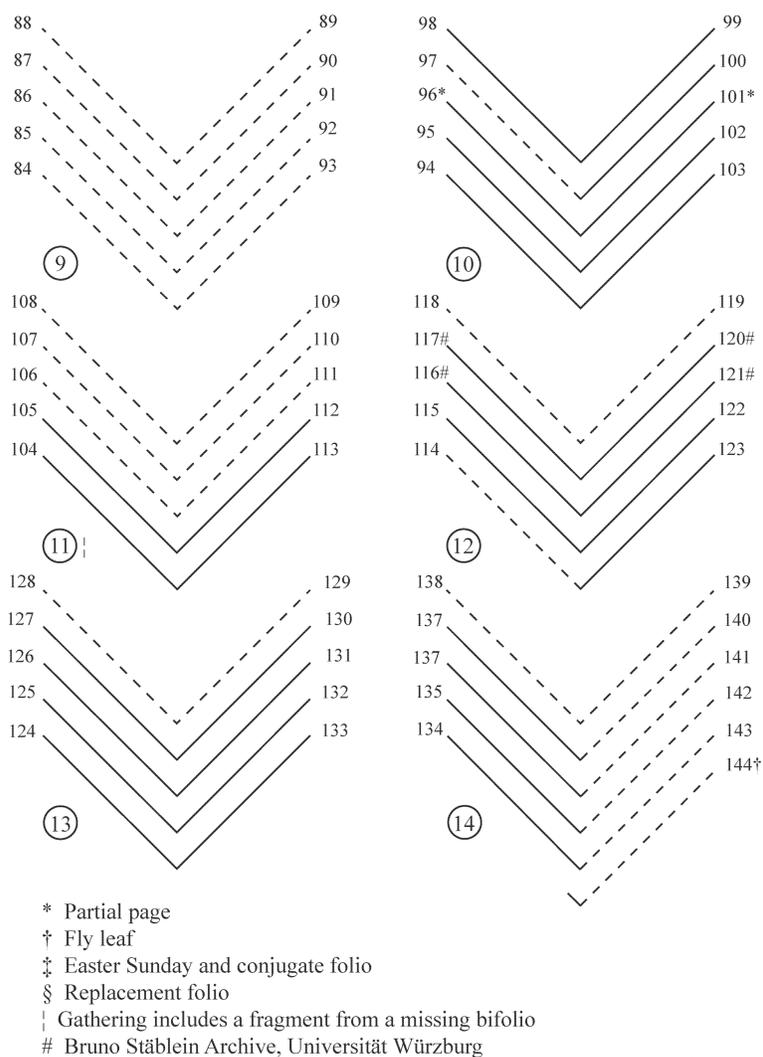


Figure 4.4. Codicological Reconstruction of the Preetz Gradual, Gatherings 9–14.

Folio numbers marked with an asterisk indicate partial folios that are missing 25% or more of their original material due to damage. After the completion of the manuscript, additional content was entered onto the flyleaf, numbered in the figure as folio 1 in the first gathering. Gathering 5 originally contained an extra bifolio, comprising the first page of Easter Sunday (folio 42, now lost) and its conjugate (folio 53, extant.) In gathering 6,

the original folio 57 has been removed and replaced by a folio in a later hand. Evidence of a now-lost gathering 9 remains in the form of loose strings and parchment fragments in the binding. A small fragment remains from one of the three inner missing bifolios of gathering 11. Finally, my identification of two bifolios originating from the Preetz Gradual in the holdings of the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg, has restored four complete folios to gathering 12 of the manuscript (fols. 116–117 and 120–121 respectively.)

From a reconstructed total of 143 original folios, 86 whole and partial folios remain in the manuscript. Differences in layout, script, and decoration point to two phases in the creation of the manuscript: gatherings 4–14 were made first, and feature a single script (with exceptions as noted.) The decoration of gatherings 5–14 was overseen by an experienced illuminator, and also shows the work of a second scribe, perhaps a student in training. Gatherings 1–3, and the decoration of gathering 4, were created in a second phrase. The layout and script of gatherings 1–3 suggest a difference in the initial preparation of the pages, and that another scribe wrote the text. The work of the assistant illuminator appears here, supplemented by the work of less skilled, but imaginative artist. These artists were also responsible for the decoration of gathering 4. It is not clear if a single scribe notated the entire book, or if the various textual scribes were also responsible for notating their respective parts of the book. Table 4.1 summarizes the collation and contents of the Preetz Gradual, including a projection of the contents of the lacunae.

Table 4.1: Summary of Collation and Contents of the Preetz Gradual.

Gathering/Folio	Contents
Gathering 1	
fol. 1r	<i>In hiis solemnitatibus</i> for the Feast of the Visitation (<i>addition to flyleaf</i>)
fol. 1v	Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus (<i>addition to flyleaf</i>)
fol. 2	Lacuna (Advent Sundays I–II)
fols. 3–5	Advent Sunday II (<i>continued</i>)–Christmas Vigil
fol. 6	Lacuna (Christmas Midnight–Christmas mass at dawn)
fol. 7	Christmas dawn mass (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 8	Lacuna (end of Christmas mass at dawn, beginning of Christmas day mass)
fols. 9–11:	Christmas day mass (<i>continued</i>), St. Stephen, St. John
Gathering 2	
fol. 12	St. John (<i>continued</i>)
fols. 13–20	Lacuna (Holy Innocents–Ash Wednesday)
fol. 21	Thursday after Ash Wednesday–Lent Sunday I
Gathering 3	
fols. 22–31	Lent I (<i>continued</i>)–Wednesday after Lent Sunday III
Gathering 4	
fol. 32	Lacuna (Lent IV–Palm Sunday)
fols. 33–34	Palm Sunday (<i>continued</i>)
fols. 35–38	Lacuna (end of Palm Sunday–beginning of Easter Vigil)
fol. 39	Easter Vigil
fols. 40–41	Lacuna (end of Easter Vigil)
Gathering 5	
fols. 42–43	Lacuna (Easter Sunday)
fols. 44–51	Easter Sunday (<i>continued</i>)–Easter Sunday II
fol. 52	Lacuna (end of Easter Sunday II–Easter Sunday III)
fol. 53	Easter Sunday III(<i>continued</i>)–beginning of Easter Sunday V
Gathering/Folio	Contents
Gathering 6	
fol. 54	Lacuna (end of Easter Sunday V–Ascension Eve)
fols. 55 (partial)–56	Eve of Ascension–Sunday in Octave of Ascension
fol. 57	Sunday in Octave of Ascension (<i>continued</i>)–Vigil of Pentecost (<i>replacement folio</i>)
fols. 58–62	Pentecost–beginning of Trinity Sunday
fol. 63	(end of Trinity Sunday–beginning of Corpus Christi)
Gathering 7	
fol. 64	Lacuna (end of Trinity Sunday–Corpus Christi)

Table 4.1: Summary of Collation and Contents of the Preetz Gradual (*continued*)

Gathering/Folio	Contents
fols. 65–73	Corpus Christi (<i>continued</i>)– Saturday in Quatember
Gathering 8	
fols. 74–75	Saturday in Quatember (<i>continued</i>)–Pentecost Sunday XXII
fols. 76–80	(end of Pentecost Sunday XXII–beginning of Sanctorale)
fols. 81–83	End of Purification processions (2 February)– St. Blaise (3 February)
Gathering 9 (missing)	
fols. 84–93	Lacuna: end of St. Blaise (3 February)–Vigil of St. John the Baptist (23 June)
Gathering 10	
fols. 94–96 (partial folio)	St. John the Baptist (24 June)–Vigil of St. Peter (28 June)
fol. 97	Lacuna (end of Vigil of St. Peter (28 June)–St. Peter (29 June)
fol. 98–103	St. Peter (<i>continued</i>)–Division of the Apostles (15 Jul)
Gathering 11	
fol. 104–105	Division of the Apostles (15 July)–St. James the Apostle (25 July)
fol. 106–111	End of St. James (25 July)– St. Bartholomew (24 August));
Fragment	Eve of St. Lawrence–Vigil of Assumption (with <i>Salve sancta parens</i> mass)
fol. 112–113	End of St. Bartholomew (24 August)– Nativity of Mary (8 September)
Gathering 12	
fol. 114	Lacuna (end of Nativity (8 September)–beginning of Marian alleluias)
fol. 115	Marian alleluias
fols. 116–117	(Bruno Stäblein Archive) Marian alleluias (cont.) and sequences
fol. 118–119	Lacuna (end of Marian sequences–St. Lambert (17 September))
fols. 120–121	((Bruno Stäblein Archive)Vigil of St. Matthew (20 September)–St. Michael (29 September)
fol. 122–123	End of St. Michael (29 September)–St. Ursula (21 October)

Table 4.1: Summary of Collation and Contents of the Preetz Gradual (*continued*)

Gathering/Folio	Contents
Gathering 13	End of St. Ursula (21 October)–beginning of St. Katherine (25 November)
fol. 128–129	Lacuna: St. Andrew (30 November)–St. Barbara (4 December)
fol. 130–133	St. Nicolas (6 December)–Common of Saints
Gathering 14	
fol. 134–137	Common of Saints–Kyriale
fol. 138–143	Lacuna (end of Kyriale)

Page Layout

Figure 4.5 reproduces fol. 67r from gathering 7. This folio begins with the introit *Respice me* from the third Sunday after Pentecost as a representative undamaged page in order to demonstrate the basic elements of layout, notation, and script. Vertical pricking along the outer margin of the page guides the ruling of each folio. The boundary and ruling lines that define the text block and provide staves for text and music are written in brown ink. The text and music are written in a single column with twelve five-line staves per page. The manuscript is clearly legible at close range, but the script and notation appear to be too small to be read from a choir stand. This assessment is consistent with Anna von Buchwald’s statement that the repertoire of the Preetz liturgy was sung from memory.



Figure 4.5. Sample undamaged page; Scribe 1/Notator A, Preetz Gradual, fol. 67r.

Comparison of Scripts

The text of the Preetz Gradual was written by three scribes whose precise, fluid style is very similar. The three hands are written in a German gothic semi-quadrata style, in which each minim is topped by a serif consisting of a defined horizontal or diagonal stroke, and the bottom of each minim ends in a foot consisting of a short, upward penstroke.³⁴ Contractions of the syllables *per* and *pro*, suspension of the final letter *m*, and other abbreviation symbols, including the Tironian abbreviation for *et*, are used with frequency. Spelling conventions include substitutions such as *e* for *ae* (example: *que* for *quae*), *Ihesus* for *Jesus*, *Xriste* for *Christe*, *michi* for *mihi*, and *y* for *i/j* (example: *Yesse* for *Jesse* and *Adonay* for *Adonai*.)

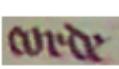
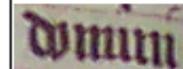
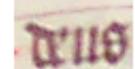
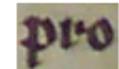
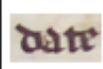
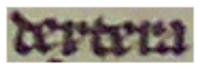
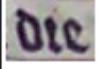
The three text scribes of the original portions of the Preetz Gradual (hereafter Scribes 1, 2, and 3) along with the scribe of the original portion of the antiphoner (hereafter Scribe 4) are very similar in style and their individual contributions can be difficult to distinguish: their differences are not primarily in the *kind* of script they use, but in *how* the strokes of the script are affected by the use of different pens and a varying amount of pressure on the writing implement. These variables result in differences in the articulation and degree of attachment in multi-stroke forms, and in how the serifs and feet that begin and end each minim are defined. These variables affect both script and notation: I will first compare the scripts, discussing the notation in a later section of the chapter.

The scripts may be most reliably distinguished on the basis of the specific indicators: namely, the form of the letters *r* and *d* that each scribe uses and how these two

³⁴ Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 148–150, 153–155.

letters appear in abbreviated forms. Table 4.2 compares these indicators in the original hands of the Preetz Gradual (Scribes 1, 2, and 3) and the original hand of the Preetz Antiphoner (Scribe 4.)

Table 4.2. Original Textual Scribes of the Preetz Liturgical Books

	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i> rotunda in <i>or</i> ligature	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i> with diagonal ascender	<i>do</i> ligature	<i>de</i> ligature
Scribe 1						
Scribe 2		 ...				
Scribe 3						
Scribe 4			...	

The hand of Scribe 1 appears in gatherings 4–14, which was most likely the first portion of the book to be completed. The ductus of Scribe 1 bows slightly to the left, and the individual strokes making up the letters tend to be slightly separated, as may be seen in the word *verba*. This scribe uses both the ordinary form of the letter *r* as seen in the word *verba*, and the *r rotunda* within the ligature *or* as in the word *cornu*. Two forms of the letter *d*, having vertical and diagonal ascenders respectively, are used interchangeably, as seen in the examples *die* and *ad*. The ligated forms of *do* and *de* are used sparingly, seen here in the abbreviation of *deo* and the word *desiderat*.

The work of Scribe 2 appears in gatherings 1–3; this script is slightly taller and narrower than that of Scribe 1, a difference that may be attributed in part to the taller ruling of the first three gatherings. The individual letters of this script are constructed of straighter strokes and tend to be less separated than those of Scribe 1. Scribe 2 generally uses the regular form of the letter *r* and seldom the *r rotunda* in the ligated form of *or*, as seen in the word *concordi*. Moreover, this scribe generally prefers the diagonal form of the *d*, both alone as in the word *da*, and in ligated forms, as seen in *domini* and *deus*, to the rarely-occurring straight form of the *d* as in seen in the word *dei*.

The hand of Scribe 3 is constructed of connected, rounded strokes. Noteworthy are its proportionally longer ascenders, and the delicate hairline strokes visible in diagonal strokes (such as the letter *a*) and the diagonal feet that complete each minim. Scribe 3 uses all of the letter forms described thus far.

Scribe 4, the primary hand of the antiphoner, writes with a thicker pen in a vertically compact style, with shorter ascenders. This hand uses both forms of the letter *r* as seen in the words *gloria* and *orietur*, but uses the diagonal form of the letter *d* only, as in the word *die*, while excluding the ligated forms *do* or *de*. Thus, while the four hands appear very similar, they can be distinguished from one another by scribal tendencies and how frequently they use variant scribal forms.

The three scribes also differ in an aspect of the content provided in the manuscript, namely, in the inclusion of incipits for the ordinary items of the mass usually sung by the choir, namely the *Kyrie eleison*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus dei*. Scribe 1, who was responsible for the text of gatherings 4–14, includes ordinary incipits within the body of the text for the Easter season, the Sanctorale, and the Common of Saints. Scribe 1 does

not provide ordinary incipits for the Sundays after Pentecost. Additional ordinary incipits in the hand of Scribe 1 and notated by Notator A occasionally appear in the margins of gatherings 4–14, and more are given in later hands. By contrast, Scribe 2, responsible for gatherings 1–3, which include the seasons of Advent, Christmas, and Lent, does not usually give ordinary incipits in the body of the text: the only exception is a *Kyrie* incipit given for the Mass of Christmas Day on fol. 7r. Additional ordinary incipits are added in the margins of these three gatherings by later hands. This prominent difference in design supports the conclusion that the Preetz Gradual was created in two separate parts, each written by two different scribes. Finally, Scribe 3, who wrote the text of folio 53, includes only *Kyrie* incipits in the body of the text; *Sanctus* and *Agnus* incipits were entered into the margin of this folio by a later hand.

Description of Notation

The Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner display a notational style that is distinct from the notation found in contemporary manuscripts from the diocese of Lübeck, and which may be described as a midpoint between Rhenish and gothic styles. I will argue that all of the notational hands found in the Preetz Gradual—with two notable exceptions—participated in notational lineage based in the cloister. This notational practice may be distinguished by its left-facing virga and the pervasive use of a quilisma-like neume to indicate two-note rising figures occurring in a variety of compound forms (e.g. pes, torculus, and scandicus). The various hands that created and altered the manuscripts over time display these two unmistakable markers, bearing witness to the persistence of a school of notation over perhaps a century, despite certain stylistic shifts. This evidence

suggests not only that the cloister had a working scriptorium that produced manuscripts for its own use, but that the community also fostered several generations of musically literate cantrices who continued to use and emend the manuscripts in the cloister's unique notational style.

Table 4.3 compares selected neumes forms of the various notators found in the Preetz manuscripts with other examples from the region. At least twelve notators can be discerned in the cloister's manuscripts; these are given in as notators A–J in table 4.3. When compared to the various Lübeck gothic (or *Hufnagel*) hands, the curved and flexible lines and connected pitches of the Preetz notation recall earlier Rhenish types of notation. The hand of Notator A, who provided the original notation of gatherings 4–14, is a slender, flexible script that is vertically oriented and extremely horizontally compact (see fol. 67r in figure 4.5, above, for a sample page.) Within the framework of an overall vertical orientation, the upward strokes of the script display a gentle curvature to the right, while downward strokes conversely flex slightly to the left. Its use of a diagonally held pen, however, shows the beginnings of a gothic tendency. As David Hiley and Janka Szendrei have explained, the difference between gothic notation and the neumes from which it was derived lies not so much in the forms used, but in how those forms are rendered by the pen:

Gothic notations were not a new notational type, but a change to the surface appearance of traditional neume shapes. Something similar had happened with the establishment of square notation, but whereas the pen was held parallel to the line, in gothic style it remained diagonal.³⁵

Table 4.3. Notational Hands from Kloster Preetz and Regional Manuscripts

³⁵ David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, "Notation §III, 1. History of Western Notation: Plainchant" in Ian D. Bent, et al. "Notation", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition. Edited by Stanley Sadie.* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), vol. 18, 84–119.

	Virga	Pes	Torculus	Scandicus	German Clivis	Lothringian Clivis
Notator A (gradual gatherings 4-14)						
Notator B (gradual, gatherings 1-3)						
Notator C (gradual f.53)						
Notator D Gradual f.51v (margin)				...		...
Notator E Gradual f.53v (margin)			
Notator F Gradual f.130v (correction)		...		...
Notator G Gradual f.57 (replacement folio)						
Notator H gradual f.01 (addition)			...	

Table 4.3. Notational Hands from Kloster Preetz and Regional Manuscripts (*continued*)

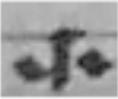
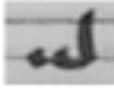
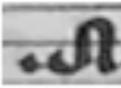
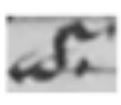
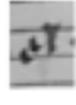
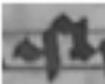
	Virga	Pes	Torculus	Scandicus	German Clivis	Lothringian Clivis
Notator I Gradual f.1v (addition)						...
Notator J Antiphoner original hand						
Notator K Antiphoner f.23r (addition of verse)		...			
Notator L Antiphoner (Inserted folio) f.96						...
<i>Buch im Chor</i> f.3v.				...
<i>Buch im Chor</i> f.122	
Tallinn Codex						
D-Kk S.169 (Kloster Cismar)						

Table 4.3. Notational Hands from Kloster Preetz and Regional Manuscripts (*continued*)

	Virga	Pes	Torculus	Scandicus	German Clivis	Lothringian Clivis
Lübeck 11						
Lübeck 12						
Lübeck 13					(used in torculus only)	
Lübeck 16						
Lübeck 17						
Lübeck 18						
Lübeck 22						

The hand of Notator A, who provided the original notation of gatherings 4–14, is a slender, flexible script that is vertically oriented and extremely horizontally compact (see fol. 67r in figure 4.5, above, for a sample page.) Within the framework of an overall vertical orientation, the upward strokes of the script display a gentle curvature to the

right, while downward strokes conversely flex slightly to the left. Its use of a diagonally held pen, however, shows the beginnings of a gothic tendency. As David Hiley and Janka Szendrei have explained, the difference between gothic notation and the neumes from which it was derived lies not so much in the forms used, but in how those forms are rendered by the pen:

Gothic notations were not a new notational type, but a change to the surface appearance of traditional neume shapes. Something similar had happened with the establishment of square notation, but whereas the pen was held parallel to the line, in gothic style it remained diagonal.³⁶

Written with a pen held on an approximately forty-five degree angle, the wider and narrower edges of the nib used by the primary hand of the Preetz Gradual (Notator A) give a gentle articulation to the rounded forms. The script is conservative in its maintenance of the pressus, oriscus, and liquescent forms. It maintains two forms of the clivis: the German rounded clivis for downward two-note gestures, and the Messine square clivis (resembling the number 7), occurring only in combination with a previous sign to indicate a repeated note.

The rounded forms and vertical orientation of the hands of the Kloster Preetz manuscripts are reminiscent of Rhenish staff notation of the twelfth to mid-fourteenth century: for example, D-AAm 13 (figure 4.6)³⁷ and D-KNa W 270 (figure 4.7) from Aachen, and the thirteenth-century D-Bsb 4° 664 from Trier (figure 4.8). Examples of more northern dissemination of this style include NI-Uu 417 from the Collegiate Church

³⁶ David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, “Notation §III, 1. History of Western Notation: Plainchant” in Ian D. Bent, et al. “Notation”, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition. Edited by Stanley Sadie.* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), vol. 18, 84–119.

³⁷ Figure 3.5 reproduced from *Ibid.*, 106.

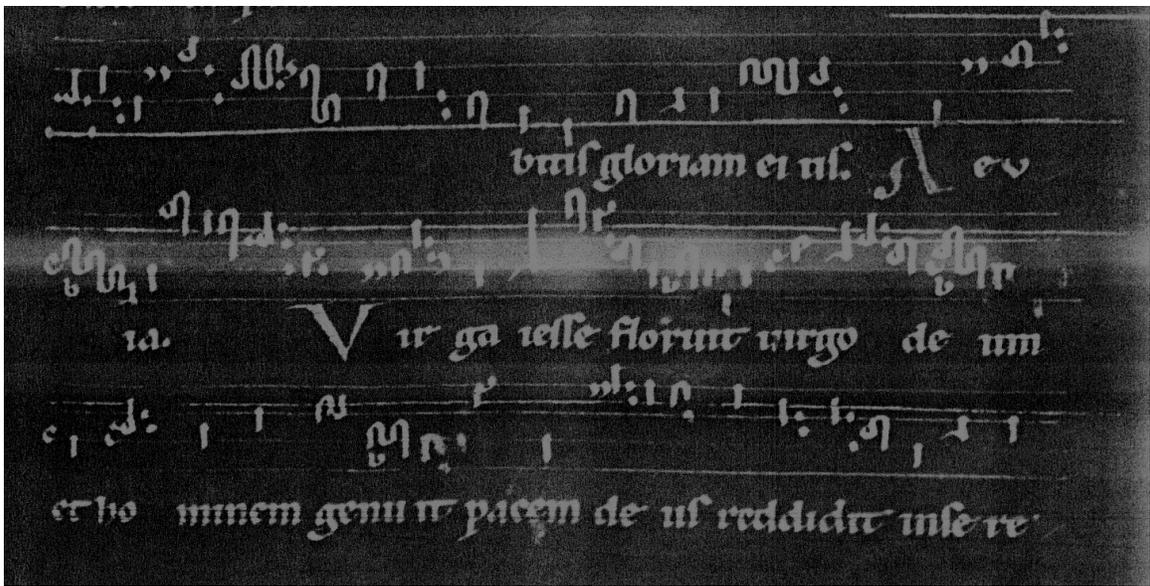


Figure 4.8. D-Bsb 4° 664, Trier, Thirteenth Century.

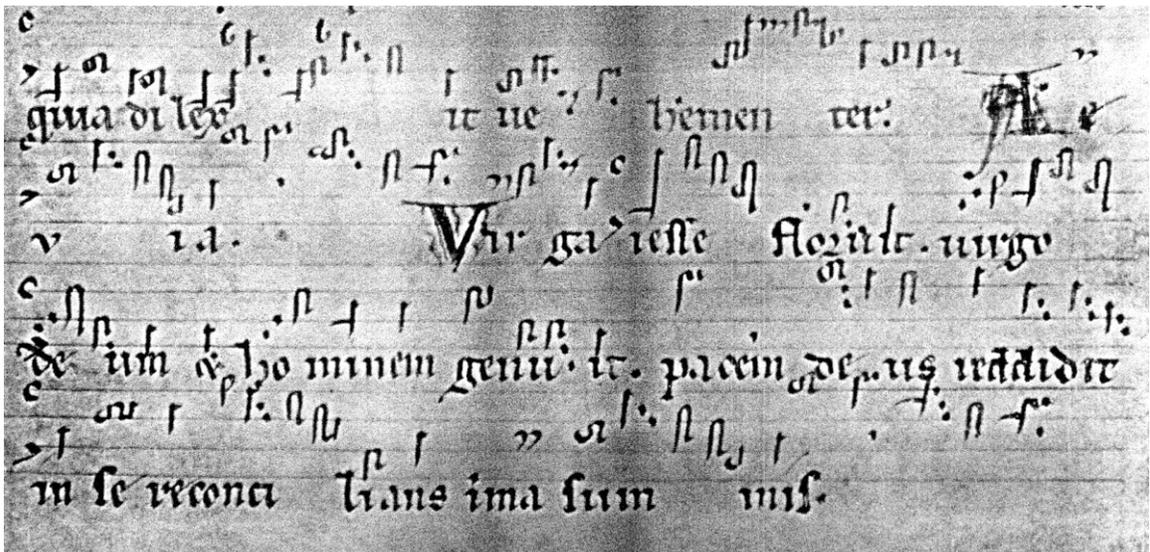


Figure 4.9. NI-Uu 417, Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Utrecht, Thirteenth Century.



Figure 4.10. D-Bsb 2° 487, Augustinian, Lower Rhine (circa 1350–1400).

However, there are immediately visible differences. Whereas these scripts all use the square pes to indicate a two-note rising figure, the hands from Kloster Preetz use a form that resembles the Lotharingian quilisima to indicate two-note rising gestures, a notational peculiarity that will be discussed in more detail below.

Textual Scribes and Notators

The preceding discussion of the script of the Preetz Gradual has shown that there were at least three primary scribes who created the text of the Gradual (Scribes 1–3) and the Antiphoner (Scribe 4). Based on similarities in the style and form of the individual strokes, it is possible that the primary scribes of the Preetz Gradual also notated the sections for which they were textually responsible. However, the differences between the notation of the individual sections do not appear to be as great as the differences between the various scripts. This suggests the possibility that while the original text was written

by three different scribes, the original notation may have been the work of a single notator. Differences in the appearance of the notation between sections could be the result of spatial and technical factors. These factors include differences in page layout, differences in how much space the textual scribe left for notation, and in the size and kind of pen used. Figure 4.11 shows a detail of the opening between gatherings 3 and 4: fol. 31v, on the left is the work of Scribe 2; fol. 33r, on the right, the folio adjacent to fol. 31v in the current state of the book, is the work of Scribe 1.

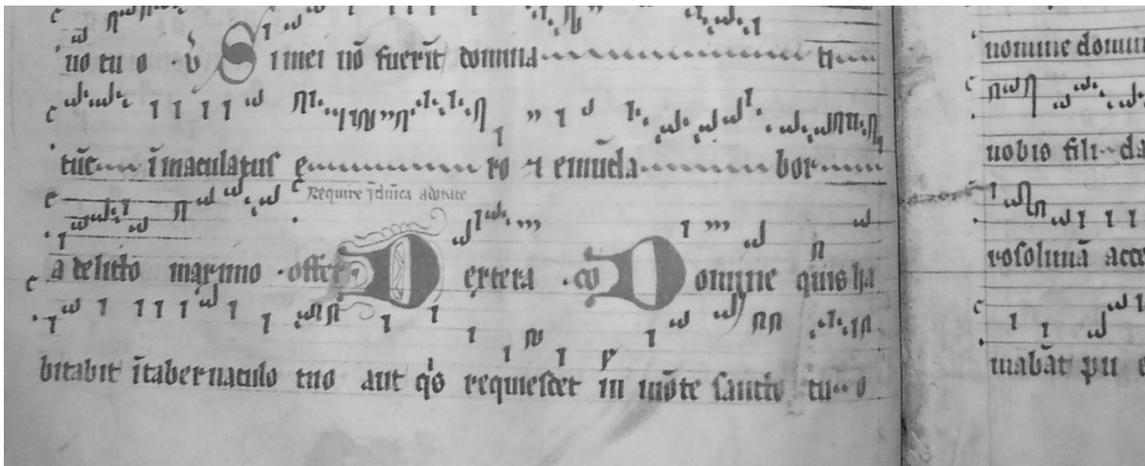


Figure 4.11. Change in Style Between Gatherings 3 and 4, Preetz Gradual, fol. 31v and 33r.

this figure shows, the text block of the left hand page (representing gathering 3) is larger than that of the right hand page (gathering 4), and its ruling is of a less consistent quality than the neat, regular ruling of gathering 4. The work of Scribe 2 in gathering 3 is written in a darker colored ink, and appears to be written with a thicker nib than the work of scribe 1 in gathering 4. As argued above, the varying use of letter forms and ligatures suggests that the scripts are likely the work of two different scribes. However, the notation of the two gatherings is so similar that it is difficult to determine whether or not

it is the work of two scribes, or one scribe using different pens on a text block of differing proportions.

Figure 4.12 displays an opening between folio 53v, the last page of gathering 5 written by Scribe 3, and folio 55r, the first extant page of gathering 6, written by Scribe 1.

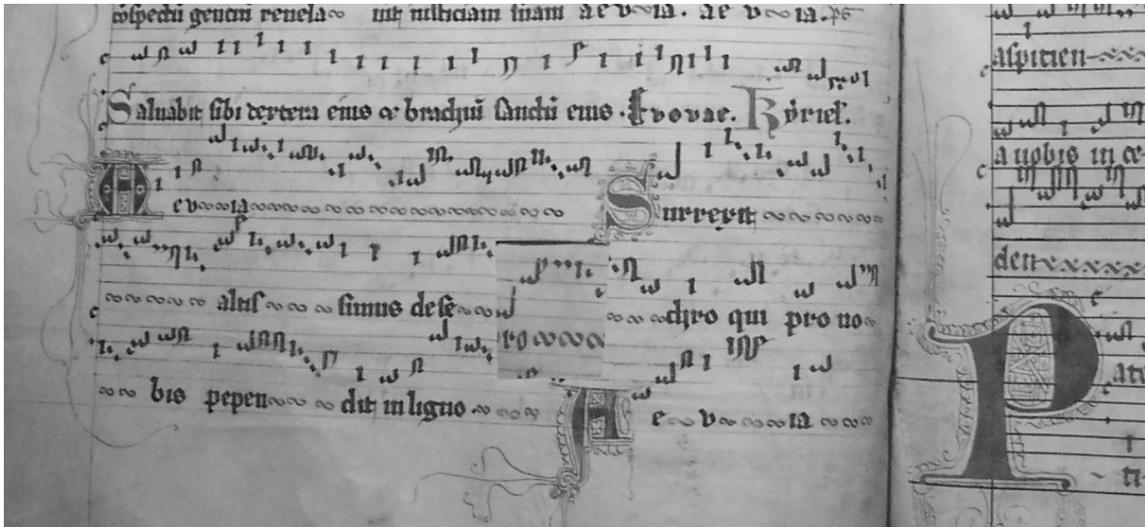


Figure 4.12: Opening Between Gathering 5 and Gathering 6, Preetz Gradual, fols. 53v and 55r. Scribe 3 is Seen on the Left; Scribe 3 on the Right.

The stylistic differences between fol. 53v, on the left side of the page, and fol. 55r, the first extant folio of the sixth gathering, are immediately apparent. Fol. 55r, on the right, was written by Scribe 1, the scribe who wrote the majority of the folios in gatherings 4–14. Fol. 53v on the left is a single folio and is written by Scribe 3: its layout, decoration and script are unique to this one page. The folio moreover uses finer parchment with a smaller text block, a different script, and finer illuminations than the surrounding folios. Differences in style and the use of letter forms and ligatures have established that Scribe 3, who provided the text for folio 53, and Scribe 1, who was responsible for the surrounding folios, were two different scribes. The question remains: was the notation on

these pages written by the same two scribes responsible for the accompanying text? Or is notation of these examples the work of a single notator, with the apparent differences generated by differences in the dimensions of the textblock, the amount of horizontal space left by the textual scribe, the quality of the parchment, or the kind of writing implement used? My identification of the notator of gatherings 1–3 as “Notator B” and the notator of folio 53 “Notator C” is an expedient way to leave this question open.

While it was common for notation and script to be executed by separate scribes, a comparison the script written by Scribe 1 and the notation written by Notator A reveals that the distinctive left-facing virga bears a strong resemblance to the basic vertical stroke, or minim, of the script. Figure 4.13, for example, reproduces a detail from fol. 47r.

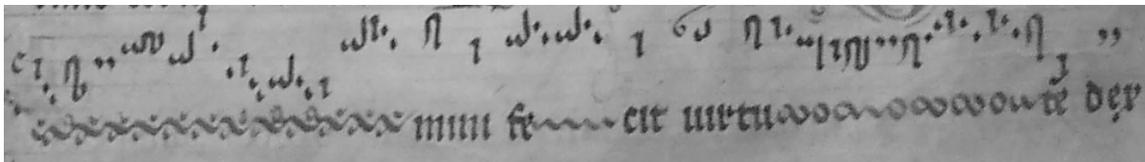


Figure 4.13. Identical Minims and Virgae, Preetz Gradual, fol. 47r.

As seen in the figure, the seven vertical strokes that make up the syllables *-mini*, visible midway through the line, are identical in form to the virgae that appear directly over the syllables *-ni* and *-cit*, having been formed by an identical motion of the pen. Moreover, the diagonal upstroke that creates the foot of the minim, characteristic of the gothic semi-quadrata script, is mirrored in the foot of the virga.³⁹ The example of the identical minim and virga demonstrates similarities in the most basic elements of script and notation, and

³⁹ See Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 153–154.

suggests that the script and notation of Gatherings 4–14 were executed by a single scribe: Scribe 1/Notator A.

Based on similar comparisons of script and notation, I suggest that it is most likely that Scribe 1/Notators A and Notators B and C were indeed the same person, and that this scribe notated all sections of the book, including gatherings 1–3 and folio 53. A second scribe (Scribe 2) wrote the text for gatherings 1–3, and a third scribe (Scribe 3) wrote the text of folio 53. Pre-determined elements of layout and differences in writing technology resulted in the variation seen in the notation between the various sections.

Distinguishing Traits: the Left-facing Virga and Quilisma-like Pes

Whether the original notation of the Preetz Gradual was executed by one or by three notators, two unusual signs persist throughout the majority of notational hands that left traces in the liturgical books of the cloister. These are the left-facing virga, and the ubiquitous use of a Lotharingian quilisma-like sign to indicate a two-note rising figure.

The difference in the use of the left- or right-facing virgae is significant, because these two forms of the virga are created by a different process. The manuscripts from Lübeck (see table 4.3) use a right-facing virga, as typical of other gothic scripts. The right facing virga is created in two disconnected strokes: a short horizontal stroke forms the head, then the pen must be lifted off of the parchment and returned to the beginning point of the stroke before executing the vertical stroke that forms the tail of the virga. By contrast, the scribes of Kloster Preetz use the left-facing virga. This form of the virga is written in two connected strokes in one continuous motion of the pen: a small diagonal upward stroke creates the head, and a longer, slightly curved downward stroke completes

the tail. Other manuscripts that use the left-facing virga in the are significantly earlier Rhenish examples from the Mainz area: the late twelfth-century B-DEa MS 9 (the Hildegard-Codex, figure 4.14) and the thirteenth-century Koblenz Missal from D-WIR s.n. (figure 4.15).⁴⁰

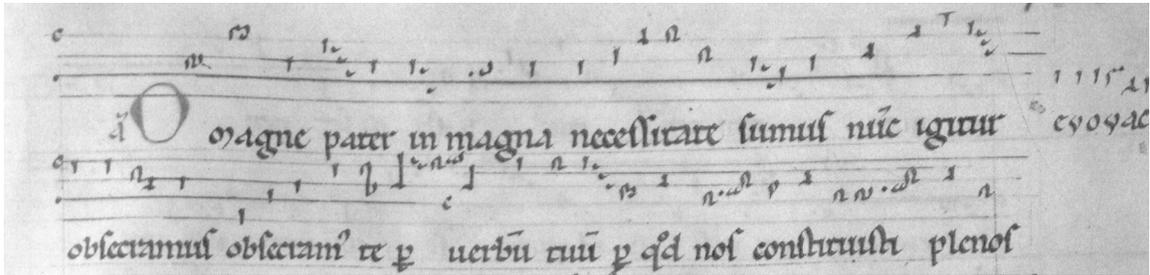


Figure 4.14. B-DEa ms. Cod. 9, the Hildegard Codex, Late Twelfth Century, fol. 153r.



Figure 4.15. D-WIR s.n., the Koblenz Missal, Thirteenth Century, fol. 217v–218r.

⁴⁰ Hiley and Szendrei, “Notation §III, 1. History of Western Notation: Plainchant,” vol. 18, 107. Figure 3.13 is reproduced from Peter van Pouke, ed. *Hildegard of Bingen: Symphonia Harmoniae Caelestium Revelationum, Dendermonde St.-Pieters & Paulusabdij Ms. Cod.9* (Peer: Alamire, 1991), fol. 153. Figure 3.14 is reproduced from PM, first series, iii, 30, Pl.137.

The use of the left-facing virga distinguishes the Kloster Preetz scripts from the hands of Lübeck and other gothic scripts, and suggests a possible historical tie of the Preetz convent to the Lower Rhine region.

The second distinguishing trait of the Kloster Preetz scripts is the use of a quilisma-like sign as the basic form used to indicate a rising two-note figure. A typical example of the Lotharingian quilisma may be seen in figure 4.7, first line, the second sign over the syllable *Vi-*. In the Preetz Gradual, a neume that resembles the Lotharingian quilisma is used not only in melodic locations traditionally notated with a quilisma, but also anywhere a two-note rising figure is found: in place of the pes, as the initial element of the torculus, and as the second and third pitches of the scandicus (see table 4.3.) Because of this generalized use of the Lotharingian quilisma-like form, those places in the repertoire previously notated with a quilisma can no longer be distinguished. It is most likely that the quilisma in this manuscript is used in form only, and has lost its significance as a marker for special performance. This thoroughgoing substitution of the quilisma for more conventional signs is, to my knowledge, unprecedented in any other manuscript tradition, yet persists through all of the hands found in the Kloster Preetz liturgical manuscripts, with the exception of one notable example, to be discussed below.

Additional Notational Hands in the Preetz Gradual

Besides the original notational hand (or hands), a number of later hands are found in later entries and marginal additions in the Preetz Gradual. As shown in figure 4.16 below, Notator D adds incipits for *Kyrie*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus dei* in the left-hand margin of fol.51v. Notator D uses a more gothic style than Hand A: less rounded, and made up of

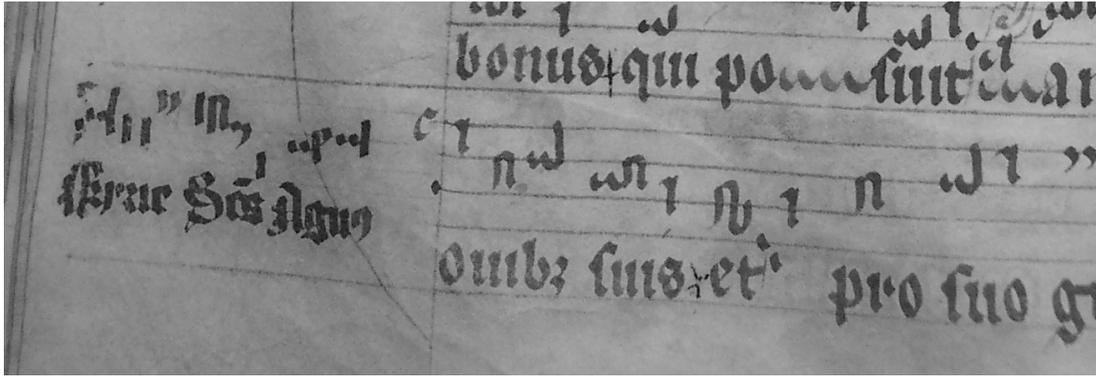


Figure 4.16. Marginal Addition in the Hand of Notator D, Preetz Gradual, fol. 51v.

individual, straight strokes made by a thicker nib, with a tendency towards the separation of individual strokes. Unlike the hand of Notator G, its vertical strokes are so thick that it is not possible to ascribe a right- or left-facing orientation to the virga. Despite this stylistic shift, however, Notator D maintains the distinctive quilisma-like form of Notator A, albeit transformed. Notator D transforms the quilisma-like form into a series of short, almost punctum-like vertical strokes: a doubled initial short stroke representing the first pitch, and a second, taller stroke to indicate the second pitch. Parallels to this transformation are found in Notator D's rendering of the torculus and quilisma, both of which display a doubled first element in a two-note rising figure.

The hand of Notator E (see table 4.3) is written by a different scribe, but maintains the doubled initial stroke of Notator D. The doubled initial strokes of Notator E's pes are thick, diagonally oriented, and are hardly connected to each other, resembling the individual "membri staccati" of later gothic hands. However, the doubled initial element, as well as a visible left-facing head on pes and scandicus are distinct scribal features suggesting a lineage with the other hands of the Preetz Gradual described thus

far. Notator F (see table 4.3) also provides ordinary marginal incipits. While this hand does not use the typical doubled initial stroke, it is difficult to argue its origin based on such a small sampling.

Notator G on the inserted folio 57 (figure 4.17) is clearly of much younger vintage, perhaps as late as the sixteenth century, and continues the trend toward “gothicization” of the Preetz scribal lineage. The style of this page suggests the continued use of the Preetz Gradual over a period of at least one hundred years.

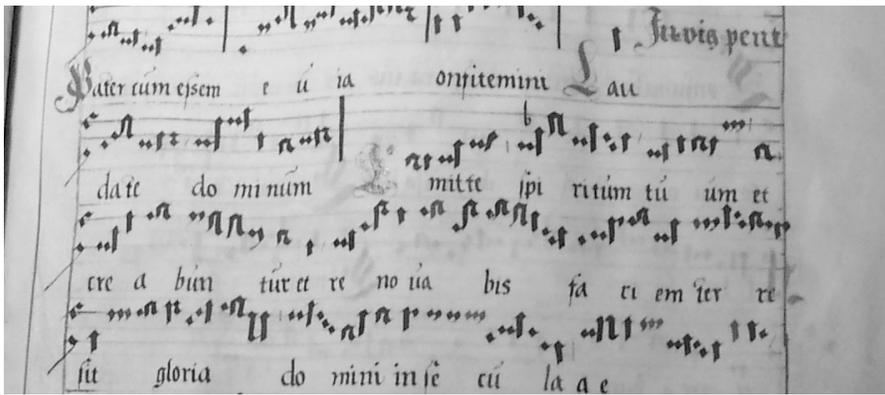


Figure 4.17. Hand of Notator G on Sixteenth-century Replacement Folio, Preetz Gradual, fol. 57r.

The script of this replacement page may be characterized as a Humanist bookhand. The notator (Notator G) provides eleven staves of notation per page in a thick, blocky gothic choir-book style with text-musical phrases separated by vertical strokes. The music on this added page fits seamlessly with that on the preceding and following folios, indicating that the folio was probably meant to replace a damaged or faulty page. At first examination, the hand of Notator G appears much more comparable to the hand of late fifteenth-century D–LÜh 2°13, albeit with a straighter ductus, and longer vertical stroke

forming the tail of the virga (See table 4.3.)⁴¹ Written in a thick, gothic pen, the hand of Notator G is angular: each turn of the pen renders the previously rounded form of the clivis in articulated individual lines, their straight lines actually exaggerated by a slight retroflex curve of the stroke. The virga is composed of two strokes, with a head that clearly faces right. Despite these dissimilarities to the Kloster Preetz lineage, the characteristic use of a quilisma-like neume to indicate a two-note rising figure remains. In the hand of Notator G, the pes consists of two diamonds, each created by a short diagonal strokes, attached to a virga: in essence, the two diamonds are the gothicized version of the doubled initial stroke visible in the other Kloster Preetz hands. This double stroke is also evident in the scandicus (see *cu* of *secula*): only in the torculus has it disappeared.

Despite the surface-level stylistic differences between this later hand and the earlier Preetz hands, we can nevertheless identify the characteristic doubling of the initial element of the pes in the hand of Notated G that was descended from the substituted quilisma form of Notator A. The persistence of this element suggests that a scribal practice particular to Kloster Preetz continued to be taught and used, despite quite large shifts in scribal style.

The material added to folio 1, formerly the flyleaf of the manuscript, provides an opportunity to compare two hands that are also later additions: Notator H, whose work appears on the recto side of the folio, and Notator I, whose work appears on the verso side. The hand of Notator H on fol. 1r exhibits certain differences in style from previous Preetz hands, particularly visible in the shape of the strokes that make up the pes (see table 4.3) Yet, Notator H maintains the two distinguishing characteristics of the Preetz

⁴¹ D-LÜh 2° 13, Lübeck Cathedral, Responsoriale, 1470.

notation lineage: the left-facing virga, and the substitution of the quilisma sign for the pes. Notator H's addition to the manuscript consists of the sequence *In hiis solemnitatibus* for the Feast of the Visitation, now only faintly visible on the faded recto side of fol. 1. The hand of Notator H shows certain subtle stylistic differences from that of Notator A. It is written with a wider quill, which has the effect of widening puncta into diamonds or tractulus-like strokes and creating thicker tails on the bistropha. There is a tendency towards the rendering of neumes in individual, detached strokes: the elements of the scandicus, for example, approach the "membri staccati" of the gothic style. However, the left-facing virga is still prominent; distinguishable from the hand of Notator A only by its slightly straighter tail. The pes is also recognizable as the same quilisma form as used by Notator A: its curves have been straightened, and it is rendered as two tractulus-like strokes and a virga. The doubled initial stroke of this figure, transformed from the two curved initial strokes of the quilisma, will persist as a trait throughout the various subsequent hands.

By contrast, the hand of Notator I, which appears on the verso side of the same folio, is clearly from a different tradition. This hand provides *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* melodies on fol. 1v, reproduced as figure 4.18 below. The hand of Notator I may be described as a *Hufnagel* script unrelated to the other hands in the Preetz Gradual. In contrast to the three-point formation of the F clef used by the other hands of the Gradual, Notator I uses the letter F-like punctum clef. The virga is right-facing, created by two separate strokes: a horizontal tractulus-like stroke, and a vertical downward stroke. The pes is created by the combination of a horizontal tractulus-like stroke and a virga, created by two separate strokes. The characteristic doubling of the initial element visible in the

hands of Notators A–H is present in neither the pes nor the scandicus of Notator I. The puncta of the climacus, like the head of the virga, take the form of tractulus-like strokes. It is obvious from these features that Notator I was not trained in the notational lineage of the cloister: rather, the hand is much similar to the hands found in the Lübeck manuscripts D-LÜh 2°11, D-LÜh 2°12, and D-LÜh 2°17.

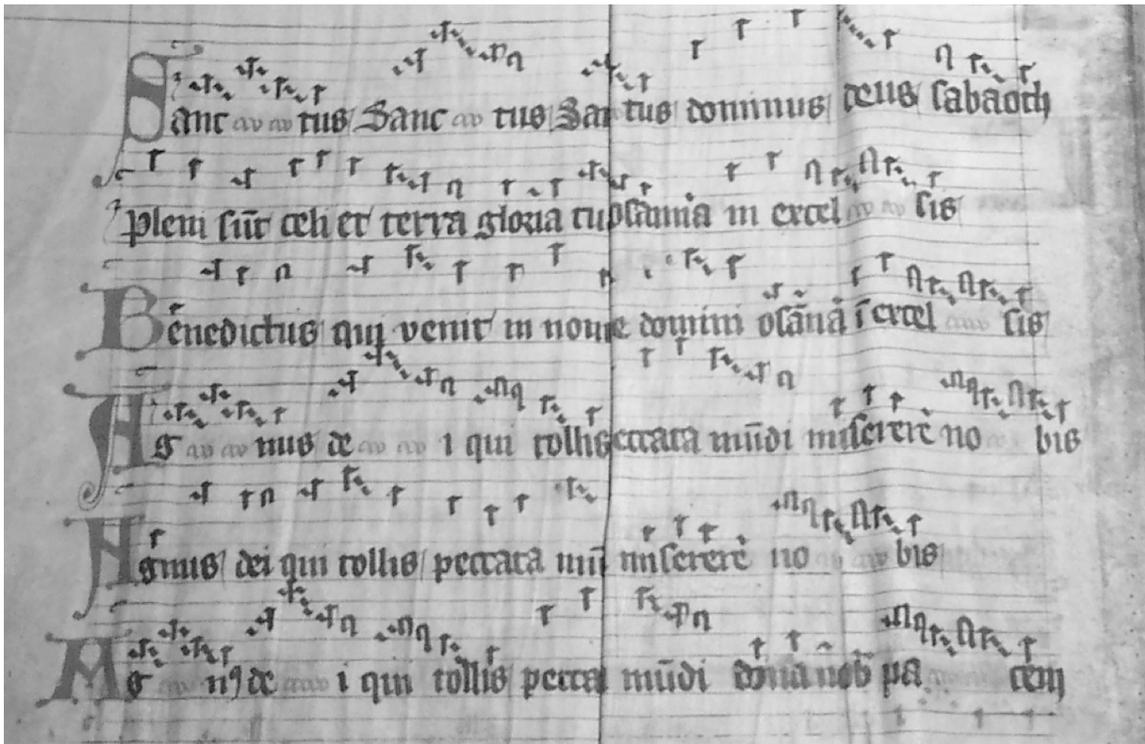


Figure 4.18. *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* Melodies in the Hand of Notator I, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 1v.

The choice of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* melodies presented in this addition is also telling. These melodies are given in noted incipit on fol. 3v of the *Buch im Chor* as well, along with a *Kyrie* that appear in the *Kyriele* section of the Gradual. The assignment of these ordinary incipits is for the Marian devotional *Salve* mass, when it is to be sung *valde festive*, that is, with “great festivity.” The *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* pair entered by

Notator I on fol. 1v appear to be a later addition to the ordinary repertoire of the Preetz Gradual, and were sung relatively frequently for the festal celebration of this devotional occasion. The fact that they were written out in full—rather than simply added as marginal incipits—shows that the melodies had to be notated in full to be learned: this was not simply a re-assignment of melodies already held in the Kyriale and in the oral repertoire of the convent. Most likely, these *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* melodies were new to the repertoire, quite possibly added into the manuscript by a cleric from Lübeck who served the convent. Uncertainty in the assignment of these additions may have been one of the problems that Anna von Buchwald addressed in her *Buch im Chor*.

Rubrics

The rubrics in all sections of the Preetz Gradual indicate the genre and liturgical assignment of the pieces contained in the book. For pieces given in incipit only, the rubricator of gatherings 4–14 often refers the reader to an earlier place in the book where the piece was first assigned and notated in full. The same rubricator also provides performance instructions for the special processional liturgies for Palm Sunday and the Feast of the Purification. Proper names that occurring within the text of the pieces are often enhanced with red and blue ink to emphasize their importance. Line fillers consisting of geometric patterns, perhaps the work of the rubricator, are used to occupy unused text space under melismatic melodic sections (see figures 4.2, 4.5, and 4.13 above.) These line fillers are typically written in red ink, with more intricate patterns in red and blue ink indicating occasions of greater solemnity. Run-over symbols consisting of scalloped vertical lines, typically written in red ink, but occasionally in blue, indicate

when text and music have been carried over into the right side of the following line.

Examples can be seen in line 2 of figure 4.5 (above), between the rubric *do[minica] iii* and the text *-tissimi*, and in line 11, between the rubric *do[minica] iiii* and the text *-di verba mea*.

The text and music of the earliest layer of marginal ordinary incipits seen in gatherings 4–14 are written either in black or red ink, as seen in the right-hand margin of fol. 51r, reproduced as figure 4.19 below.

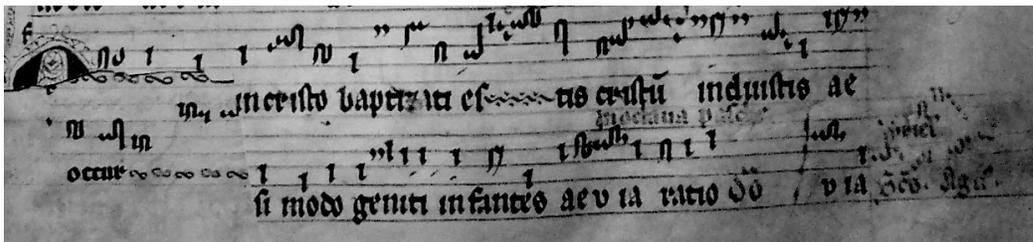


Figure 4.19. Marginal Neumed Ordinary Incipits in the Hand of Scribe 1/Notator A, Pretz Gradual, fol. 51r.

The style of both script and notation in this earliest layer of marginal incipits is indistinguishable from that of Scribe 1/Notator A. This suggests that the same scribe wrote, notated and rubricated the original material of gatherings 4–14 in the Pretz Gradual and provided the earliest layer marginal additions in this same section. By contrast, the marginal ordinary incipits in gatherings 1–3 appear to be the work of later hands

In sum, with the exception of the three folios discussed above, it appears that the gatherings 4–14 of the Pretz Gradual were copied by a single scribe, Scribe 1. It appears that Scribe 1/Notator A also notated the book and provided the majority most of its rubrics. Gatherings 1–3 were written by another scribe, Hand B, and folio 53 by a third

scribe, Hand C. It is unclear if Hands B and C were also responsible for notation, or if it was Hand A that notated all of these pages. Additional entries on fol. 1r (Hand H) and the much later folio 57 (Hand G) attest to the continued use of the book, and provide important evidence of a local scribal lineage that thrived in the cloister.

General Characteristics of Decoration

Despite their damaged condition, the Kloster Preetz liturgical manuscripts can still offer many clues about the production and use of the books in the convent. The following discussion will offer some initial observations about the Gradual's illumination in order to consider the interaction between Preetz's liturgy and book culture, and to provide a starting point for further art historical analysis.

To be sure, a discussion of the Gradual's decoration is hampered by the systematic removal of what were undoubtedly the most lavishly decorated pages and initials in the manuscript; only traces of the most ornate embellishment remain.⁴² Those pages that do remain are the less decorated ones, a fact which must be accounted for when conducting a stylistic comparison.

The largest extant initials in the Preetz Gradual are two staves tall; each marks the beginning of its respective introit and thus the beginning of the mass, allowing the reader to orient herself within the text. The size of the red and blue introit initials within the Preetz Gradual, as well as their degree of decoration, create a system of visual indexing within the text that marks the beginning of each occasion and places it within a liturgical

⁴² The motivation and date of removal are unknown; however D7 and D9 from *Paradies bei Soest* suffered similar damage prior to secularization; see Susan Marti, "Sisters in the Margins," 17. Initials removed from manuscripts were often pasted into primers and catechisms for pedagogical purposes or added to private collections illustrating the history of script. See also Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 115.

hierarchy.⁴³ The dominant style of decorated initial found throughout the book is that of the so-called “puzzle initial,” created by the division of the capital letter into two symmetrical, interlocking fields of contrasting blue and red ink.⁴⁴ Examples of puzzle initials used to mark the beginnings of introits are reproduced in figure 4.20. The puzzle initials are further embellished by filigree pen work in the interior and exterior of the decorated initials, whose flourishes that often extend into the vertical and horizontal margins. Particular decorative attention was often devoted to the incipits of sequences as well, the initials of which are often marked with an unusual amount of decorative pen work. Smaller versals one stave tall in alternating red and blue ink with minimal pen-flourishing signal new verses throughout the text.

⁴³ See Anja Grebe, “Book Illumination,” in *Transforming the Medieval World: Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages*, edited by Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, Marcus Ostermann, Oliver Plessow, and Gudrun Tscherpel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 88, 94–95.

⁴⁴ Jonathan James Graham Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, eds., *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Public Library, 2005), 60, 62 ft. nt. 1.



Figure 4.20. Puzzle Initials with Filigree Pen Work, Preetz Gradual, fols. 73v–74r.

In addition to illuminated initials, leafy vertical columns in alternating red and blue ink are used to distinguish the Sundays of Advent, and less regularly, the Sundays of Lent. Feasts of particular importance were marked with additional red and blue designs, as well as red-outlined leaves in the margin illuminated with shell gold.

It appears the ruling of the book was created first; text, rubrics, notation and colored initials followed in succession. Last came the filigree embellishment. As visible in the bottom line of figure 4.20, for instance, the notation accompanying the incipits for

the gradual chants to be sung on Saturday of Quatember was never completed, providing certain evidence that the text was entered prior to the notation. On the fourth line of fol. 49v, reproduced as figure 4.21, one can see how the scrupulous illuminator slightly misplaced an initial *H* of the sequence *Hec dies est* but left negative space around the virga so as not to obscure it, showing that the notation preceded the decoration.

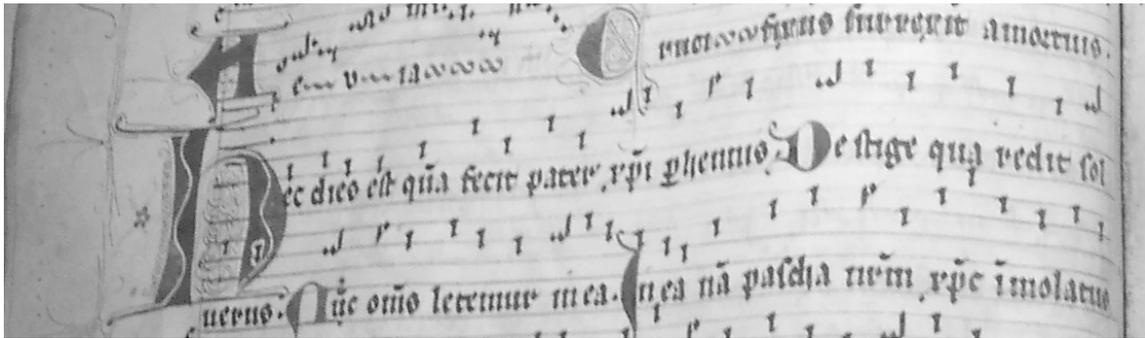


Figure 4.21. Picture Initial *H* Painted around Notation, Preetz Gradual, fol. 49v.

On fol. 21r, reproduced as figure 4.22, the typical filigree pen work was never added, suggesting that the page was accidentally or intentionally left unfinished.

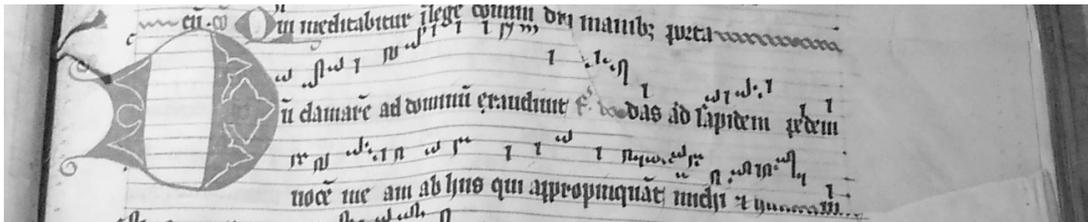


Figure 4.22. Example of Unfinished Pen Work, Preetz Gradual, fol. 21r.

This example establishes that the initials were colored before the addition of filigree embellishment.⁴⁵ The order in which the Preetz Gradual was completed is significant because it helps in determining which pages were part of the original manuscript, as well as how and to what degree the artists involved cooperated in the production of the book.

Artists and Their Styles

An analysis of the decorative elements of the book suggests that least four different artists contributed to the illumination of the Preetz Gradual. These artists appear to have worked in semi-collaboration with one another: some stylistic features are shared by multiple artists across the book, and at times, multiple artists appear to have collaborated on the decoration of single gatherings and even single folios. At the same time, certain artists appear to have specialized in different forms of decorative initials. The initials in the book are dominated by the widely-disseminated puzzle initial design described above. Other more idiosyncratic forms that are found in the Preetz Gradual include styles I will refer to as flower initials, checkerboard initials, and star initials. The work of individual artists may be distinguished by a combination of factors such as skill level, specialization in one or more forms of initial, and the style of decorative pen work that embellishes the initials.

By separating each initial into discrete elements—the design of the initial itself, the interior pen work within the initial, the exterior pen work surrounding the initial, and

⁴⁵ The initial D of *Dum clamarem* may have been left unfinished due to a mistake in the color scheme. Typically, puzzle initials were composed of two contrasting fields of red and blue ink. In this example, both fields have been colored red. Anja Grebe confirms that a manuscript would have typically been finished with text first by a writing studio; the first stage in decoration would then be the insertion of initials. Finally, the border decorations would be added, followed by drolleries and other decorative elements. See Anja Grebe, “Book Illumination,” 100.

additional marginal illuminations—it is possible to discern specific decorative styles and associate them with individual artists. It appears that there were at least four different artists at work on the original manuscript: a lead artist who coordinated the project, two students whom the lead artist was likely training, and a fourth artist who was responsible for the illumination of the Easter Sunday page.

The degree of adherence to an artistic model varies throughout the book. Certain elements of the decorative scheme are common to all of the artists, while other elements may be used to identify individual hands. The type and style of embellishment sometimes, but not always, serve as indicators of the liturgical season: these types of embellishment also vary according to the artist. While the individual gatherings of the book tend to be dominated by a single artist, instances are also apparent where multiple artists worked together on the same gathering, folio, or even a single initial. Below, I will discuss the contributions of four identifiable artists according to the size of the role they played in the decoration of the Preetz Gradual. This description will proceed in reverse order of the gatherings, following the order in which the book appears to have been completed.

“Aurea:” The Primary Illuminator

I will refer to the first of the artists and the primary illuminator of the book, as “Aurea” due to her use of shell gold in the marginal illuminations to mark prominent feasts. Aurea appears to be the sole artist responsible for the decoration of gatherings 7–14 (presumably including the missing gathering 9) with elements of her work also appearing in gatherings 4–6. Her initials and pen work are distinctive, recognizable even

across a spectrum of elaboration. She is responsible for the most carefully drawn and most elaborate of the filigree puzzle initials in the Gradual, and particularly those that are merged with the flower initial style (described below.)

The interior space of Aurea's initials is elaborated with symmetrical geometric vegetative motifs created in negative space. The exterior pen work that surrounds the initial is balanced and regular, and uses a vocabulary of recognizable motifs. The exterior pen work is often interspersed with line-drawn birds, free-floating five-petal flowers, and occasionally, small red squirrels. Aurea is also responsible for marginal illuminations of oak leaves decorated with shell gold on pages dedicated to important feasts.

The initial *D* of the introit *Domini fortitudo* for the sixth Sunday after Pentecost, reproduced as figure 4.23, is a typical puzzle initial by Aurea for an occasion of modest liturgical rank.



Figure 4.23. Example of Aurea’s Initial and Pen Work Styles, Preetz Gradual, fol. 68r.

The interior space of the initial has been divided into four symmetrical triangular fields, each of which is filled with filigree pen work. Geometric foliate patterns have been created in the negative space left between the pen lines. The exterior pen work that surrounds the initial expands into the left margin in balanced sprays, each of which emerges from a central floral motive. One of each of the spray’s projecting lines gracefully curves back on itself, ending in a tight retroflex curve. These forms in the interior and exterior pen work are hallmarks of Aurea’s style making her work identifiable even when the style of the initial itself more or less elaborate.

An example of a more elaborate initial is the *A* of the introit *Accipite iocunditatem* for Tuesday within the Octave of Pentecost, reproduced as figure 4.24. In this example, the interior and exterior pen work are more intricate and ornate, but still bear the hallmarks of Aurea's style. The initial itself has a more elaborate boundary line dividing the red and blue fields, and features additional polka-dot motifs created in negative space. The two sprays are bordered by repeated blue flower designs in the negative space, and are given centers in the contrasting color of red. The decorative pen work is further adorned by a scattering of five-petal flowers and a pair of whimsical birds roosting in the uppermost spray. All of these features are typical of Aurea's more ornate initials, and appear throughout gatherings 6–8, as well as 10–14.

Aurea's Flower Initials

A second style of initial, which I will term the flower initial, is also the work of the primary illuminator Aurea. These high-quality monochrome initials adorned with delicate floral and circular motifs in the negative space are prominent in the last three gatherings (12–14), including two bifolios from the twelfth gathering housed in the manuscript holdings of the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg. These three gatherings contain the feasts of late August through the end of the Sanctorable, a section of Marian alleluias and sequences, the common of Saints, and the Kyriale.



Figure 4.24. Example of An Ornate Initial in Aurea’s Hand, Preetz Gradual, fol. 59v.

Figure 4.25 reproduces the decorated initial *O* of the sequence *O beata beatorum* decorated as a monochrome initial in red ink, with interior and exterior pen work in blue ink. The body of the initial is adorned with flowers and circles created in the negative space. The interior pen work is in Aurea’s geometric style. The initial is further elaborated by rounded exterior pen work in blue, dotted with tiny circles in contrasting red ink.

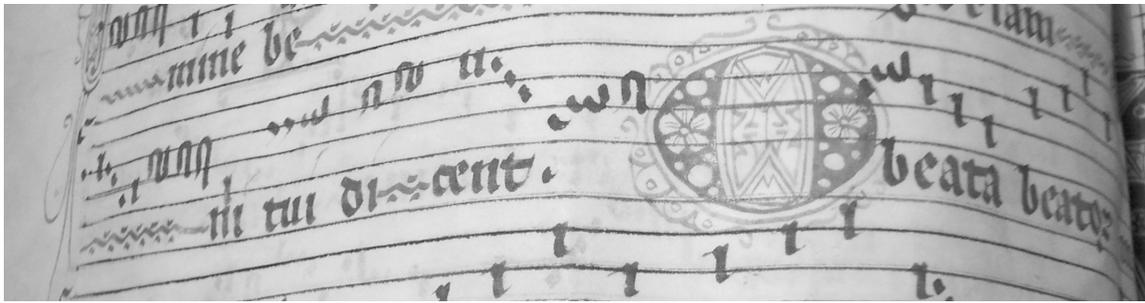


Figure 4.25. Detail of Initial *O* from the Sequence *O beata beatorum*, Pretz Gradual, fol. 131v.

Aurea further combines the puzzle and flower initial styles to create unique, elaborate initials indicating special liturgical occasions or pieces. Of these, the initials in



Figure 4.26. Example of Mixed Puzzle and Flower Styles, from the Kyrieale of the Pretz Gradual, fol. 136v.

the Kyriale are among the finest and most elaborate. Figure 4.26 reproduces a page from the Kyriale with examples of elaborate initials that are divided into contrasting fields of red and blue ink in the manner of the puzzle initial; within these fields, flowers and dots are created in negative space in the style of the flower initial . The interior space of the initial has been filled in Aurea's distinctive geometric style. The exterior pen work sprays are also recognizable as elaborate versions of Aurea's work; here, the sprays culminate in leaves, among which perch tiny birds. Other examples of initials from the Kyriale are dotted with touches of gold leaf.

Further Elaborations: Shell Gold and Yellow Ink

Aurea's work begins to appear in the fifth gathering, and hers is the exclusive hand from the Feast of Pentecost (folio 58, halfway through the sixth gathering) through the end of the manuscript. From the Feast of Pentecost through the end of the Temporale, the addition of yellow ink to Aurea's puzzle initials serves as another means to distinguish the importance of the season. Yellow is also used in details of the initial L of the sequence *Laus tibi Xriste* for Mary Magdalene, as seen in figure 4.27.

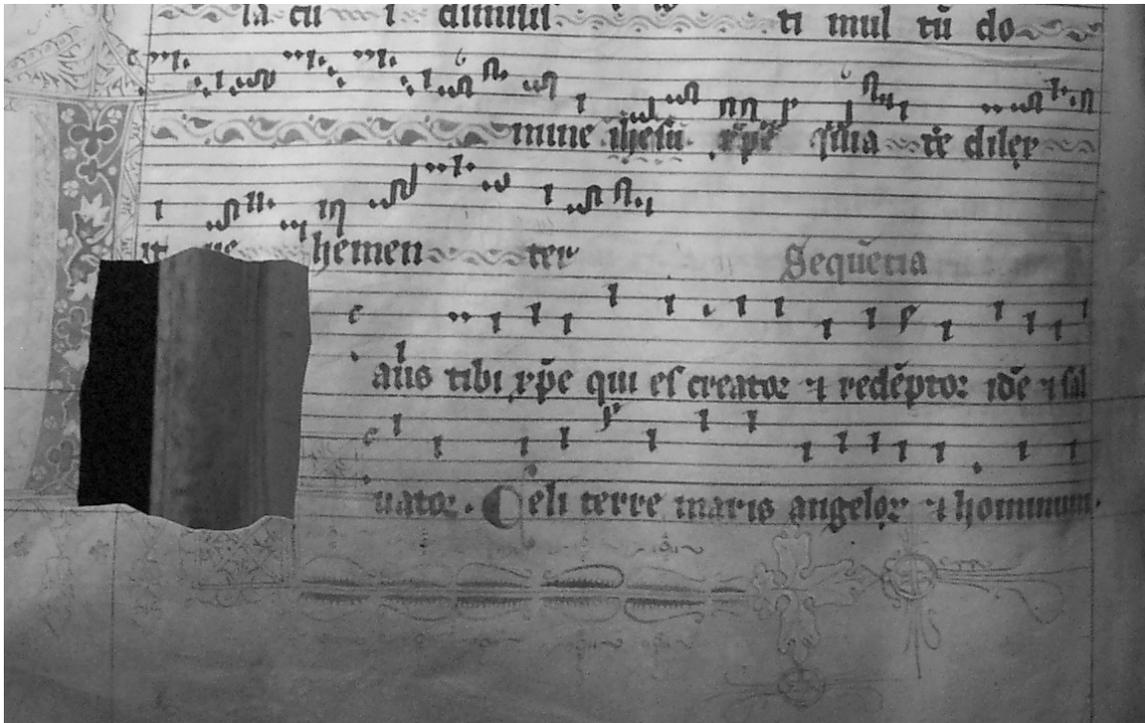


Figure 4.27. Yellow Ink Used in Initial *L* and Marginal Oak Leaves in Powdered Gold, Preetz Gradual, fol. 104v.

In addition to the yellow ink used in the initial *L*, the oak leaves in the bottom margin are outlined in red ink and filled with powdered gold. The use of yellow as a decorative element — often used as a substitute for gold— in co-existence with a small amount of shell gold and gold leaf in the gradual attests to an imaginative adaptation of styles with available media.⁴⁶

As seen above, Aurea’s hand is discernible in marginal red ink drawings depicting oak leaves and animals filled in with powdered gold for feasts of elevated rank. These ink drawings are commonly joined with pen work tracery and delicate red and blue columns that ascend along the left-hand margin. This decorative scheme was used for the Feasts of

⁴⁶ Yellow was used as a substitute for gold in manuscripts of the early and central Middle Ages, but by the late Middle Ages, was often replaced by gold leaf. See Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 32–33.

Easter, the Birth of John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, the Feast of the Assumption. On fol. 95r, reproduced in figure 4.28, one can see how only the tail of the initial *P* of the sequence *Psallite regi nostre* for John the Baptist remains after the initial has been removed; the exterior pen work that adorns the initial continues down the left hand margin in an alternating red and blue pattern whose vegetative infill, floating five-petal flowers and curved lines all are recognizable as Aurea's style. In the bottom margin, an oak branch grows out of the marginal pen work, its leaves and acorns outlined in red ink and filled in with delicate shell gold. The illumination further contains a pair of birds alighted on the branch, and a rabbit beneath branch. A small red squirrel sits on the uppermost line of the page, eating an acorn. This example of illumination, and similar ones for the liturgical occasions named above, provide traces of what was once a unified program of decoration marking elevated feasts throughout the gradual.

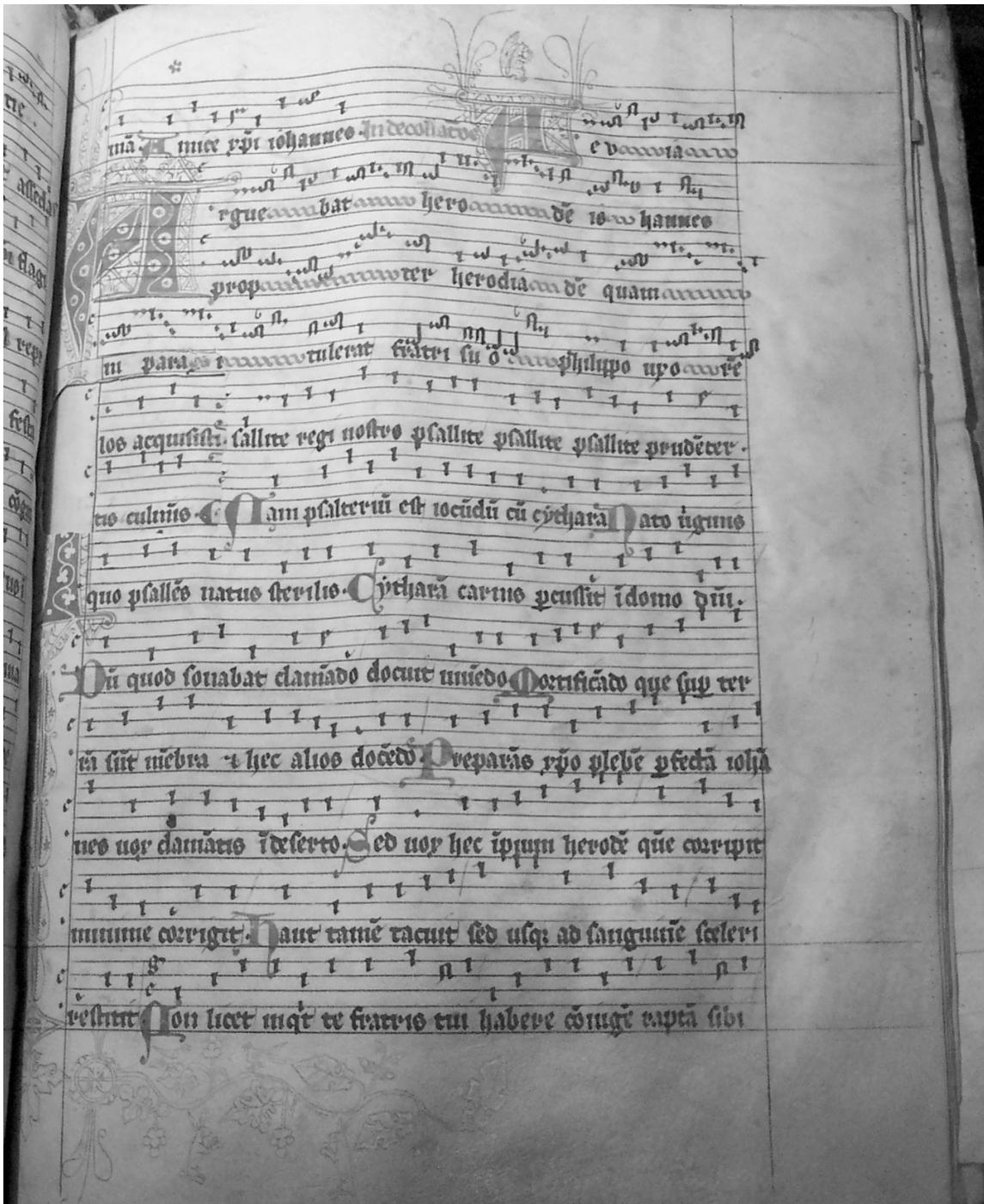


Figure 4.28. Feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist with a Partial Remaining *P* of *Psallite*, Preetz Gradual, fol. 95r.

In sum, Aurea was the highly skilled primary illuminator of the Preetz Gradual. Her regular, recognizable style is found exclusively in gatherings 6–14. Her decorative

style appears in various levels of elaboration, according to the status of the liturgical occasion.

The Master of Folio 53

The work of a second master illuminator appears only on folio 53 of the gradual, which represents half of the outermost bifolio of gathering 5 (reproduced in figure 4.12.) As discussed above, folio 53 is of higher quality parchment than the rest of the gradual, and is designed with a smaller sized text block and larger margins, a luxury reflecting importance of its contents. This page was clearly decorated by a different hand: its text (Scribe C, discussed above) and notation have been vertically shortened to allow for larger margins. Its initials are characterized by fine control of the pen work both within and around initials. The compact, yet meandering lines of the exterior pen work are clearly the work of a different illuminator than Aurea.

Why would this one folio have been created by a different artist, and given a more luxurious layout? Folio 53 does not contain any occasion that is more elevated than those on either side. The answer lies in the content of the conjugate folio to 53, folio 42. Folio 42 is missing, save for a marginal stub. The recto side of this stub appears in the left margin of figure 4.28: visible on this stub are the ends of curved pen lines the style of which matches the exterior pen work of folio 53.



Figure 4.29. Easter Sunday, Preetz Gradual, fol. 44r. Stubs of Folios 42 and 43 are Visible in the Left Margin.

The next extant page, fol. 44r, includes *Alleluia: Pascha nostrum* and the beginning of the Easter sequence *Victime paschali laudes*. This indicates without a doubt that the missing folios 42 and 43 contained the beginning of the mass of Easter, beginning with the introit *Resurrexi*. The folio containing the *R* of the introit *Resurrexi* was traditionally one of the most highly decorated pages of the Preetz Gradual, as may be seen in the example of the Codex Gisle, reproduced as figure 4.30. The Codex Gisle is admittedly one of the most ornate examples of a late gothic illuminated gradual; nevertheless, it was not unusual for the *Resurrexi* folio to be the most elaborately decorated leaves of a gradual, with an unusually large letter beginning the introit *Resurrexi*.

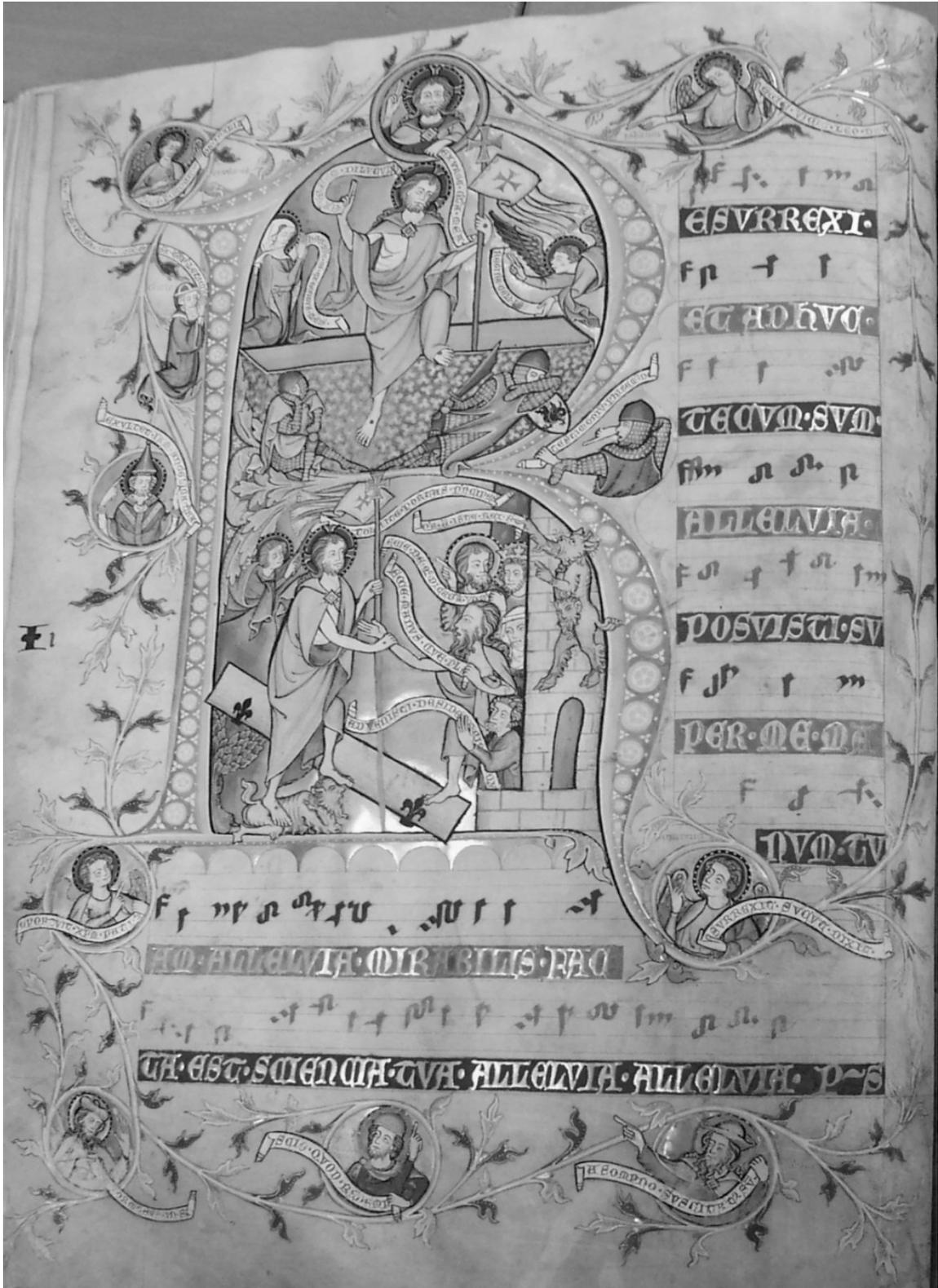


Figure 4.30. Introit *Resurrexi*, 'Codex Gisle', D-OS Ma 101, circa 1300.

It is then understandable why folio 42 and its conjugate folio 53 were singled out for special treatment: folio 42 began the mass of Easter, must have been highly decorated. If we imagine an oversized historiated initial *R* for the introit *Resurrexi* that occupied an entire folio, the introit, which likely also included a set of tropes, could have easily gone on for two pages.⁴⁷ It is also possible that the mass was preceded by a *Quem queritis* Easter dialog, or Easter processional chants, with the introit *Resurrexi* beginning on the verso side of the folio. The missing folios also contained the beginning of the gradual chant *Haec dies*, the last line of which appears at the top of fol. 44r. Due to the liturgical elevation of the feast of Easter, the convent scriptorium evidently called on scribe and artist to produce the highest quality page in the gradual. Possibly, this highly skilled illuminator was sought out for her artistry to create the outermost bifolio of gathering that contained the mass of Easter, the liturgical highpoint of the year. The addition of this special bifolio also explains the irregular construction of gathering 5, that originally contained six rather than the standard number of five bifolios, resulting in a gathering of twelve versus ten pages. Folio 53, the remaining conjugate folio, only gives hints of how folio 42 for Easter Sunday must have been decorated.

⁴⁷ The troped introit *Etenim* for St. Stephen occupies twelve staves (Pretz Gradual, fols. 9v–10r) and the troped introit *In medio ecclesie* for St. John occupies fifteen staves (Pretz Gradual, fols. 10v–11v.) With twelve staves per page, the addition of an oversized initial would result in an introit of at least two pages. For twenty other examples of late sources with tropes for the Easter introit *Resurrexi*, see Andreas Haug, *Troparia Tardiva: Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum*, MMMA, Subsidia Band I (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 17–80.

“Rondella:” Assistant Illuminator

While gatherings 7–14 feature the work of Aurea, the primary illuminator, her work appears less frequently in gatherings 4–6. Most of the initials and marginal decoration of these two gatherings were created by an assistant illuminator whom I will refer to as “Rondella” due to her fondness for rondelle forms. Rondella was a skilled illuminator, and her exterior pen work is often difficult to discern from Aurea’s. The style of her interior pen work, however, is immediately distinguishable from Aurea’s due to her predominant use of rondelle forms—a shape not favored by the primary illuminator. These rondelles are ink-drawn, circular motives in which abstract, round symmetrical forms are created in the negative space. Figure 4.31 reproduces a detail of folio 44 that includes two checkerboard initials *A* and *V* of *Alleluia, Pascha nostrum* and the sequence *Victime paschali laudes*, respectively. The “checkerboard” effect is created by dividing the space of the puzzle initial into a series of smaller contrasting fields of red and blue ink, shown here in the cross stroke of the capital *A* and in the entire initial *V*. It is likely that this style was of Rondella’s design. An elaborate example of Rondella’s signature pen work is visible in the rondelle forms that populate the interior space of the initials.



Figure 4.31. Detail of Checkerboard Initials with Rondelle Motifs in the Interior Pen work, Preetz Gradual, fol. 44r.

It is perhaps a testament to Rondella's skill that she was allowed to illuminate folio 44, which contains the alleluia and sequence for Easter Sunday, the highpoint of the liturgical year.

There are instances in gatherings 5 and 6 in which it is possible to discern the work of both Aurea and Rondella in a single initial. For example, figure 4.32 reproduces the initial *A* of the introit *Aqua sapientie*, in which Rondella's characteristic interior pen work is visible.

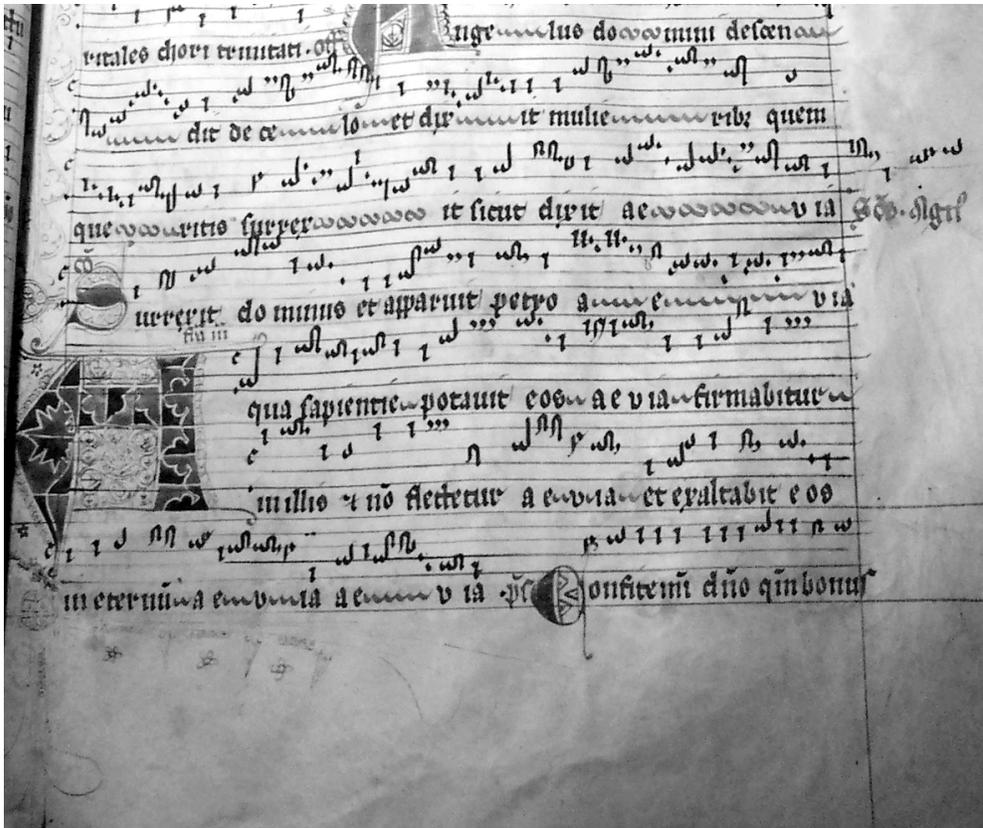


Figure 4.32. Example of Checkerboard Initial with Rondella’s Interior Pen Work; Aurea Training Rondella on Exterior Pen Work, Preetz Gradual, fol. 46r.

This style of checkerboard initial is characteristic of Rondella’s work, and the interior of pen work also uses swirling circular and rondelle motives characteristic of her style. In the exterior pen work, the work of both illuminators appears. The graceful floriform spray that emerges from the top of the initial in the left-hand margin is consistent with Aurea’s work in gatherings 7–14, as seen in figure 4.24. The spray that runs along the bottom border of fol. 46r appears to be the work of a less experienced hand. It is possible that in this example, we witness Aurea training her pupil Rondella in the art of illumination. One possible scenario is that Aurea began the manuscript from the end of the book, finishing gatherings 7–14, and then supervised her student and assistant Rondella in the middle gatherings 4–6. While Rondella developed some idiosyncratic

designs of her own, we see her also contributing illuminations in imitation of Aurea's hand.

"Flora:" A Third Illuminator

A major discontinuity in the style of illumination is apparent between gatherings 3 and 4; this coincides with the division between that part of the manuscript written by Scribe 1 (gatherings 4–14) and gatherings 1–3, written by Scribe 2. The kind of coordinated effort visible between illuminators Aurea and Rondella visible in gatherings 4–6 is not as prominent in gatherings 1–3. Rather, the first three gatherings of the manuscript seem less organized in terms of an overall program of design. The first three gatherings of the book are dominated by the work of a student I will call "Flora" after her exuberant, florid style that differs greatly from the restrained and more unified style of Aurea and her assistant Rondella. Flora's style of illumination is energetic and imaginative, but far less disciplined than that of Rondella, and represents much more of a departure from the style established by Aurea in gatherings 4–14. As with the entire manuscript, the hands of different illuminators are visible in the first three gatherings. Figure 4.33 shows a detail of fol. 3r: in the left margin, the very bottom of a column of alternating red and blue leaves is visible. This column appears to be the work of Aurea, who may have thus contributed to an early stage in the decoration of gatherings. Likewise, the versals of the first three gatherings are consistent in style with those of gatherings 4–14. The versals may have been the work of the illuminator Aurea, or of Scribe 1, whose work appears in later gatherings.⁴⁸ The column of leaves visible in figure 4.33 was subsequently embellished by the illuminator Flora in a flurry of pen work that spreads across the lower

⁴⁸ The motif vertical leafy column is also used on fol. 30r, for the third Sunday of Lent.

margin of the page. Abstract line drawings sprout oak leaves and acorns, on which a spotted rabbit and a webbed-footed bird with an anthropomorphic face and hood are perched. The scene is completed by a chaotic explosion of flowers, stars, and tiny circles. In their basic form, we can see the imitation of motifs of rondelles, sprays and five-petal flowers in the style of the more trained hands. Flora's hand, however, is less steady and she seems to have had less control over the stylistic medium than Rondella.

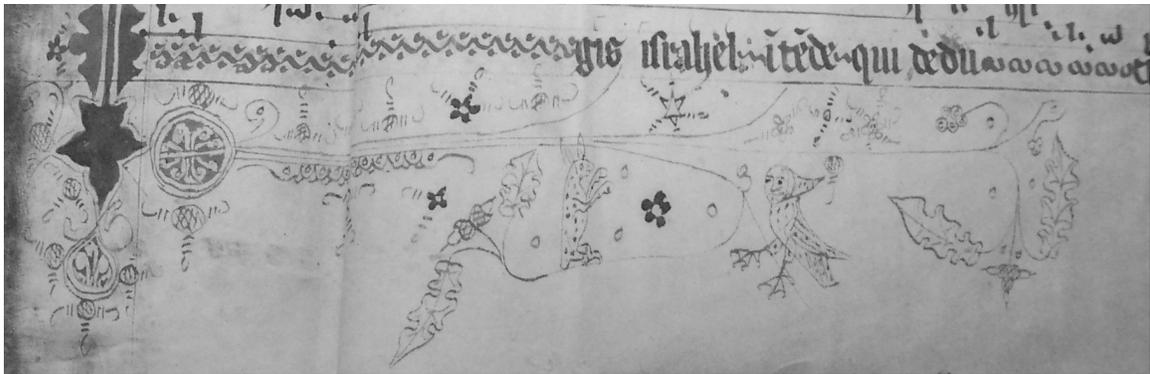


Figure 4.33. Flora's Pen work, Preetz Gradual, fol. 3r.

Figure 4.34 shows two examples of red and blue puzzle initials (the *R* on fol. 3v and the *P* on 4r) that appear to be the work of Aurea. Interior pen work was begun on the *P* but not finished; this initial also lacks typical exterior pen work. The *R* of *Rorate* on fol. 3v, reproduced as figure 4.34, has also been embellished with Flora's pen work: the interior pen work of the initial *R* is composed of a diagonal brick-like line pattern, punctuated with tiny red circles. The exterior pen work erupts into exuberant loops and swirls that sprout at odd angles from the initial, filling the margin. The asymmetrical tracery is further embellished with berries, leaves and flowers. Its free, unrestrained style lacks the

symmetry and careful balance of contrasting red and blue motifs visible in both Aurea's and Rondella's work.



Figure 4.34. Example of Flora's Pen work Embellishing *R* of *Rorate*, Pretz Gradual, fol. 3v.

Figure 4.35 reproduces fol. 5v, featuring the initial *H* of the introit *Hodie sciētis*. This puzzle initial has an atypical style of color-field division in the ascender of the *H*, which is decorated with a symmetrically-decorated vertical column in red ink on a field of blue ink. The interior pen work consists of a twisting vine-like motif; the exterior pen work is a riot of vegetative forms, swirls, birds, swirls, and polka-dot stars and squirrels. In this one case, it seems likely that Flora created not only provided the exterior and interior pen work, but the unusual body of the initial as well.

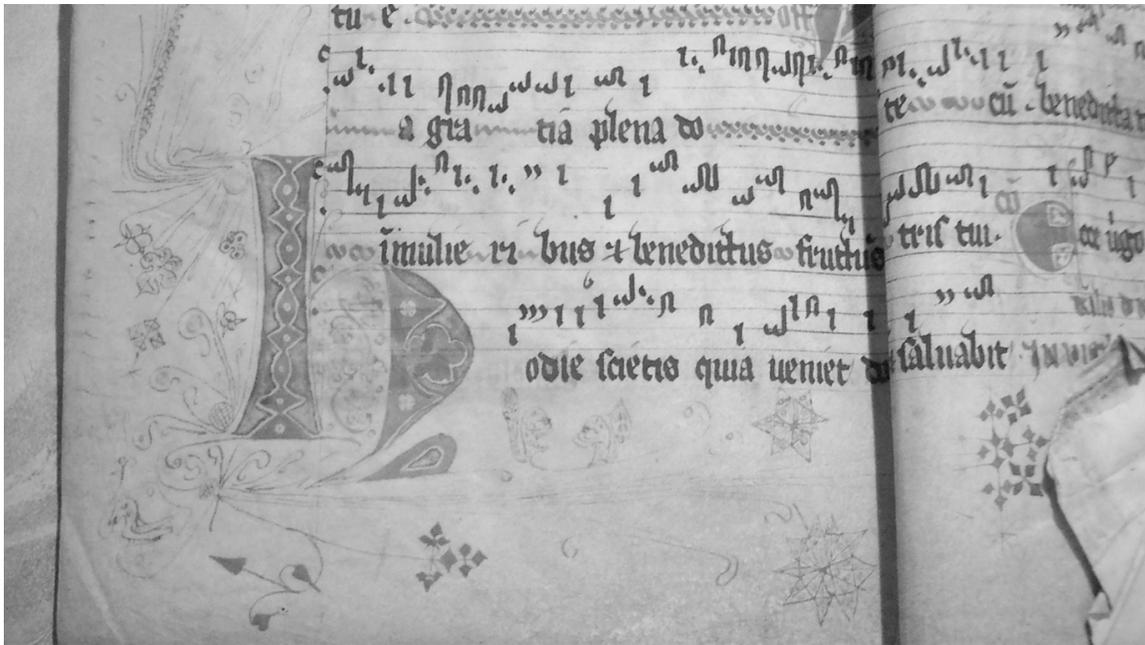


Figure 4.35. Flora's Interior and Exterior Pen Work, Preetz Gradual, fol. 5v.

Flora's unmistakable style of pen work, demonstrated in these three examples, embellishes the larger initials in the first and second gatherings. However, it seems that in these two gatherings, a more experienced illuminator, either Aurea or Rondella, contributed to an early stage of the illumination. In addition to the leafy columns and versals, discussed above, it seems that the bodies of the puzzle initials were also created by a more experienced hand. It is possible that something catastrophic happened to the primary illuminator Aurea before the completion of the first four gatherings. While Rondella finished gathering 4 with her signature checkerboard initials, Flora finished the incomplete gatherings 1–2 by adding the pen work embellishment around the puzzle initials. As for gathering 3, which corresponds to the beginning of Lent, it seems again that the versals were completed by a more experienced hand. The same is not true for the

majority of the larger illuminated letters in gathering 3, which appear to be the work of Flora alone.

Star Initials

In gathering 3, Flora seems to have experimented with various elements of design in a variety of combinations. The gathering has a slightly haphazard, unfinished quality. A single checkerboard initial appears on folio, and puzzle initials appear on fols. 25v, 26v, and 30r. A unique style of initial first appears on fol. 23r, the last folio of gathering 2, and proceeds to dominate the gathering 3. I will refer to this style as the “star initial.” These initials are characterized by six- or eight- point stars created by the overlay of two triangles or squares that typically appear within on the body of the letter itself. Figure 4.36 reproduces fol. 24r, the first page of gathering 3, in which the *R* of the introit *Reminiscere misericordiam* takes the form of a star initial:

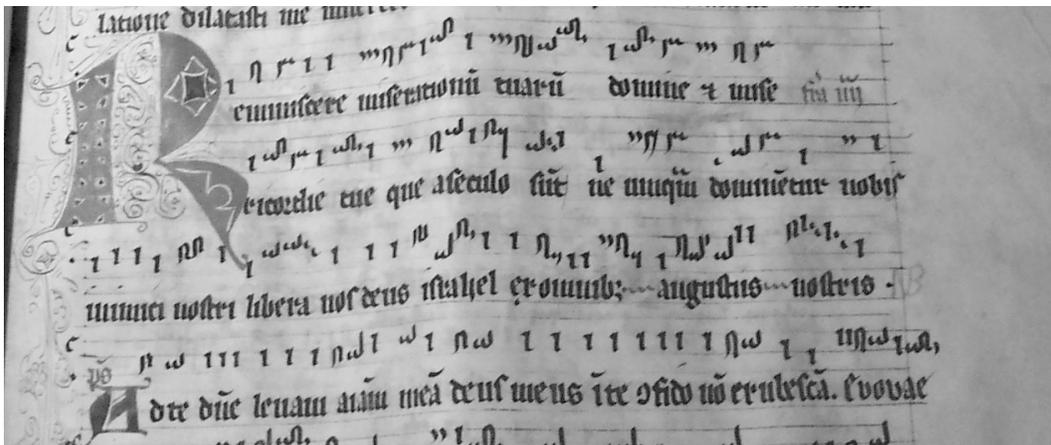


Figure 4.36. Example of a Star Initial, Preetz Gradual, fol. 24r.

The body of the letter is in red ink, and is decorated with a star created by two overlapping squares outlined in white ink. The interior of the initial is filled with Flora's effusive pen work in the form of amorphous swirls.

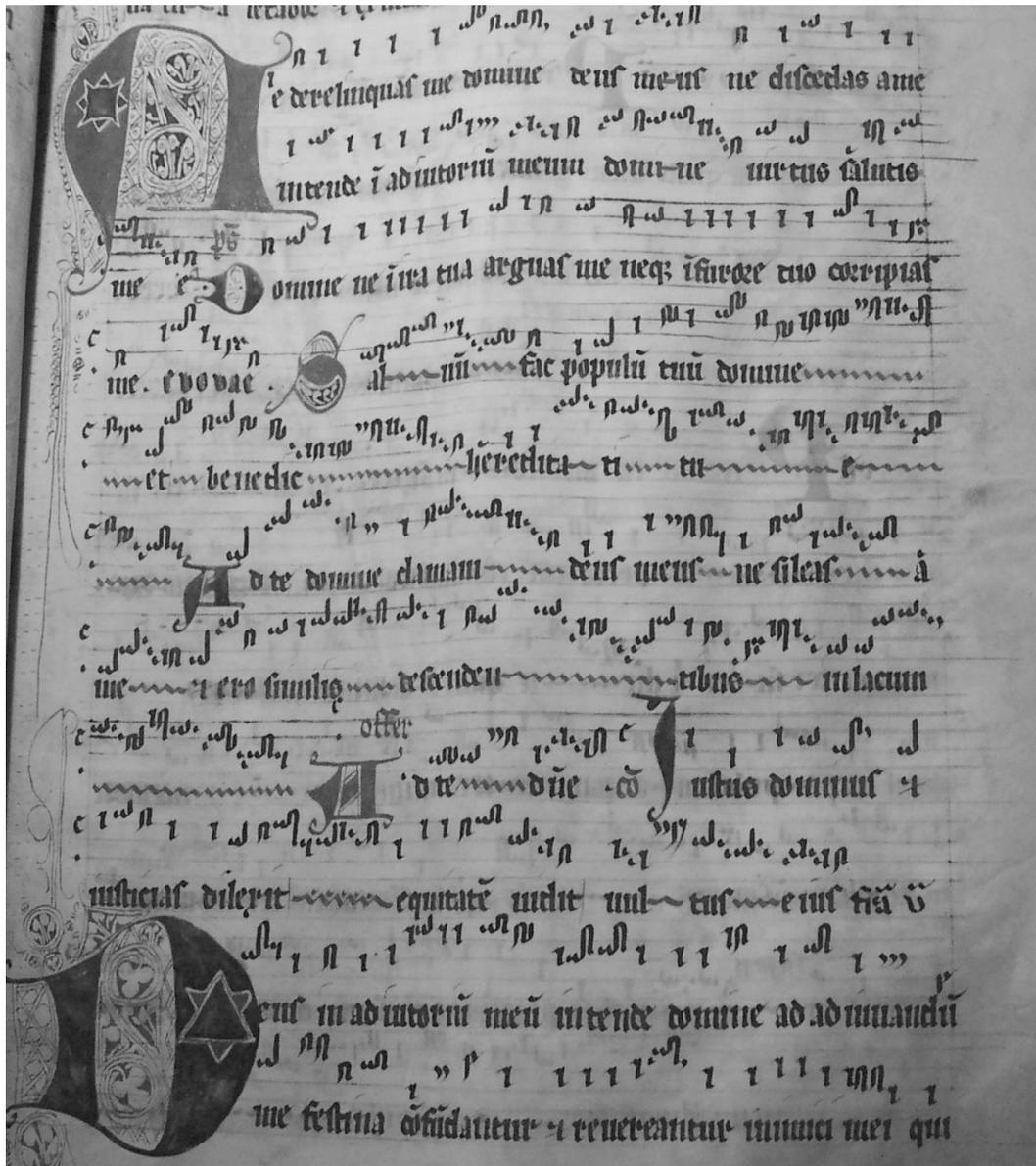


Figure 4.37. Star Initials with Rondella's Filigree Pen Work, Preetz Gradual, fol. 28r.

In figure 4.37, the two initials *N* and *D* take the form of star initials. However, unlike the example given in figure 4.36, the Rondella's characteristic rondelle pen work designs in the interior space of the initial. In the initial *N*, her typical rondelle designs are combined with the brick-like pattern seen in figure 4.34. The initial *D* is filled with her typical rondelle pen work in red ink, but the contrasting blue ink was never added, giving the initial an unfinished quality.

While all of these initials include the star motif as part of their design, it is not clear which of the two student artists was responsible for the initials themselves. What is apparent is cooperation between the two artists, who shared the responsibility of adding the decorative pen work to the interior and exterior of the initials. Taken as a whole, the haphazard quality of the first three gatherings suggests that they were finished without the oversight of the primary illuminator Aurea. We can well imagine a scenario in which the master illuminator Aurea became incapacitated or otherwise unavailable, leaving the book unfinished. Illuminator-in-training Rondella finished the book, with the help of a less trained associate.

Summary of Illumination Styles

There is a spectrum of quality, a variety of style, and varying degrees of oversight, planning, and artistic control in the decoration of the Gradual. Even when working in a single established idiom—for example, variations on the puzzle initial—all three primary artists (Aurea, Rondella, and Flora) exhibit a recognizable style. Based upon evidence provided by both the codicological model and representative folios from the manuscript, my working assumption is that the book was completed from the last

gatherings forward. Aurea was the head illuminator; her work is found exclusively from gatherings 7–14, and appears with the work of Rondella in gatherings 4–6. It is possible that Aurea contributed preliminary work on the manuscript for particular feasts in gatherings 1–3. Rondella was perhaps her student: an illuminator in training whose style most closely resembles that of her teacher, and whose work appears in gathering 3, and in gatherings 4–6. A fourth, master illuminator, who may be the same as textual Scribe 3, created the bifolio 42–53 which comprises the outermost leaf of gathering 5. The work of Flora, a less trained illuminator, dominates gatherings 1–2 and appears mixed with Rondella’s work in gathering 3. Although Aurea may have contributed preliminary work in gatherings 1–3, the variously embellished star initials of gathering 3 are the work of Flora and Rondella alone, showing no oversight from Aurea.

Research has established that in most monastic establishments, the cantor or cantrix was also in charge of creating, maintaining, and correcting liturgical chant books.⁴⁹ If this were also the case at Preetz, then it is conceivable that the illuminators Rondella and Flora were in fact the young Anna von Buchwald, the convent’s future cantrix, and her sister Dilla, who ultimately replaced her in that same office.

The Gradual’s Decoration in Regional Context

While the style of the filigree or puzzle initial has been traced to Paris, circa 1180, it remained a common decorative motif in northern illuminated liturgical books from the thirteen century on, and seems to have enjoyed currency in the Low Countries and Germany well into the fifteenth century.

⁴⁹ Margot Fassler, “Office of the Cantor,” 29, 36–37, 48–51.

Examples from Lübeck and Bremen serve as a good comparisons to regionally contextualize the Kloster Preetz style of decoration. The manuscripts from Lübeck—D-LÜh 2° 11, a gradual bound in 1415, and D-LÜh 2° 40, a fifteenth-century missal—serve as regional examples from approximately the same period as the Preetz Gradual. Figure 4.38 reproduces the initial *P* of *Puer natus est*, the introit of the mass for Christmas Day for D-LÜh 2° 11; the corresponding initial from the missal D-LÜh 2° 40 is reproduced in figure 4.39.



Figure 4.38. Puzzle Initial *P* of the Introit *Puer natus est*, D-LÜh 2°11, Gradual, 1415, fol. 9r.



Figure 4.39. Puzzle Initial *P* of *Puer natus est*, D-LÜh 2°40, fifteenth-century missal, fol. 18r.

The bodies of these initials are quite similar in style to those of the Preetz Gradual. However, the filigree work within the initial is much more careful and elaborate in the Lübeck examples, and the pen work around the initials and in the margin is more compact, restrained, symmetrical, and detailed.

Figure 4.40 reproduces an initial from a fifteenth-century missal from Bremen (DK-Kk-Thott 147, fol. 15v) that shows a contemporaneous style that is slightly more relaxed with curved flowing lines.



Figure 4.40. Puzzle Initial *P* of the Introit *Puer natus est*, DK-Kk Thott 147, fifteenth-century missal from Bremen, fol. 15v.

Figure 4.40 features similar rondelle forms as appear in the Kloster Preetz initials, along with marginal floral designs. But like the Lübeck examples, the pen work is more regular and compact than the Kloster Preetz examples. Looking even more locally, DK-Kk Gl. Kgl. S.169 from Kloster Cismar, reproduced as figure 4.41, is characterized by an interest in extremely detailed repeating geometric patterns, as opposed to the more relaxed style of Kloster Preetz and the Bremen examples.



Figure 4.41. Puzzle Initial *P* of the Introit *Puer natus est*, DK-Kk Gl. Kgl. S.169 from Kloster Cismar, fol. 3r.

While it would be tempting to look for a stylistic link between Kloster Preetz and Kloster Cismar, the Benedictine men's community that played an important role in its future reform, there is no evidence of stylistic influence in the available manuscript sources. Rather, it seems that both houses had individual responses to a widely-disseminated style. A final comparative example, figure 4.42, reproduces a picture from D-Bsb 2° 487, a gradual in the use of Augustinian canons in the Lower Rhine region, circa 1350–1400. This example is perhaps the closest to the Preetz Gradual, in its simple, geometric divisions of the color fields, the swirling interior pen work that resembles that



Figure 4.42. Puzzle Initial *D* of the Introit *Dum clamarem*, D-Bsb 2° 487, Gradual, Augustinian, circa 1350–1400.

of Flora, and the simple yet lively exterior pen work on the exterior of the initial. Like that of the Preetz Gradual, the illumination of D-Bsb 2° 487 is less intricate, less repetitive, and more interested in figural representation of flora and fauna than in elaborate, repetitive patterns. When the Preetz Gradual does venture into pattern-based designs, the interior pen work is more abstract and geometric rather than overly repetitive

and intricate. The style of all of the Kloster Preetz hands, despite levels in skill, is less compact, and in general, consists of freer lines than their regional counterparts.

Summary: Decoration of the Gradual and Its Production and Use

What we learn from this discussion is that a small number of artists worked semi-collaboratively to produce the illuminations in the manuscript. Four basic types of initials are used throughout the gradual created by at least three primary hands. Each gathering contains a distinctive style, but often not *exclusively* that single style—there are overlaps of artists and styles on single folios, and even single initials. This suggests that the artists collaborated often working together on a single folio or even initial. If this manuscript were indeed created in Kloster Preetz, it would reflect the use of the puzzle initial style that was widely disseminated, but adapted in-house. Perhaps more significantly, we see how the practice of claustration impacted the transmission of knowledge and artistic practice of the cloister. I have suggested that when the primary illuminator, Aurea, became incapacitated or unavailable, she could no longer oversee the work on the Gradual. The responsibility fell on the younger artists Rondella and Flora to finish the task of illuminating the manuscript. With the lack of oversight, the two young illuminators invented the distinctive styles of the checkerboard initial and the star initial to finish the book. We can imagine that with no one else in the convent to continue their training or to supervise their work, and with no means of calling on artists outside the convent for assistance, these young artists relied on their own abilities and imagination to finish the project. Perhaps we can see a parallel in the musical work and liturgical ordering of the cantrix Anna, who may have had to devise solutions to liturgical problems

without reliance on outside sources, perhaps resulting in some of the “errors” she describes.

Susan Marti, writing about the scriptorium of the Westphalian convent of Paradies near Soest, writes that “richly illuminated manuscripts were highly esteemed in female monasteries in northern Germany of the later Middle Ages, and the nuns were involved in their production at several levels—not only as their users but also as patrons, scribes, and sometimes even illuminators. Collaboration between a monastic scriptorium and lay illuminators also occurred.”⁵⁰ In fifteenth-century additions to the early fourteenth-century antiphoner D-DÜ1 9, Marti notes that joint productions of unequally gifted or differently trained hands may be discerned. In this example, different systems of decoration may be even discerned on a single bifolio, representing collaborations between two or three different illuminators.⁵¹ Her examination of the style of filigree decoration developed in this scriptorium that includes micrographic texts leads to two conclusions: that the scriptorium, for several decades, developed and practiced a distinctive style of ornamentation, and second, that this was only one of several styles used simultaneously, even within the same manuscript. Marti argues that this style and “the nuns’ self-conscious and systematic approach” persisted despite instances of temporary collaboration with professional artists from outside the monastery.⁵²

While the scribal styles of the Kloster Preetz liturgical books are quite different from those of Paradies, and do not seem to have involved professional illuminators, they

⁵⁰ Susan Marti, “Sisters in the Margins“, 19–20.

⁵¹ Ibid., 25–26.

⁵² Ibid., 34–35.

are similar in their use of simultaneous styles, and in their development of distinctive styles of illumination and notation despite awareness of contemporary outside repertoires and visual styles. In addition to the development of distinctive styles, and collaborative work, Marti also notes a general trend against specialization in the nuns' scriptorium:

At the practical level of production, it is obvious that at Paradies the copying of liturgical text, the addition of ornamental decoration, and the painting of images all constituted inseparably linked processes. Thus the monastic scriptorium does not follow the trend of contemporaneous commercial manuscript production toward parceling out different parts of the production to specialists of all kind (sic), often working in different locations. At Paradies, scribes were also responsible for the filigree ornamentation, the added figurative sketches within the smaller verse initials, the huge number of inscriptions, and very likely, most of the illuminations. It follows that the nuns working in the scriptorium had a good understanding of the Latin texts they decorated. They knew what they had before their eyes. Prompted to add small sketches by single words of the chant they appear to have decided quite spontaneously to add small drawings or shining dots of gold here or there. The nuns probably developed most of the ingenious picture program themselves. It seems very unlikely that a male supervisor stood behind their backs controlling this apparently spontaneous process of pictorial elaboration.⁵³

The remaining manuscripts from Kloster Preetz are not as numerous, costly, nor as fabulously decorated as those from Paradies. The illuminators remain nameless, and there is no positive proof, as in the case of Paradies, that the manuscripts were produced in the convent scriptorium. Yet, the evidence of a localized stylistic tradition does appear, particularly in the Preetz Gradual's interpretation of the filigree initial style. It is not inconceivable that the nuns had the means and skill to pay for materials, plan, produce and decorate the liturgical books themselves. Following Marti's observations, the high degree of collaborative work in the Preetz Gradual evidenced by the various decorative hands and the overlapping roles scribe, notator, rubricator, and perhaps illuminator,

⁵³ Ibid., 43.

speaks to the production of the book within a convent scriptorium. Paired with the additional evidence of book type of a modified missal, rubrics specific to a women's community, and evidence of an ongoing notational lineage, it seems most likely that the Preetz Gradual was produced in the convent scriptorium.

The Kloster Preetz Antiphonary

Physical Description and Collation

The second of the liturgical books from the Kloster Preetz archive is an antiphoner that is listed in the archive's catalog as "Reihe V G1: Missale ca.15. Jahrhundert" (hereafter, the Preetz Antiphoner.) The book is, in fact, the winter portion of a two-volume antiphoner set; it is unknown when or how the summer volume left the possession of the cloister. Anna von Buchwald refers to the repertoire of Kloster Preetz as "the chants from the two antiphoners and the gradual," so it is certain that a two-volume version was in use in the cloister through the late fifteenth century, and it is highly likely that the surviving manuscript Reihe V G1 is the first volume of the set.⁵⁴ The Antiphoner is slightly larger yet thinner than the Gradual, measuring approximately 42 x 32 x 2 centimeters (or 16.5 x 12.6 x 2.5 inches) with folios measuring approximately 41x 30 centimeters (or 16.1 x 11.8 inches.) The manuscript is written on parchment and is bound in black leather with extensive decorative bossing in stamped metal. A stamped metal edging protects the entire rim of each cover, and the book is held closed with two leather straps as seen in figure 4.43.

⁵⁴ *Buch im Chor*, Preetz Klosterarchiv HS 01, fol. 138r.

Like the Preetz Gradual, the Preetz Antiphoner has been heavily damaged due to the removal of decorated portions, pages, and one complete gathering having been excised from the manuscript, leaving extensive lacunae. For an example of a damaged folio, see fol. 48v, reproduced as figure 4.44. Additionally, what were most likely blank margins have been removed in some places, suggesting that the manuscript may have also been used for scrap material. Catchwords written in lower right-hand margin on the last page of each gathering repeat the first word or phrase that begin the next gathering—codicological clues that are absent in the Gradual. These catchwords, intended to aid in the arrangement of gatherings during binding, are helpful in identifying the divisions between gatherings, despite the lack of foliation and the loss of many pages from the manuscript (see lower right hand corner of figure 4.44).



Figure 4.43. Outside Cover of the Preetz Antiphoner.



Figure 4.44. Example of a Damaged Page with a Catchword in the Right-hand Margin Pretz Antiphoner, fol. 48v.

A comparison of codicological evidence, including the location of catchwords, with lacunae in the contents, reveals that original manuscript consisted of twelve gatherings, each comprised of six bifolios. Figures 4.45–4.46 are a diagrammatic reconstruction of the antiphoner’s original collation, based on the available evidence. From an original 146 folios, plus an added bifolio, a total of 92 folios remain. Extant pages are indicated with an unbroken line, missing pages with a dashed line, and partial pages with an asterisk. A bifolio containing an Office for St. Matthias written in a different hand was added into gathering 8 (folios 96–97). Of this bifolio, a single leaf remains.

Table 4.4 gives a summary of the collation and contents of the antiphoner. This summary highlights the integrated nature of the antiphoner's calendar in which feasts of the Sanctorale (i.e. for saints) are intermixed with the feasts and seasons of the Temporale

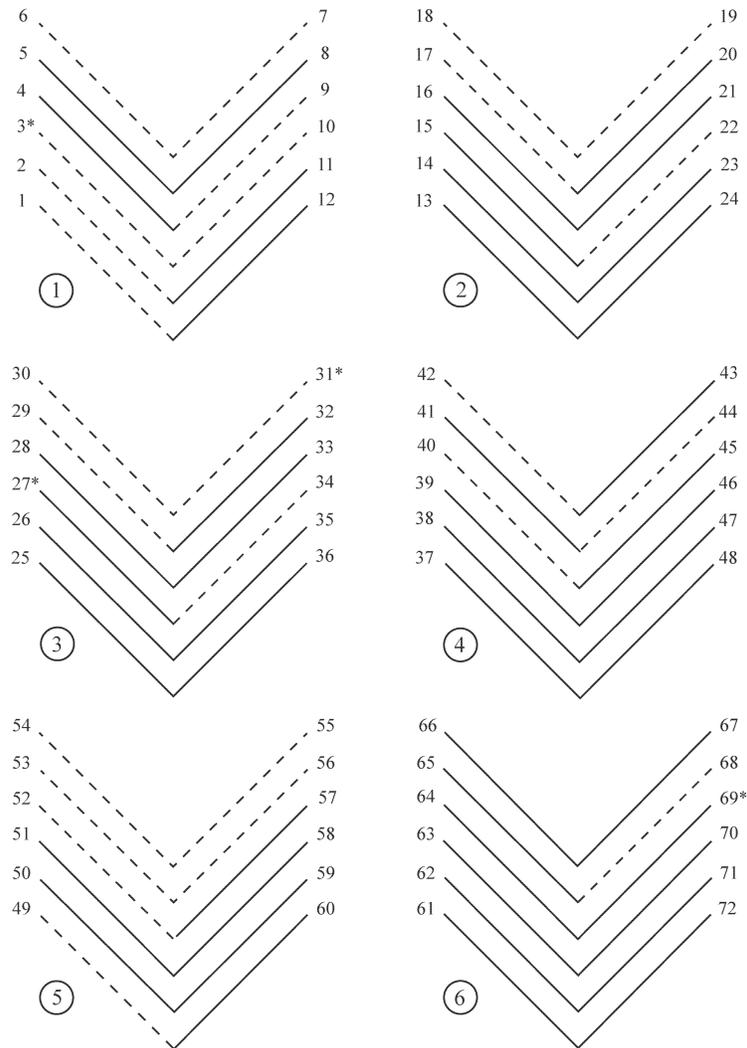


Figure 4.45. Codicological Diagram of the Pretz Antiphoner (Gatherings 1–6).

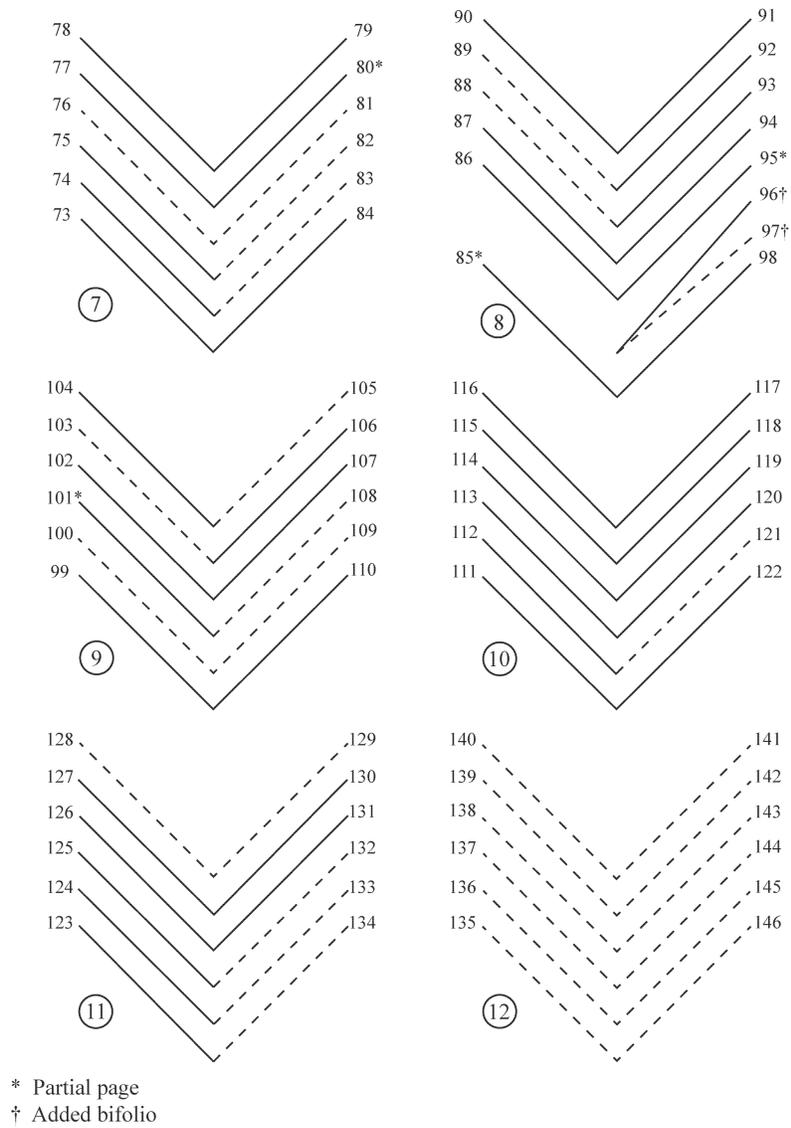


Figure 4.46. Codicological Diagram of the Preetz Antiphoner (Gatherings 7–12).

Table 4.4. Summary of Collation and Contents of the Preetz Antiphoner.

Gathering/Folio	Contents
Gathering 1	
fol. 1–3	Lacuna
fol. 4 (<i>partial</i>)–5: Advent (<i>continued</i>)	Octave of St. Andrew (7 December)
fols. 6–7	Lacuna
fol. 8	Advent (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 9	Lacuna
fol. 10–12	St. Nicholas (6 December)
Gathering 2	
fol. 13–16	St. Nicholas–St. Lucy (13 December)
fol. 17–19	Lacuna
fol. 20–24	Advent (<i>continued</i>)
Gathering 3	
fol. 25–29	Advent (<i>continued</i>), <i>O</i> antiphons, Vigil of Nativity (24 December)
fol. 30	Lacuna
fol. 31(<i>partial</i>)–32	Christmas Day (25 December)(<i>continued</i>)
fol. 33	Lacuna
fol. 34–36	Christmas Day–St. Stephen (26 December)
Gathering 4	
fol. 37–39	St. Stephen (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 40	Lacuna
fol. 41	St. Stephen (<i>continued</i>)–St. John (27 December)
fol. 42	Lacuna
fol. 43	St. John (<i>continued</i>)–Holy Innocents (28 December)
fol. 44	Lacuna
fol. 45–48	Holy Innocents–St. Silvester (31 December)
Gathering 5	
fol. 49	Lacuna
fol. 50–51	Circumcision (1 January), Octave of Christmas (1 January), Octave of St. John (3 January), Epiphany (6 January)
fol. 52–56	Lacuna
fol. 57–60	Epiphany (<i>continued</i>)
Gathering 6	
fol. 61–67	Epiphany (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 68	Lacuna
fol. 69(<i>partial</i>)–72	St. Sebastian (20 January)–St. Agnes (21 January)

Table 4.4. Collation and contents of the Preetz Antiphoner (*continued*)

Gathering/Folio	Contents
Gathering 7	
fol. 73–75	St. Agnes–Conversion of St. Paul (25 January)
fol. 76	Lacuna (Conversion of St. Paul)
fol. 77–80(<i>partial</i>):	Conversion of St. Paul (continued)
Gathering 8	
fol. 85(<i>partial</i>)–87	St. Blaise (3 February)
fol. 88–89	Lacuna
fol. 90–95	St. Blaise (<i>continued</i>), St. Agatha (5 February), Sts. Vedast and Amandus (6 February), St. Scholastica (10 February), St. Peter’s Chair (22 February), St. Gregory (12 March)
fol. 96	St. Matthias (24 February) (<i>first folio of inserted bifolio</i>)
fol. 97	Lacuna (<i>conjugate folio of inserted bifolio</i>)
fol. 98	St. Gregory (<i>continued from fol. 95</i>)
Gathering 9	
fol. 99	St. Gregory (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 100	Lacuna
fol. 101–102	St. Gregory (<i>continued</i>)–St. Benedict (21 March)
fol. 103	Lacuna
fol. 104	St. Benedict (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 105	Lacuna
fol. 106–107	Annunciation (25 March) (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 108–109	Lacuna
fol. 110	Annunciation (<i>continued</i>)
Gathering 10	
fol. 111–120	Octave of Annunciation (1 April), Lent
fol. 121	Lacuna
fol. 122	Lent (<i>continued</i>)
Gathering 11	
fol. 123–127	Lent (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 128–129	Lacuna
fol. 130–131	Lent (<i>continued</i>)
fol. 132–134	Lacuna
Gathering 12 (missing)	
fol. 135–146	Lacuna (<i>stubs remaining</i>)

(Advent, Christmas, and Lent). The inclusion of Benedictine saints such as Vedast and Amandus (6 February), Scholastica (10 February), and Benedict (21 March) are consistent with Benedictine use.

As will be shown in Chapter V, an analysis of the Preetz Gradual's sequence repertoire suggests a Rhineland origin for the oldest layer of material. Can the same be said for the repertoire of the Antiphoner? One of the standard tools for locating antiphoners within a particular manuscript lineage is an analytical comparison of the Advent Sunday responsory series, a methodology pioneered by René-Jean Hesbert. The lacunae that occur in the manuscript of the Preetz Antiphoner hinder this process. It is nevertheless possible to compare the extant responsories from the third and fourth Sundays of Advent to Hesbert's lists in CAO vol. 5, as seen in table 4.5.

An analysis of the Antiphoner's extant repertoire of Advent Sunday responsories shows that the closest match is not with German monastic sources, but rather with monastic sources from Normandy and Breton (monastic groups II and XXIV).⁵⁵ Still, even these closest sources disagree regarding choice of the antepenultimate three responsories of the fourth Sunday (given in bold type on the table.) Given the fragmentary nature of the source, and the incomplete match, the question remains of whether or not these results can reliably point an origin to the southwest of the German-speaking area. What is clear, however, is that the manuscript is derived from a lineage that differs from any previously analyzed German monastic lineage.

⁵⁵ See CAO vol. 5, 411.

Table 4.5. Extant Advent Sunday Responsories from the Preetz Antiphoner, compared with Hesbert's Monastic Groups II and XXIV.

Advent Sunday/ Responsory number	Responsory incipit	Hesbert number	Hesbert Group II	Hesbert Group XXIV
I-III 2.2	LACUNA			
III 2.3	<i>Descendit Dominus</i>	37	37	37
III 2.4	<i>Ecce radix Jesse</i>	39	39	39
III 3.1	<i>Docebit nos</i>	70	70	70
III 3.2	<i>Veni Domine et noli tarde</i>	38	38	38
III 3.3	<i>Festina ne tardaveris</i>	92	92	92
III 3.4	<i>Ecce Dominus venit...tunc</i>	82	82	82
IV 1.1	<i>Canite tuba in Syon vocate</i>	41	41	41
IV 1.2	<i>Paratus esto</i>	94	94	94
IV 1.3	<i>Me oportet</i>	44	44	44
IV 1.4	<i>Non auferetur</i>	43	43	43
IV 2.1	<i>Ecce iam veniet</i>	45	45	45
IV 2.2	<i>Virgo Israel</i>	46	46	46
IV 2.3	<i>Iuravi dicit Dominus</i>	47	47	47
IV 2.4	<i>Intuemini quantus</i>	49	48	48
IV 3.1	<i>Non discedimus</i>	48	49	49
IV 3.2	<i>Egredietur virga</i>	81	73	73
IV 3.3	<i>Radix Jesse</i>	59	59	59
IV 3.4	<i>Nascetur vobis</i>	91	91	91

A sample page of the Antiphoner (fol. 45v) may be seen in figure 4.47. The manuscript has a layout of thirteen lines of text and music per page, written in a single column. The pages of the manuscript are framed and ruled in brown ink, guided by pricking in the left margin. Whereas the Gradual has horizontal framing lines that extend from the top and bottom lines of the uppermost and lowermost staves into the margin, the Antiphoner has a third set of horizontal lines extending from the seventh or middle staff. This difference indicates that the two books were likely completed at different times.

The Antiphoner is notated in a gothic-Rhenish hybrid similar to that of the Gradual, using black ink on a four-line staff with c and f clefs. The notation of the Antiphoner bears the same peculiarities as that of the gradual—the left-facing virga, and the pervasive use of a neume resembling a Lotharingian quilisma to express all two-note rising figure—suggesting that the two books originated in the same scriptorium. Other tendencies within the notation of the Antiphoner show that it was the work of a different scribe (hereafter, Notator J, see table 4.3, above.) These tendencies include the mushroom-like shape of the head of the virga and its tapered stem, and the replacement of rounded forms with articulated strokes created by individual straight movements of the pen. This use of the pen is paralleled by a tendency towards a more quadratic form of gothic bookhand visible in the script (hereafter, Scribe 4, see table 4.2, above.) These slight stylistic differences may indicate that the Antiphoner was produced at a later time than the Gradual.

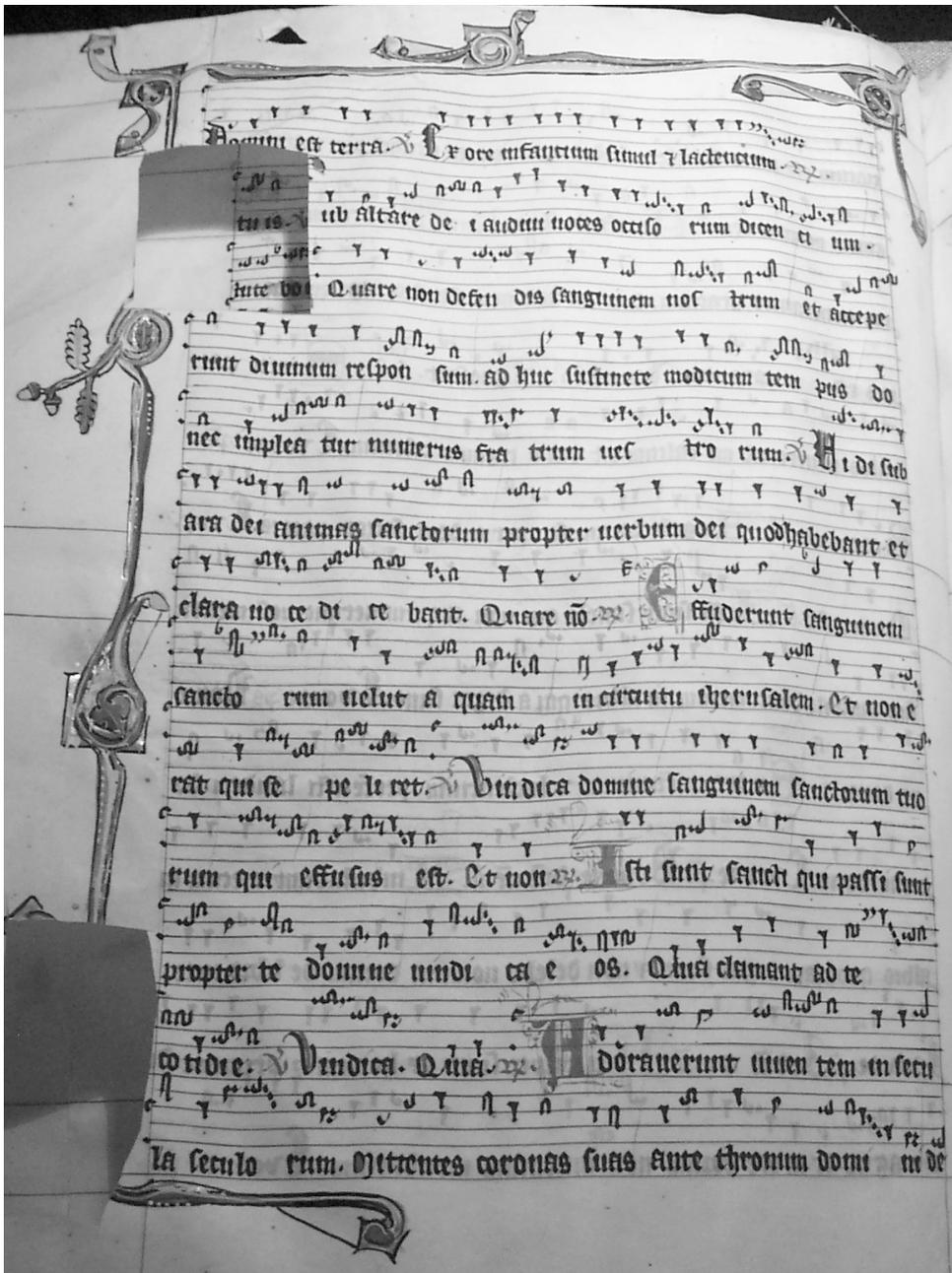


Figure 4.47. Sample Page, Pretz Antiphoner, fol. 45v.

As was the case in the Gradual, the notator of the Antiphoner (Notator J) occasionally uses the text line as a fifth staff line when the ambitus of the melody exceeds an octave, rather than moving the clef. An example may be seen in figure 4.47, in the

opening phrase of R. *Adoraverunt iuventem*, in the next to last line of music. Vertical strokes, written in a thin red pen, were added to the manuscript between phrases, perhaps to clarify text underlay, to divide the melody into manageable breaths, or to determine sense units of text and melody for pedagogical purposes.

While the original notation of the antiphoner was written by a single scribe, Scribe J, several additional notation hands (besides the occasional corrections by the rubricator) may be identified in the antiphoner in corrections and marginal insertions.

The only example of an addition to the manuscript consists of a single bifolio containing an office for St. Matthias (24 February), that was inserted into the manuscript, the second leaf of which was subsequently lost. The bifolio was obviously not part of the original book design, and is awkwardly inserted into the middle of the Office of St. Gregory (12 February), as shown in figure 4.48. The notation of the added Matthias folio is more angular and probably of a later vintage than the original hand of the antiphoner, yet bears the same markers of the left-facing virga and used of the Lotharingian quillisima. As I will argue below, the unusual characteristics of these hands suggest a single scribal lineage for the manuscript and their corrections.

Text of the Antiphoner

The original portion of the Preetz Antiphoner was written by a single scribe, identified as Hand J in table 4.2, “Original Textual Scribes of the Kloster Preetz Liturgical Books.” The text of the antiphoner is written in black ink and may be described as gothic Semi-quadrata, but is slightly more horizontally spread out than the hands of the Preetz Gradual. The text bears the same spelling conventions and use of abbreviations as

the Preetz Gradual. As may be seen in on fol. 36v in figure 4.49, the ascenders of the letter *b* in *obdormines* (line 1) and the letter *h* in *Stephanus* (line 3) are topped with the same

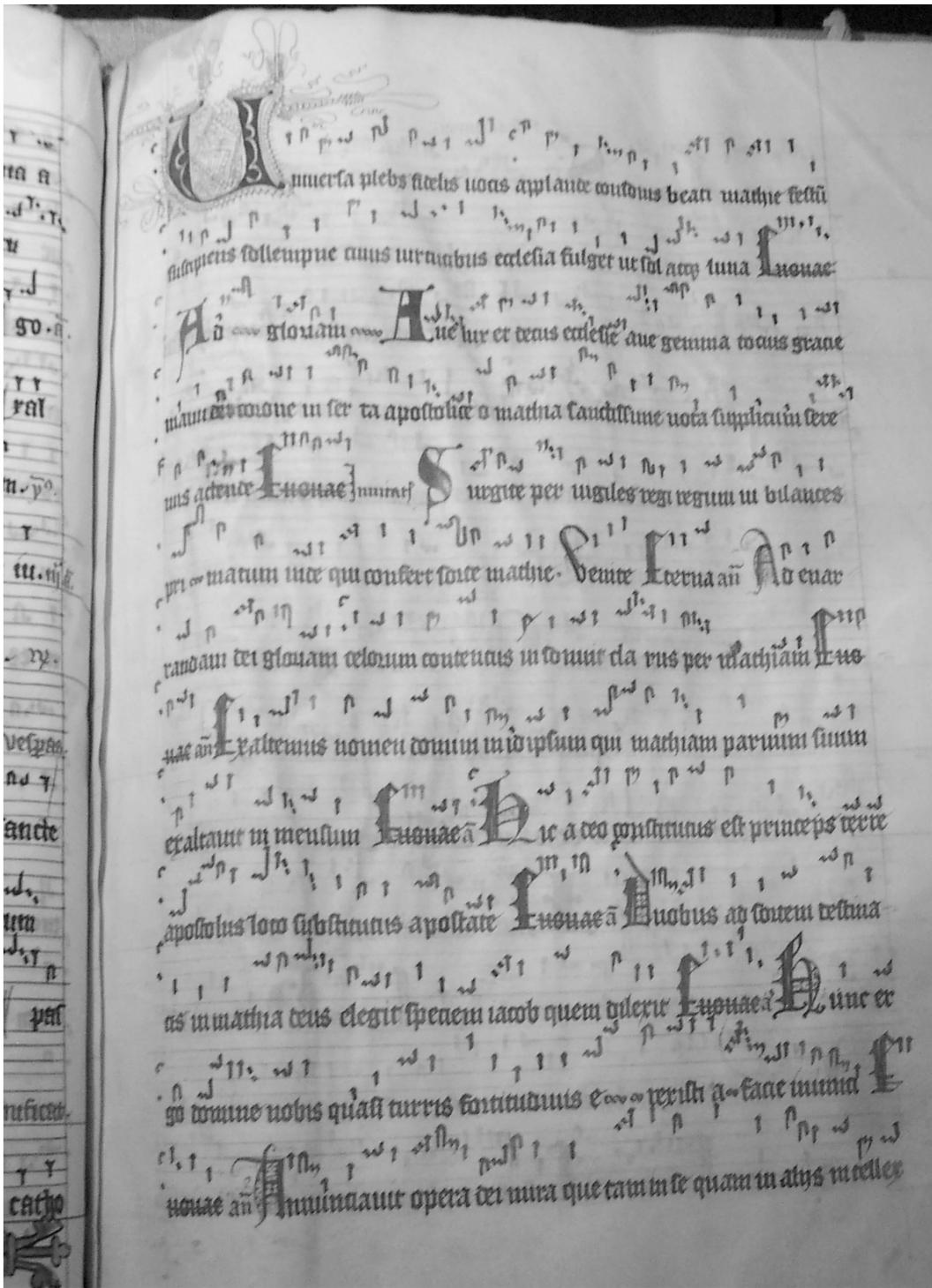


Figure 4.48. First Page of Inserted Bifolio, Office for St. Matthias, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 96r.

left-facing, flared serif as the virga in the notation: both are created by an initial horizontal stroke before the pen is pulled down to create the vertical stem. The identical creation of these strokes in both script and notation suggests that a single scribe (Scribe 4/Notator J) was likely responsible for both text and notation.

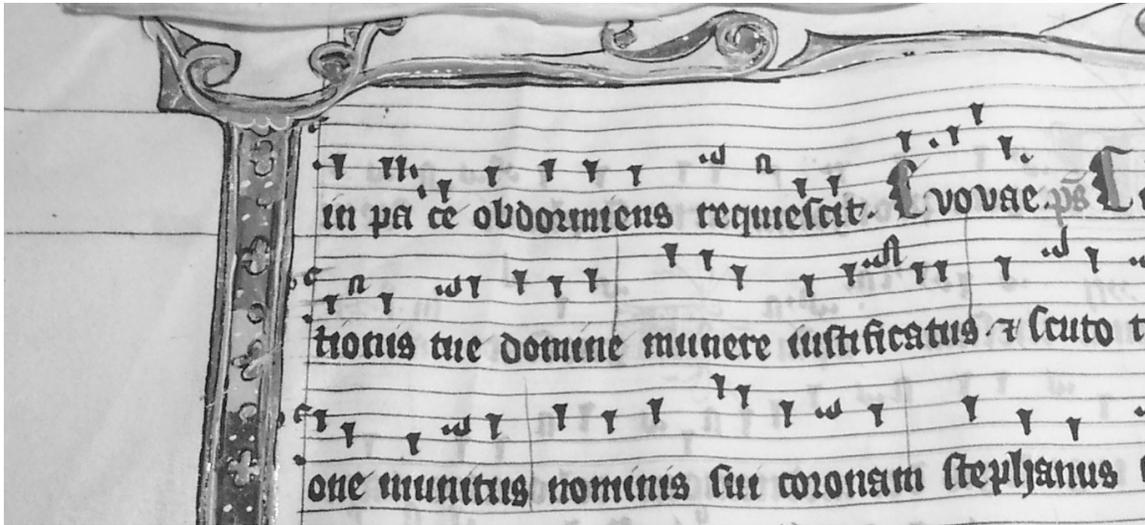


Figure 4.49. Detail of Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 36v.

While the virga takes its form from the larger and broader serif of the ascender, the ductus of the virga is consistent with both the ascender and the minim, bowing slightly to the left in the middle of the stroke.

Rubrics throughout the text of the Antiphoner identify pieces by genre and liturgical occasion. The rubricator occasionally changes the differentia of a psalm tone or corrects a melody. Figure 4.50 reproduces fol. 57r, on which three examples of such corrections occur: written in red ink, they may nevertheless be distinguished in the figure as slightly larger and lighter in color than the original notation.

The first examples occurs in the first line of the figure, on the last pitch of the word *natum*. Here, the rubricator has altered last pitch of the corresponding neume group into a liquesced form. The rubricator also made alterations in line 2, over the last syllable of *illuminat*, and on the word *te* in line 4: in both of these cases, the original entry was

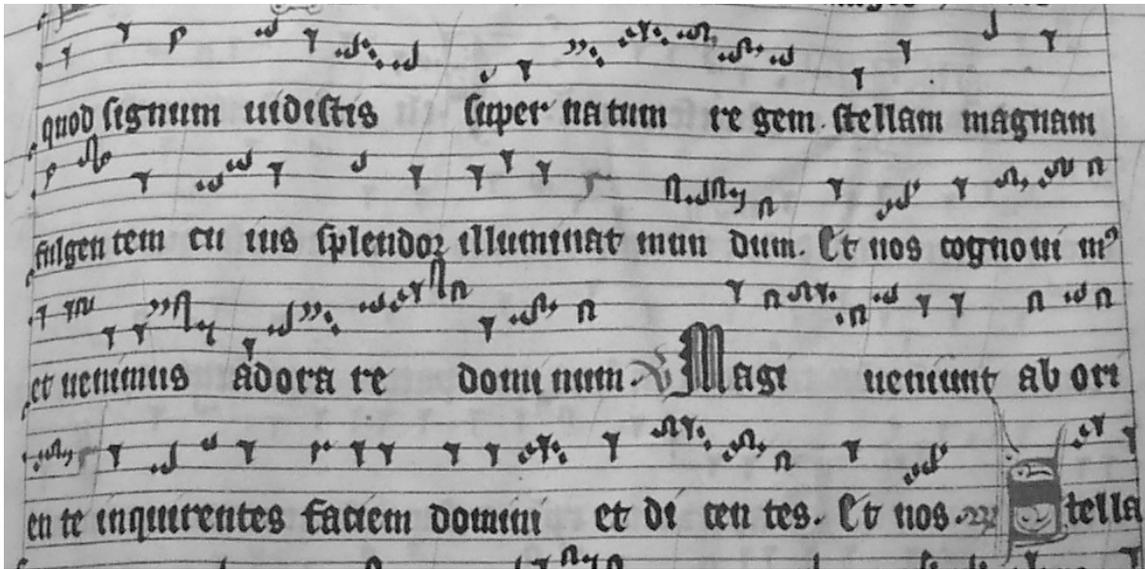


Figure 4.50. Rubricator Corrects Melodies, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 57r.

erased and replaced with an oriscus. Because the hands of the original notation and the corrections do not appear to differ, it is possible that the script, notation, and rubrication were all the work of a single hand.

Whereas run-over symbols in red appear extensively in the Preetz Gradual, such symbols are used very sparingly in the Preetz Antiphoner. Figure 4.51 shows such a case on fol. 58v, where the psalm tone for the Magnificat antiphon *Baptizat miles regem* is given with the text *UOUAE* at the very end of the fourth line pictured, marked with a vertical run-over symbol. Such instances are rare. This seemingly minor detail reflects an

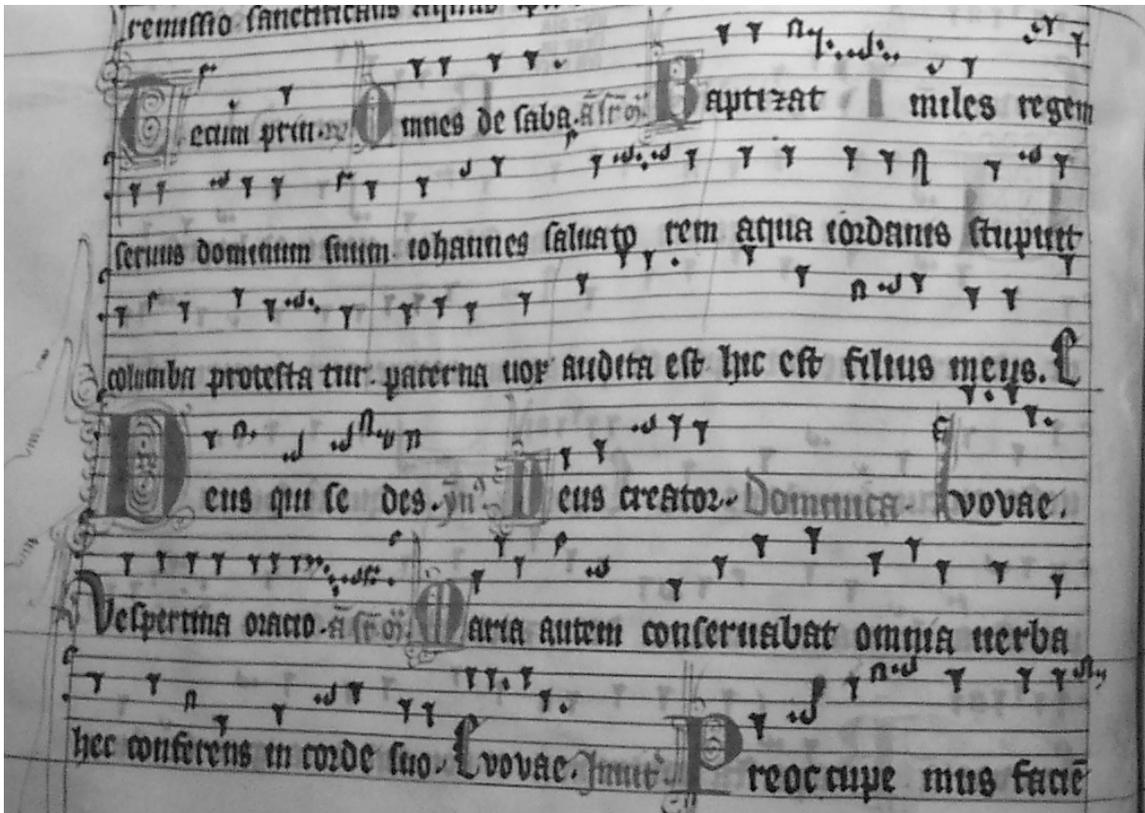


Figure 4.51. Example of Run-over Symbol, End of the Fourth Line Pictured, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 58v.

important difference between the decorative programs of the two books. In the Preetz Gradual, pieces are often completed in the remainder of a line against the right-hand margin to allow for each subsequent incipit to begin with an over-sized initial against the left-hand margin of the page. This is not the case with the Preetz Antiphoner, whose original design allowed for few large initials. Another way in which the Preetz Antiphoner differs from the Preetz Gradual is that line-fillers are not used: the spaces in the text under melismas are simply left blank.

Decoration

In its original form, the Preetz Antiphoner was minimally decorated, using only red and black ink. Red and black initials of different sizes and various degrees of embellishment indicate a hierarchy of divisions within the text. The size of the red letters with black pen flourishes reflects the importance of the feast: three staves tall for St. Stephen (fol. 35v), two staves tall for Holy Innocents (fol. 45v), and one staff tall for St. Scholastica, (fol. 93r).⁵⁶ The initial *B* beginning the responsory *Benedictus quam devotas* from the feast of St. Scholastica, reproduced in figure 4.52, is the only complete example of a large initial remaining in the manuscript.

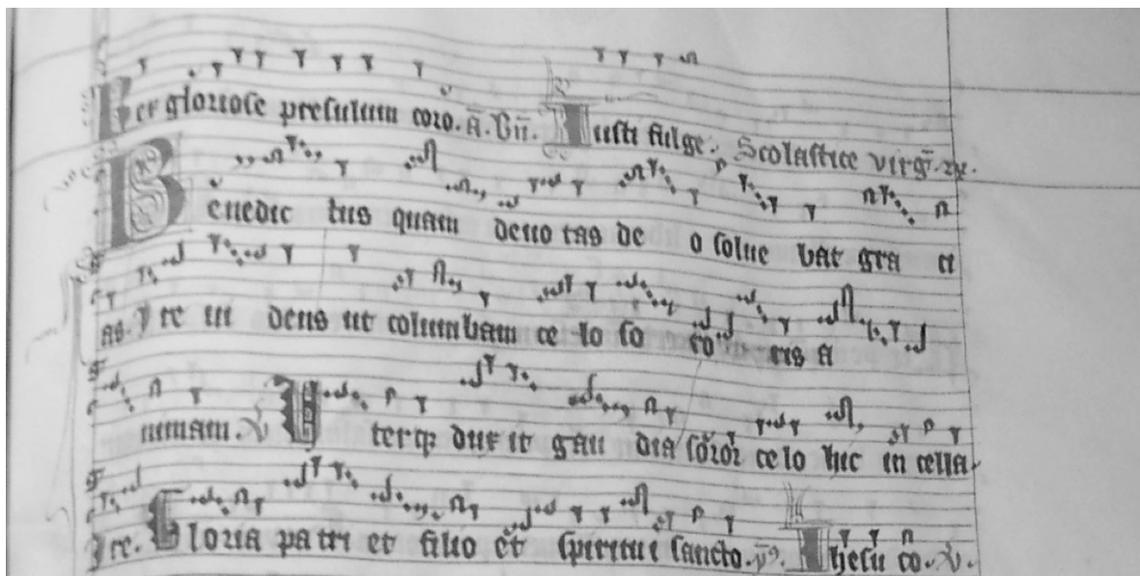


Figure 4.52. Large initial *B* of R. *Benedictus*, Feast of St. Scholastica, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 93r.

⁵⁶ Fols. 35v and 45v: the original initials have been painted over and cut out, but due to the placement of clefs and text it is possible to determine how tall the initial was in terms of the number of staves.

As shown in figure 4.52, verses are indicated by smaller black letters embellished with red ink; repeats in responsories are indicated by a small black capital within the text with a single added red stroke, for example, the incipit of the repetendum *Ite* at the beginning of fourth line pictured. The original program of decoration was modest, but the size of the letters clearly indicated hierarchical divisions within the text.

Redecoration

At a later date, many of the Antiphoner's pen-flourished initials were painted over with brightly colored initials and marginal illuminations decorated with burnished gold, many of which were later partially or completely excised from the manuscript. These decorative initials, many based on the champie initial type, cover the modest pen-flourished initials original to the manuscript and sometimes include bars (or antennae) that extend into the margins of the book. It is clear that the painted initials and marginal illuminations were not part of the original decorative program of the manuscript, whose layout was not originally designed to accommodate large initials. The initials were created with expensive materials, but are executed with less skill than the original work of the manuscript. Further evidence of initials having been painted over may be seen in figure 4.53, where the painted initials *G* of *Gloria* and *H* of *Hodie* partially cover the original rubrics marking responsories and verses.



Figure 4.53. Painted Champie Initials Partially Obscuring Rubrics. The bar border of another initial is visible in the left-hand margin, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 32r.

The remains of an elaborate bar that sprang from a larger, now excised decorative initial, sprawls along the left-hand margin of the page.

The illuminations in the antiphoner may be cataloged into four general types. The first type are champie initials that consist of simple letter shapes in burnished gold with pink or blue infill against a contrasting ground of pink or blue. Each pink or blue ground is embellished with delicate white tracery.⁵⁷ Example of champie initials in the

⁵⁷ Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers: An Account Based on the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V & A Publications, 2003), 22. Small initials of this kind are found

antiphoner may be seen in figure 4.53 (above) where the initials were painted over the pen-flourished initials of incipits of antiphons and responsories throughout office for the Vigil of the Nativity.⁵⁸ The added initials were certainly meant to reflect the solemnity of the feast, and visually distinguish it as an important occasion in the manuscript. The champie initial was a common type that was used over a period of several centuries. A model for these initials could have been found in a manuscript similar to the Zouch Hours, Southern Low Countries (1470–80), given as figure 4.54.⁵⁹



Figure 4.54. Champie Initial, Zouch Hours, Southern Low Countries, 1470–80.

A second type of initial in the Preetz Antiphoner is that of the historiated initial with extensive, foliate bar borders that extend into the upper and lower margins.⁶⁰

Examples of this style of initial may be seen above in figures 4.44, 4.47, 4.49, and 4.53.

As the centers of the initials containing the letter itself have been removed from the manuscript, it is impossible to say exactly how they were embellished. However, the

on folios 29v, 31r, 32r, 32v, 34r, and 86r; large initials of this kind are found on folios 59r, 113v, 118r, and 122v.

⁵⁸ See fols. 29v–32v, 34r.

⁵⁹ Reproduced from Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers*, 26.

⁶⁰ See fols. 31r, 35v, 45v, 48r, 69r–69v, 72v, 75v, 90v, 101v–102r.

motifs, layout, and colors used in the remaining marginal barring suggests that this group of added illuminations may have been modeled on examples similar to the historiated initials found in D-DÜI 7 and 9, a pair of antiphoners from the Dominican convent of Paradies bei Soest from the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁶¹ Figure 4.46 reproduces an example of a historiated initial from this pair of antiphoners.



Figure 4.55. Historiated Initial with Bar Border, D-DÜI 9, fol. 210v.

The initials from the Paradies antiphoners are of high quality and part of the original program of the book, which dedicated a space two staves high dedicated to each initial. By contrast, the relative lack of space given to initials in the Preetz Antiphoner's text and

⁶¹ See Ulrich Lör, ed. *Gotische Buchmalerei aus Westfalen. Choralbücher der Frauenklöster Paradiese und Welper bei Soest*. Soester Beiträge 57 (Soest: Mocker and Jahn, 1997), 69–86.

the oversized bar borders of the added initials results in a spatial imbalance between the small centers of the initials and the oversized bar borders that extend into the margins.

What was the motivation for the inclusion of such unwieldy borders? Christopher de Hamel has argued that the increasing availability of gold in the thirteenth century led to its loss of value as a “barometer of status.” The use of bar borders was an outgrowth of this phenomenon, by which relative importance of initials was demonstrated by “growing bar borders out of their corners and into the margins of the pages.”⁶² An additional example of a liturgical manuscript with extensive bar borders is seen in the example The Shøyen Collection MS 1368, a bible from England, circa 1320–1330, reproduced as figure 4.56.⁶³

⁶² Christopher de Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques*, (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 25.

⁶³ Folio number not available. Reproduced from <http://www.schoyencollection.com/LatinBible.htm> - 1368 [Accessed 7. February, 2010].

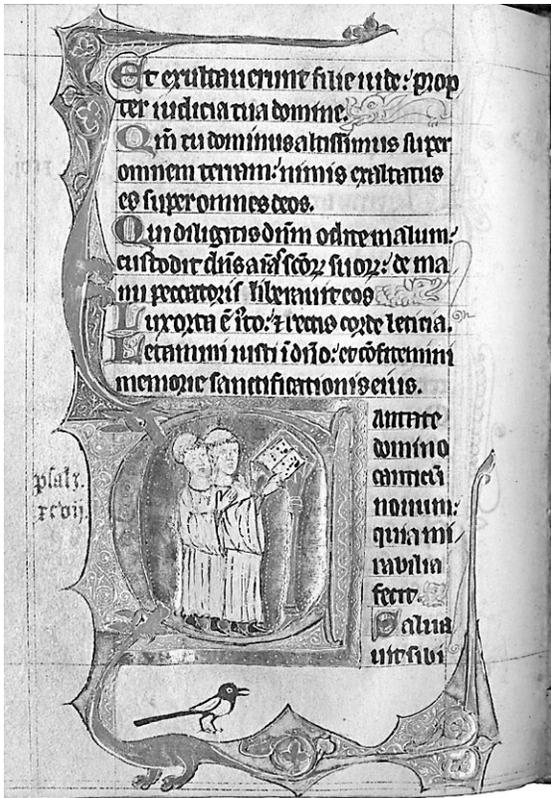


Figure 4.56. Champie Initial with Bar Borders, The Shøyen Collection MS 1368, England circa 1320–1330 (no folio.)

Here, the oversized initial in burnished gold is surrounded by a border of consisting of alternating fields of pink and blue, with added patterning in white paint in the style of the champie initial. Bar borders combining foliate and zoomorphic elements extend along the left margin and into the top and bottom margins of the page. These examples provide a basic idea of the style of historiated initial imitated in the illuminations added to the Preetz Antiphoner. Like the champie initial, the historiated initial with marginal barring was not an uncommon style of illumination in the fourteenth century: the addition of such initials to the Preetz Antiphoner seems to be a late example of the use of this style.

In contrast to the champie initials and the historiated initials with bar borders, the third style of illumination added to the Antiphoner has no obvious precedent. This style

consists of initials with columnar, geometrically patterned bar borders.⁶⁴ These feature columns comprised by colorful, repetitive diamond and floral motifs. Some of the columns sprout leafy golden flourishes from their ends, as seen in figures 4.47 and 4.48. To my knowledge, there is no obvious precedent for this style of columnar border, which may be particular to the Preetz scriptorium, or even to a single artist. This style may be an adaptation of the columns that divide canon tables in an earlier style of illumination. Figure 4.59 reproduces an example of a canon table from the thirteenth-century *Evangeliar Preetz*, which was once held in the cloister's library. It is conceivable that the geometrically patterned columns with leafy bases that divide the canon tables may have served as the inspiration for the columnar motives painted in the antiphoner.⁶⁵

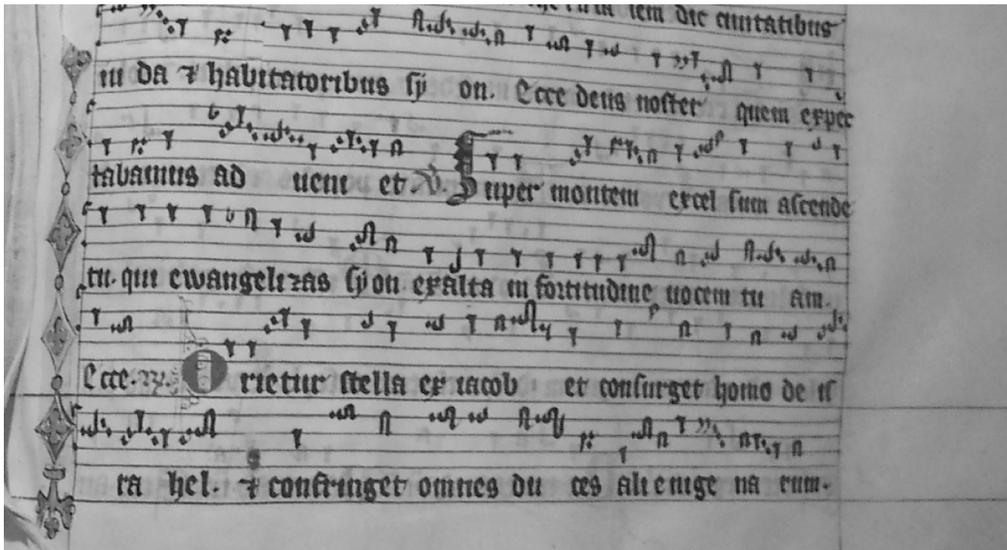


Figure 4.57. Columnar Borders with Diamond and Flower Motifs, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 22r.

⁶⁴ These are found on fols. 13v, 22r, 27r, 41r, 95v, and 106r.

⁶⁵ Reproduced from figures 13a and 13b, Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, "Ein unbekanntes Evangeliar aus dem Kloster Preetz und seine Stellung in der norddeutschen Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 56 no. 3 (1993): 12–13.

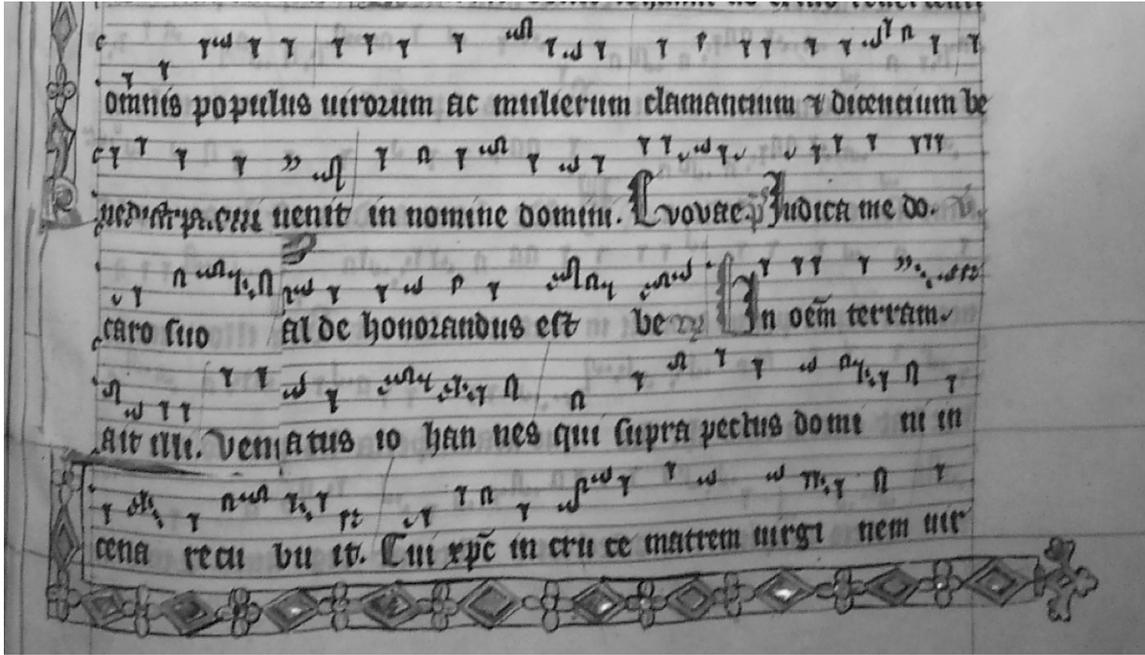


Figure 4.58. Columnar Borders with Diamond and Flower Motifs, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 41r.

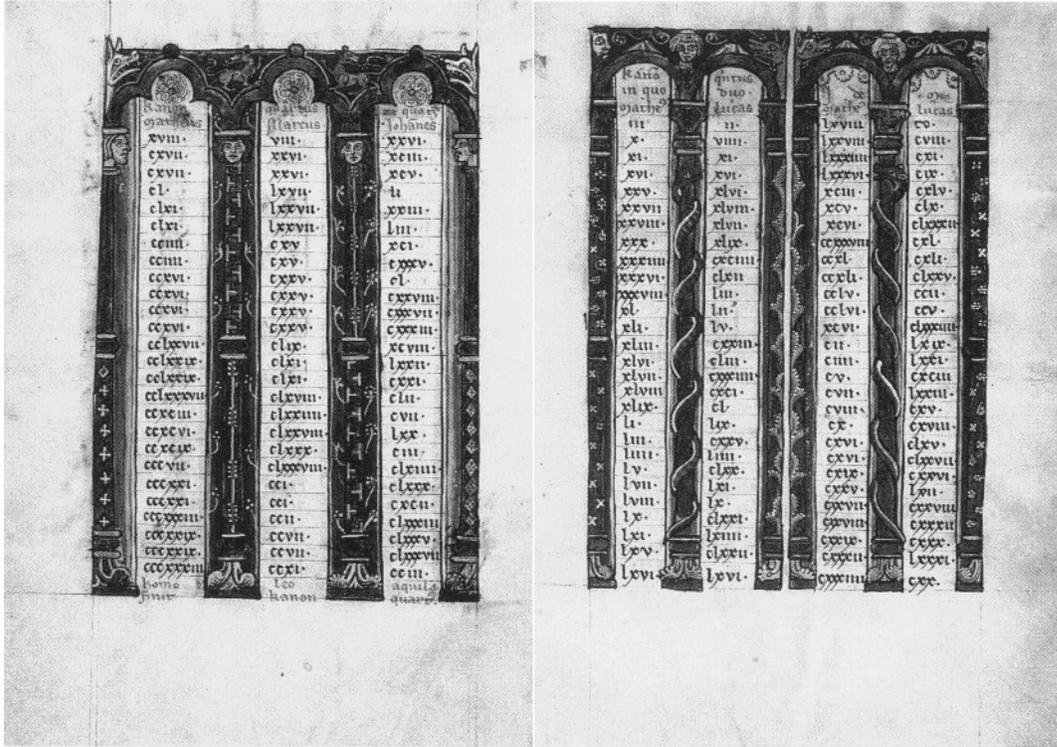


Figure 4.59. Canon Tables, *Evangeliar Preetz*, Thirteenth Century, fols. 8v–9r.

If this hypothesis is true, it means that the artist or artists who decorated the *Antiphoner* creatively reinterpreted the columnar motif from a thirteenth-century model available in their own library, translating it to a contemporary medium. The columnar style is simple, yet inventive; its geometric patterns may also be compared to the patterning used in textile designs. As Judith Oliver has suggested, the one-dimensional, geometrically-patterned styles found in the illumination of nuns' books may indeed be based in the textile arts.⁶⁶

Figure 4.60 from the *Preetz Antiphoner* combines the homegrown columnar style with the more common style of historiated initial with marginal barring, suggesting that

⁶⁶ Judith Oliver, "Some Gothic *Nonnenbücher*", 115–116.

both styles of illumination were created by the same artist. The center of the illumination, the letter *H* of the responsory *Hesterna die* for St. Stephen, has been removed (see lines 8–9.)⁶⁷ According to Susan Marti, the combination of borrowed styles with a distinctive in-house style is a feature typical of convent illumination.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ R. *Hesterna die*, CAO 6810.

⁶⁸ Susan Marti “Sisters in the Margins”, 23.



Figure 4.60. Example of Combined Motifs: Bar Borders and Geometric Columns, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 77r.

A fourth and final type of illumination in the Preetz Antiphoner consists of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. The Preetz Antiphoner may be considered a late example of this style, which was certainly not unusual: Christopher de Hamel has

called the fourteenth century “the heyday for little figures and bas-de-page scenes in bar borders.”⁶⁹ Four examples remain of such figures in the Preetz Antiphoner. They consist of pen-and-ink drawings, some of which have been colored with more skill than the other illuminations in the Antiphoner. Two of these figures can be identified as part of a historiated program in the initials’ marginal bar borders incorporating the attributes of the saint whose feast they accompany. For example, a marginal illumination for the Feast of St. Benedict shows the head of a bird holding a round object in its beak, reproduced as figure 4.61.

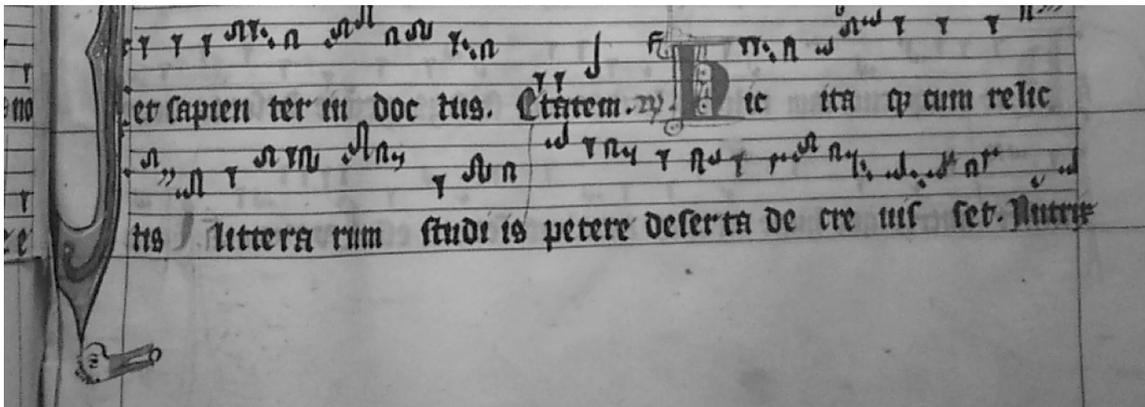


Figure 4.61. Marginal Illumination, Feast of Saint Benedict, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 102r.

This is no example of a marginal drollery, but rather represents a raven with a piece of bread in its beak, a traditional iconographic attribute of St. Benedict. This image refers to the hagiographic legend of an attempted poisoning, in which Benedict’s life was saved by a raven that flew away with the loaf of poisoned bread.⁷⁰ A similar example appears in

⁶⁹ Christopher de Hamel, *Manuscript Illumination*, 25.

⁷⁰ Fernando Lanzi and Gioia Lanzi, *Saints and Their Symbols: Recognizing Saints in Art and in Popular Images* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2004), 120. See also Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William

the left margin of fol. 69r, reproduced as figure 4.62, where a miniature of an archer flexes his bow towards the text, his brow knit in concentration.



Figure 4.62. Marginal Illumination, Feast of St. Sebastian, Preetz Antiphoner, fol. 69r.

As with the previous example, this marginal illumination refers to an aspect of St. Sebastian's legend, in this case, depicting the method of his martyrdom. Thus, the few

Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 188. The bird appears to be white in this line-drawing, but the iconography is otherwise correct.

examples of figurative marginal illuminations that remain in the Preetz Antiphoner refer to the offices which they accompany. They may have served as a practical visual index to feasts contained within the Antiphoner. Moreover, the images may have served as a memory device, calling to mind legends of the saints' miracles and passions, drawing together the rich and complementary literatures of liturgy and legend.

In sum, the illuminations of the Preetz Antiphoner were not part of the original manuscript decoration, but were added at a later date. The added illuminations show an imaginative combination of influences. They may have been created in partial imitation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century exemplars available in the cloister's library, but also show distinctive, unprecedented styles. They use costly materials such as burnished gold, but are not the work of a highly-skilled artist. However, they do show an awareness of iconographic conventions, and a desire to add solemnity and perhaps status to an otherwise modestly decorated manuscript. Finally, they may have served the practical purpose of making the manuscript more easily navigable and memorable by highlighting the beginnings of important sections. The fact that this style of illumination is very different from that of the Gradual suggests a different date of production. But like the additions to the Preetz Gradual, the addition of illuminations to the Preetz Antiphoner witnesses the ongoing ownership and use of books produced within the convent.

Natural Motives in the Visual World of Kloster Preetz

The prominent motif of the oak leaves and acorns plays a prominent role in the gradual and the antiphoner, as witnessed in figures 4.16, 4.17, and 4.36. The oak tree may have been a meaningful motif to the Preetz artist because of the significant role it played

in the foundation legend of Kloster Preetz. As the story goes, the convent's founder, a certain Count Albrecht von Orlamünde, was hunting in the forest that once stood where the cloister and town of Preetz now lie. A fine stag stepped out of the woods, and the count pursued the fleeing deer for a long time before it suddenly stopped under a great oak tree, and gazed at the count as if it did not fear death. The count thereby recognized that this was a holy place and built a cloister there, to which he donated lands and a large endowment.⁷¹

The ancient, enormous oak trees that still stand on the grounds of Kloster Preetz appear to have contributed to the identity of the place from the founding of the cloister to the present day. The prominence of oak leaves and acorns in the decorative scheme of the gradual could possibly refer to the importance of the oak in the founding legend and identity of Kloster Preetz. This argument is made more compelling by the carvings on a fourteenth-century choir stool that stands in the cloister's choir reproduced as figure 4.63.

⁷¹ The foundation myth appears at http://www.preetzer-schuetzengilde.de/Pages/Kloster_Preetz.php [Accessed 25.September 2009].



Figure 4.63. Detail, Fourteenth-century Choir Stool with Oak Leaf Motif, Preetz Cloister Church.

The carving depicts a young girl being presented to the convent by a male figure, presumably her father. A lower set of panels (not shown) depicts stages in her process of maturation and reception into the order. A series of arcades serves to divide each scene, and as an architectural motive, serve to conceptually define the space of the cloister.

Above the top row of panels, an oak branch bearing leaves and acorns extends above the

architectural boundary, perhaps embodying the natural surroundings of the cloister as well as a reference to its foundation myth.

The oak motive is found alongside other motives from the natural world—flowers, stars, birds, and woodland animals—in the work of numerous illuminators in the book, and across a range of skill levels. It seems that the illuminators shared an unusually pronounced interest in reproducing images from the natural world in the book.

Jeffrey Hamburger, Petra Marx and Susan Marti have documented how the idealized interior space of the cloister was often represented as an enclosed garden. The authors cite passages from the chronicle of Ebstorf (Lower Saxony) and St. Lambert (Rhineland-Pfalz) to illustrate a “chafing” under clausturation and a contesting of its limits. Interestingly, these passages do not indicate an interest in joining the human world, but rather a desire to experience the natural one by walking outside in the prior’s orchard, eating outside in the meadow, or simply seeking out green space.⁷² How much more important the beauty and pleasure of the outside world must have been in Preetz, located above the fifty-fourth parallel, and in whose brief summer, rainy weather alternates with startling clear, bright sunny days. In this northern latitude, the extreme changes in the amount of light available between winter and summer would have further accentuated the difference between the light and dark months of the year. One can well image how in the cold, dark months of the year the nuns of Kloster Preetz may have idealized and longed for living signs of the natural world that abound in the fleeting

⁷² Jeffrey Hamburger, Petra Marx, and Susan Marti, “The Time of the Orders, 1200–1500,” in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 59–61.

summer visible in the images of flowers birds, squirrels, rabbits, and the oak leaf and acorn, and inscribed these into the pages of their liturgical books.

Conclusion

In summary, it appears that Kloster Preetz maintained a house scriptorium that produced manuscripts for its own liturgical use. Aspects of the notation of the Preetz liturgical books attest to a unique notational style that persisted in the convent's scriptorium for perhaps more than a century. An analysis of this notational lineage points to the adaptation of a style that originated in the lower Rhineland. Elements of decoration of the manuscripts reflect a mixture of received styles of illumination and homegrown decorative styles, confirming an origin in the convent's own scriptorium. The decoration of the manuscripts provides evidence of multiple artists of various skill levels cooperating in their production. Similarities in the elements of script and notation suggest that certain scribes may have doubled as notators, indicating a lack of specialized roles consistent with documented examples of nun's scribal practice. Finally, the motif of the oak tree unites the Preetz Gradual and the Preetz Antiphoner, suggesting that it was an important symbol in the visual identity of the cloister.

CHAPTER V
MUSIC FOR THE MASS: STUDIES IN THE REPERTOIRE
OF THE PREETZ GRADUAL

Introduction

This chapter consists of a comparative repertorial and stylistic analysis of music for the mass, focusing on the genres of introit trope, alleluia, and sequence found in the Preetz Gradual, supplemented with evidence from Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor*. Using selected case studies, I will compare music for the mass found in the Preetz Gradual with repertoire from the diocese of Lübeck, while tracing exceptional elements of the Preetz repertoire to other regional traditions.

Until recently, the study of chant in German-speaking lands has been largely concerned with that of southern Germany. This is due to a number of factors, including the relatively late date of German settlement and Christianization in the north, as well as the paucity of remaining sources that pre-date the Reformation. Numerous studies have been published on the chant repertoire of Scandinavia and the Baltic.¹ Yet the chant practice of northern Germany, believed to have been an important supplier of liturgical

¹See for example, Allan Moberg, *Über die Schwedischen Sequenzen: Eine Musikgeschichtliche Studie* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1927); Róbert Ottósson, *Sancti Thorlaci Episcopi officia rhythmica et proprium missæ in AM 241a folio* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959); Erik Eggen, *The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidarós* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1968); *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* edited by Lilli Gjerløw (Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institut, 1968); *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (Orðubók)* edited by Lilli Gjerløw (Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institut, 1968); Gisela Attinger, "Icelandic Medieval Manuscripts Containing Sequences: A Presentation of the Twelve Medieval Fragments," *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 30 (2004); Eyolf Østrem, *The Office of St. Olaf: A Study in Chant Transmission* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2001); Ilkka Taitto, "Treasures of the Helsinki University Library," *Finnish Music Quarterly* 2 (1992): 18–26; *Fragmenta Membranea IV: Inventory of Sources of Medieval Latin Chant in Finland* (Helsinki: Sibelius Academy, 2002); "Medieval Chant Manuscripts: The Neglected Musical Treasury in Finnish Archives," *Finnish Music Quarterly* 3 (1989): 42–48; and most recently, *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*, edited by Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006).

music to these regions, has remained largely unexplored. Case studies of specific north German repertoires include Peter Wagner's analysis of D-LEu 391 from Leipzig, Michael Härting's study of the repertoire of Braunschweig Cathedral, Hartmut Mölling's study of the Quedlinburg Antiphoner, and Hubert Vogt's study of the sequentiary of the Abdinghof Gradual.² Andreas Haug's study of the late medieval tradition of *troparia tardiva* surveys post-1100 sources that transmit tropes, including sources from north Germany.³ As for nuns' musical manuscripts in particular, Ulrike Hascher-Burger's inventory of pre-1550 musical manuscripts from the Lüneburg cloisters and Linda Maria Koldau's survey of musical sources used by women in the early modern era represent important foundational studies.⁴

These case studies have illuminated specific manuscript local repertoires and manuscript genres, by completing the important first steps of identifying and creating inventories of sources and their repertoires. Based on these foundational studies, it is possible to enter a second stage of inquiry regarding the transmission or material to northern Germany by identifying lineages of manuscripts through an comparative analysis of repertoire and variants. The following chapter contributes to this effort in several ways. As a case study of an institution within the diocese of Lübeck, it shows

² Peter Wagner, *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig (XIV. Jahrhundert) als Zeuge deutscher Choral-überlieferung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1967); Michael Härting, *Der Messgesang im Braunschweiger Domstift St. Blasii (Handschrift Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel VII Hs 175)* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1963); Hubert Vogt, "Die Sequenzen des Graduale Abdinghof aus Paderborn" (PhD diss., Münster, 1972); Hartmut Möller, *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1990).

³ Andreas Haug, *Troparia tardiva: Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum*. Monumenta monodica medii aevi, Subsidia 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995).

⁴ Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Verborgene Klänge: Inventar der handschriftlich überlieferten Musik aus den Lüneburger Frauenklöster bis ca. 1550*. With a Presentation of Music Iconography by Ulrike Volkhardt (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008); Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur: Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005).

multiple streams of transmission that led to different repertoires within the diocese. It sheds light on regional variants in the southern German, Rhineland, Rhine-Maas-Mosel region, and Anglo-French practices—groundwork that assists in understanding both the process of transmission to the north, and patterns of transmission peculiar to women’s religious communities. I hypothesize that claustration, which restricted nuns’ mobility and contact with the outside world, affected the transmission of music in women’s communities. The convent’s institutional need for male clergy to say mass and to administer other sacraments offered both limitations and opportunities for the transmission of repertoire. The clergy who served Kloster Preetz were educated in outside institutions and musical practices and served the cloister on a rotating basis. I posit that the nuns of Kloster Preetz were collectors who selectively appropriated material from the repertoires of the priests who served the convent, without abandoning the repertoire particular to their own community.

This chapter will examine examples from the repertoire of introit tropes, alleluias and sequences preserved in the Preetz Gradual. These repertoires have been selected from the Gradual because among the genres of music for the mass, they are the most variable across sources, and may therefore reveal the most information about the lineage and particularities of how the mass was celebrated throughout the liturgical year at Preetz.

The presence of introit tropes for the feasts of St. Stephen and St. John place the Preetz Gradual as a late example of a *troparium tardivum*, or late troper: as such, it represents a conservative practice for its copying date of 1350–1450. Previous scholarship has established the non-canonical genre of trope as a fruitful site for study, for it can provide information about manuscripts’ regional or institutional origins and

affiliations.⁵ A comparative study of the trope complex for the introit *Etenim sederunt* for the feast of St. Stephen finds the greatest likeness to be with the twelfth-century gradual D-Bsb 40078 from Quedlinburg. My analysis finds that the Preetz melodies are most similar to those from Quedlinburg, and that this pair of sources is more faithful to the neumatation of the earliest source of the complex, CH-SGs 484. It is likely, then, that the Preetz version represents an early stream of transmission that pre-dated the cloister's thirteenth-century founding.

Among the proper chants of the mass, the alleluia is the genre that witnessed the most new composition after the year 900, not only in terms of its verse texts, but of new melodies as well. Of all of the proper chants of the mass, the alleluia was treated with the most flexibility in terms of its liturgical assignment. This study will approach the alleluia repertoire of Kloster Preetz from two angles. First, in an established methodology for establishing manuscript lineage, I will compare the liturgical assignments of alleluias for the Sundays following Pentecost and for Easter Week. My findings in this area reflect a close, but not exact, overlap in alleluia assignments with manuscripts from Benedictine sources aligned with the Bursfeld reform. These findings may 1) point to an influence of the Bursfeld reform on the repertoire of Kloster Preetz, or 2) may indicate a common regional origin of the Preetz Gradual and those sources eventually used as the model for the reformed Bursfeld liturgy. I suggest that while the first option would be a simpler

⁵ See Wulf Arlt, "Komponieren im Galluskloster um 900: Tuotilos Tropen *Hodie cantandus est* zur Weihnacht und *Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus* zum Fest des Iohannes evangelista," *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, n.s., 15 (1995): 41–70; Lori Kruckenberg, "Some Observations on a *Troparium Tardivum*: The Proper Tropes in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 417," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 53, no. 1–2 (2003): 151–182; Lori Kruckenberg, "The Lotharingian Axis and Monastic Reforms: Towards the Recovery of an Early Messine Trope Tradition," in *Cantus Planus – Study Group of the International Musicological Society: Papers Read at the Twelfth Meeting, Lillafüred, Hungary. 23–28 August 2004*, edited by László Dobszay, et al. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), 723–752.

answer, it is probably not the correct one: the Gradual was probably produced at too early a date to reflect the influence of Bursfeld reform on its liturgy.

My second approach to the alleluias of Kloster Preetz will be to identify previously undocumented pieces used for the Sanctorale and for masses in honor of the Virgin; indeed, all but one of these alleluias may be identified as contrafacta of known melodies. A comparison with manuscripts from the diocese of Lübeck shows that two of these alleluias are peculiar to the practice of Lübeck, and thus likely represent pieces that were introduced into the Preetz repertoire by clergy from that city.

My study of the sequence repertoire of Kloster Preetz seeks to distinguish repertorial layers by comparative analysis of repertoires, liturgical assignments, and melodic variants. My study begins with a comparison of repertoire with that of Lübeck to determine what pieces were held in common with the diocese, and which have a different origin. My analysis of liturgical assignments of sequences for Easter Week locates the likely origin of the earliest strata of repertoire in the western part of the German-speaking realm. Notker's sequence *Sancti spiritus assit* for the feast of Pentecost is then taken as a case study represented the earliest layer of sequence repertoire. The comparative analysis of melodic variants produces a regional typology of the melody that narrows the origin of the Preetz version of the sequence to the Rhineland, an identification that is supported by the similarity of the Preetz Gradual's notation to Rhenish precedents.

A second line of inquiry focuses on documenting and describing the sequence repertoire of Kloster Preetz. While the repertoire of Preetz differs substantially from that of the surrounding diocese of Lübeck, Kloster Preetz did not remain unaffected by diocesan and regional practice. Rather, it seems that the sequence repertoire of the

cloister resulted from a creative synthesis that maintained older traditions while selectively appropriating pieces from Lübeck and beyond. The maintenance of an older repertoire and notational style points to the protection of a distinct repertoire, but not to the exclusion of adding new sequences from the diocese and region. Case studies of the most unusual sequences found in the Preetz repertoire are transcribed and analyzed for their musical and textual characteristics. One notable example is the adaptation of a well-known sequence into an idiosyncratic refrain form, whose text reflects the particular circumstances of the community of Preetz: the stunning version of *Letabundus exultet* found in the cloister attests to an awareness of the cloister as a community, expressing the acts of corporate singing and devotion to the Virgin in traditionally feminine metaphor derived from the *Song of Songs*.

In sum, the music for the mass in the Preetz Gradual is distinct from that of the neighboring diocese. It preserves an original layer of material that seems to originate in the Rhineland; later repertoire reflects the selective appropriation of music from the diocese of Lübeck and the surrounding region, likely transmitted by the clergy who served the convent.

Introit Tropes

The Preetz Gradual may be considered conservative in that it retains examples of *proprium* troping—that is, the addition of text and music to the pre-existing proper chants of the mass—a practice that became increasingly infrequent after the year 1100. Andreas Haug has shown that despite the fact that few *proprium* tropes were composed after the year 1100, many manuscripts termed *troparia tardiva* (or late tropers) continued to

transmit earlier-composed tropes even as late as the sixteenth century, primarily in the German-speaking realm.⁶

As an example of this continued tradition, the Preetz Gradual may be considered a *troparium tardivum*, or late troper. Despite its fragmentary state, leaves remain that contain tropes for the introit *Etenim sederunt* for the feast of St. Stephen and *In medio ecclesie* for St. John the Evangelist. It is likely that the introits for Christmas Day and for the feast of the Holy Innocents, both missing from the Gradual, were also troped as was common practice in the late medieval *Kurztropar*, a type of “short troper” that transmits proper tropes primarily for the feasts of Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John, and Holy Innocents (25–28 December).⁷

While Anna von Buchwald is silent on the topic of troping, the *mis-en-page* of the troped introits in the Preetz Gradual may give provide some information regarding performance practice. Figure 5.1 reproduces the afore-mentioned troped introit *Etenim sederunt* for the feast of St. Stephen, Preetz Gradual, fol. 9v.

⁶ Andreas Haug, *Troparia tardiva: Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, Subsidia 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 2–3.

⁷Ibid., 7.



Figure 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt* for St. Stephen, Preetz Gradual, fol. 9v

On this folio, the scribe has given the base chant *Etenim sederunt* both phrase-by-phrase, in alternation with the troped elements, and written out in full as a repetendum following the psalm and doxology verses. Visible on the second line is the first trope element beginning with the text *Domine Ih[esu] Xp[ist]e*, marked with a large filigree puzzle initial *D*. This trope element continues onto the third line, followed by the first phrase of the introit base chant, *Eteni[m] sederu[n]t principes*. Six more trope elements follow in

alternation with phrases of the base chant and its psalm verse *Beati immaculati* and doxology verse abbreviated as *Gl'a*. On the penultimate line, following the last trope element, the base chant of the introit *Etenim* is given in full, beginning with the large puzzle initial *E* and concluding on the next folio. Whereas a layout in which troped elements are given separately from the base chant, allowing for a selective performance of the tropes, the intercalated presentation of the trope elements in the Preetz Gradual suggests an established performance practice in which all trope elements would be performed in a determined order.

An analysis of the trope repertoire of the Preetz Gradual suggests a strong correlation with early manuscripts from St. Gall and Bamberg; however, the process of transmission northward to Preetz is much less certain. It seems unlikely that the tropes were transmitted through Lübeck; the notated manuscripts from Lübeck contain only the single widely-disseminated trope *Hodie cantandus est* for the introit *Puer natus est* for Christmas Day.⁸

The contents and order of the troped elements for the introit *In medio* for the feast of St. John (27 December) are given below in Table 5.1.

⁸ Ibid., 47–49. Several more tropes for the Introit *Puer natus est* are found in the fifteenth-century unnotated missal from Lübeck, D-LÜh 2° 40, fol. 18r.

Table 5.1. Trope Elements for the Introit *In Medio*, Preetz Gradual, fols. 10v–11r.

	<i>CT number</i>	<i>CT volume and page</i>
Introit: <i>In Medio</i>		
Quoniam Dominus Iesus Kristus Sanctum Iohannem plus quam ceteros diligebat apostolos	15	I.186
IN MEDIO APERUIT OS EIUS		
Ut sacramentum fidei et verbum coaeternum patri scriptis pariter et dictis praedicaret	16	I.210
ET IMPLEVIT EUM DOMINUS		
Qui eum in tantum dilexit ut in cena sacratissima supra pectus suum ipsum recumbere permisisset	17	I.178
SPIRITU SAPIENTIAE...INDUIT EUM		
Quo inspirante evangelizavit dicens in principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum et dues erat verbum	18	I.186
STOLA GLORIE INDUIT EUM		
Inde nos monititi peccata nostra confitentes tibi Christe sanctoque Iohanni psallimus dicentes	19	I.118
PS. BONUM EST CONFITER		
Quam trinitatis gloriam dilectus iste domini Iohannes profundissime et intellexit et excellenter pronuntiavit	20	I.169
IN MEDIO... (full repeat)		

The introit *In medio* for St. John uses trope elements 15–20, a set which does not appear in exactly the same order in any of the pre-1100 sources documented in *Corpus troporum*. The elements of the Preetz trope set are not present in the earliest tenth-century sources from St. Gall, namely CH-SGs 484 and 381. The earliest examples of manuscripts from St. Gall that include these elements are the mid- to late-eleventh century manuscripts CH-SGs 376, 378, 380, and 382, representing the second layer of St.

Gall repertoire: however, each of these manuscripts transmits this set along with additional trope elements.⁹

The manuscript D-BAs 6 from Regensburg, dated to circa 975, contains the trope elements 15–19 and 20c, suggesting an origin for this trope set not in St. Gall, but rather in medieval Bavaria. The trope elements 15–19 and 20c are also preserved in the tenth-century GB-Ob Selden supra 27 from Eichstätt (the second of two trope sets), A-Wn 1845 from Seeon, and D-Mbs clm 14322 from Regensburg. Other near matches include: D-Kl 4°15 from Kaufungen (all but 20c) and D-Kl 4°25 from Seeon (the first of two trope sets).¹⁰

Many more exact matches may be found the collection of *troparia tardiva* edited by Andreas Haug; these sources date from after 1100. Manuscripts in this study having an identical set of trope elements for the introit *In medio* as that preserved in the Preetz Gradual: the Bamberg manuscripts D-BAs 4, 9, 11, 22, and 45; D-Bsb 40045 (Halberstadt); D-Bsb 40078 (Quedlinburg); A-Gu 756 (Seckau); A-Gu 807 (Klosterneuburg); A-Iu Frg. A4 (unknown, German); D-Kl 2° Ms. theol. 55 (Hersfeld); A-KN 588 (Klosterneuberg); A-LIs 466; D-Mbs clm 17019 (Schäftlarn); GB-Ob Can. lit. 341 (Innichen/San Candide); I-Ra 948 (unknown, German); A-SF 205A and 209 (Sankt-Florian); NI-Uu 417 (Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Utrecht); A-Wn 13314 (Seckau); D-WÜms 165; and CZ-Pak 7 (also includes elements 21 and 46).¹¹ Based on this evidence, it appears that this trope set originated in late tenth-century Bavaria, was transmitted to

⁹ Ritva Jonsson, ed. *Corpus Troporum I: Tropes du Propre de la Messe. 1. Cycle de Noël*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975), 236–239.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 237.

¹¹ Andreas Haug, *Troparia tardiva*, 17–82, 84–85.

St. Gall by the mid-eleventh century, and later became widespread throughout present-day Germany and Austria.

The tropes for the introit *Etenim sederunt* for the feast of St. Stephen from the Preetz Gradual have a more limited distribution and therefore narrow the group of manuscripts that could be related to the Preetz Gradual. The Preetz gradual trope set for the introit *Etenim sederunt* are given below in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Trope Elements for the Introit *Etenim sederunt*, Preetz Gradual fols. 9v–10r

	<i>CT number</i>	<i>CT volume and page</i>
Introit: <i>Etenim sederunt</i> (Feast of St. Stephen) fols. 9v–10r		
Domine Ihesu Xriste summe princeps quia te praedicabam et colui Et in tuo nomine multa opertatus sum miracula	16	I.82
ETENIM SEDERUNT		
Qui se existamabant legis esse peritos suisque mendaciis me vincere cupiebant	17	I.182
ET ADVERSUM ME LOQUABANTUR		
Me seductorem legisque mosaycae blasphematorum esse dicentes	18	I.137
ET INIQUI PERSECUTI SUNT ME		
Cum lapidibus interficientes comunemque cunctis sepulturam michi denegantes	19	I.74
ADIUVA ME DOMINE DEUS MEUS		
In quo omnem spem meum fiduciamque positam habeo	20	I.121
QUIA SERVUS TUUS		
PS. BEATI IMMACULATI IN VIA		
Pro qua venerandus Stephanus usque ad mortem viriliter disputando certavit	21	I.163
GLORIA PATRI		
Quam iste adeo servavit ut morti pro ipsa succubuerit	6	I.168
ETENIM... (full repeat)		

The Preetz Gradual trope set for the introit *Etenim sederunt* consists of elements 16–21 and 6; while all of these elements are present in the earliest manuscript source from St. Gall, they appear in a different order and in combination with other elements.¹² Elements 16–21 appear as a set in CH-SGs 484, with element 6 appearing in an earlier grouping in the manuscript. The use of element 6 as a doxology trope finds precedence in the later manuscripts from St. Gall: SGs 376 and 378. Exact matches for the trope set for *Etenim sederunt* found in the Preetz Gradual may be found in D-Kl 2° Ms. theol. 25 (Fritzlar, mid-eleventh century, and D-BAs 6 (Regensburg, Sankt Emeram ca.1000).¹³

As for trope sets for the introit *Etenim sederunt* found in Haug's *Troparia tardiva* study, exact matches can be found in the Bamberg sources D-BAs 4 (eleventh-twelfth century), D-BAs 11 (twelfth century), D-BAs 45 (fourteenth century), A-Ls 271 (Garsten, twelfth century), D-Mbs 27130 (Ottobeuren, eleventh-twelfth century, GB-Ob Can. lit. 340 (Admont for Moggio, ca.1210) and I-Ra 948 (unknown German, twelfth century).¹⁴

In sum, while the trope sets in the Preetz Gradual for the introits *In medio* and *Etenim sederunt* find precedent in earlier and contemporary manuscripts, the two sets originate in two different geographic locations, Bavaria and St. Gall, but had crossed this regional barrier by the eleventh century. However, there is no one source that contains

¹² Jonsson ed. *Corpus Troporum I*, 231–234.

¹³ Near matches to the Preetz gradual trope set for *Etenim* appear in D-Msb clm 14083 and 14322 (Regensburg, St. Emmeram) in which the order of the last two elements has been reversed. Several related lineages of trope sets for *Etenim* appear in late tropers: for example, A-Gu 807 and other Austrian sources manifest the same reversal of the last two elements seen in the St. Emmeram sources. Another common pattern visible in northern German sources—for example, in D-Bsb 40045 (Halberstadt), D-Bsb 40078 (Quedlinburg) and D-Kl 2° Ms. theol. 15 (Kaufungen)—omits the final trope element. See Haug, *Troparia tardiva*, 17–89.

¹⁴ GB-Ob Can. lit. 340 and I-Ra 948 are manuscripts influenced by the Hirsau reform. See Lori Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, “The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997), 280–333.

both sets in exactly the same form as the Preetz Gradual. This suggests that the tropes found in the Preetz Gradual were either copied from a lost or uncataloged source, compiled from multiple sources, or re-ordered after their initial reception. The initial evidence suggested a strong correlation with St. Gall and Bavaria, however, it seems that the two trope sets were either transmitted separately, or through an unidentified source.

In light of the damage sustained to the folios that contain the troped introit for St. John, the introit *Etenim sederunt* for St. Stephen will serve as a sample transcription, given below as Musical Example 5.1.

Trope element 16

SG 484 - ✓ ̂ ̂ - ✓ 1 ✓ ρ ̂ ✓ ̂ 1 - ✓ 1 - ̂ - ̂ -

P

Do - mi - ne Ihe - su Xri - ste sum - me prin - ceps qui - a te - pre - di - ca - bam et co lu - i

Q

A

B

SG 484 - 1 ✓ - 1 ̂ - - ρ - ̂ - ✓ ̂ - ̂ 1 ̂ -

P

et in tu - o no - mi - ne mul - - - ta o - pe - ra - tus sum mi - ra - cu - la

Q

A

B

Musical Example 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt*

P

ET - E - NIM SE - DE RUNT PRIN CI PES

Q

A

B

Trope element 17

SG 484

P

Qui se e - xi - sti - ma - bant le - gis e - sse pe - ri - tos su - is que men - da - ci - is me vin - ce - re cu - pi - e - bant

Q

A

B

Musical Example 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt* (continued)

Trope element 18

SG 484 - / / / / - / / / / / / / / - / . / []

P
ET AD-VER - SUM ME LO-QUE BA - TUR me se-duc - to - rem le-gis que Mo - sa - y - ce blas-phe-ma - to - rum

Q

A

B

P
ET IN I - - - QUI PER - - SE - CU - - - TI SUNT ME

Q

A

B

Musical Example 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt* (continued)

Trope element 19

SG 484 *eP / / / - / P - / / - - / / - P X / P X - / N / N P /*

P
Cum la-pi-di-bus in-ter-fi-ci-en-tes co-mmu-nem - que cun-tis se-pul-ta-ram mi-chi - de-ne-gran-tes

Q

A

B

Trope element 20

SG 484 *P - / - ñ ~ / e / / - / - / - / / . /*

P
AD-IU-VA ME DO-MI - NE DE - US ME - US in quo om-nem spem me - am fi-du-ci-am que po-si-tam ha-be - o

Q

A

B

Musical Example 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt* (continued)

P
QUI-A SER - VUS TU - US E-XERCE - BA - TUR IN TU - IS IUSTIFI - CA - TI - O - NI - BUS

Q

A

B

P
Ps.BE A - TI IM-MA CU LA - TI IN VI - A QUI AM - BU-LANT IN LE - GE DO - MI - NI

Q

A

B

Musical Example 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt* (continued)

Trope element 21

SG 484

P

Q

A

B

Pro-qua ve-ne-ran - dus Ste-pha - nus us-que ad mor - tem vi - ri - li - ter dis - pu - tan - do cer - ta - vit

Trope element 6

SG 484

P

Q

A

B

GLO-RI - A Quam i-ste a de-o di - le-xit ut mor-te pro ip - sa suc - cu - bu - e - rit ET E - NIM

Musical Example 5.1. Troped Introit *Etenim sederunt* (continued)

The melody and intercalated layout from the Preetz Gradual (“P” in the transcription) have been preserved in the transcription, with adiaستمatic neumes from the tenth-century CH-SGs 484 added above the staff. Three other diastematic sources

have been synoptically transcribed: “Q” in the transcription represents D-Bsb 40078 (Quedlinburg, twelfth century); “A” represents GB-Ob Can. lit. 340 (Admont for Moggio, early thirteenth century) and “B” represents D-BAs 45 (Bamberg, fifteenth century.) In comparing the three diastematic sources to CH-SGs 484, I have used a simple methodology to distinguish variants: brackets underneath each melodic line indicate moments when neumes have either been expanded to include more pitches (marked as “e”) or reduced to represent fewer pitches (marked as “r”). It is evident that source A, GB-Ob Can. lit. 340, tends towards melodic expansion in its interpretation of the melody as given in CH-SGs 484, in the form of passing tones, anticipatory tones, etc. Source B, D-BAs 45, has the exact opposite tendency of reducing the number of pitches, often rendering two-pitched neumes with a single note. Source P (the Preetz Gradual) and source Q (D-Bsb 40078 from Quedlinberg) resemble each other more, and, in general, present fewer melodic expansions or reductions of material. These tendencies can be seen throughout the trope set, with source A containing the most melodic variation. Trope element 6, the doxology trope, presents much more melodic variation between examples. While sources A and B maintain the strictly syllabic setting indicated by CH-SGs 484, Preetz expands the neumes to include two pitches in two instances. The three sources concur on starting and concluding pitches, but diverge widely in the middle of the line. Whereas B usually maintains the *a* reciting center of the introit psalm verse, Preetz and A rise above to *d* and *c* respectively, more along the lines of the melodic contour in the previous trope element 21.

From this brief analysis, it may be concluded that the Preetz and Quedlinburg sources share a similar, though not identical line of transmission; however, the

transmission process for the final trope element seems to be distinct. Among the notated sources of the example trope set, Preetz and Quedlinburg appear to maintain the most conservative melodic renderings, possibly indicating an early branch of transmission.

Alleluias

Post-Pentecost Sunday and Easter Week Alleluia Verses

The alleluia repertoire of the Gradual presents a case of the simultaneous use of older, widely disseminated melodies and their associated texts, alongside newer compositions, some of which have not been previously documented. I have analyzed the extant repertoire of alleluia verses from the Preetz Gradual by age and liturgical usage using Karlheinz Schlager's thematic catalogs and inventories.¹⁵ Alleluias used for the Temporale and for the Common of Saints by and large represent a strata of pre-1100 material. By contrast, those examples used for the Sanctorale and for Marian masses include many more alleluias that appear in the manuscript tradition after 1100, among them examples of local repertoire and some previously undocumented compositions.

Among the older strata of material in the alleluia repertoire are those texts used for Easter Week and the Sundays following Pentecost. In a methodology developed by Heinrich Husmann and David Hiley, the comparison of the repertoire and ordering of the

¹⁵ See Karlheinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien I: bis 1100*, MMMA, 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968); *Alleluia-Melodien II: ab 1100*, MMMA, 8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987); and "Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire," edited by Bruno Stäblein. *Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft* 2 (München: Walther Riecke, 1965).

“row” of alleluia verses for the Sundays following Pentecost has proven a reliable method for establishing shared lineages between manuscript sources.¹⁶

The row of alleluias given for post-Pentecost Sundays in the Preetz Gradual finds no match with manuscripts from Lübeck or other regional sources, confirming that the Preetz Gradual was copied from a separate manuscript lineage than remaining sources from Lübeck Cathedral, and other cloisters and parishes within the city.¹⁷ The alleluia row of Preetz is compared with similar rows in Table 5.3, Post-Pentecost Sunday Alleluia Verses. The first point to note in this table is that the Preetz Gradual has two assignments for the first Sunday of Pentecost: 7a, *Alleluia, Domine Deus meus*, a choice more typical of German sources, and 5 *Alleluia, Verba mea*. The former is more typical of German sources; the latter appears in selected French sources.¹⁸ It is probable that Preetz inherited these two alleluias from two unrelated lineages: the more typically French *Alleluia, Verba mea* appears to have limited circulation in Lübeck, appearing in the *Missale Aboense*, printed in Lübeck by Bartholomäus Ghotan in 1488, and the gradual D-LÜh 11, originating from an unidentified Lübeck cloister. A female patron paid for the 1415

¹⁶ See Heinrich Husmann, “Die Oster- und Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie und ihre historischen Beziehungen” in *Dansk aarbog for musikforskning* (1964–65): 3–62, and David Hiley, “Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies,” in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, edited by Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 145–174.

¹⁷ The Preetz Gradual alleluia row was compared with those of Lübeck manuscripts D-LÜh 2° 11, 12, 17, 18, 32, 40 and 46.

¹⁸ See David Hiley, “Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies,” especially 151 Table 5; 154 Table 7; 157 Table 9; 160–64 Tables 10–13; 166 Tables 14–16. See Appendix, 171–174, for a numerical order of psalms used for alleluia verses.

binding of the gradual D-LÜh 11 in her father's memory, suggesting that the book may have been intended for use in a women's house.¹⁹

An automated comparison of the Post-Pentecost alleluia series, minus the atypical assignment of *Alleluia, Verba mea*, reveals the greatest degree of overlap with printed sources of the Benedictine Bursfeld reform.²⁰ The Bursfeld group contains all of the verses in the Preetz gradual, with the addition of 116a on the seventeenth Sunday and 147b on the twentieth-fourth Sunday.²¹ This means that if the compilers of the Preetz Gradual modeled the alleluia series on a series received from Bursfeld reformed books, they would have had to have altered that series to remove two alleluias. It seems more likely that the Preetz Gradual and the Bursfeld printed books received similar alleluia series from an earlier shared lineage.

¹⁹ D-LÜh 2° 11. The donor inscription translates, "Telseke van Stove, Mr. Johan van Stove's daughter, had this book bound, may God be merciful to him, in the year of our Lord 1415 on the Sunday when *Iudica* is sung." Franz Helmut Weber notes that Johan van Stowe died in the year 1400. See Franz Helmut Weber, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Theologicorum Latinarum necnon Philosophicorum quos Asservat Bibliotheca Urbica Lubicensis*. Unpublished handwritten catalog. (Lübeck: Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck, 1934–1936), 12–13. A woman bearing the same family name is listed in the Preetz register of nuns, suggesting a familial connection to the convent.

²⁰ David Hiley, personal communication, 13 December, 2007. According to Hiley, Jeremy Noble transcribed the Bursfeld series from an unidentified printed source.

²¹ David Hiley, personal communication, 28 November 2007. It possible to search Alleluia series for Post-Pentecost Sundays using an interactive database designed by David Hiley and Robert Klugseder, and accessible through the website of the Cantus Planus study group of the IMS. However, the printed Bursfeld source appears not to be included in this database. The interactive database is available at http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/.

Table 5.3. Post-Pentecost Sunday Alleluia Verses

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Sundays after Pentecost												
Pretz Gradual verse no.	007a; 005	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064+	077	080	087	089
Verse text	Dne deus meus; Verba mea	Deus iudex iustus	Diligam te	Dne in virtute	In te dne speravi	Omnes gentes	Eripe me	Te decet/ Replebimur	Attendite	Exultate	Dne deus salutis	Dne refugium
Sundays after Pentecost												
I-Rvat 181 verse no.	007a	007b	017	030	020	046	058	064+	077	080	087	089
OSB Bursfeld verse no.	007a	007b	017	010	030	046	058	064	077	080	087	089
Sundays after Pentecost												
Pretz Gradual verse no.	094a	094c	101a	107	113c	113a	114	117	129	145		
Verse text	Venite exultemus	Quoniam deus magnus	Dne exaudi orationem	Paratum cor meum	Qui timet Dnm	In exitu	Dilexi quoniam	Dextera dei dns	De profundi clamavi	Lauda anima mea dnm		
Sundays after Pentecost												
I-Rvat 181 verse no.	094a	094c	101a	107	113c	113a	114	117	129	145	145- 147b	147b
OSB Bursfeld verse no.	094a	094c	101a	107	113c	113a	114	116a	117	129	145	147b

An even closer match to the post-Pentecost alleluia verse series in the Preetz Gradual may be found in a revised series of alleluias contained in I-Rvat 181, a gradual believed to be from Sts. Peter and Paul in Erfurt.²² As seen in Table 5.3, I-Rvat 181 includes an older notated series, and a newer series indicated in a series of incipits added to the manuscript. The changes occur from the fifteenth Sunday on: those numbers in the table in “strikethrough” style represent those alleluias from the original series that were replaced by the new series.²³ While the original series does not match that from the Preetz Gradual; the new replacement does, with several exceptions: the absence of the second alleluia (5.2 *Alleluia, Verba mea*) on the first Sunday after Pentecost, and the reversal of Psalms 20 and 30 for the fourth and fifth Sundays. The new series in I-Rvat 181 includes Psalm 147b for the twenty-third Sunday, though this Sunday may be missing from the Preetz gradual due to damage to the manuscript.²⁴ Like the series in Preetz, this series is similar to that of Bursfeld, with the exception of the omission 116a, *Alleluia, Dilexi quoniam* that is found in the Bursfeld series. This alleluia was part of the original series in I-Rvat 181, but was replaced in the newer reformed series: a choice that does not make sense if the reformed series was received from Bursfeld. Thus, it seems likely that the reformed series of Post-Pentecost alleluias given in I-Rvat 181, almost identical to that of the Preetz Gradual, was not received from Bursfeld. More likely, the reform of I-Rvat 181 shares a similar lineage with the Preetz Gradual that pre-dates the circulation of standardized exemplars by the Bursfeld reform.

²² See Beate Braun, “Zur Lokalisierung und Datierung des Codex Vaticanus Rossianus 181 ehemals Wien-Lainz, Bibliotheca Rossiana, Cod. VIII, 120,” *Codices Manuscripti* 12 (1986), 53–75.

²³ See I-Rvat 181, fols. 171–189.

²⁴ David Hiley, personal communication, 28 November 2007.

Another connection to I-Rvat 181 is found in the unusual alleluia verse assignments for Easter Week given in the Preetz Gradual. This series of alleluia verses does not match any of the examples included in Heinrich Husmann’s formative study, with the exception of I-Rvat 181.²⁵ The row is given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. Easter Week Alleluia Verses, Preetz Gradual.

Day	Alleluia and Verse
Mon	<i>Alleluia, Nonne cor nostrum ardens</i>
	<i>Alleluia, Angelus domini, Respondens autem</i>
Tues	<i>Alleluia, Surgens Ihesus</i>
Wed	<i>Alleluia, Xristus resurgens</i>
Thu	<i>Alleluia, In die resurrectionis</i>
Fri	<i>Alleluia, Crucifixus surrexit a mortuis</i>

The alleluia series for Easter week, like the post-Pentecost series, does not match those found in the Lübeck sources, or from any of the North German or Scandinavian sources documented by Husmann. This suggests a different source for material in the Easter cycle, a difference that will be confirmed below by an analysis of the sequence repertoire for Easter week.

In sum, while an examination of the alleluia series from Easter Week and the Sundays following Pentecost has not aided in establishing a definite manuscript lineage of the Preetz Gradual, the results do show the gradual’s origin was different than the other practices documented in Lübeck manuscripts, and may hold some aspects in common with the reformed practice documented in I-Rvat 181 from Erfurt. A similarity with assignments in the standardized liturgy of the Bursfeld Reform possibly results from older regional contact between traditions: neither I-Rvat 181 nor the Preetz Gradual

²⁵ Heinrich Husmann, “Die Oster- und Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie,” 18, 23.

appear to be products of the Bursfeld Reform. It is also possible that the Preetz practice received an additional alleluia for the first Sunday after Pentecost through contact with another institution in Lübeck, namely the house that produced the gradual D-LÜh 2° 11.

Local Alleluias and Unica in the Preetz Gradual

Among the alleluias assigned to feasts of the Sanctorale and Marian masses, there appear six alleluias not documented in Karlheinz Schlager's thematic catalog and comprehensive editions of alleluia melodies, as given below in Table 5.5. Two of these alleluias are also found in Lübeck sources assigned to the feasts of John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, reflecting the rise in popularity of the cults of the two Johns, and in particular, the increase in liturgical importance of the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate and the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist.²⁶ Several other previously undocumented alleluias also appear for late saints and the Virgin Mary. All but one of these texts set to pre-existing melodies. This indicates that while the Preetz Gradual retained a distinctive musical practice as seen in its oldest layers of repertoire, it also preserves pieces selectively appropriated from Lübeck practice. In addition, new pieces were either adopted or written for festal and devotional occasions.

²⁶ For more on the growth of the cult of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist in the German late Middle Ages, particularly in women's houses, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: the Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002) and *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of John the Evangelist at the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest*, edited by Jeffrey H. Hamburger (Cambridge: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2008.) For more on liturgical music for John the Evangelist, and differences between men's and women's practices, see Lori Kruckenberg, "Music for St. John the Evangelist: Virtue and Virtuosity at the Convent of Paradies," *idem*, 133–160 (Cambridge: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2008).

Table 5.5. Previously Undocumented Alleluias in the Preetz Gradual

Folio	Incipit	Melody	Liturgical Assignment	Concordances
11v	<i>Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes</i>	ThK 140 (<i>Alleluia, Xristus resurgens</i>)	John the Evangelist	D-LÜh 11, 12, 17, 32, Tallinn Codex, D-Müu s.n., D-MÜd GV 269, CZ-HKm Hr 05, CZ-CBj DCM 727
95r	<i>Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem</i>	ThK 222	Beheading of John the Baptist	D-LÜh 11, 12, 17, 21, Tallinn Codex
115v	<i>Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix</i>	unidentified		
115v-116	<i>Alleluia, Regina misericordie</i>	ThK 169	Marian	D-BK 148 (Trier); D-Müd 269 (Enniger Pfarrkirche)
122v	<i>Alleluia, Protege pastor</i>	ThK 169	Francis	
126r	<i>Alleluia, Felix summi</i>	<i>Alleluia, Conversus Ihesus</i>	Elizabeth	

Musical Example 5.2 transcribes *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes* from the Preetz Gradual, fol. 11v. This alleluia takes as its melody ThK 140, with its primary verse *Xristus resurgens*. The Preetz Gradual records both the melodies of both *Alleluia, Xristus resurgens* and *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes* transposed to *a*.

The text of *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes* reads:

Alleluia. The virgin John was pre-chosen by the Lord,
and was more beloved than all the rest

In Preetz, this piece is assigned to the feast of John the Evangelist on 28 December, with the more common *Alleluia, Hic est discipulis* appearing on the octave. It seems likely that *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes* was a latecomer that displaced the earlier *Alleluia, Hic est discipulis*. Indeed, *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes* appears in six Lübeck sources: in D-LÜh 2° 11 and D-LÜh 2° 32, it appears in a separate section of late alleluias not ordered by feast,

indicating that it was a later addition to this traditions as well.²⁷ It is found integrated into the main feast of John the Evangelist (27 December) in Lübeck Cathedral gradual D-LÜh 2° 12 (1442) as the sole alleluia for that feast.²⁸ In the gradual D-LÜh 2° 17, also from the Lübeck Cathedral, it is the second of two alleluias assigned the feast, following *Alleluia, Hic est discipulis*.²⁹ It also appears in several manuscript sources from the Münster area: D-MÜd 269 from the Enniger Pfarrkirche, and in a recently discovered thirteenth-century gradual housed in the collegiate church of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian, (D-MÜu s.n.).³⁰ The latter source appears to be the oldest known exemplar. The alleluia is furthermore transmitted in two sources now conserved in the Czech Republic, namely the gradual CZ-HKm Hr 5; II A 5, B 4 now housed in the Museum of Eastern Bohemia, Hradec Králové, and the gradual CZ-CBj DCM 727, conserved in the Museum of South Bohemia, České Budějovice.³¹

I cannot explain the appearance of this previously undocumented alleluia in diverse sources from the diocese of Lübeck, the Münster area, and two sources from the Czech Republic. It seems safe to say, however, that based on its location within manuscript sources, *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes* was a late addition to the Lübeck repertoire; only in sources of the mid-fifteenth century does it appear associated with the 27

²⁷ D-LÜh 2° 11, fols. 168v–169, D-LÜh 2° 32, fol. 107r: the latter source has the rubric *Iohannis ante portam latinam*.

²⁸ D-LÜh 2° 12, fol. 8v.

²⁹ D-LÜh 2° 17, fols. 117v–118r.

³⁰ See Martin Klöckener and Wilfried Schouwink, “Ein Graduale des 13. Jahrhunderts in der Stiftskirche St. Cornelius und Cyprianus in Metelen/Westfalen,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 43/44 (2001/02), 313–61.

³¹ The date and provenance of the two Czech graduals is unknown. See <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbObsahRKP.asp?ID=190> [accessed 5.April 2011]; and <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbObsahRKP.asp?ID=159> [accessed 5.April 2011]

December feast of John the Evangelist. The amount of variation between the sources is minimal, and usually consists of new readings created by the ambiguities of Gothic notation, for instance, in melodic places one occupied by the quilisma neume. An exception is the somewhat simplified melody that appears in D-LÜh 2° 32.

Al - le - - - - - lu - - - - - ia _____

(a) _____

v. Vir - go _____ Io - han - - - - - nes _____

a do - - - - - mi - no est _____ pre - - - - - e - lec - tus

et _____

_____ in _____ ter _____ ce - te _____ ros

ma - gis _____ di - lec - tus _____

Musical Example 5.2. *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes*

Another previously undocumented alleluia that appears both in Kloster Preetz and Lübeck sources is *Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem* for the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist, 28 August. The distribution of this piece, set to the melody ThK 222, *Alleluia, Dominus in virtute*, appears to be limited to the diocese of Lübeck. The text of *Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem* is taken from a text used for both an Office antiphon and Matins verse for the feast of the Beheading.³²

Alleluia text

*Arguebat Herodem Iohannes propter Herodiadem
quam tulerat fratri suo Phillipi uxorem*

Alleluia translation

John accused Herod on account of Herodiade
his wife, whom he had taken from his brother Phillip

In Preetz, this alleluia appears in the Sanctorale, as a second alleluia assigned to the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist.³³ In the gradual D-LÜh 2° 11, dating to 1415, this piece appears in a collection of late alleluias transcribed in a section separate from the Sanctorale. In the Lübeck Cathedral gradual D-LÜh 2° 12 copied in 1442, this alleluia is not in the Sanctorale, but in a section dedicated to Marian devotional material, along with the sequence *Psallite regi nostro* with the rubric “de uno martire,” and this despite the specific textual references to John the Baptist. In D-LÜh 2° 17 and D-LÜh 2° 18, it appears in the Sanctorale, assigned to the feast of the Beheading. Thus, *Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem* appears to have been a late addition to the liturgy for St. John the

³² CAO 1482, CAO 7167a.

³³ Preetz Gradual, fol. 95r.

Baptist, integrated into the festal liturgy at some time in the fifteenth century. Musical Example 5.3 is a transcription of *Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem* from the Preetz Gradual.³⁴

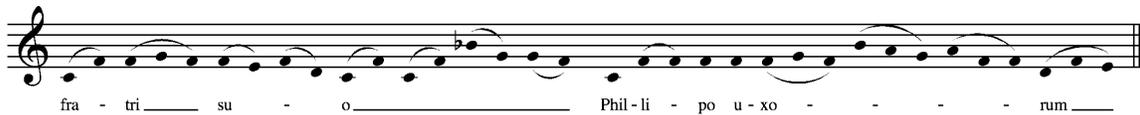
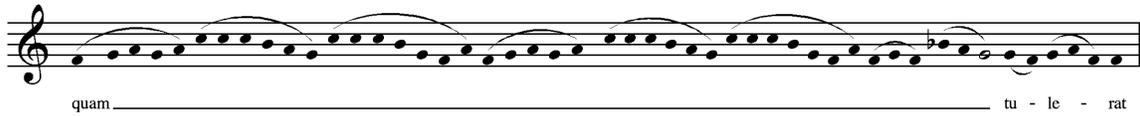
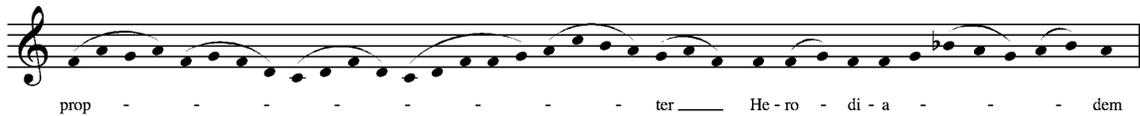
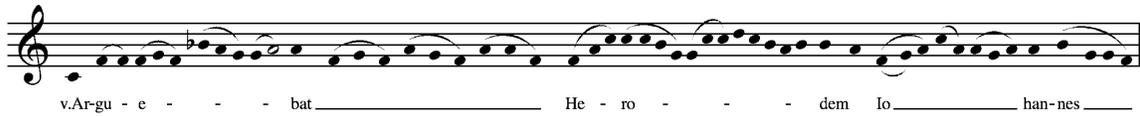
Alleluia: Arguebat Herodem, D-LÜh 11, 169v



Alleluia: Arguebat Herodem, Preetz Gradual 95r



Alleluia: Arguebat Herodem, Preetz Gradual (continued)



Musical Example 5.3. *Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem.*

Line 1 of Musical Example 5.3 transcribes the *Alleluia, Arguebat Herodem* with its full *iubilus*, as recorded in the gradual D-LÜh 2° 11. Line 2 on transcribes the alleluia as it appears in the Preetz Gradual, with truncated version of the iubilus. As with *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes*, there is minimal variation between the Preetz and Lübeck sources. This may suggest a piece that was disseminated over a short period of time, perhaps in written

³⁴ Preetz Gradual, fol. 95r.

form. The transmission of these alleluias reflects an increasing veneration of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, visible in Germany throughout the fourteenth century, particularly in manuscript sources from women's houses.³⁵ The two alleluias for St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist represent later additions to well-established feasts that were circulated in the Lübeck, and possibly used for votive occasions before being integrated into the festal repertoire.

The Preetz Gradual also contains previously undocumented alleluias for two thirteenth-century saints: *Alleluia, Protege pastor* for St. Francis of Assisi, canonized in 1228, and *Alleluia, Felix summi* for his follower, St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, canonized in 1235.

Alleluia, Protege Pastor for St. Francis appears in the Sanctorable portion of the Preetz Gradual, assigned to his feast along with the sequence *Letabundus Francisco*, a contrafact of Italian origin. *Alleluia, Protege pastor* also appears in the source D-MÜd 269, from the Enniger Pfarrkirche.³⁶ The text reads:

Alleluia text

*Alleluia. Protege pastor bone Sancte Francisce animas nostras omnibus horis
et pro tuo grege dominum ora*

Alleluia translation

Alleluia. Protect, good shepherd Saint Francis, our souls in every hour
and pray for your flock to the Lord

³⁵ See nt. 26.

³⁶ D-MÜd 269, fols. 297v–298r.

Alleluia, Protege pastor is set to the melody ThK 169. For a transcription of this melody, see Musical Example 5.5. *Alleluia, Regina misericordie*, below.³⁷

Alleluia, Felix summi for St. Elizabeth has no known manuscript concordances. The text of the alleluia draws on a Magnificat antiphon text for Elizabeth. Both texts address her as the spouse of Christ and request her intercession.

Musical Example 5.4 transcribes *Alleluia, Felix summi* from the Preetz Gradual.³⁸

Al - le - - - - - lu - ia _____

2
(a) _____

3
v.Fe - - - - - lix sum - mi spon - sa _____ re - gis

4
E - - - - - li - sa - - - - - bet

5
ce - le - - - - - stem pro _____ tu - - - - - is _____ spon - - - - - sum

6
O - - - - - ra fam - - - - - mu - lis _____

Musical Example 5.4. *Alleluia, Felix summi sponsa regis.*

³⁷ Preetz Gradual, fol. 122v.

³⁸ Preetz Gradual, fol. 126r.

Below, the texts of the Magnificat antiphon and the alleluia are compared, with shared elements given in boldface.

Magnificat antiphon text

O beata **sponsa Christi Elisabeth** quae meruisti apud regem angelorum suscitatrix mortuorum fieri quam plurimum **felix** tui depressio superbis fit repressio et robur humilium tu **pro nobis** mater pia roga **regem** omnium ut post hoc exsilium nobis det vera gaudia.³⁹

Alleluia text

*Alleluia. **Felix summi sponsa regis Elisabet**
celestem pro tuis sponsum ora famulis*

Alleluia translation

Alleluia. Elizabeth, happy spouse of the highest king,
Pray for your little ones to your heavenly spouse

Finally, the Preetz Gradual preserves two previously undocumented Marian alleluias. In late medieval German graduals, it is not unusual to find a collection of Marian alleluias and sequences without a specific festal assignment in the Sanctorale following the feast of the Assumption or at the very end of the Sanctorale section. In practice, these unassigned pieces found a liturgical use in the weekly masses devoted to the Virgin.⁴⁰ In the Preetz Gradual, this section of Marian material is placed instead following the feast of the Nativity of Mary, the convent's patron feast.⁴¹ Among this group of post-1100 Marian alleluias are two previously documented pieces: the first is

³⁹ This antiphon text appears in the CANTUS database with multiple melodies, including Flo 0249.

⁴⁰ For a comparable case in the Utrecht repertoire, see Calvin M. Bower, "The Sequence Repertoire of the Diocese of Utrecht," 82.

⁴¹ The mass of the Nativity of Mary begins on fols. 113r–113v, and breaks off in the middle of the sequence *Ave preclara*. Following a lacuna of one folio, fol. 115r resumes with Marian alleluias. These conclude on fol. 116r, found in the uncataloged fragments housed in the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg. A group of Marian sequences begins on the same folio.

Alleluia, Regina misericordie, set to the melody ThK 169, also used for *Alleluia, Protege pastor* for St. Francis, discussed above. The second is the unicum *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix*.

Alleluia, Regina misericordie begins in the Preetz Gradual on fol. 115v, the last folio before a large lacuna, and concludes on fol. 116r, the first of the *membra disjecta* housed in the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg, providing the continuity that allowed me to positively identify the missing leaves of the Preetz Gradual in 2008. While this alleluia text is not recorded in either of Karl-Heinz Schlager's thematic catalogs, it appears in the fifteenth-century Rhenish sources D-BK 148, fol. 141v (from Trier) and D-Müd 269, from the Enniger Pfarrkirche, fols. 297v–298. The text of this alleluia includes a quotation from the universally sung Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*.⁴²

Antiphon text

Salve **Regina** mater **misericordiae** vita dulcedo et spes nostra, Salve.
Ad te clamamus exules filii Evae.
Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes, in hac lacrimarum valle
Eia, ergo advocata nostra illos tuos misericordes oculos, ad nos converte
Et Iesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende.
O clemens, O pie, o dulcis Virgo **Marie**.

Alleluia text

Alleluia. **Regina misericordie** sancta Maria clarissima maris stella
ora pro omnibus **nobis O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Marie**.

Translation of Alleluia text

Alleluia. Queen of mercy, holy Mary Most shining Star of the Sea
Pray for all of us. o clement, o good, o sweet Mary

⁴² *Salve regina* is assigned multiple identification numbers in the CANTUS database, presumably reflecting the multiple versions of the melody in circulation.

The line that refers to Mary as the *clarissima maris stella* or “most shining star of the Sea” echoes as well the text of the widely-sung Marian hymn *Ave maris stella*.⁴³ *Alleluia, Regina misericordie*, transcribed as Musical Example 5.5, is set to the familiar melody ThK 169, known by its principal verse, the Paschal *Alleluia, Surrexit pastor bonus*.⁴⁴

Al - le - lu - ia

v.Re - gi - na mi-ser ri cor - di - e san - cta Ma - ri - a

cla - ris - si - ma ma - ris stel - la

o - ra pro om - ni - bus no - bis

O cle - mens O - pi - e O dul - cis Ma - ri - a

Musical Example 5.5. *Alleluia, Regina misericordie*

It is noteworthy that Anna von Buchwald singles out this alleluia, not held within the Lübeck repertoire, to be sung by the children of the convent at the Friday Marian mass during the week of Ascension.

⁴³ CAO 8272.

⁴⁴ Assigned in Preetz Gradual, to the second Sunday after Easter (fols. 115v–116r).

She writes that:

on that Friday...the children shall sing the first *Alleluia, Regina*. The priests sing the second [*Alleluia*] *Dominus in Syna*...⁴⁵

Unlike *Alleluia, Dominus in Syna* proper to the feast of the Annunciation sung by the priests, *Alleluia, Regina misericordie* is unique to the local repertoire of Kloster Preetz, and would not have been familiar to the priests, who were educated elsewhere in the diocese.⁴⁶ The length, range, and melodic complexity of the alleluia demand vocal stamina as well as a good memory, suggesting a high degree of musical competence and a thorough repertorial knowledge on the part of the cloister's girls. Anna usually assigned verses to two girls, who could have alternated breaths in order to execute the intricate, long-breathed phrases. It is noteworthy that Anna would choose the children to sing this piece, thereby ensuring that the musical *unica* of the cloister's repertoire would be preserved in the malleable memories of its youngest members.

The second previously undocumented Marian alleluia included in the Preetz Gradual is the unicum *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix*.⁴⁷ *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix* takes as the text of its verse a common Marian prayer for intercession that translates as "Ever-virgin mother of God, Mary, intercede for us." Musical Example 5.6 is a transcription of *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix* from the Preetz Gradual.⁴⁸ The melody of this alleluia is based in an authentic *G*-mode, or mode 7. As typical of post-1100 compositions, melodic motives from the *alleluia* and *iubilus* are repeated and varied in the verse. Also typical of

⁴⁵ Preetz, Klosterarchiv HS 01 (the *Buch im Chor*), fols. 58r–58v.

⁴⁶ *Alleluia, Dominus in Syna* is recorded as proper to the Feast of the Ascension, Preetz Gradual, fol. 55v.

⁴⁷ Preetz Gradual, fol. 115v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, fol. 115v.

post-1100 modality, the piece is structured around the *finalis* and fifth, often defined by the triad *G–b–d*. As seen in the opening *alleluia* and the beginning of the *iubilus*, the juxtaposition of this triad with the undertone of *F* has the effect of outlining the melodic interval of an augmented fourth.

Al - le - lu - ia

a -

v. Vir - go - de - i ge - ni - trix - sem - per Ma - ri - a

in - ter - ce - de pro - no - bis

ad do - mi - num

Musical Example 5.6. *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix*

This melodic possibility is not avoided, but rather embraced throughout the piece. A second tritone is created when the melody moves into the upper portion of the octave: here, the interval of a diminished fifth occurs between the third degree of the mode, *b*, and the upper seventh degree, *f*, as seen in the second phrase of the *iubilus*. That this interval is emphasized, and not avoided, may be heard in the variation of the *iubilus*

melody that occurs in the verse above the text *genitrix*: here, the motif from the iubilus has been altered so that *f* begins a repeated downward moving figure, followed by *b-c-d*.

It cannot be argued that *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix* was composed at Kloster Preetz; rather, it seems to be an example of the rich and largely unexplored late efflorescence of Marian alleluias setting texts in praise of the Virgin Mary, or asking for her intercession. The lack of specific assignments in the Preetz Gradual for these alleluias, either in the form of calendrical location or rubrics, suggests that they were probably chosen *ad libitum* for weekly devotional Marian masses celebrated throughout the year, particularly on Saturdays. Indeed, as we have seen above, Anna von Buchwald's book offers some specific assignments for Marian alleluias and sequences according to liturgical season and performing forces.

In sum, the Preetz Gradual includes six previously undocumented alleluias. Two are for the established saints John the Evangelist and John the Baptist; they were shared with the repertoire of Lübeck, and were perhaps transmitted to the convent by those priests serving the community and coming from Lübeck. The alleluias dedicated to thirteenth-century saints St. Francis and St. Elizabeth, as well as the Marian *Alleluia, Regina misericordie* are also found in several fifteenth-century Rhenish sources. Finally, the Marian *Alleluia, Virgo dei genitrix* is an unicum in the Preetz repertoire.

Sequences

The enormous variety of sequences in terms of repertoire, liturgical assignment, and variants found in different regions and institutions makes the sequence a fruitful genre for study of the composition of any given repertoire. A comparison of the sequence repertoires of Kloster Preetz and Lübeck reveals the convent's liturgy differed significantly from that of the surrounding diocese. My analysis of the Kloster Preetz antiphony and gradual suggests a liturgy that was in some ways fairly conservative, preserving the earliest layers of western European liturgical repertoire. Despite the lacunae in the Preetz Gradual, it is possible to determine that the convent's sequence repertoire maintains an older layer of material from the Easter week cycle, and the preservation of many sequences from Notker's *Liber Ymnorum*. A second layer of more recent composition includes sequences of later German, French, and even Italian composition, together with sequences of international distribution. This layer of sequences complemented, replaced, or reduplicated older selections, resulting in a rich cycle of sequences sung over the course of the liturgical year. A third layer of yet more recently composed material includes several rare sequences, including two examples only known from Lübeck sources.

This composite nature of the Kloster Preetz sequence repertoire suggests that the Gradual was selectively compiled from a number of sources: its compilers kept an older musical repertoire preserved in the cloister's practice, while selectively adding from more recent compositions circulating in Lübeck and in the region. The case of *Letabundus exultet* suggests that the nuns of Kloster Preetz in one instance creatively transformed a widely-disseminated sequence into a unique rendering of the genre. Anna von

Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* helps in reconstructing the sequence repertoire of Preetz by furnishing the incipits of a handful of pieces missing from the Preetz Gradual, and offers insight into liturgical assignment and performance practice. In addition to studying the origins of Kloster Preetz repertoire and its musical practice, this study will also add to our understanding of sequence transmission and regional chant practice in northern Germany in the late Middle Ages, areas that represents a significant lacuna in the field of chant studies.

Calvin M. Bower has commented on a typical pattern of expansion in specific sequence repertoires through accretion of new pieces. Regarding the repertoire of Utrecht, Bower writes,

The 'typical' study of a local repertoire of sequences seems to be one of growth from and within an original tradition, a growth in which some older pieces are supplemented by, and in some cases, replaced by more recent compositions; yet the basic model remains one of expansion.⁴⁹

Bower goes on to state that in the case of Utrecht, the early fifteenth century witnessed a "pruning" of the vast inherited repertoire. Judging by the size of the repertoire of Kloster Preetz, it appears that the convent did not experience a comparable reduction of repertoire. Comparative study reveals that the cloister's repertoire was likely larger than that of Lübeck, and independent from that of the diocese, yet selectively included certain pieces that appear to have been locally composed and which had a limited regional distribution. Among the non-Lübeck material may be found an older layer of conservative sequence assignments for Easter week likely transmitted from the western German-speaking region. In addition, there are examples of later rhythmic sequences for certain saints and for the Virgin Mary, of both German and French

⁴⁹ Calvin M. Bower, "The Sequence Repertoire of the Diocese of Utrecht," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 53/1-2 (2003): 50.

derivation, that are not found in the Lübeck repertoire. Finally, an unusual reading of the widely-disseminated transitional sequence *Letabundus exultet* suggests that the cloister had quite idiosyncratic readings even of repertoire common to the diocese and beyond. A combined analysis of repertoire, liturgical assignments, and melodic variants all point to the western part of the German-speaking realm—in particular, the Rhineland—as the original of the earliest layer of material in the Preetz Gradual.

The Preetz Sequence Repertoire

Table 5.6 lists the extant sequence repertoire in liturgical order as they appear in the Preetz Gradual, supplemented by evidence from the *Buch im Chor*. The first column from the left in Table 5.6 indicates the folio of the Preetz Gradual in which each extant piece is found. Due to the considerable lacunae, it is impossible to recover the entire sequence repertoire sung by the nuns of Kloster Preetz. However, Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* also contains references to sequences, including some not preserved in the Preetz Gradual. The third column of Table 5.6 indicates where the piece is mentioned in the *Buch im Chor*. Those pieces missing from the Gradual have been re-integrated into their most likely position in the liturgical order. Feasts in the calendar of Kloster Preetz whose sequence assignments cannot be determined are not included in the table.

The fourth column from the left in Table 5.6 offers a repertorial definition of each piece.⁵⁰ The designation “d” indicates early East-Frankish sequences, primarily texts composed by Notker of St. Gall (ca. 840–912) and transmitted as part of the *Liber*

⁵⁰ This system of repertorial designations was developed by Bower and published in his article “The Sequence Repertoire of Utrecht,” 51–52. I have added the designation “lü” to this list for the diocese of Lübeck.

ymnorum Notkeri.⁵¹ These are texts written to fit a repertoire of pre-existing melodies, and are not marked by rhyme or meter. Until ca.1050, this repertoire was disseminated almost exclusively in the German-speaking, or so-called East Frankish area.⁵²

The label “dd” indicates the second generation of East-Frankish sequences composed through the eleventh century. Like their predecessors, these texts are neither metric nor rhymed. The label “ddr” indicates sequences with rhythmic and metric texts composed in the German-speaking lands, sometimes to pre-existing melodies, and sometimes with their own melodies, in a practice that flourished from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. The label “dmm/R” indicates a subset of this group containing sequences that originated in the Rhineland. The label “int” designates a group of sequences described by Blume and Bannister in AH as *sequentiae transitoriae*, or what Kruckenberg has termed the *sequentia nova*, that emerged in the late eleventh century and twelfth centuries in modern-day northern France and Belgium.⁵³ They feature a new text style and newly-composed melodies. Their dissemination was less affected by the “reception barrier” than other French and German sequences that remained in their respective regions, and several examples including *Letabundus* and *Victime paschali laudes* quickly found their way into German repertoires.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See Lori Kruckenberg, “Sequenz,” *MGG2*, Sachteil 8, 1259a–b, 1. *Ostfränkischer Bereich*.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1275a-1278b IX. *Neurungen im 11. Jahrhundert*. See also Lori Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, “The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change,” 140–176.

⁵³ The most recent research on the *sequentia nova* has been written by Lori Kruckenberg. In addition to the sources cited in the previous note, see Kruckenberg, “Making a Sequence Repertory: The Tradition of the *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*,” in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*, edited by Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug, Senter for Middelalderstudier Skrifter Nr. 20 (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press: 2006), 36–37; and Kruckenberg, “Two *Sequentiae Novae* at Nidaros: *Celeste organum* and *Stola iocunditatis*,” *idem*, 367–371, 401–403.

⁵⁴ Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, “The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change,” 130–176.

TABLE 5.6. Sequence Repertoire of Kloster Preetz

Preetz Gradual folio	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Buch im Chor</i> folio	Definition of repertoire	AH no.	Melody	Liturgical Assignment	Date
1r/add.	<i>In hiis solemnitatis</i>		lü	8, 52	MITTET AD VIRGINEM	Visitation of Mary	3 Jul
7r	<i>Grates nunc omnes</i>	17r	dd	53, 10	OSTENDE	Christmas	25 Dec
7r	<i>Eya recolamus</i>		d	53, 16	EIA TURBA	Christmas	25 Dec
9r	<i>Natus ante secula</i>		d	53, 15	DIES SANCTIFICATUS	Christmas	25 Dec
10r	<i>Hanc concordii famulatu</i>		d	53, 215	CONCORDIA	Stephan	26 Dec
11v	<i>Verbum dei Deo natum</i>		ddm	55, 188	multiple melodies	John the Evangelist	27 Dec
12v	<i>Scriba doctus</i>		lü	9, 251	HODIERNA LUX DIEI	John the Evangelist, octave	27 Dec
...	sequentia cantetur	14v	....		...	Holy Innocents	28 Dec
81v	<i>Concentu parili</i>	28r–28v	d	53, 99	SYMPHONIA	Purification	2 Feb
	<i>Ad laudes salvatoris</i>	22v	dd	54, 88	MATER	Anthony	17 Feb
44r	<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>		int	54, 7	VICTIME PASCHALI	Easter Sunday	
45r	<i>Laudes salvatori</i>		d	53, 36	FRIGDOLA	Easter Sunday	
46v	<i>Agni paschalis</i>		d	53, 50	GRAECA	Easter Monday	
47v	<i>Laude Christo redempti voce</i>		d	53, 45	MATER	Easter Tuesday	
48v	<i>Grates salvatori</i>		d	53, 52	DUO TRES	Easter Wednesday	
49v	<i>Hec dies est quam fecit pater</i>		dd	8, 29	ROMANA	Easter Thursday	
50v	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>	50r	int	54, 143	MANE PRIMA	Easter Saturday	
56r	<i>Summi triumphum regis</i>		d	53, 67	CAPTIVA	Ascension	
...	<i>Celebret (divisio of Summi triumphum regis)</i>	57v	d	53, 67	CAPTIVA	Wednesday in the Octave of Ascension	
58r	<i>Sancti spiritus adsit nobis</i>		d	53, 70	OCCIDENTANA	Pentecost	
59r	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>		int	54, 153	VENI SANCTE	Pentecost Monday	

TABLE 5.6. Sequences of Kloster Preetz (*continued*)

Preetz Gradual folio	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Buch im Chor</i> folio	Definition of repertoire	AH no.	Melody	Liturgical Assignment	Date
61v	<i>Benedicta semper sancta</i>		dd	53, 81	TRINITAS	Trinity	
62r	<i>Benedictio trine unitati</i>	61r	dd	50, 243	BENEDICTIO	Trinity; Wednesday after Trinity	
65v	<i>Psallat ecclesia</i>		d	53, 247	LETATUS SUM	Dedication of a Church	
	<i>Lauda Syon salvatorem</i>	67r	int	50, 385	LAUDA SYON	Corpus Christi	
94v	<i>Sancti baptiste Christi</i>		d	53, 163	IUSTUS UT PALMA MAIOR	Birth of John the Baptist	24 Jun
95r	<i>Psallite regi nostro</i>		dd	50, 270	PSALLITE REGI	Beheading of John the Baptist	28 Aug
98r	<i>Petre summe Christi</i>		d	53, 210	CONDORDIA	Vigil of St. Peter	29 Jun
99r	<i>Dixit dominus ex basan</i>		dd	50, 269	DIXIT DOMINUS	St. Paul	30 Jun
100v	<i>Sancti merita Benedicti</i>		ital, Hirsau	54, 35	OCCIDENTANA	Translation of St. Benedict	11 Jul
101v	<i>Exultent filiae Syon</i>		dd	50, 271	DIES SANCTIFICATUS	St. Margareta	13/15 Jul?
103r	<i>Celi enarrant</i>		dd	50, 267	CELI ENARRANT	Division of the Apostles	15 Jul
104v	<i>Laus tibi Christe qui es creator</i>		dd	50, 268	PSALLITE REGI	St. Mary Magdalene	22 Jul
112r	<i>Eya Christo cantica</i>		ddm	55, 87	MANE PRIMA	St. Bartholomew	24 Aug
112v	<i>Augustine pater cleri</i>		ddm/R	55, 95	HODIerna LUX DIEI	St. Augustine	28 Aug
113v	<i>Ave Preclara</i>	3v, 5v, 14v, 24r, 27v, 28r, 28v	dd	50, 241	Ave PRECLARA	Nativity of the BVM	8 Sep

TABLE 5.6. Sequences of Kloster Preetz (*continued*)

Preetz Gradual folio	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Buch im Chor</i> folio	Definition of repertoire	AH no.	Melody	Liturgical Assignment	Date
116r	<i>Gaude virgo mater Xristi</i>	57v, 58r, 58v	ddm	42, 74	GAUDE SYON	Marian	
116v	<i>Ave mundi spes Marie</i>		ddm	54, 217	AVE MUNDI	Marian	
117r	<i>Letabundus exultet</i>	23r, 27v, 28r	int	54, 2	LETABUNDUS	Marian	
117v	<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i>		ddm	54, 221	multiple melodies	Marian	
	<i>Gaude Maria templum summe</i>	61r	ddm	54, 213	GAUDE MARIA	Marian	
	<i>Gaude mater luminis</i>	84v	ddm	54, 225	GAUDE MATER	Marian	
	<i>Post partum</i>	18- 18v, 28r-v	int	53, 109	POST PARTUM	Marian	
	<i>Salve Proles</i>	3v, 24r, 27v, 28v	ddm	54, 225	SALVE PROLES	Marian	
	<i>Verbum bonum</i>	61r	int	54, 218	VERBUM BONUM	Marian	
	<i>Virginis Marie</i>	50r	int	54, 18/ 54, 21	VICTIME PASCHALI	Marian	
120v	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>	23r	d	53, 228	AUREA	Common	
121r	<i>O beata beatorum</i>		int	9, 155	O BEATA	Common	
121v	<i>Magnum te Michaelum</i>		d	53, 191	GRAECA	29-Sep	29 Sep
122v	<i>Letabundus Franciso</i>		ital.	55, 131	LETABUNDUS	4-Oct	4 Oct
123r	<i>Virginalis turma sexus</i>		dm/R	55, 333	VIRGINALIS TURMA	St. Ursula	21 Oct
124r	<i>Omnes sancti seraphim</i>		d	53, 112	VOX EXULTATIONIS	All Saints	1 Nov

TABLE 5.6. Sequences of Kloster Preetz (*continued*)

Preetz Gradual folio	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Buch im Chor</i> folio	Definition of repertoire	AH no.	Melody	Liturgical Assignment	Date
125r	<i>Sacerdotem Christi</i>		d	53, 181	BEATUS VIR QUI TIMET	St. Martin	11 Nov
126r	<i>Gaude Syon quod egressus</i>		int	55, 120	GAUDE SYON	St. Elizabeth	19 Nov
127v	<i>Sanctissime virginis</i>		ddm	55, 203	LETABUNDUS	St. Katherine	25 Nov
130r	<i>Laude Christo debita</i>		ddm	55, 265	VERBUM SAPIENTIE	St. Nicholas	6 Dec
131v	<i>O beatorum martirem</i>		ddm	55, 14	O BEATORUM	Common	
132r	<i>Agone triumphali</i>		d	53, 229	VOX EXULTATIONIS	Common	
133v	<i>Ad laudes salvatoris</i>		dd	54, 88	MATER	Common	
KEY							
d	German, 10th c.			int	<i>"Transitional" sequences with international distribution, 11th c.</i>		
dd	German, 11th c.			ital	Italian		
ddm	German metric, 12th–15th c.			Hirsau	Hirsau reform		
ddm/R	German metric, from Rhineland			lü	Lübeck		

The label “ital” designates sequences of Italian origin. Finally, the label “lü” is used to designate sequences with a distribution limited to the diocese of Lübeck. The references in the sixth column indicate the name of the melody used: for the earliest East Frankish repertoire, sequences were circulated with independent melody names. Newer melodies in the repertoire are referred to by the text incipit of priority. As Table 5.6 shows, the extant portion of the sequence repertoire of Kloster Preetz is a composite

repertoire consisting of five centuries of compositions in a diverse array of poetic and melodic styles.

Table 5.7 compares the repertoire of Kloster Preetz to repertoires found in extant manuscripts from the diocese of Lübeck. This table allows for the comparison of repertoires, and also shows the extent of the lacunae that exist both in the Preetz Gradual and in the sequentiary of the gradual D-LÜh 11, from an unidentified Lübeck cloister. As table 5.7 shows, the total number of sequences from the Preetz Parish church, with which the convent was closely associated through contains forty-three pieces. The fragmentary Preetz Gradual, which is missing approximately a third of its original folios, contains full or partial versions of forty-five pieces in the original manuscript, with an additional sequence *In hiis solemnitatiis* for the feast of the Visitation entered onto the front flyleaf at a later date, bringing the total to forty-six.⁵⁵ An additional six pieces indicated in rubrics in the *Buch im Chor* brings the number of identifiable pieces in the Kloster Preetz to fifty-two. The extensive lacunae in the manuscript, particularly in the eighth, ninth and eleventh gatherings, which contained music for the Sanctorale, must have contained a minimum of ten additional pieces, perhaps even more.⁵⁶ Thus the cloister's repertoire likely numbered over sixty sequences; thus it was at least as large, and—judging by the richness of its extant repertoire—likely more extensive than that of the printed *Missale Lubicense* of 1486.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Five of these pieces are found in the Bruno Stäblein Archive's manuscript fragments: *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, *Ave mundi speciosa*, *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus*, *Imperatrix gloriosa*, and *Clare sanctorum*.

⁵⁶ See Chapter III, figure 3.3 and Table 3.1.

⁵⁷ I arrive at this minimum number by counting the following feasts that fall in the gradual's lacunae that would have had sequences: Holy Innocents (for which the *Buch im Chor* mentions a sequence is sung), Epiphany, St. Blaise, Invention of the Cross, St. Laurence, the Assumption, the Octave of the Nativity, St. Andrew, and Marian votive pieces (as suggested by the lacuna in the Bruno Stäblein Archive fragments).

A comparison of the repertoire of Kloster Preetz with other repertoires from the diocese of Lübeck, shown in Table 5.7, reveals that the repertoires generally concur for major feasts of the Temporale. However, the Kloster Preetz repertoire offers more specific assignments for each day of Easter Week. Moreover, certain feasts that are not given specific assignments in Lübeck receive their own sequences in the Kloster Preetz repertoire: namely *Sancti merita Benedicti* for the Translation of St. Benedict, *Augustine pater pie* for St. Augustine, *Letabundus Francisco* for St. Francis, *Magnum te Michaellem* for St. Michael, and *Virginalis turma sexus* for St. Ursula.

Eya Christo cantica assigned to St. Bartholemew in Preetz is found only in two Lübeck sources: D-LÜh 12 (1442) and as a later addition D-LÜh 18. Other pieces that distinguish the Preetz repertoire from that of Lübeck include *Benedictio trine unitati* as a second sequence for Trinity Sunday, *Sanctissime virginis* for St. Katherine (rather than *Ave preclara Katherina* as in Lübeck), and *Laude Christo debita* for St. Nicholas (instead of *Nicolaum confessorum*, *Ad laudes salvatoris*, or *Laus et gloria deo* that appear in the various Lübeck manuscripts.)

Certain sequences common to the Lübeck and Preetz repertoires are also assigned to different liturgical occasions. For example, the Lübeck sequentaries assign the sequence *Iohannes Ihesu Xristo* to the feast of St. John the Evangelist (27 December) and the sequence *Verbum dei deo natum* to the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate (6 May). By contrast, the Preetz Gradual assigns *Verbum dei deo natum* to 27 December with the rare Johannine sequence *Scriba doctus*, previously thought to be unicum from D-LÜh 11, assigned to the octave. Because the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate (6 May) falls in a lacuna in the Preetz Gradual, it is impossible to know which sequence, if

any, was assigned to the feast. It seems likely that the addition of the sequences *Verbum dei deo natum* and *Scriba doctus* displaced the older Notkerian sequence for St. John *Iohannes Ihesu Xristo* from its typical assignment of December 27 to the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate on 6 May.

In another example, the Lübeck sources follow received practice in assigning the sequence *Dixit dominus ex Basan* to the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January). In the Preetz Gradual, this sequence is assigned to 30 June with the rubric *in die Pauli*.⁵⁸ It is possible that this sequence, like the previous example of *Iohannes Iesu Christ*, was moved to an atypical location in the liturgical year in order to accommodate newer repertoire.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The Feast of the Conversion of Paul lies within a lacuna in the Preetz Gradual. However, as material is usually not repeated in full, the inclusion in full of the sequence on a later folio for 30 June indicates that this was its first appearance in the manuscript.

⁵⁹ See Kruckenberg, “Making a Sequence Repertory”, 27–34, 41–44.

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Pretz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Christmas, 25 Dec																
<i>Grates nunc omnes</i>	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X
<i>Eya reclamus</i>	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	
<i>Natus ante secula</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Stephan, 26 Dec																
<i>Hanc concordi</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
John the Evangelist, 27 Dec																
<i>Iohannes Iesu Xriste</i>	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		
<i>Verbum dei deo natum</i>															X	
<i>Scriba doctus</i>			X												X	
Holy Innocents, 28 Dec		X														
<i>Laus tibi Xriste</i>		X									X					
<i>Letabundus exultet</i>				X												
Thomas of Becket																
<i>Spe mercedis et corone</i>	X			X							X					
Circumcision, 1 Jan																
<i>Eya reclamus</i>		X		X												
<i>Post partum</i>		X													lac.	X
Epiphany, 6 Jan																
<i>Festa Xristi</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	lac.	

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Preetz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Preetz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Preetz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Conversion of Paul, 25 Jan															lac.	
<i>Dixit dominus ex Basan</i>	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X	X	X	lac.	
Purification, 2 Feb																
<i>Concentu parili</i>	X	X	X		X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Letabundus exultet</i>				X												
Blaise, 3 Feb																
<i>Letetur ecclesia fidelium</i>	X			X	X	X	X		X		X				lac.	
Anthony, 17 Feb															lac.	
<i>Ad laudes salvatoris</i>					X	X	X				X			X	lac.	X
<i>In hac dies letabundus</i>													X		lac.	
<i>Alme confessor et professor</i>													X		lac.	
Annunciation, 25 Mar															lac.	
<i>Mittet ad virginem</i>	X														lac.	
Easter Sunday																
<i>Laudes salvatori</i>		X	X											X	X	
<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486) D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen) D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415) D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442) D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c. D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c. D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c. D-LÜh 28, 15th c. D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513) D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c. D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c. Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c. EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38) DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c. Pretz Gradual (1350-1450) <i>Buch im Chor</i>									
Easter Monday										
<i>Agni paschalis</i>		X								X
<i>Laudes salvatori</i>	X		X							
<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>				X					X	
<i>Virginis Marie laudes intonent christiani</i>						X				
Easter Tuesday										
<i>Laude Xristo redempti voce</i>										X
<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>		X								
Easter Wednesday										
<i>Laude Xristo redempti voce</i>										
Grates salvatori										X
<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>				X						
Easter Thursday										
<i>Hec est dies</i>										X
Easter Saturday										
<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>										X X
Conversion of Augustine, 24 Apr										lac.
<i>Augustini magni patris</i>							X			lac.
Phillip and James, 1 May										lac.
<i>Celi enmarant</i>			X							lac.

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Preetz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486) D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca. 1200 (Hamburg Bremen) D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415) D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442) D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c. D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c. D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c. D-LÜh 28, 15th c. D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513) D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c. D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c. Preetz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c. EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38) DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c. Preetz Gradual (1350-1450) <i>Buch im Chor</i>														
Invention of the Holy Cross, 3 May															
<i>Laudes crucis atollamus</i>	X		X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X		lac.
<i>Salve crux sancta</i>													X		lac.
Votive mass of the Holy Cross (Easter to Trinity); Votive mass of the Face of the Lord															
<i>O Crux lignum triumphale</i> (divisio of <i>Laudes crucis</i>)	X														
John before the Latin Gate, 6 May															lac.
<i>Verbum dei deo natum</i>	X		X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X		lac.
Ascension															
<i>Summi triumphum regis</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Wednesday in octave of Ascension															
<i>Celebret</i> (divisio of <i>Summi triumphum regis</i>)															X
Pentecost															
<i>Sancti spiritus assit</i>	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Pretz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Pentecost Tuesday																
<i>Sancti spiritus assit</i>				X												
Pentecost Wednesday																
<i>Sancti spiritus assit</i>				X												
Trinity																
<i>Benedicta semper sancta</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	
<i>Benedictio trine unitate</i>															X	X
<i>Sancti spiritus assit</i>						X			X							
Corpus Christi															lac.	
<i>Lauda Syon Salvatorem</i>	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	lac.	X
Birth of John the Baptist, 24 June																
<i>Sancti baptiste Xristi</i>	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X	X	X	X	
Apostles Peter and Paul, 29 Jun																
<i>Petre summe Christi</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	
Paul, 30 Jun			lac.													
<i>Dixit dominus ex Basan</i>			lac.												X	
Visitation, 3 Jul			lac.													
<i>In hiis solemniis</i>	X		lac.	X		X	X				X	X	X		X	add.
<i>Inviolata</i>			lac.			X										

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Pretz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Benedict, 11 Jul			lac.													
<i>Sancti merita Benedicti</i>			lac.											X	X	
<i>Salve pater salve pie</i>			X add.													
Margaret, 20 Jul			lac.													
<i>Exultent filie Syon</i>			lac.												X	
Division of the Apostles, 15 Jul			lac.													
<i>Celi enarrant</i>	X	X	lac.		X	X	X				X	X	X		X	
Mary Magdalene, 22 Jul			lac.													
<i>Laus tibi Xriste</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	
Bridgit			lac.													lac.
<i>Gaude Syon quod egressus</i>			lac.									X				lac.
Anne, 26 Jul			lac.													lac.
<i>Alma parens Anna gaude</i>	X		lac.				...	X					X	X	lac.	
<i>Gaude Syon quod egressus</i>			lac.													lac.
<i>Luce lucens in eterna</i>			lac.										X		lac.	
<i>Salve proles</i>			lac.	X											lac.	
Cyriaco			lac.												lac.	
<i>De torrente passionis</i>	X		lac.												lac.	
Peter in Chains, 1 Aug			lac.				...								lac.	
<i>Pasce Petri oves Xristi</i>			lac.										X		lac.	

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Pretz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Laurence, 10 Aug			lac.												lac.	
<i>Stola iocunditatis</i>	X		lac.	X	X	X	X				X	X	X		lac.	
<i>Laurenti David</i>		X	lac.						X					X	lac.	
Assumption, 15 Aug			lac.												lac.	
<i>Congaudent angelorum</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	lac.	
Bartholomew, 24 Aug			lac.													
<i>Eya Xristi cantico</i>			lac.	X		X									X	
Augustine, 28 Aug			lac.													
<i>Augustine pater cleri Interni festi</i>			lac.						X						X	
Beheading of John the Baptist, 29 Aug			lac.													
<i>Psallite regi nostro</i>	X		lac.	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		
Nativity of Mary, 8 Sep			lac.												X	
<i>Stirpe Maria regis</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X		
<i>Ave preclara</i>			lac.									X				
Exaltation of the Cross, 14 Sep			lac.												X	
<i>Laudes crucis attolamus</i>			lac.						X			X				
<i>Roma naves (divisio of Laudes crucis attolamus)</i>			lac.										X			

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Pretz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Octave of the Nativity of Mary, 15 Sep			lac.													
<i>Stirpe Maria regis</i>			lac.									X				
Michael, 29 Sep			lac.													
<i>Summi reges archangele</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		
<i>Magnum te Michaelum</i>			lac.													
Francis, 4 Oct			lac.												X	
<i>Letabundus Francisco</i>			lac.													
Translation of St Augustine, 11 Oct			lac.												X	
<i>De profundis</i>			lac.						X							
Ursula and 11,000 virgins, 21 Oct			lac.													
<i>Virginalis turma sexus</i>			lac.					X							X	
<i>Exultent filie Syon</i>			lac.													
All Saints, 1 Nov			lac.													
<i>Omnes sancti seraphim</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		
Martin, 11 Nov			lac.												X	
<i>Sacerdotem Xristi</i>	X	X	lac.	X		X	X		X		X	X	X	X		
Elizabeth, 19 Nov			lac.												X	
<i>Gaude Syon quod egressus</i>	X		lac.		X	X	X		X		X	X	X			

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Preetz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Preetz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Preetz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Feast of the Presentation of Mary, 21 Nov															X	
<i>Altissimo providente</i>	X															
Katherine, 25 Nov			lac.													
<i>Ave preclara Katherina</i>	X		lac.	X	X	X	X				X		X			
<i>Sanctissime virginis</i>	X		lac.		X							X	X			
Andrew, 30 Nov			lac.												X	
<i>Sacrosancta hodierna</i>	X		lac.	X	X	X	X				X	X	X		lac.	
<i>Deus in tua virtute</i>		X	lac.											X	lac.	
Nicolas, 6 Dec			lac.												lac.	
<i>Nicolaum confessorum</i>	X		lac.		X	X	X									
<i>Laus et gloria deo</i>			lac.								X		X			
<i>Laudes salvatoris</i>			lac.					X								
<i>Laude Xristo debita</i>			lac.													
Immaculate Conception, 8 Dec			lac.												X	
<i>Dies leta celebretur</i>			lac.	X											lac.	
Thomas, 21 Dec			lac.												lac.	
<i>Spe mercedis et corone</i>			lac.			X	X								lac.	
Common of Apostles			lac.												lac.	
<i>Clare sanctorum</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		X

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Preetz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486) D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Preetz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Preetz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Common of Evangelists		lac.												X	
<i>Iocundere plebs fidelis</i>	X	lac.	X		X					X	X	X		lac.	
Common of One Martyr		lac.												lac.	
<i>Agone triumphali</i>		X	lac.		X		X			X		X	X		
Common of Martyrs		lac.												X	
<i>O beate beatorum</i>	X	lac.	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X			
Common of Confessors		lac.												X	
<i>Ad laudes salvatoris</i>	X	X	lac.	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			
Common of Virgins		lac.												X	
<i>Exultent filie Syon</i>	X	lac.	X	X	X	X				X	X	X			
<i>Gaude celestis</i>		lac.						X						X	
<i>Gaude Syon quod egressus</i>		lac.	X												
Dedication of a Church															
<i>Psallat ecclesia</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		
Office of the Dead		lac.												X	
<i>Dies ire dies illa</i>		lac.		X	X	X		X				X		lac.	
<i>Audi tellus</i>		lac.										X		lac.	

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Pretz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486)	D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca.1200 (Hamburg Bremen)	D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415)	D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442)	D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c.	D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c.	D-LÜh 28, 15th c.	D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513)	D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c.	D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c.	Pretz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c.	EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38)	DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c.	Pretz Gradual (1350-1450)	<i>Buch im Chor</i>
Blessed Virgin Mary															lac.	
<i>Ave dei genitrix</i>		X														
<i>Ave maria gratia plena</i>	X				X	X	X		X		X					
<i>Ave mundi spes Marie</i>			add.								X				X	
<i>Ave preclara maris</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Fecunda verbo</i>		X													X	
<i>Gaude cunctis veneranda</i>									X							
<i>Gaude Maria templum summe</i>	X		X	X			X	X				X	X			X
<i>Gaude mater luminis</i>															lac.	X
<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	...											X			lac.	X
<i>Hodie lux diei</i>	X				X	X	X		X		X	X	X		X	
<i>Laus et gloria</i>												X				
<i>Letabundus exultet</i>	X		X		X	X	X				X	X	X			X
<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i>															X	
<i>Missus gabriel de celis</i>											X				X	
<i>O felicem genitricem</i>	X										X		X			
<i>Salve proles</i>	X						X	X			X	X	X			X
<i>Veni virgo virginum</i>													X		lac.	
<i>Verbum bonum et suave</i>	X		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X
<i>Virginis Marie laudes concinant christiani</i>			X								X		X		lac.	X?

Table 5.7. Comparative Sequence Repertoires, Preetz and Lübeck (*continued*)

Feast	<i>Missale Lubicense</i> (printed) DK-Kk S39, (1486) D-LÜh 3 Full missal, ca. 1200 (Hamburg Bremen) D-LÜh 11, Gradual (1415) D-LÜh 12, Gradual (1442) D-LÜh 17, Gradual, 15th c. D-LÜh 18, Gradual, 15th c. D-LÜh 22, Sequentiarium et Hymnarium, 15th c. D-LÜh 28, 15th c. D-LÜh 32, Gradual (1513) D-LÜh 40, Missal, 15th c. D-LÜh 46, Missal, 15th c. Preetz Stadtkirche Missal, 15th c. EV-TALam 237.1.228a (1526-38) DK-Kk s.187, Kloster Cismar, 15th c. Preetz Gradual (1350-1450) <i>Buch im Chor</i>
Blessed Virgin Mary (continued)	
<i>Virginis Marie laudes intonent christiani</i>	X
Votive mass of the Face of the Lord	
<i>Salve Maria Xristi parens</i>	X
De vigintiquatro senioribus	
<i>Omnis homo laudes pangat</i>	X
Friday of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin	
<i>Egressus est a filia Syon</i>	X
<i>Stabat iuxta Xristi crucem</i>	X
<i>Ave Ihesu Xriste qui per</i>	X

The Preetz repertoire also included at least five late Marian sequences not typical to the practice of Lübeck: *Ave mundi spes Marie* (a later addition to D-LÜh 11), *Gaude virgo mater Christi* (also found in the Preetz town church missal), *Gaude Maria templum dei*, *Gaude mater luminis*, and *Imperatrix gloriosa*. Aside from *Gaude virgo*, all of these sequences are found in D-LEu 391 from Leipzig, suggesting a that the cloister was exposed to regional repertoires beyond the immediate sphere of Lübeck. D-LEu 391 also shares with the Preetz repertoire other sequences mentioned above that are not included in the Lübeck manuscripts: *Magnum te Michaelem*, *Benedictio trine unitati*, and *Sanctissime virginis*. Yet other elements of repertoire differ significantly between Preetz and Leipzig. This suggests that the young layer of the Kloster Preetz repertoire was made up of material on the one hand common to Lübeck, and on the other, material not sung in Lübeck that was current in late north German sources.

Finally, in addition to *Scriba doctus* for St. John the Evangelist, a second sequence appears in the Preetz Gradual that appears to have originated in Lübeck: this is the sequence *In hiis solemnitate* for the feast of the Visitation, confirmed by the Council of Basel in 1441. This sequence—whose earliest known recording is in D-LÜh 2°12, a gradual from the Lübeck Cathedral dated 1442—was entered onto the flyleaf of the Preetz Gradual as a later addition. This sequence was likely written in Lübeck following the confirmation of the feast, suggesting 1441 as a rough *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the original portion of the Preetz Gradual.

The following discussion focuses on some of these afore-mentioned sequences to illustrate the different repertorial layers of the Preetz Gradual, and to show its relationship with the repertoire of Lübeck.

Sequences for Easter Week

One striking difference between the Preetz Gradual and the fifteenth-century Lübeck manuscripts is the former's preservation of a rich program of sequences for Easter week, rather than the more typical dominance of Notker's *Laudes salvatori* and *Victime paschali laudes*. Alterations of the Paschal season sequence assignments inherited from the *Liber ymnorum Notkeri* have been charted by Lori Kruckenberg from the tenth through twelfth centuries.⁶⁰ While Kruckenberg's study covers the entire Easter–Pentecost cycle, my comparison will focus on Easter week only, due to the lacunae in the Preetz gradual.

Table 5.8 compares sequence assignments for Easter week given in the Preetz gradual with those typical tenth-century East Frankish sources (first column from the left); the reformed usage of Hirsau (second column from the left); the Alsatian-Rhenish-Eifel area (third column from the left, represented here by D-AAm 13); and selected manuscript sources from Lübeck. As for typical assignments from tenth-century East Frankish sequentiaries, Kruckenberg has shown that these sources typically assigned *Laudes salvatori* to Easter Sunday, with the additional options of *Pangamus creatori* and *Laudes Christo redempti voce* (depending on central/St. Gall, northwest, or southeast repertorial trends). Typical assignments for the rest of Easter week were *Is qui prius* for

⁶⁰ Kruckenberg-Goldenstein, "The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change," 296–333.

Monday, *Christe domino letifica* for Tuesday, *Agni paschalis* for Wednesday, *Grates salvatori* for Thursday, *Laudes deo concinat* for Friday, and for Saturday, *Carmen suo dilecto*.⁶¹

Column 2 of Table 5.8 lists sequences prescribed for Easter week in sources reflecting the use of the Hirsau reform. Kruckenberg notes that in these sources *Laudes salvatori* remained for Sunday, while *Pangamus* was assigned to Monday. *Agni paschalis* and *Grates salvatori* were moved forward a day to Tuesday and Wednesday. *Laudes Christo redempti voce* displaced *Hec est sancta sollemnitas* to the octave. The assignments for Thursday, Friday and Saturday vary from source to source: it appears that, because of the openness or ambiguity of the ordinal, sequences could be freely assigned to these days, or not assigned at all. The change of sequence assignments for Easter Week in the Hirsau books thus constituted a reordering of earlier material, with some omissions.⁶²

Kruckenberg contrasts the changes that took place in the Hirsau reform with changes that took place in the western part of the German-speaking realm, represented by three sources dating from 1075–1125.⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid., 296–312, especially Tables 7.3 (299–300) and 7.4 (304).

⁶² Ibid., 313–314.

⁶³ Ibid., 309–313. This manuscript group includes sources dating to 1075–1125 from Murbach (F-CO 443 and 444); from Echternach (F-Pn 10510); and from Metz (F-ME 452); along with later manuscripts from Aachen (D-Aa 13) and Utrecht (NL-Uu 417).

Table 5.8. Sequences for Easter Week

Day in Easter Week	Typical assignments from 10th-c. Eastern sequentiaries	Hirsau sequentiaries	Alsace–Rhineland–Eifel F-Pn 9448 (Echternach, 1075–1125)	Preetz Gradual	Lübeck 3 (Hamburg-Bremen ca. 1200)	Lübeck 11 (1415)	Lübeck 12 (1442)
Sun	<i>Laudes salvatori; Pangamus creator; Laudes Christo</i>	<i>Laudes salvatori</i>	<i>Laudes Christo; Laudes salvatori</i>	<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>	<i>Laudes salvatori</i>	<i>Laudes salvatori; Victime paschali laudes</i>	<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>
Mon	<i>Is qui prius</i>	<i>Pangamus creator</i>	<i>Is qui prius</i>	<i>Laudes salvatori</i>	<i>Agni paschali</i>	...	<i>Laudes salvatori</i>
Tues	<i>Christe domino letifica</i>	<i>Agni paschalis</i>	<i>Christe domino letifica</i>	<i>Agni paschalis</i>	<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>	...	...
Wed	<i>Agni paschalis</i>	<i>Grates salvatori</i>	<i>Agni paschalis</i>	<i>Laudes Christo</i>	...	...	...
Thurs	<i>Grates salvatori</i>	(elective)	<i>Grates salvatori</i>	<i>Grates salvatori</i>	...	...	...
Fri	<i>Laudes deo concinat</i>	(elective)	<i>Laudes deo concinat</i>	<i>Hec dies est</i>	...	...	...
Sat	<i>Carmen suo dilecto</i>	(elective)	<i>Carmen suo dilecto</i>	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>	...	...	...
Octave	<i>Hec est sancta sollemnitatis</i>	<i>Laudes Christo</i>	<i>Hec est sancta sollemnitatis</i>	LACUNA	...	...	...

The third column from the left of Table 5.8 represents this western German practice as exemplified by the source F-Pn 9448 from Echternach, dated to 1075–1125. These sources do not contain *Pangamus creatori*, while *Laudes Christo redempti voce* (moved to Monday in the later manuscripts D-Aa 13 and NL-Uu 417) retained a strong

presence in the west even outlasting its use in St. Gall.⁶⁴ Thus, the absence in the Preetz gradual of *Pangamus creatori*, used and retained in the eastern area of the German-speaking realm, and the presence therein of *Laudes Christo redempti voce*, retained in western German-speaking areas, suggests a pattern of transmission through the western part of the German-speaking realm and not directly from a Benedictine Hirsau source.

The fourth column from the left of Table 5.8 gives the sequence assignments for Kloster Preetz for Easter Week. The four tenth-century sequences maintained in sources from the western part of the German-speaking realm are retained in the Kloster Preetz repertoire: *Laudes Salvatori*, *Laudes Christo redempti voce*, *Agni paschalis*, and *Grates salvatori*. This suggests that the earliest layer of material in the Preetz Gradual was transmitted from the western part of the German-speaking realm, most likely through the Rhineland. In the Gradual, the order of these four sequences was once again altered by the adoption of the newer, eleventh-century sequence *Victime paschali laudes* on Sunday. This seemed to create an effect of displacement that moved *Laudes Salvatori* from Easter Day to Easter Monday. The removal of *Christo domino letifica* pushed *Agni paschali* from Wednesday back to Tuesday, *Laudes Christo redempti voce* was moved to Wednesday, while *Grates salvatori* maintained its position on Thursday. To this repertoire was added the unusual regional sequence *Hec dies est* on Friday, and the more common rhymed sequence *Mane prima sabbati* on Saturday—neither of which appear in the Lübeck repertoire, exemplified by the fifteenth-century graduals D-LÜh 2° 11 and D-LÜh 2° 12, given in the sixth and seventh columns of table 5.8. Nor was the Preetz practice adopted from that of the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, exemplified in the fifth

⁶⁴ Ibid., 310; 312–313.

column from the left of table 5.8 by the manuscript D-LÜh 2° 3 (full missal dated to ca. 1200.)

In summary, it is likely that the Preetz Gradual retained its Notkerian sequences for Easter week via a western German transmission, more specifically, through the Rhineland area. This earliest layer of material was later altered to accommodate new compositions, resulting in the rich schedule of sequences for Easter week found in the Preetz Gradual. This evidence confirms that the repertoire of the gradual represents the combination of at least two distinct repertoires, and reflects the principle of liturgical displacement put forth by Kruckenberg. Kruckenberg has described the phenomenon of liturgical displacement in the sequence repertoire of the archdiocese of Nidaros, Norway, in which an older layer of repertoire was moved to lesser liturgical occasions to accommodate a newer layer. As a new layer of sequences arrived, the earlier German repertoire was displaced to the octave or to the next day of the feast, thereby leaving a remnant of the earlier repertoire.⁶⁵ Kruckenberg's demonstration of how a more recent repertoire displaces a more ancient one seems equally apt for the case of Kloster Preetz.

Moreover, the evidence from D-LÜh 2° 3 (full missal, circa 1200, diocese of Hamburg-Bremen) calls into question the assumed pattern of transmission of Notkerian sequences to the diocese of Nidaros. Kruckenberg theorized that the Notkerian repertoire was transmitted to Norway through Hamburg-Bremen, or other German liturgical centers further south, with the presence of the additional sequences *Sancti merita Benedicti* and *Laudes Christo redempti* suggesting the additional influence of the Hirsau reformed

⁶⁵ Kruckenberg, "The Making of a Sequence Repertoire," 27–34; 41–44.

liturgical tradition.⁶⁶ The sole witness to the sequence tradition of Hamburg-Bremen, the manuscript D-LÜh 2° 3 (full missal, circa 1200) unfortunately contains only a limited repertoire, and may be too late a source to test this hypothesis. For Easter week, it includes on Sunday, *Laudes salvatori*; Monday: *Agni paschalis*; with *Victime paschali laudes* given the rubric *item in festo pasche*. Thus, this single and possibly incomplete witness of the earlier Hamburg-Bremen sequence practice can suffice to explain neither the presence of *Laudes Christo redempti* and *Grates salvatori* in the Preetz Gradual, nor the sequences *Pangamus creatoris* and *Laudes Christo* in the Nidaros repertoire.⁶⁷ It seems therefore more likely that the original layer of material found in the Preetz Gradual was transmitted directly from the Rhenish region via another source, now lost, and not via the practice of the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, as witnessed by D-LÜh 2° 3. It also suggests that the Notkerian repertoire of Nidaros was transmitted through another channel, or that the Easter repertoire of Hamburg-Bremen was substantially reduced by the year 1200.

Sancti merita Benedicti

While it is not surprising to find this sequence in honor of the order's founder in a Benedictine house, the question remains of when this sequence was introduced into the cloister's repertoire. The sequence as recorded in the Preetz Gradual is transcribed as Musical Example 5.7.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 31–32, nt. 59.

⁶⁷ The manuscript D-LÜh 2° 3 was not available at the time of the compilation of the Nidaros volume.

1. Sanc - ti me - ri - ta Be - ne - dic - ti in - cli - ta

2a. Ve - ren - de sanc - ti - ta - tis ac - mo - na - cho - rum pre - su - lis
2b. Pro - pos - se at - que nos - se or - ga - na nos - tra con - cre - pent

b: fe

3a. Nur - - si - a fe - lix tu - lit na - tum ge - ni - trix
3b. Do - - mi - na mun - di Ro - ma fo - vit a - li - trix

4a. Hic - er - - go pre - ven - tus o - pi - mo sanc - ti spi - ri - tus do - no
4b. So - phi - - am de - spe - xit hu - ma na nac - tus et an - ge - li - cam

5a. Hic fi - de sub ni - xus in - te - gra re - din - te - gri - unt con - frac - ta
5b. In - cen - di - a car - nis e - do - mat con - ce - ve - ne - num ef - fu - gat

6b. Va - ge men - tis mo - na - chum re - pa - rat fon - tem ri - vu - lat
6b. E - ius ins - su de - la - ci ab - di - to fer - rum e - na - tat

b: a

7a. Di - sci - pu - lus su - per a - quas sic - cis pe - di - bus cur - rit cor - vus man - da - tum [-]
7b. [-] - tem le - vi - gat pe - tram frac - tum re - vo - cat o - cu - los iam de - lu - sos [-]

8a. [-] - na - chum pro mem - bra tri - tum su - am pro - ce - re do - na - vit a - ni - me
8b. Cul - pam pre - di - dit pre - sump - ti ci - bi et hos - pi - tem no - tat cul - pa si - mi - li

Musical Example 5.7. *Sancti merita Benedicti.*

the presence of this piece combined with the presence and order of five Notkerian sequences for Easter week represent a “Hirsau fingerprint” by which manuscripts can be linked to the Hirsau reform movement. Thus the presence of this sequence might at first suggest a possible manuscript genealogy influenced by the Hirsau reform. However, the notable absence of *Pangamus creatori* from the Kloster Preetz sequence repertoire makes a direct lineage from Hirsau or a Hirsau-reformed house untenable. As illustrated above, the Easter week series of Kloster Preetz suggests instead an affinity with the tradition of the western part of the German-speaking area, where *Pangamus creatori* was not present.⁷⁰

Most likely, the sequence *Sancti merita Benedicti* was not part of the oldest layer of Preetz repertoire that stemmed from the Rhineland region, but rather was adopted into the repertoire of Preetz, or its mother house, at a later date. There are two possibilities for when the sequence *Sancti merita Benedicti* was adopted: both times are during a period of reform. As I will argue in Chapter V, aspects of the cloister’s office repertoire support the hypothesis that Preetz was founded from a motherhouse that was originally a foundation of secular canonesses that was “Benedictinized” in the reforms of the twelfth century.⁷¹ It is possible that *Sancta merita Benedicti* was adopted into the repertoire of the (still unidentified) mother house at the time it was reformed. In this case, it should be noted that the liturgy at the motherhouse was supplemented, but not replaced, during the time of reform.

⁷⁰ Kruckenberg, *Sequence from 1050–1150*, 312–313.

⁷¹ See Edeltraud Klüeting, “Damenstifte im norwestdeutschen Raum am Vorabend der Reformation” in *Studien sum Kanonissenstift*, edited by Irene Crusius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001): 317–348.

The second possibility is that *Sancti merita Benedicti* was introduced in the late fifteenth century during the era of the Bursfeld reform, as part of a uniform, reformed sequentiary.⁷² If this transmission scenario is true, the date of the original portion of the gradual would be placed at post-1474/75, the date of the first Bursfeld *liber ordinarius* which seems unlikely due to the late addition of the sequence *In hiis solemnitatibus* for the feast of the Visitation; first appearing in a Lübeck manuscript dated to 1442. *Sancti merita Benedicti* also appears in a fifteenth-century missal from Kloster Cismar, one of the founding members of the Bursfeld Union and the avenue through which Kloster Preetz was reformed, but this is no proof that the sequence was adopted at the time of the Bursfeld reform.⁷³

Even if this single sequence was adopted during the early stages of the Bursfeld reform movement, it would not represent the wholesale adoption of the entire Bursfeld sequentiary. In other respects, the Kloster Preetz sequence repertoire is quite unlike the standard established by the Bursfeld reform.⁷⁴ According to Anselm Rosenthal, a standardized Bursfeld repertoire of thirty-five sequences was first established in the *Liber ordinarius* of 1474/75. This repertoire was maintained in the *Missale ordinis beati Benedicti* printed in Bamberg in 1481, and was supplemented by the sequences *Stirpe Anna ex regia* and *Exultent in hac die* for St. Anne in the *Missale ordinis Sancti Benedicti de observantia Bursfeldensi* printed in Speyer in 1498.⁷⁵ The Preetz sequentiary was

⁷² Hubert Vogt, "Die Sequenzen des Paderborner Graduale Abdinghof und die Sequenzen der Bursfelder Kongregation," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 60 (1976): 23.

⁷³ DK-Copenhagen S.187, 15th c. unnotated missal from Kloster Cismar.

⁷⁴ Anselm Rosenthal, *Die Sequenzen des Bursfelder Missales. Zur Untersuchung von Hubert Vogt*, 161–164.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 161–164.

clearly more extensive than the standard promulgated by Bursfeld, and contained different selections. Furthermore, the Bursfeld practice of celebrating *simplex* feasts without sequences does not find a parallel in the Preetz practice.⁷⁶ Most likely, the mother house of Kloster Preetz received the text of *Sancti merita Benedicti* in the late twelfth century when it adopted the Rule of St. Benedict.

From a melodic standpoint, it likely that the cloister already had the melody of *Sancti merita Benedicti*, known as OCCIDENTANA, with the texting *Sancti spiritus assit*, the Notkerian sequence for Pentecost, prior to the reception of the sequence for Benedict. *Sancti spiritus assit* is found in the Preetz Gradual. An added piece of parchment gives alternate versicals 12b and 13 for *Sancti spiritus assit* (transcribed as Musical Example 5.8) with the rubric “*isti versus nisi in sancta die cantantur et non plus*” (these verses are sung only on the holy day and no more). This rubric indicates that the extra verses were to be sung on the feast day of Pentecost, and on no other day, showing the adaptability of texts to the liturgy. The repetition of the incipit *Sancti spiritus assit* after these versicles furthermore suggests a performance practice in which the first versicle was repeated at the end of the piece.

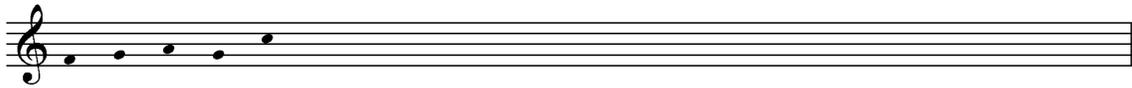
⁷⁶ Ibid., 165.



12b. Ip - se e [-] vos su - pli - ces e - vos do - nans mu - ne - rem sep - tem - pli - ci et cunc - tis ab ad - ver - sis pro - te - ge



13. In no - bis glo - ri - o - sus tri - um - phes



San - cti spi - ri - tus

Musical Example 5.8. Added Verses for *Sancti spiritus assit*.

Below, I will argue for a Rhineland transmission of the OCCIDENTANA melody into the Kloster Preetz repertoire. This sequence was likely part of the oldest layer of material found in the Preetz Gradual. As I will demonstrate below, aspects of its melody point to a western German, and more particularly, Rhenish origin of the cloister's original layer of repertoire.

Case study of OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS

The analysis of the transmission of the OCCIDENTANA melody that follows relies on previous scholarship highlighting differences between German and French sequence traditions. Lori Kruckenberg's dissertation clarified many of the major differences in genre between the separate East Frankish and West Frankish sequence traditions prior to 1050, including repertoire, terminology, *Schriftbild*, and texted versus textless singing. As Kruckenberg has shown, the earliest sequences were known by melody names that were often independent of the texts with which they circulated. The Notkerian sequence *Sancti spiritus assit*, for the feast of Pentecost, was set to a melody

known as OCCIDENTANA in the East Frankish repertoire. A West Frankish version of the melody, REX OMNIPOTENS, was known by its primary text of the same incipit.⁷⁷

Kruckenberg has demonstrated the existence of a transmission barrier between East and West Frankish repertoires that began to break down circa 1050, as witnessed in manuscript sources.⁷⁸ Building on this work, a collection of studies edited by Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug considered the synthesis of German (or Eastern) and Anglo-French (or Western) characteristics in the sequence repertoire of the archdiocese of Nidaros, Norway. These studies supported a hypothesis of dual transmission in which repertoire reached Norway in two separate streams, one German and one Anglo-French, first proposed by Lilli Gjerløw.⁷⁹

My case study of the melodies OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS contributes to these previous studies by showing that the notion of monolithic “German” and “Anglo-French” practices can be further refined to show regional differences and chronological layers that may be helpful in analyzing sequence transmission. I suggest that, seen through the lens of the OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS melodic family, the German and Anglo-French traditions can be further divided into regional subtypes: a southeastern German type (hereafter, Southeast type) roughly corresponding to modern-day Swabia, Bavaria, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland, a Rhenish type found in Rhineland sources, several types from modern-day France, and individual examples that mix attributes from contiguous types. The example of *Sancti spiritus assit*

⁷⁷ Small capital letters are used to distinguish melody names from italicized text incipits.

⁷⁸ Kruckenberg, “The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change,” especially 130–76.

⁷⁹ See Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug, eds. *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*. Senter for Middelalderstudier Skrifter Nr 20 (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006).

nobis from Kloster Preetz belongs to the Rhenish type, again reinforcing the connection between Kloster Preetz and the lower Rhineland in its earliest layer of repertoire. The case study furthermore suggests that we should look for multiple streams of transmission from the German-speaking lands to Scandinavia.

Finally, the case study reveals a blending of typically German and French characteristics in manuscript examples from the region of modern-day Belgium lying between the Rhine and the French-speaking realm. This region correlates with the convergence of the Romance-Germanic language families: further research must be conducted to determine if there is any correlation between this zone of transition and the Flemish linguistic area, which in the Middle Ages extended southward into modern day France. These regional typographies are supported by parallel findings of distinct regional types in the study of notation. Thus a study of the repertoire of a cloister on the periphery of the German-speaking area can help to clarify larger regional differences expressed in terms of repertorial choice, liturgical usage, melodic variants and transpositions, and can shed light on how different regional repertoires were transmitted northwards.

Analysis of the OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS Melody

I will offer a brief comparative analysis of selected sources of the OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS melodies as a means of determining the Kloster Preetz melody's relationship to other regional traditions.⁸⁰ The OCCIDENTANA melody

⁸⁰ I am grateful to Calvin Bower for allowing me to consult his unpublished transcriptions of selected sources of *Sancti spiritus assit* and *Rex omnipotens*. I am solely responsible for any errors in the interpretation of his transcriptions. While the comparison of textual variants is an important aspect of the analysis of sequence transmission, it is out of the scope of the current study.

is one of a complex of related melodies (OCCIDENTANA -REX OMNIPOTENS-CITHARA) that appears in the earliest sequence sources. A West-Frankish version of the melody, known as REX OMNIPOTENS from the incipit of its associated text, is witnessed in the earliest French sources.⁸¹ In England, this same melody is identified with the name CITHARA in the two Winchester sources, written in the first half of the eleventh century. A second related sequence, *Celsa pueri*, is found in northern French sources of the late eleventh century.⁸²

A related melody, identified by the name OCCIDENTANA in German sources prior to 1100, was used as the melody for Notker's Pentecost sequence *Sancti Spiritus assit*. The sequence *Sancti merita Benedicti*, also set to the same melody, is first found in sources from the early eleventh century.⁸³

Kruckenbergh has shown that until circa 1050, the sequence repertoires of East and West Francia remained separate, divided by a "reception barrier" that prevented transmission. After circa 1050, this reception barrier appears to have broken down, resulting in the appearance of pieces from the German sequence repertoire in French and English sources.⁸⁴ The twelfth century witnessed the selective use of *Rex omnipotens* in German sources as well, transmitted via the Order of the Canons Regular of Prémontré

⁸¹ The melody REX OMNIPOTENS is found in both texted and textless versions in F-Pn na 887, F-Pn na 1118, F-Pn na 1084, and F-Pn na 1119. Textless versions of REX OMNIPOTENS are also found in F-Pn na 1121, F-Pn na 909, and F-Pn na 1086. An additional texted version is found in F-Pn na 1138/1338.

⁸² AH 53, 162.

⁸³ Felix Heinzer, *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 256.

⁸⁴ Texted and textless versions of *Sancti spiritus assit* are found in F-Pn na 887.

(or Premonstratensians) founded in 1120 by Saint Norbert, later the Bishop of Magdeburg.⁸⁵

A complete analysis of variants in the OCCIDENTANA melody, and study of its transmission in the manuscript tradition remains outside the scope of the current study. I will conduct a brief comparison of OCCIDENTANA to the related West Frankish melody, REX OMNIPOTENS, in order to explain certain variants that typify later Anglo-French sources. My analysis will compare melodic versions in the diastematic sources to each other and to the earliest neumed source of the melody found in CH-SGs 484, in order to identify separate strands of transmission. This comparison reveals the coexistence of several regional types, including two German types: a South Eastern type, and a Rhenish type. I will argue that the Kloster Preetz melody most closely resembles those examples from the western edge of the German-speaking area that border the Rhine. I will also show that there are several French melodic types that involve various strategies of transposition. These, I will argue, represent interference from the REX OMNIPOTENS tradition, and should be read as literal changes in the pitch level of the melody, and not as changes of mode, nor as adjustments to the melody made by individual cantorial choice. Finally, I will suggest that there is a “zone of transition” between eastern and western practice located roughly in the region bounded by the Rhine, Maas, and Mosel rivers where a blending of French and German melodic characteristics took place. This case study offers information that is potentially useful in the identification of the various streams of influence that lead to the establishment of the repertoire in northern Germany, Scandinavia, and the Baltic.

⁸⁵ Lori Kruckenberg, personal communication, 9 March 2010.

Musical Example 5.7 above presents the OCCIDENTANA melody as it appears with the texts of *Sancti spiritus assit* and *Sancti merita Benedicti* in the Preetz Gradual. The OCCIDENTANA melody consists of a single versicle (1) followed by eleven versicle pairs (2a–2b through 12a–12b) and ends in another single versicle (13.) The OCCIDENTANA melody given in the Preetz Gradual for *Sancti merita Benedicti* and *Sancti spiritus assit* are virtually identical, save for modifications to allow for an extra syllable in the newer text, and the use of the liquesced form of individual pitches to accommodate syllables containing diphthongs or ending in liquids or glides (for example, l, m, n, r.) For the purpose of this discussion, I will assume that the melodies of *Sancti spiritus assit* and *Sancti merita Benedicti* are comparable not only in the Preetz Gradual, but across sources as well. While the comparative study of textual variants is an important methodology in sequence transmission, such an undertaking lies outside of the bounds of the current study.

Musical Example 5.9 presents a synoptic transcription of six diastematic versions of the Notkerian sequence *Sancti spiritus assit*, set to the OCCIDENTANA melody, and three diastematic versions of the related French sequence *Rex omnipotens*, set to the melody equally known by its textual incipit REX OMNIPOTENS. The versions of OCCIDENTANA provided have been chosen to represent various regional traditions. Above the staff, the adiastematic neumes of CH-SGs 484 (circa 920) represent the earliest neumed version of the melody. Regional variation may be seen in the melody in terms of two independent variables: pitch level and melodic variants.

OCCIDENTANA: German versions

CH-SGs 484 *✓ / ~* *~* *✓*

East Mbs 19267

1. Sanc - ti spi - ri - tus ass - it no - bis gra - ci - a

East X

Rhine Trs 2245

Preetz

OCCIDENTANA: Anglo-French versions

AF1 Pn 887

AF 2 Pa 10513

AF 3 Pa 16823

REX OMNIPOTENS

RO 1 Pn 1118

1. Rex om - ni - po - tens di - e ho - di - er - - - na

RO 2 Pa 10513

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS

A. B.

East
 2a. Que cor - da no - stra si - bi fa - ci - at ha - bi - ta - cu - lum
 2b. Ex - pul - sis in - de cunc - tis vi - ci - is spi - ri - ta - li - bus

Rhine
b:cb b:cb b:cb

Preetz
b:cb b:cb

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1
 2a. Mun - do tri - um - pha - lis re - dem - ptor po - ten - ti - a
 2b. Vic - tor a - scen - dit cae - lum un - de de - scen - de - rat

RO 2

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

C.

East Mbs 19267

3a.Spi - ri - tus al - me i - llu - stra - tor ho - mi - num
 3b.Ho - ri - das no - stre men - tis pur - ga te - ne - bras

EastX

Rhine

Preetz *b:f* *b:ag*

AF 1

AF 2 *b:fe*

AF 3

RO 1

3a.Nam qua - dra - gin - ta post quam sur - re - xe - rat
 3b.Di - e - bus sa - cris con - fir - mat pec - to - ra

RO 2

RO 3

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

D.

East *5*
↗ = *↗* *= uT* *~*

4a. A - ma - tor sanc - te se - na to - rum sem - per co - gi - ta - tu - um
 4b. In - fun - de unc - ti - o - nem tu - am cle - mens no - stris sen - si - bus

EastX

Rhine *b:ag*

Preetz *b:ag*

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1 *b:d*
 4a. A - po - sto lo - rum pa - cis ca - ra re - lin - quens o - seu - la
 4b. Qui - bus et de - dit po - te st - tem la - xan - di cri - mi - na

RO 2

RO 3

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

E.

East
 5a.Tu pu - ri - fi - ca - tor om - ni - um fla - gi - ci - o - rum spi - ri - tus
 5b.Pu - ri - fi - ca - no - stri o - cu - lum in - ter - ri - o - ris ho - mi - nis

EastX

Rhine

Preetz
 b:c

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1
 5a.Et mi - sit e - os in mun - dum ba - pti - sa - re cunc - tis a - ni - mas
 5b.In pa - tris et fi - li i - et sanc - ti spi - ri - tus cle - men - ti - a

RO 2

RO 3

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

F.

East
r = *-w* *r* *r* *r*
 6a. Ut vi - de - ri su - pre - mus ge - ni - tor po - ssit a - no - bis
 6b. Mun - di cor - dis quem so - li cer - ne - re po - ssunt o - cu - li

EastX

Rhine
b:cb

Preetz
b:cb

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1
 6a. Et con - ve - scens pre - ce - pit e - is ab lbe - ro so - li - mis
 6b. Ne ha - bi - rent sed ex - pec - ta - rent pro mis - sa mu - ne - ra

RO 2

RO 3

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

G.

East Mbs
 7a. Prophe - tas tu in - spi - ra - sti ut pre - co - ni - a Xri - sti pre - ci - nu - i - sset in - cli - ta
 7b. A - po - sto - los con - for - ta - sti u - ti tro - phe - um Xri - sti per - to - tum mun - dum ve - he - rent

East X

Rhine *b:ag*

Preetz *b:ag*

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1
 7a. Non post mul - tos e - nim di - es mi - tam vo - bis spi - ri - tum pa - ra - cli - tum in ter - ra
 7b. Et e - ri - tis mi - chi tes - tes in Ihe - ru - sa - lem lu - de - a si - ve et Sa - ma - ri - a

RO 2 *b:ag*

RO 3 *b:afgg*

si - ve Sa - ma - ri - a

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

East

8a. Quando ma - chi - nam per ver - bum su - um fe - cit de - us ce - li te - rre ma - ri - um
 8b. Tu su - per a - quas fu - tu - rus e - as nu - men tu - um ex - pan - di - sti spi - ri - tus

East X

Rhine

b:e

Preetz

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1

b:a b:ba

8a. Cum hoc di - xis - set vi - den - ti - bus il - lis e - le - va - tus est et nu - bes cla - ra
 8b. Su - sce - pit e - um ab e - o - rum o - cu - lis intu - en - ti - bus il - lis a - he - ra

RO 2

b:g b:cc

8a. Et cum hoc...
 8b. Su - sce - pit...

RO 3

b:g b:cca

8a. Et cum hoc...
 8b. Su - sce - pit...

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

	H.	I.
East		
	9a.Tu a - ni - ma - bus vi - vi - fi - can - dus a - quas fe - cun - das 9b.Tu a - spi - ran - do da sp - ri - ta - les es - se ho - mi - nes	
EastX		
Rhine		
Preetz		
AF 1		
AF 2		
AF 3		
RO 1		
	9a.Ec - ce ste - te - re a - mic - ti du - o vi - ri ve - ste vit cla - ra 9b.lux - ta di - cen - tes quid ad - mi - ra - mi - ni ce - lo - rum al - ta	
RO 2		
		in ves - te al - ba po - lo - rum al - ta
RO 3		
		in ves - te al - ba ce - lo - rum al - ta

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

M.

East
 11a. Er - go nos sup - pli - can - tes ti - bi e - xau - di pro - pi - ci - us sanc - te spi - ri - tus
 11b. Si - ne quo pre - ces om - nes ca - sse cre - dun - tur et in - dig - ne de - i au - ri - bus

East X

Rhine
b:c

Preetz
b:ag *b:ag*

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1
 11a. O de - us ma - ris po - li ar - va ho - mi - nem quem cre - a - sti quem frau - de sub - do - la
 11b. O - stis ex - pu - lit pa - ra di - sum et cap - ti - va - tum se - cum tra - xit ad Har - ta - ra

RO 2

RO 3
b:dc

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

N. O.

East
East X
Rhine
Preetz
AF 1
AF 2
AF 3
RO 1
RO 2
RO 3

12a. Tu qui om-ni-um se-cu-lo-rum san-ctos tu - i nu-mi-nis do-cu - i - sti in - stin-ctu am-plec-ten-do spi-ri-tus
12b. I - pse ho-di-e a - po - sto - los Xri - sti do - nans mu-ne-re in - so - li - to et cunc-tis in - au - di - to se-cu - li

b:c
b:f
b:d
b:cba

12a. Sangui-nepro-prio quem re - de - mi - sti de-o il - luc et pro-ve - is un-de pri - ma curru - it pa - ra - di - si gau - di - a
12b. Iu - dex cum ve - neris lu - di - ca - re se - cu - la da - no - bis que - su - mussem - pi - ter - nam re - qui - em in san - cto - rum ap - tri - am

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

East *S* */=* *-w^x*

13. Hunc di - em glo - ri - o - - - sum fe - ci - sti

EastX

Rhine

Preetz

AF 1

AF 2

AF 3

RO 1

13. In qua ti - bi can - te - mus om - nes al - le - lu - - - ia

RO 2

RO 3

Musical Example 5.9. Synoptic Transcription of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS (continued)

German and French Readings of OCCIDENTANA

Two basic forms of the OCCIDENTANA melody can be found in diastematic sources that differ in pitch level. In German sources, all versicles invariably end on a G *finalis*. The Anglo-French version 1 of OCCIDENTANA (hereafter AF 1) is transcribed from the manuscript F-Pn na 887, an early Aquitanian witness of the reception of *Sancti Spiritus assit*. The later Anglo-French versions 2 and 3 of OCCIDENTANA (hereafter AF 1 and AF 2) begin at the same pitch level as the German sources, but diverge in the aspect of pitch level from versicles 9a–9b onward. I will suggest that the changes in pitch level in AF 2 and 3 resulted from the cantor’s familiarity with versions of the related West-Frankish melody REX OMNIPOTENS.

The changes in pitch level that occur from versicles 9a–9b onwards assume two different forms, as shown in Musical Example 5.9. All versions of OCCIDENTANA, German or French, begin with versicles that end on the *finalis* of G. Beginning from versicle 9a–9b, Anglo-French versions 2 and 3 diverge from this pattern. As seen in Musical Example 5.9, Box H, the Anglo-French versions 2 and 3 (hereafter, AF 2 and AF 3) begin at a fourth above the German versions. Midway through the melody of 9a–9b, (Musical Example 5.9, Box I) this interval changes to that of a fifth, resulting in an undertone cadence to the *cofinalis* of d in the Anglo-French versions of the melody. This same change in pitch level can be seen in the three versions of the related West-Frankish melody REX OMNIPOTENS (RO 1–3.)

While Anglo-French versions 2 and 3 seem to begin at the interval of a fourth above the German versions, I suggest this is actually an illusion created by the presence of an independent melodic variant. As seen in Musical Example 5.9, versicles 9a–9b,

while AF 1 retains a pitch level oriented to the *G finalis*, as typical of German sources, the melody of this versicle pair begins a step lower than the German version, resuming the same pitch level by the beginning of the cadential figure *F-G-a-G-F-G-G*. Thus what at first examination appears to be the difference of the interval of a fourth between Anglo-French versions 2 and 3 and the German versions of the melody is actually the difference of the interval of a fifth between two different readings of the melody. The difference in relative pitch level beginning in versicles 9a–9b is actually the interval of a fifth and remains constant throughout the versicle pair.

Both AF 2 and AF 3 versions of the OCCIDENTANA melody retain the pitch level of a fifth above the German version through versicles 10a–10b, ending each versicle with the undertone cadence to *c-d-d*. In versicles 11a–11b, AF 2 returns to its original pitch level, ending each versicle with the undertone cadence to the *finalis*, *F-G-G*. In this regard, the AF 2 version of OCCIDENTANA clearly follows the pitch levels of the melody REX OMNIPOTENS 2 (hereafter RO 2).

By contrast, the AF 3 version of OCCIDENTANA drops from the pitch level of a fifth higher than German versions, to a fourth higher from versicles 11a–11b through the end of the piece, ending each versicle with the undertone cadence *b-flat-c-c*. In sum, when French cantors encountered the Eastern OCCIDENTANA melody, they adapted its pitch levels to versions of the REX OMNIPOTENS melody with which they were familiar. Why there is no Anglo-French version that ends on *d*, as we might expect from interference from RO 1, may have to do with the regional origin of the different versions of the REX OMNIPOTENS melody: RO 1 sources that end on *d* are all from Aquitaine, whereas the later RO 2 and RO 3 sources are from the North of France.

Some scholars have proposed that the changes in pitch levels seen in the Anglo-French versions of OCCIDENTANA do not represent actual changes in the melody as sung, but rather temporary transpositions that allow for chromatic alterations of the melody that otherwise cannot be shown in the available notation. For example, Erik Eggen's study of the sequences of Nidarós transcribes a version of *Rex omnipotens* that is consistent with the RO 1 type of REX OMNIPOTENS that cadences on *G*, and a version of *Sancti spiritus assit* that is consistent with the AF 3 type of the OCCIDENTANA melody that ends on *c*. Eggen attributes the change in pitch level that begins in versicles 9a–9b in the AF 2 and AF 3 types to a desire to create a leading tone below the *finalis*. He writes:

But the purpose of this transposition evidently was just to obtain a leading note a semitone beneath the final; and as F-sharp did not enter into the system of notation, the desired result was obtained through the cadence *b-c*, which the transposition provided.⁸⁶

Eggen argued that the resulting, inadmissible Ionian mode was subsequently “corrected” by a) transposing the melody up by a fifth instead of a fourth, or b) by substituting *b-flat* for *b-natural*, re-producing undertone cadence of the original version centered on *G*.⁸⁷

As for the first point, Eggen did not consider that melodic variant in the first half of the 9a–9b melody, in which the Anglo French versions begins a step lower than their German counterparts, regardless of overall pitch level. As shown above, the transposing versions of the melody (AF 2 and 3) parallel the AF 1 version of the melody at the constant interval of a fifth. The “change” of transposition from the interval of a fourth to

⁸⁶ Erik Eggen, *The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidarós*. Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 21–22 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1968): 96.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

a fifth in the middle of the ninth verse is thus illusory: it was at the interval of a fifth all along.

In regard to Eggen's second point, with the shift to the interval of a fourth in versicles 11a–11b, all Anglo-French sources that I have surveyed routinely have *b-flat*. It may be that Eggen's source for the transcription was exceptional in maintaining a *b-natural*, at least as written. Indeed, Eggen was aware of other cases in which the *b* was marked as a *b-flat*, and it is possible that even pieces notated without a *b-flat* could have chosen this option in performance.⁸⁸

Finally, Eggen mentions an interesting example of *Sancti spiritus assit* that maintains pitch level of an interval of a fifth from 11a–11b through the end of the piece, with undertone cadences to the *cofinalis* of the mode: *c-d-d*.⁸⁹ This reading of OCCIDENTANA, while not found in any of the Anglo-French sources I have surveyed, is consistent with the RO 1 version of REX OMNIPOTENS found in the earliest Aquitanian sources.

In sum, all the cases that Eggen mentions are preceded in the multiple versions of the related melodies OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS found in Anglo-French sources: this challenges earlier conclusions: first, that the melodies of the Nidaros tradition were primarily taken from German practice, and second, that differences in pitch level found in sequences were made locally, and on a case-by-case basis. Finally, if we take into consideration the melodic variants existing between German and French versions of OCCIDENTANA and that singing an unnotated *b-flat* was always an option, then there remains no convincing evidence that versions with “transpositions” were sung at anything but the literal pitch level written on the page.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 96; Eggen's source K.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 96, Source 6.

Regional Melodic Variants in OCCIDENTANA

In addition to the differences visible in pitch level between the various versions of OCCIDENTANA, melodic variants serve as an independent variable that can be used to distinguish South German, Rhenish, and Anglo-French versions of the OCCIDENTANA melody. Some of these variants consist of different intervallic readings of the same neume contour, while other variants represent departures from the neume contour. In these melodic variants, neither German nor Anglo-French readings can be said to be more faithful than the other to the earliest neumed sources, represented in this study by CH-SGs 484. Certain pieces from the west of the German-speaking linguistic area and the East of the French-speaking area exhibit a mix of typically Western and Eastern traits, suggesting that there was a transitional zone of mixed Eastern and Western influence.

Furthermore, both Western and Eastern versions of OCCIDENTANA may be further subdivided into categories. In the West, several distinct patterns of pitch-level may be seen in OCCIDENTANA that transferred directly from REX OMNIPOTENS, as illustrated above. In the East, two general patterns of melodic variants emerge, typifying Southern and Rhineland areas respectively. The version of OCCIDENTANA found in the Preetz Gradual concurs with other German melodies in terms of pitch level and in many of its variants. Other variants suggest an affinity with the grouping of manuscript sources of a Rhenish provenance.

Eastern and Western Melodic Variants

Apart from the issue of pitch level, different melodic variants typify German and French diastematic readings of the OCCIDENTANA melody. The portions of the melody that remain the most stable, and therefore the most alike across regions, are the variations of the proparoxytonic cadence of *F-G-G* that end the majority of the versicles in the piece. Variations of this cadential pattern include:

Cadential pattern	Versicles
<i>(c)-b-c-a-G-F-G-G</i>	1, 2a–2b, 5a–5b, 7a–7b, 8a–8b, 12a–12b
<i>F-G-a-G-F-G-G</i>	4a–4b; 9a–9b;
<i>b-flat-G-b-a-b-a-G-F-G-G</i>	10a–10b

By contrast, other less formulaic parts of the melody are less stable and more subject to regional variation.

The melodic variants in OCCIDENTANA may be grouped into several types. First are different intervallic readings of the same gesture: these may be ascribed to dialectal variation. Second, there are instances where the Eastern variants preserve aspects of the neumatic versions of OCCIDENTANA, while Western variants may represent either melodic simplifications or adaptations of the melody to more closely resemble the West Frankish REX OMNIPOTENS. Third, there are times when the Eastern readings change the melody from that described in the neumes, usually replacing a more difficult reading with a simpler one. In some of these cases, the Western diastematic versions of the melody preserve readings closer to those of the early Eastern neumatic versions, represented in this study by CH-SGs 484.

Dialectal Variation

First, let us consider the instances of dialectal variation in the OCCIDENTANA melody, expressed as differences in the intervallic interpretations of the same neume group. Two identical passages from versicle pairs 2a–b (Musical Example 5.9, Box B) and 5a–b (Musical Example 5.9, Box E) show a preference for outlining the interval of a fourth from *c* to *G* in the German sources, while the Anglo-French sources prefer to outline the minor third interval of *c* to *a*. This variant is consistent across manuscript sources, and clearly distinguishes Western and Eastern versions of the melody.

Another dialectal variation may be seen in the Eastern tendency to read the interval of a minor third, where Western sources read the interval second. This may be seen in versicles 10a–b (Musical Example 5.9, Box J) and in versicles 11a–11b (Musical Example 5.9, Box M.) This expansion of interval from a second to a third is typical of German readings of other sequences.⁹⁰ In the case of the variants presented above, it is impossible to determine which reading is closer that of the early neumed sources: both possibilities are simply different intervallic interpretations of the same gesture.

Western variants: simplifications and interference from REX OMNIPOTENS

The second type of melodic variant between East and West shows a Western alteration of the melody, either a general simplification, or as the result of interference from the REX OMNIPOTENS melody. First, let us take examples of melodic simplification. In two mid-phrase passages that explore the ambitus of the melodic triad

⁹⁰ A similar melodic reading occurs in German sources of the sequence *Clare sanctorum*. See Caitlin Snyder and Alison Altstatt, “*Oriens et occidens, immo teres mundi circulus: Notker’s Clare sanctorum* in the German, Anglo-French, and Nidaros traditions,” in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory and Its European Context*, edited by Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 195–196.

between *D* and *F*, Eastern versions pass through the pitch *E* while Western versions avoid the pitch *E*. This tendency is visible in a passage from versicles 4a–4b, in Musical Example 5.9, Box D. A passage in versicles 7a–7b similarly avoids *E* in about half of the Anglo-French versions (Musical Example 5.9, Box G.) In both of these passages, the Eastern versions match CH-SGs 484 in terms of contour, and the melody is quite stable between manuscript sources. There is much more variation between the French sources, but most exhibit the tendency to avoid the intermediary *E*. The variants found in later Western versions of OCCIDENTANA seem to represent melodic simplifications of a passage that was contested between the related melodies of OCCIDENTANA and REX OMNIPOTENS. Transcriptions from older sources of *Rex omnipotens* show a melody that was identical to the Eastern melodic version and to the contour of CH-SGS 484. Clearly, the avoidance of *E* represents a later French dialectal feature.

Some of the melodic variants in Western readings of OCCIDENTANA are adaptations stemming from interference from the REX OMNIPOTENS melody. As seen in Musical Example 5.9, Box G, Eastern versions of OCCIDENTANA begin the versicle pair 7a–7b with the four-note phrase *G-G-F-E* whose contour clearly matches that of CH-SGs 484. Western versions of OCCIDENTANA, by contrast, replace this opening with a version of the REX OMNIPOTENS melody found in a handful of early sources. Another alteration takes place in the opening of versicles 12a–b, Musical Example 5.9, Box O. Eastern versions of OCCIDENTANA leap by a fifth from *G* to *d* on one syllable, and repeat the *d* on the next syllable. The Western sources omit the first *d*, replicating the syllabic melodic setting of the REX OMNIPOTENS melody.

In Musical Example 5.9, Box H, Anglo-French versions of OCCIDENTANA alter the opening melodic gesture of versicle 9a–9b from two pitches: *D-G* (or *G-c*, transposed) to one: *G* (or *c*, transposed.) A comparison with the neumes in CH-SGs 484 reveals that the two-pitch gesture was original to the OCCIDENTANA melody. This alteration not only simplifies the melody by reducing the number of pitches, it also renders two previously similar passages in versicles 9a–9b and versicles 3a–3b identical (see Musical Example 5.9, Boxes C and H). The Anglo-French reading of 9a–9b is, moreover, clearly in keeping with the melody of REX OMNIPOTENS.

Eastern Variants of OCCIDENTANA

In other instances, German melodic variants of the OCCIDENTANA melody deviate from the example of CH-SGs 484, while Anglo-French readings of OCCIDENTANA preserve features of the early neumed version. These German variants may be considered late readings, melodic variants that obviously differ from the readings of the early neumed sources. We have seen that in Musical Example 5.9, C, Anglo-French sources follow CH-SGs 484 in beginning versicles 3a–3b with a single pitch on *G*. Later German sources, by contrast, render the opening *G* a two-note figure, *D-G*. This has the effect of changing the opening of versicles 3a–3b to match that of versicles 9a–b; the latter versicle pair begins in neumed and early diastematic sources with the two-note rising figure of *D-G*. This simplification represents exactly the opposite of what happened in Anglo-French sources that altered 9a–9b to match 3a–3b, as described above. Thus, the readings in late-German and French sources are similar in that both represent a simplification of the melody in the form of erasing this subtle different in the repetition of a musical figure, resulting in a

“flattening” effect: both melodic simplifications dispense with the subtle effect of the variation of a melodic element throughout the piece.

German Regional Subgroups

Within the German sources, it is also possible to detect regional sub-types in the OCCIDENTANA melody. These break down into a western German group concentrated in the Rhine/Mosel area, and a southeastern group of sources. The Rhenish group includes NI-Uu 417 (St. Mary’s Collegiate Church, Utrecht), D-Mbs clm 10075 (Ratingen), D-Bsb lat. qu. 664 (Trier), and D-TRs 2254 (Trier, Bohn Codex.) A comparative analysis of variants suggests that the version of OCCIDENTANA found in the Preetz gradual should also be included in this group. Other sources that mix Rhenish and south-eastern German characteristics include D-Aam 13 (Aachen), and CH-E 366m and CH-E 366t (Einsiedeln), D-BEb 744 (Trier), D-Bsb 792 (Erfurt), D-Dabs 40078 (Quedlinburg), D-DSds 868 (Arnstein, Premonstratensian) and B-Bc 3825 (Rijnsburg Abdij).

The Rhenish group is distinguished from French and other German sources by its preservation at the end of versicles 6a–b and 11a–11b of the *G-F-G* cadence, versus the undertone cadence *F-G-G* that concludes all other versicles of the piece. The use of the *G-F-G* cadence for these two versicle pairs is consistent with the melody as notated in CH-SGs 484, the earliest manuscript witness to the OCCIDENTANA melody: see Musical Example 5.9, Boxes F and M. For these two cadences, CH-SGs 484 uses a porrectus (high-low-high) instead of the typical pes stratus (low-high-high), especially denoting the undertone cadence. Following an tendency towards melodic simplification, virtually all other German and French versions of the melody replace these cadences with

the more typical undertone cadence found elsewhere in the melody.⁹¹ Rhenish sources often include selected Western readings of certain variants.

The southern and eastern German sources, by contrast, preserve purely Eastern melodic variants. As mentioned above, they replace the *G-F-G* cadences in versicles 6a–b and 11a–11b with the undertone cadence *F-G-G*. Later Eastern sources add an escape tone at two points in the melody: see example EastX in versicles 7a–7b (Musical Example 5.9, Box G) and in versicles 10a–10b (Musical Example 5.9, Box L.) This version of the melody eclipses the Rhenish version in later Rhineland sources. While versions of the OCCIDENTANA melody found in Lübeck follow the EastX reading of the melody, Kloster Preetz follows the Rhenish version, indicating an earlier transmission from the Rhineland.

The Zone of Transition

Sources from the west of the Rhineland indicate a zone of transition between typically Eastern and Western readings of the OCCIDENTANA melody. The heart of this area lay roughly along the Maas (Meuse) River, and extended south as far as Verdun. This region correlates with the convergence of the Romance-Germanic language families. Sources from this area include F-VN 759, US-Cn 181, and I-Ps 697. The variants in this area are a mixture of typical French and German characteristics, leaning more toward French. They do not preserve the *G-F-G* cadence, and are therefore distinct from the Rhineland sources. Furthermore, while many of the melodic variants are French, none of the changes in pitch level indicating interference from REX OMNIPOTENS are present.

⁹¹ The *F-G-F* cadence is also found in D-BAa 12 while its other variants are of the southeastern German type. It is also found in one very late St. Gall source. I propose that these represent individual cases of conservatism, not a regional pattern.

Possibly, the southern border of this cultural area represents the northern limit of the dissemination of the West Frankish *REX OMNIPOTENS*. In other words, elements of a French or Western melodic style seem to have been found further north than the West-Frankish repertoire. This finding is significant for several reasons: First, further study of this area may provide more information about how the reception barrier that divided East and West Frankish sequence repertoires until ca.1050 was broken. Second, more study of this problem would help shed light on the persistence of regional melodic types despite the dissemination of East Frankish sequences into the west from the mid-eleventh century on. Third, evidence of a mixed East-West melodic tradition in a significant geographic area of Western Europe is important to consider in the discussion of the transmission of material northward, especially with the “dual transmission” thesis that assumes that the mixing of the two traditions happened after they reached Scandinavia.

Sequences of Local or Limited Distribution

In addition to the early repertoire described above, the Kloster Preetz sequentiary also includes several unusual late sequences of very limited distribution in Northern Europe, all contrafacta of well-known sequences. These unusual sequences include the *Hec dies est quam fecit pater*, assigned in the Preetz gradual to Thursday of Easter week, *Scriba doctus* for St. John the Evangelist, and *In hiis solemnitatis* for the feast of the Visitation, *Gaude virgo mater Xristi* for the Virgin Mary. All of these sequences are written to pre-existing melodies; their texts, however, are worth discussing, as they formed part of the unique textual and theological repertoire of the convent.

Hec dies est quam fecit pater

The sequence *Hec dies est quam fecit pater*, sung to the East Frankish melody ROMANA, first appears as an unnotated entry in two twelfth-century manuscripts: D-Msb c1m 13125 from Prüfening, and D-Kl 2° Ms. lat 58 from Kloster Helmarshausen.⁹² The Preetz Gradual transmits the first documented notated version of the sequence, transcribed as Musical Example 5.10.

⁹² I thank Lori Kruckenberg for providing me with this information. Kruckenberg further notes that the Helmarshausen manuscript indicates the influence of the Hirsau reform.

1493) and the *Missale Brandenburgense* 1494.⁹³ This suggests that although it was not in Lübeck usage, the sequence was in use elsewhere in northern Germany by the end of the fifteenth century. Kloster Preetz either had this sequence from the time of its founding, or had access to material that was not found in the repertoire of Lübeck, but is demonstrated to have been sung in the region by the end of the fifteenth century.

Sung to the melody *MATER*, the text of *Hec dies est quam fecit pater* can be considered an expansion, or troping of the texts of the mass for Easter Sunday. As seen in Musical Example 5.10, capitalized words in the text are taken from the proper chants of the Easter Sunday mass, a mass which, at Preetz, was repeated at least twice during the week following Easter. The remaining text of *Hec dies est quam fecit pater* draws on the repertoire of literary images of the resurrection found in tropes and sequences, casting the words of the proper chants in a Christological light, while connecting the events of the Resurrection to the *hic et nunc* (or here and now) in the manner typical of sequence texts. A translation of the sequence text is given below.

Hec dies est quam fecit pater (AH 8, 29)

1. This is the day that the eternal father of Christ made
 - 2a. When the true sun returned from the Styx
 - 2b. Now let us all rejoice in it
 - 3a. for on it Christ, our Pascha, is immolated for us
 - 3b. who was at once victim, priest and is the sole king of kings
 - 4a. by whose triumph we are freed from the chains of Tartarus
 - 4b. and by whose gift of grace we acknowledge him to be the son of God the father.
 - 5a. Today, let the solemn banquets on which we feed not be inflated with the ancient fermentation

⁹³ See AH 8, 29. The Preetz version of the sequence reverses the second two words: *Hec dies est* (as opposed to *Hec est dies* in the AH redaction).

5b. And let them become unleavened with the gentleness of truth and the sweetness of sincerity

6a. To you, now we ask, god of all armies and never-ending emperor:

6b. Make us, by your birth as victor over death, victors over the savages

7a. And let the holy be celebrated in melodies joined with the praise of angels

7b. And let us not be prevented, together with the raving faithless, from praising you,

8. Three-fold and indivisible

The opening text presented in versicle 1. is a reworking of the text of the gradual proper to Easter Sunday: *Haec dies est quam fecit dominus*, derived from Psalm 117/118:24. The text of the sequence has replaced the neutral *dominus* with *pater Xristi perhennis*. Versicle 2a. compares the return of Christ from the dead to the sun rising from the river Styx, mixing a classical reference with the text of the introit trope: *en ego verus sol*.⁹⁴ Versicle 2b. resumes with a quotation from the second part of the Gradual text: *exultemur et letemur in ea*. Versicle 3a. quotes the text: *Pascha nostrum Xristus immolatus est pro nobis* from the Easter Sunday alleluia verse, linking the images of Christ as paschal victim, priest and king.

As the text of the sequence continues to quote the proper chant texts in order, versicles 4a–4b, which recount the harrowing of hell, fall in the relative position of the sequence. It seems appropriate that these verses recount the non-canonical part of the Resurrection narrative, not otherwise referred to in the proper chants of the mass, but commonly referred to in Easter sequences. Versicles 5a–5b return to the proper chants, expanding and commenting on the text of the communion chant: *Pascha nostrum*

⁹⁴ Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen and Ritva Jonsson, eds. *Cycle de Pâques, CT III Tropes du propre de la messe*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1982), 258, *Resurrexi* introit trope 49.

immolatus est Christus, Alleluia, itaque epulemur in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. Here, the term *azyme* or unleavened, and by extension, pure or morally uncorrupt, is contrasted with the *vetus fermentum* or the ancient fermentation, meaning leavening in the abstract sense, passion or moral corruption. This image appears in three documented tropes to the communion *Pascha nostrum*:⁹⁵

9. *Expurgate vetus fermentum*

14^a. *Naturae veteris fermentum*

16. *Noti in fermento malitiae*

These three communion tropes contrast the term *fermentum* (fermentation, passion, or corruption) with the term *azymis* (unleavened) used in the text of the Communion text. As in the language of these communion tropes the unleavened bread of the eucharistic banquet represents an abstract moral quality of goodness or purity, in contrast to the fermentation, representing the passion and corruption of non-Christian feasting.

The text of versicle 6b brings the victory of the Resurrection into juxtaposition with the here and now, asking that Christ's victory over death may be victory over the "barbarians." Versicle 7a uses an image common to sequence texts of the joining of human and angelic voices sung praise; versicle 7b projects that image into the future with a prayer for conversion of the non-believers. AH editor Guido Maria Dreves notes that the text of line 6b refers to the time of the Slavic wars.⁹⁶ It is possible that his sequence was deemed particularly appropriate for Kloster Preetz in the thirteenth century, which lay on the northeasternmost frontier of German expansion and Christianization of formerly Slavic pagan lands. In its liturgical usage, *Hec dies est* frames the psalmodic

⁹⁵ Ibid., 262.

⁹⁶ AH 8: 32.

proper chants of the mass within a Christological framework, connecting the sung texts of the mass with the reading of the Gospel that followed.

Gaude virgo mater Christi

The Marian sequence *Gaude virgo mater Christi* has a text based on the seven joys of the Virgin Mary. Anne Winston-Allen has described how images and devotions based on the joys of Mary were part of a complex of popular Marian observances in the late Middle Ages.⁹⁷ While the date of composition of the sequence is unknown, it is sung to the relatively late melody of *Gaude Syon quod egressus* for St. Elizabeth, popularized in the thirteenth century.⁹⁸ The presence of *Gaude Syon quod egressus* in the Preetz Gradual and the Preetz Stadtkirche missal presents something of a mystery. Absent from the Lübeck repertoire, the only other documented version of this sequence is found in the Olomouc Missal, printed in Bamberg in 1488.⁹⁹ The versions of *Gaude virgo mater Christi* from the Preetz gradual and the Preetz town church missal are thus the earliest documented manuscript instantiations of this sequence, transcribed as Musical Example 5.11.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 38–46; nt.18.

⁹⁸ AH 55, 120. St. Elizabeth was canonized in 1235.

⁹⁹ Edited as AH 42, 74.

¹⁰⁰ This sequence is not to be confused with the shorter sequence on which it is based that was set by Renaissance composers Dufay and Josquin. The texts are identical through versicles 3a; the concluding versicle 3b of the shorter text is different.

1a. Gau - de _____ vir - go _____ ma - ter _____ Xri - sti que per au - rem con - ce - pi - sti Ga - bri - e - le _____ nun - ti - o
 1b. Gau - de _____ que a _____ de - o _____ ple - na per - pe - ri - sti si - ne _____ pe - na cum pu - do - ris _____ li - li - o

b: a

2a. Gau - de qui - a tu - i na - ti quem do - le - bas _____ mor - tem pa - ti ful - get re - sur - rec - ti - o
 2b. Gau - de Xri - sto a - scen - den - te quod in ce - lum _____ te vi - den - te mo - tu fer - tur _____ pro - pri - o

b: dc

3a. Gau - de quod post ip - sum _____ scan - dis et est ho - nor ti - bi _____ gran - dis in _____ ce - li pa - la - ti - o
 3b. Gau - de quam laus to - llit _____ di - ves su - per o - mnis ce - li _____ ci - ves sin - gu - la - ri _____ me - ri - to

4a. Gau - de de - cor lu - cis po - lum or - nans ut _____ di - em et so - lum sol i - lu - strat ra - di - o
 4b. Gau - de ti - bi ce - li ce - tus pa - ret ut _____ re - gi - nam let - tus te co - lens _____ ob - se - qui - o

5a. Gau - de _____ quod vis de - o pla - cet a - pud Ihe - sum ti - bi ia - cet fre - quens e - xau - di - ti - o
 5b. Gau - de _____ de - us te co - len - tes hic et in fu - tu - ro men - tes di - gno di - cat _____ pre - mi - o

b: cb

6a. Gau - de que a - ppro - xi - ma - ris tri - ni - ta - ti _____ tra - be - a - ris cla - ro _____ car - nis _____ pa - lli - o
 6b. Gau - de sem - per ga - vi - su - ra hiis in ce - lis _____ fru - i - tu - ra om - ni _____ pro _____ cul _____ ter - mi - no

b: cb

7a. A - ve mun - di re - pa - ra - trix tri - ni - ta - tis in - cli - na - trix her - bi - do _____ tri - cli - ni - o
 7b. Ve - re pa - tri de - cens na - tum fla - mi - ni spon - sa _____ op - ta - ta ma - ter _____ su - mmo fi - li - o

8a. Do - mi - na - trix su - per - no - rum pla - ca re - gem cre - a - to - rum ut tu - o _____ su - fra - gi - o

8b. E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem con - tem - ple - mur u - ni - ta _____ tem in per - hen - nis _____ gau - di - - - o

Musical Example 5.11. *Gaude virgo mater Christi*

It seems unlikely that the sequence originated in Preetz: the manuscript transmission of this piece deserves further study. It does seem clear, though, that the Preetz readings of the text give a more chronological order of events than does the version edited in AH from the 1488 Olomouc Missal. AH editor Clemens Blumes

remarks that the text of *Gaude virgo mater Christi* was most probably derived from a shorter sequence with the same incipit, AH 42, 73. Blume notes that versicles 6a–6b of the longer sequence (AH 42, 74) do not follow in the order of couplets in the original text, and should probably be ordered as 2a–2b.¹⁰¹ This proposed solution is exactly what appears in the Preetz versions of the sequence, which follow more closely the order of the shorter sequence (AH 42, 73). Thus the Preetz version of the sequence not only represents an earlier version of the text than that found in the Olomouc missal, but also contains the original ordering of the versicles.

Scriba doctus

The sequence *Scriba doctus* is assigned in the Preetz gradual to the octave of the feast of St. John the Evangelist, following the chant *Alleluia, Virgo Iohannes*, transcribed above as Musical Example 5.2.¹⁰² This sequence, sung to the melody of *Hodierne lux diei*, was previously thought to have been an *unicum*, known to AH editor Dreves from a single source: the gradual D-LÜh 2° 11, from a yet unidentified Lübeck cloister, bound in 1415.¹⁰³

Musical Example 5.12 transcribes the sequence *Scriba doctus*, for the feast of St. John the Evangelist from the Preetz Gradual.

¹⁰¹ Clemens Blume, AH 42: 83.

¹⁰² D-PreK, Reihe V G2 (the Preetz Gradual), fol. 12v.

¹⁰³ AH 9, 188.

1a. Scri - ba do - ctus ___ ver - bi de - i an - ni pre - co iu - bi - le - i dig - nus ex ___ tri - pu - di - o
 1b. Su - mme ci - vis ___ ci - vi - ta - tis in - da - ga - tor tri - ni - ta - tis to - nat in ___ prin - ci - pi - o

2a. Hic a xri - sto ___ pre - di - lec - tens cu - ius cu - bans su - per pec - tus con - vi - vi - a ___ fe - li - ci - ter
 2b. Nec - tar hau - rit ___ sa - lu - ta - re de quo po - ssit pro - pi - na - re mun - do mul - ti - pli - ci - ter

3a. Li - tans se ___ pro no - bis pa - tri hunc co - mme - dat Ihe - sus ma - tri et ma - trem di - sci - pu - lo
 3b. Hau - rit vi - rus et li - quo - ris e - stum fert ___ ex - pers do - lo - ris e - xit de pe - ri - cu - lo

b: d

4a. Lo - co ___ sa - xi ge - mma vi - get et vir - gul - tum au - ro ri - get lo - han - nis ___ im - pe - ri - o
 4b. Ri - ma - tur se - cre - ta ce - li su - cce dit ___ E - ze - chi - e - li con - cors con - tem - pla - ci - o

5a. Ad con - fra - tres in - vi - ta - res cum qui bus ___ nunc e - pu - la - ris in Xri - sto con - vi - vi - o
 5b. O lo - han - nes Xri - sti ___ ca - re fac nos i - lluc trans - mi - gra - re tu - o pa - tro - ci - ni - o

Musical Example 5.12. *Scriba doctus*.

Scriba doctus is sung to the melody of the Marian *Hodierne lux diei*, a metric sequence of French origin.¹⁰⁴ The text is organized into five parallel, rhymed couplets, in the meter of trochaic septuanar (heptameter). The new text retains the rhyme scheme of its model *Hodierne lux diei*: aab, ccb, etc. in which the end of each versicle rhymes with its counterpart. As for differences between the texts as recorded in D-LÜh 2° 11 and the Preetz gradual, one minor variant is seen in the Kloster Preetz text: *haurit* for *vincit* in line 3a. This variant is a repeat of the verb used in line 2b, and may represent simply a scribal slip of the eye (or of memory), and points to the priority of the Lübeck text. The presence of this piece confirms that the Preetz Gradual was compiled from at least two

¹⁰⁴ Calvin Bower, “The Sequence Repertoire of the Diocese of Utrecht,” 83. Bower includes *Hodierna lux diei* in a “small sub-group of the French metrical tradition circulated widely in Dominican sources.”

sources: an earlier from outside the region, combined with material local to Lübeck and the region.

In her study of commentaries on the Johannine sequence *Verbum dei do natum*, Erika Kihlman has noted that a standard medieval vocabulary existed for St. John the Evangelist that is too commonplace to trace textually: this vocabulary includes such epithets as *vox tonitru*, *virgo martyr* and *doctor*.¹⁰⁵ With this caveat in mind, it is nevertheless possible to find in the text of the sequence *Scriba doctus* references to two older Johannine sequences: the Notkerian sequence *Iohannes Iesu Christe*, and the newer sequence *Verbum dei de natum*. The term describing John as *scriba doctus* or “learned scribe” is taken from the Latin Vulgate, Matthew 13.52. The passage reads:

ait illis ideo omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum similis est homini patri familias qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera

He said unto them: Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, is like to a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old.

Thus John is cast as the *scriba doctus*: the learned scribe, who brings out of his treasure old and new in his gospel of the Word incarnate. John as scribe is not an image that appears in either sequence, but has precedence in visual representation; for instance as the *scriba maiestatis* in the historiated initial *V* beginning the Johannine sequence *Verbum dei deo natum* from Adelhausen, Freiburg, reproduced in Figure 5.2.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Erika Kihlman, “Commentaries on *Verbum dei deo natum* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century manuscripts” in *Leaves from Paradies: the Cult of John the Evangelist at the Dominican convent of Paradies bei Soest*, edited by Jeffrey Hamburger (Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, Cambridge, 2008), 110.

¹⁰⁶ See Hamburger, “Inscribing the Word—Illuminating the Sequence: Epithets in Honor of John the Evangelist in the Graduals from Paradies bei Soest,” 185, esp figure 6.14. Hamburger also describes the iconography of John as scribe in the Gradual Düsseldorf D 11, *Dum mundo deomonstravit*, and John at his writing desk in Gradual of St. Katherinenthal, 180–181.



Figure 5.2. John as *Scriba maiestatis*, Adelhausen, Freiburg.

The tradition of describing John as specifically *Scriba doctus*, borrowing the term from the Gospel of Matthew, is not known, but is witnessed in another sequence by the title of *O Iohannes scriba Christi*—coincidentally also set to the melody of *Hodierna lux diei*—is found in the gradual D-LEu 391, with the rubric *de s. Iohanne ante portam latinam*.¹⁰⁷

The sequence *Scriba doctus* makes clearer references to earlier sequence texts, namely Notker’s *Iohannes Iesu Christo*, and the later *Verbum dei deo natum*. The opening and closing lines of *Iohannes Iesu Christo* are referenced: thus line 1 of *Iohannes Iesu Christo*:

Iohannes Iesu **Christo multum dilecte** Virgo

becomes in line 2a of *Scriba doctus*:

Hic a Christo praedilectus

and the last line of Notker’s poem

Iohannes Christi care

¹⁰⁷ AH 55, 190.

is incorporated as the opening of the last line (5a) of *Scriba doctus*, modified with an opening *O* to fit the trochaic meter:

5a. **O Iohannes Christi care**
Fac nos illuc transmigrare
tuo patrocínio.

In the original text, this line constituted an entire versicle—a closing salutation that formed a type of ring composition, bringing the reader back to the opening line: *Iohannes Iesu Christo/multum dilecte virgo*. *Iohannes Christi care* shares the same rhythm as *Iohannes Iesu Christo* and possesses a kind of chiasmic alliteration with the first verse. *Iohannes Christi care* furthermore neatly summarizes the meaning of the entire first verse. While the while the original sequence *Iohannes Iesu Christe* is not extant in the Preetz Gradual, the memory of its text is echoed in the text of *Scriba doctus*.

Scriba doctus borrows many more phrases from the later sequence for the evangelist, *Verbum dei deo natum*. Despite the fact that both sequences are for John, the new context in which the borrowed phrases recur often produced shifts in meaning. For instance, the poet of *Scriba doctus* closely imitates versicle 2b of *Verbum dei* in versicle 2b of the new poem:

<i>Verbum dei deo natum</i>	<i>Scriba doctus</i>
2b. Toti mundo propinare nectar illud salutare quod de throno prodiit	2b. Nectar haurit salutare de quo posit propinare mundo multipliciter

In *Verbum dei deo natum*, the nectar is connected to the idea of the liquid in the previous versicle, where John, “among the first rivulets of the true source” sprang forth to supply the whole world with the nectar that flowed from the throne. In *Scriba doctus*, the image of nectar has been transformed into that which John drinks while dining with his head on

Jesus's breast: in the atmosphere of the banquet, the sense of the verb *propinare* is transformed from "supply" to "toast" as in lifting one's glass to. This meaning is closer to how the image is presented in versicle 2a of the sequence *O Iohannes scriba* found in the gradual D-LEu 391.

2a. Pectus Christi hunc sublimat
A quo hausit, quo propinat
Nectar evangelii

In a second example, words are borrowed with a fundamental change in meaning:

Compare for example, verse 4b. of *Verbum* with 1b. of *Scriba*:

<i>Verbum dei deo natum</i>	<i>Scriba doctus</i>
4b. De sigillo trinitatis nummo nostre civitatis impressit caracteres	1b. Summae civis civitatis Indagator trinitatis tonat in principio

In this case, the poet of *Scriba doctus* has used a pair of rhyming words, *trinitatis* and *civitatis* from the original poem to create a completely new meaning: the city of *Verbum dei deo natum* is that of the worldly city that impresses the image of the trinity on its coinage, in a civic metaphor representing the governance of the Trinity. The poet of *Scriba doctus* has changes the city into the opposite of the worldly city: the highest city of cities, or heaven, where John first contemplated the Trinity.

In other borrowings, *Scriba doctus* sums up the meaning of *Verbum dei deo natum* with remarkable brevity: often the content of an entire versicle pair in *Verbum dei deo natum* is borrowed from and dispatched with in a single terse versicle in the newer sequence. Versicle pairs 6a–6b and 7a–b recounting John's miracles and painless martyrdom serve as examples:

Verbum dei deo natum

Scriba doctus

6a. **Haurit virus** hic letale
cuius corpus virginal
virtus servat fidei

3b. **Haurit virus** et liquoris
Aestum fert expers doloris
Exit de periculo

6b. Pena stupet quod in pena
sit Iohannes sine pena
bullientis olei

7a. Hic naturis **imperat**
Ut et **saxa** transferat
In decus **gemmarum**

4a. Loco **saxi gemma** viget
Et **virgultum auro riget**
Iohannis **imperio**

7b. Quo iubente **riguit**
aurum fuluum induit
virgula silvarum

As Felix Heinzer has described, such portions of the text of *Verbum dei deo natum* depend on hagiographic sources, in particular chapter 72 of Isidore's *Liber de ortu et obitu partum*.¹⁰⁸ To these sources Erica Kihlman adds the text *Virtutes Iohannes*, dating likely to the sixth or seventh century.¹⁰⁹ While we cannot know if *Scriba doctus* depended solely on *Verbum dei deo natum*, it seems likely that its author knew the earlier sequence was popular and in circulation in Lübeck. Indeed, hagiographic references in the later text seem to point to the longer passages of the earlier sequence's text.

Yet, the text of *Scriba doctus* also bears content not found in other Johannine texts that may give clues as to the time and circumstances of its composition. The first line of the stanza refers to John as *anni praeco iubilei* or "herald of the jubilee year." It

¹⁰⁸ Felix Heinzer, "Explaining the Bread of True Intelligence: John the Evangelist as Mystagogue in the Sequence *Verbum dei deo natum*," in *Leaves from Paradise: the Cult of John the Evangelist at the Dominican convent of Paradeis bei Soest*, edited by Jeffrey Hamburger (Cambridge: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2008), 89.

¹⁰⁹ Erika Kihlman, "Commentaries on *Verbum dei deo natum* in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century manuscripts," 107. Kihlman also suggests that the *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo de Voragine written between 1260 and 1275 is a more likely source for the vocabulary and narrative of sequence commentaries that interpret this passage.

seems likely that the passage refers to one of the historical jubilee years declared by the papacy in the fourteenth century. The first jubilee year was declared by Pope Boniface in 1300, granting indulgence for pilgrims who visited the basilica of St. Peter and Paul in Rome. This offered a substitute pilgrimage destination to Jerusalem, which had been lost to Christian control in the year 1244. Subsequent jubilee years were declared in 1350, 1390, and 1423.¹¹⁰

The manuscript D-LÜh 2° 11, bound in 1415, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the sequence, narrowing the date of its composition to three possible years: 1300, 1350, and 1390. Which of these was most likely to involve John the Evangelist? Pope Clement VI, residing in Avignon, added the Basilica of St. John Lateran, dedicated to both St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, to the pilgrimage route for the jubilee year of 1350. It would be fitting, then, that *Scriba doctus* was written for the jubilee year of 1350. Moreover, the term *confratres* used in line 5a provides possibly refers to a yet-unidentified guild or confraternity. The existence D-LÜh 2° 11 is assumed to have come from an unidentified Lübeck cloister: its numerous overlaps in repertoire with the Preetz Gradual suggest a possible relationship. A comparative study of the two manuscripts lies outside the scope of the current study.

In hiis solemnitatiis

In addition to the sequences included within the original folios of the Preetz Gradual, a sequence for the feast of the Visitation, *In hiis solemnitatiis* (AH 50, 52) was later copied onto the front fly-leaf of the Preetz Gradual (fol. 1r.) According to the editors

¹¹⁰ “Holy Year of Jubilee”, Catholic Encyclopedia <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08531c.htm> [accessed 16 April 2011]

of AH, this sequence appears in four manuscript sources from Lübeck, the printed *Missale Lubicense* of 1486, and with a somewhat different text, in two later printed missals for the use of Brandenburg.¹¹¹ In addition to these sources, the piece is also found in the sequentiary of the fifteenth-century missal from the Preetz Stadtkirche, the sixteenth-century EV-TALam 237.1.228a, believed to be from Preetz, and on a leaf in the manuscript holdings of the Bruno Stäblein Archive that is consistent in style with other fifteenth-century manuscripts from Lübeck.¹¹²

The feast of the Visitation was made a universal feast in 1389, and was confirmed by the Council of Basel in 1441.¹¹³ The inclusion of the sequence *In hiis solemnitate* in the gradual D-LÜh 12, dated to 1442, appears to reflect the acceptance of this feast in Lübeck following the council of Basel. Most likely, the sequence was composed in Lübeck following the confirmation of the feast, and added to the completed Preetz Gradual thereafter. As a corollary, this places the compilation of the original folios of Preetz gradual to before 1441. It seems likely that *In hiis solemnitate* was composed for the Lübeck Cathedral, and that its appearance in the later printed missals from Brandenburg represents a wider dissemination of the piece following its printing in the Lübeck missal of 1486.

¹¹¹ *In hiis solemnitate* has been edited as AH 8, 52. Dreves identifies four Lübeck manuscript sources without *sigla*; these appear to correspond to D-LÜh ms. theol. lat ms. theol. lat 2° 12 (Gradual, 1442), D-LÜh ms. theol. lat ms. theol. lat 2° 22 (Sequentiary and Hymnary, 15th c.), D-LÜh ms. theol. lat ms. theol. lat 2° 40 (missal, 15th c.), and D-LÜh ms. theol. lat ms. theol. lat 2° 46 (15th c.) The two Brandenburg missals identified by Dreves are those printed in Nürnberg in 1494, and in Basel in 1510.

¹¹² *In hiis solemnitate* is also reported in D-Bsb theol. 4° 59, (Stettin, second half of 15th century.) The manuscript is described as a collection of sequences with interlinear glosses and later marginal commentary. See *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol.13. Preussische Stadtbibliothek*, edited by Georg Heinrich (Berlin: A. Ascher & Company, 1901), 247.

¹¹³ Frederick Holweck, "Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912) Accessed 14 March, 2011 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15480a.htm>>.

Unfortunately, the version of *In hiis solemnitatis* added to the flyleaf of the Preetz gradual (fol. 1r) has been rendered nearly illegible by damage sustained due to its vulnerable location; this placement resulted in the fading of the black ink in which both text and melody were written.¹¹⁴ However, the large red versals that begin each versicle are legible and allow for the identification of the beginning of each versicle's text to be correlated with other versions of the text.

In hiis solemnitatis is set to the melody of the sequence *Mittit ad virginem*, attributed to Peter Abelard. Musical Example 5.13 transcribes the sequence as found in the gradual D-LÜh 2° 12, also from the Lübeck Cathedral.

1a. In hiis so-lem-p-ni-is vi-si-ta-ci-o-nis Ma-ri-e vir-gi-nis di-cat plebs fi-de-lis O mun-di spes - A-ve
 1b. Ma-ter hu-mi-li-um ve-tu-lit gau-di-um de-dit dum fit pi-um a-ve per an-ge-lum et pro E-va A-ve

2a. Nem-pe pro fe-mi-na re-ddi-tur fe-mi-na pru-dens pro fa-tu-a mi-tis pro su-per-ba vir-go pro la-sci-va
 2b. Que mor-tem ab-stu-lit quam i-lla in-tu-lit et quam hec per-di-dit vi-tam re-sti-tu-it de-um-que pla-ca-vit

3a. Cum ple-na sa-lu-te ven-tre sis et o-re dic pri-or cog-na-te sa-lus ve-nit ad te quod est dic-tum Sal-ve
 3b. Re-spon-de-at A-ve Ma-ri-a nam per te fu-ga-tur om-ne ve quod ex mu-li-e-re ve-nit or-bi te-re

4a. Ex-sur-gens fe-sti-na vi-si-tat mon-ta-na cla-mat et cog-na-ta cum sis gra-vi-da ta sed vi-ri ne-sci-a
 4b. Nam par-tum vir-gi-ni spi-ri-tum ste-ri-li gau-di-um in-fan-ti de-us dat an-ge-li con-gau-dent ho-mi-ni

5a. Et cum e-sset ho-mo e-xul a gau-di-o iam iun-gi-tur de-o tri-pu-di-at er-go in-fans in u-te-ro
 5b. E-ya vir-go pi-a mi-sce-sa-ta tri-a de-um pec-ca-to-ri gra-ci-am ho-mi-ni nos e-ter-ni-ta-ti
 5c. Et a mi-se-ri-a duc ad ce-le-sti-a an-ge-lis so-ci-i at-que per-pe-tu-a da-fru-i glo-ri-a

Musical Example 5.13. *In hiis solemnitatis*, D-LÜh ms. theol. lat 2°12, folio 191v–193r.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter IV, Table 4.5, Notator H.

Abelard's *Mittit ad virginem* consists of five pairs of versicles. Each versicle consists of five lines that follow the rhyme scheme of ababc, dedef, and so forth. The text of *In hiis solemnitate* as found in the Lübeck sources consists of eleven versicles: four doubles, with the last three versicles (5a–5c) sharing a single melody.¹¹⁵ Like Abelard's text, each versicle of *In hiis solemnitate* consists of five six-syllable lines; however, each stanza ends in a single rhyme (aaaaa, bbbbb, and so on.) An exception is found in versicle 5b, which reads:

<i>Eja virgo pia</i>	Therefore, sweet Virgin
<i>Misce sata tria</i>	Bring together the three things you have sown:
<i>Deum peccatori</i>	To god, sinners
<i>Gratiam homini</i>	To men, thanks
<i>Nos aeternitati</i>	and to us, eternity.

The final versicle of the piece, 5c, returns to the original rhyme scheme. The exceptional rhyme scheme of versicle 5b reinforces the moment when the text shifts from narration of the events of the Visitation to a petition for intercession. Moreover, the rhyme scheme within this versicle shifts between the petition: *Eja virgo pia/Misce sata tria* and the petition's three requests: *Deum peccatori/Gratiam homini/Nos aeternitati*.

Probably composed after the 1441 confirmation of the feast of the Visitation at the Council of Basel, *In hiis solemnitate* was quickly dispersed throughout the diocese of Lübeck. The text of the poem recasts Mary's visitation of her cousin Elizabeth, who was pregnant with her son John the Baptist, as a second Annunciation. The choice of melody,

¹¹⁵ The AH edition of the text, which purports to reflect the ordering found in Lübeck, omits the versicle 5a. *Et cum esset*, found in D-LÜh 2° 11, the Preetz Stadtkirche missal, and the Preetz Gradual, resulting in an even number of versicles. The missing versicle is supplied by the editors of AH as versicle 5b in the Brandenburg sources. This verse describes the main event of the Visitation, that is, the recognition of the Christ child by John the Baptist *in utero*. It is possible that the editors took the Lübeck text from a source not available to me at time of writing. Further investigation of this problem would require access to the texts of D-Lüh 2° 22, 40, 46, and the printed *Missale Lubicense* of 1486, not available to me at time of writing.

taken from Abelard's sequence *Mittit ad virginem* for the feast of the Annunciation, also recalls that feast. The sequence text is translated below.

1a. On this Solemnity of the Visitation may the faithful people say *Hail, hope of the world!*

1b. The mother of the humble did not take away joy for she gave the *Ave* and *Eva* was changed to *Ave*

2a. Truly, a woman was traded for a woman: the prudent for the foolish, the meek for the haughty, the virgin for the wanton

2b. She took away the death inflicted by Eve, and restored the life that Eve destroyed, for she reconciled with God

3a. Since you are full of health, in your womb and in your mouth, say first to your kinswoman "health is coming to you!", which is to say, *Salve!*

3b. Let her answer *Ave Maria!* for through you, will every woe be put to flight which through a woman came into the world.

4a. Rising hasten to visit the hill country
and your kinswoman cried out that you were with child, but did not know man

4b. For God gave birth to the virgin, life to the sterile, joy to the infants:
Let angels and men rejoice together!

5a. Seeing man, exiled from joy, now united with God
The infant therefore danced in the womb

5b. O, sweet virgin, bring these three things together: God to the sinners, grace to men, and to us, eternity

5b. And lead us from misery to heaven, in the company of angels,
and grant that we might enjoy perpetual glory.

The poet has delighted in working Marian quotations into the text. The line "Hail, hope of the world" (*O mundi spes, Ave*) of versicle 1a quotes the incipit of the sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria* held in the repertoires of D-LÜh 11 and D-LÜh 46. Versicle 1b exploits the word play on the angelic salutation *Ave* as a metaphor for Mary's reversal of

the mankind's destiny wrought by Eve. This word play on *Ave* as the reversal of the name of Eve quotes stanza the Marian hymn *Ave maris stella* (CAO 8272):

<i>Sumens illud Ave</i>	Taking that <i>Ave</i>
<i>Gabrielis ore</i>	From the mouth of Gabriel
<i>Funda nos in pace</i>	Establish us in peace
<i>Mutans Evae nomen</i>	Changing the name of <i>Eve</i>

The sequence's author makes a second word play on the name of *Eva*, stating that she is the one who drives away the *vae* or "woes", born to the world by woman. The first mention of this pun on the name of *Eva* has been traced to the second-century commenter Irenaeus; it was later transmitted in the influential *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.¹¹⁶ The sequence text integrates these Marian medieval textual references to the Virgin into a narrative account of the Annunciation and Visitation derived from the Latin vulgate account of the Visitation in the Gospel of Luke 1:26–45. The visitation of the pregnant Mary to her cousin Elizabeth, also pregnant with her son, John the Baptist, is recast as a second Annunciation. Mary greets her cousin Elizabeth with the salutation *Salve*, most commonly encountered in the Marian liturgical context of the antiphon *Salve regina* and the introit chant *Salve sancta parens*, from which the most common votive mass for Mary derives its name. The author imagines Elizabeth as greeting her cousin with *Ave Maria*, the salutation with which the angel Gabriel greeted Mary at the Annunciation according to the Gospel of Luke.

Through this text, we can see the creation of a new sung theology for the feast of the Visitation, that re-imagines the Visitation, in which the divinity of Christ was

¹¹⁶ See *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, edited by Karen Saupe (Western Michigan University Press, 1998), 183, no.8; *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, edited by Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 162.

recognized by John the Baptist *in utero*, as a second Annunciation celebrating the salvation of mankind.

This sequence is significant as an example of a repertoire that was locally distributed, and most likely represents a composition local to Lübeck. It also illustrates how the nuns of Kloster Preetz received new repertorial elements from Lübeck, in this case, for use in the celebration of the newly confirmed Feast of the Annunciation. This case shows us that the nuns of Preetz, while maintaining an old and distinctive tradition, were not isolated from practices of Lübeck, and selectively absorbed elements to complement their own repertoire.

Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus

Finally, I will discuss the version of the widely-disseminated Marian sequence *Letabundus exultet*. Musical Examples 5.14–5.15 transcribe the first couplet of this sequence from the Preetz Gradual alongside seven other local manuscript sources. Two different modal versions of this piece existed in the diocese of Lübeck, one centered on *G* (Musical Example 5.14) and one centered on *F* (Musical Example 5.15.)

Preetz Grad. (117)

1a. Le - ta - bun - - - - - dus ex - ul - tet fi - de - lis cho - rus al - le - lu - - - - - ia
 1b. Re - gem re - - - - - gum in - tac - te pro - fu - dit tho - rus res mi - ran - - - - - da

Liü 2°17 (195v)

Liü 2°22 (69v)

Musical Example 5.14. *Letabundus exultet*, G-mode versions.

Preetz
Stadt-
Kirche
S.N.

Lü 2°11
(168)

Lü 2°12
(161v)

Lü 2°18
(24v)

Tallinn
Estonian
History
Museum
237.1-228a
(263)

Musical Example 5.15. *Letabundus exultet*, F-mode versions.

Originally primarily circulated as a C-based melody, earlier manuscript sources differ in their use of a B-natural or B-flat, resulting in a discrepancy between the modal undertone cadence, or a ‘leading tone-like’ cadence. Versions of *Letabundus* on G and F can thus be interpreted as an insistence on one or the other of these two modal possibilities. Musical Example 5.16 compares the G-mode version sung in Kloster Preetz and with an F-mode version sung a mile away in the Preetz parish church, which occasionally shared clergy with the convent. That these two modal versions were sung even in the tiny town of Preetz attests to a surprising diversity of practice at the local level.

Preetz Grad. (117)

Le - ta - bun - - - - dus ex - ul - tet fi - de - lis cho - rus al - le - lu - - - - ia
 Re - gem re - - - - gum in - tac - te pro - fu - dit tho - rus res mi - ran - - - - da

Preetz Stadt-Kirche S.N.

Le - ta - bun - - - - dus ex - ul - tet fi - de - lis cho - rus al - le - lu - - - - ia
 Re - gem re - - - - gum in - tac - te pro - fu - dit tho - rus res mi - ran - - - - da

Musical Example 5.16. *Letabundus exultet*, Versicles 1a–1b, Preetz Gradual and Preetz Stadtkirche Missal.

The modally more similar pieces centered on *G* also show significant variation. Musical Example 5.17 compares the *G*-mode version from the Lübeck Cathedral with that from Kloster Preetz. The latter is melodically more elaborate, with added and repeated notes, liquesced neumes, and an additional escape tone preceding the final in a recurring formulaic cadence. While these differences may seem slight at first, the melodic elaboration of the Kloster Preetz version escalates throughout the piece.

Lü 2^o17 (195v)

Le - ta - bun - - - - dus ex - ul - tet fi - de - lis cho - rus al - le - lu - - - - ia
 Re - gem re - - - - gum in - tac - te pro - fu - dit tho - rus res mi - ran - - - - da

Preetz Grad. (117)

Le - ta - bun - - - - dus ex - ul - tet fi - de - lis cho - rus al - le - lu - - - - ia
 Re - gem re - - - - gum in - tac - te pro - fu - dit tho - rus res mi - ran - - - - da

Musical Example 5.17. *Letabundus exultet*, versicles 1a–1b, D-LÜh 17 and Preetz Gradual

Musical Example 5.18 compares the final couplet of the sequence (6a–6b) of versions sung at the Lübeck cathedral and at Kloster Preetz.

The image shows two musical staves. The top staff is labeled 'Lü 2°17 (196v)' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Preetz Grad. (117v)'. Both staves show a melodic line with lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: 6a. In fe - lix pro - pe - ra cre - de vel ve - te - ra cur damp - na - ber - is gens mi - se - ra; 6b. Na - tum con - si - de - ra quem do - cet lit - te - ra ip - sum ge - nu - it pu - er - pe - ra. The Preetz version features more ornate melodic lines with many grace notes and slurs compared to the simpler Lübeck version.

Musical Example 5.18. *Letabundus exultet*, versicles 6a–6b, D-LÜh 17 and Preetz Gradual.

The Kloster Preetz version gracefully elaborates an originally syllabic setting, filling in leaps, and ornamenting *a*, the second degree of the mode, thus emphasizing the cadence on the final *G* that follows each ornamental group. An investigation of sixty-three manuscript sources of this piece has revealed no other that replicates this pattern of progressive ornamentation. One can only imagine the difficulty that a visiting priest who knew another version of this piece would have encountered in trying to re-learn and sing by ear the similar, but more elaborate cloister version.

But these differences are overshadowed by an even more remarkable feature of the Kloster Preetz *Letabundus exultet*, shown in facsimile as Figure 5.3. The sequence begins with the large initial “L”, midway through the third line pictured.

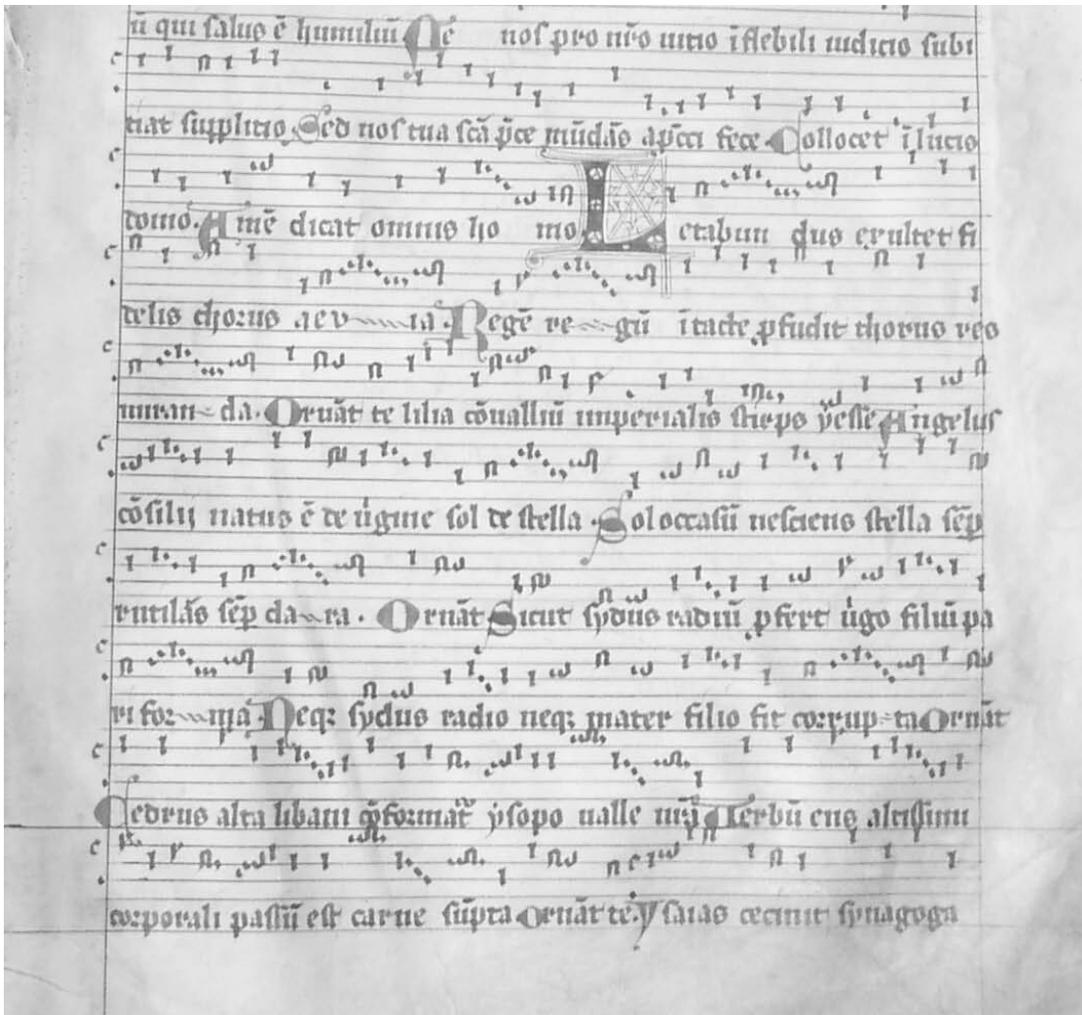


Figure 5.3. *Letabundus exultet* with *Ornant te* Refrain, Preetz Gradual (Bruno Stäblein Archive, s.n.)

Following the first couplet is the text: *Ornant te lilia convallium imperialis stirps Jesse*: “The lilies of the valley adorn you, imperial rod of Jesse.” An incipit of this text recurs after each subsequent couplet: clearly, this line served as a refrain. Musical Example 5.19 transcribes the refrain as it appears in the manuscript after the first couplet.

1a. Le - ta - bun - - - - - dus ex - ul - tet fi - de - lis cho - rus al - le - lu - - - - - ia
 1b. Re - gem re - - - - - gum in - tac - te pro - fu - dit tho - rus res mir - ran - - - - - da

Refrain: Or - nant te li - li - a con - va - - lli - um im - per - i - a - lis stirps Ye - sse

Musical Example 5.19. *Letabundus exultet*, Versicles 1a–1b with *Ornante* Refrain.

The use of a full refrain between couplets of *Letabundus exultet*—or any other sequence—is a practice that, to my knowledge, is unprecedented.¹¹⁷ The text of the refrain is also significant. It addresses Mary, the subject of the sequence, as the “imperial rod of Jesse” a conventional metaphor linking her to the prophecy of Isaiah chapter 11, verses 1–2: “There shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse, and a stem shall grow out of his roots.” This image is merged with that of the *stirps imperialis*, or imperial stem, hinting at a royal or imperial origin of the convent.¹¹⁸ Who, then, are the “lilies of the valley?” The reference is clearly to the Song of Solomon, Chapter 2, verse 1: in the Latin vulgate: *Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium*: “I am a flower of the field and a lily of the valley.” The Latin name for Kloster Preetz was *Campus beate virginis Marie*—the field of the Virgin Mary. It stands to reason that the flowers of the field, and therefore the lilies of the valley, were indeed the nuns of Kloster Preetz themselves. If we interpret the lilies of the valley as the nuns who adorn, or literally “ornament” Mary, the convent’s

¹¹⁷ Sixty-three manuscript sources of *Letabundus exultet* were examined to support this conclusion. By refrain, I mean a repeating section of music and texts intercalated between the sequence’s verses, and not text and music that recur within each verse. Examples of the latter kind of text, having verses that end in *Maria*, are the sequences *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*, both in the Preetz repertoire.

¹¹⁸ Concerning the relationship of the Marian *stirps Iesse* and the political concept of the *stirps imperialis*, see Charles Edward Scillia, “The Textual and Figurative Sources of the Stirps Iesse in the First Half of the Twelfth Century With Special Reference to the Rhine-Meuse Area (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1977), 17–22, 46–54, 61–65, 187–195.

patron, then the repeated refrain takes on an additional meaning. Read in this light, the self-referential refrain places the women at the very center of the laudatory text, much as depictions of kneeling patrons were inserted into contemporary devotional images. Furthermore, the refrain's text mirrors the actual musical process of the piece, in which the nuns—the lilies of the valley—adorn the Virgin by embellishing each successive couplet with an increasing degree of ornamentation, culminating in the final couplet.

How would this version of the well-known sequence have been received by an outside listener? The manuscript Lübeck 2°17 from the Lübeck cathedral witnesses what may have been just such an encounter, given in facsimile as figure 5.4.

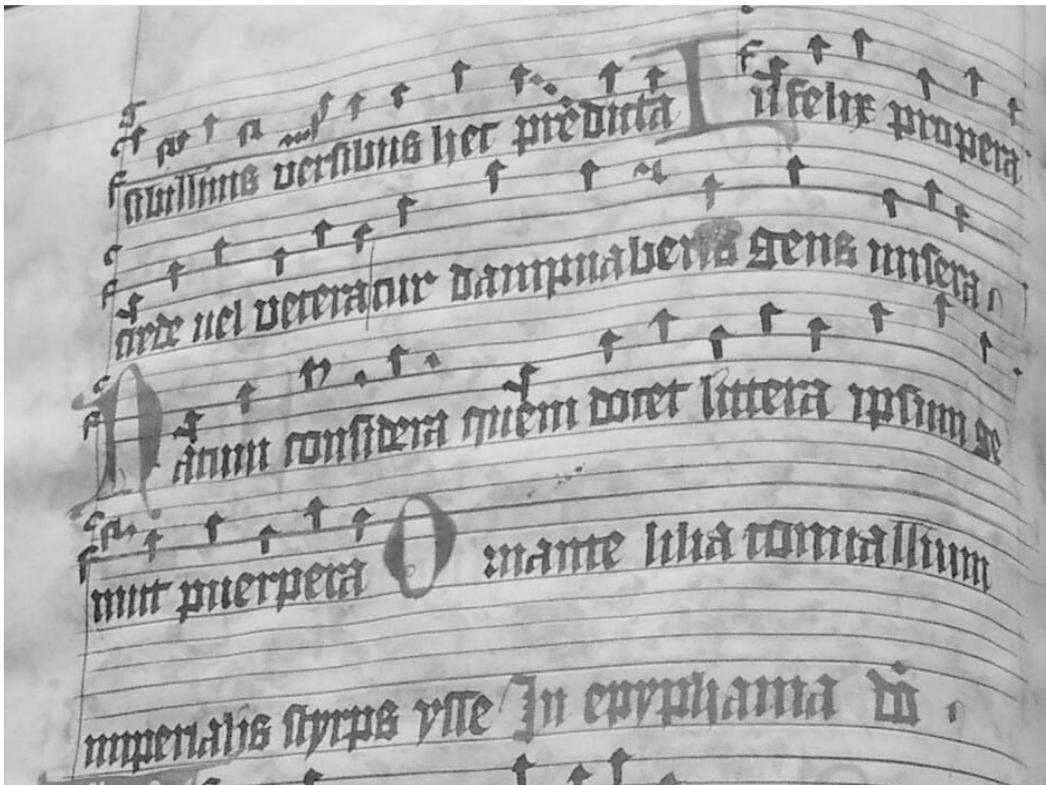


Figure 5.4. *Letabundus exultet* with *Ornant te* refrain
D-LÜh 2° 17, Lübeck Cathedral, fol. 196v.

Following final couplet of the sequence *Letabundus* appears the entire text of the *Ornant te* refrain found in the Kloster Preetz source. Yet, where notes should appear above the text, we find only a blank staff. The scribe —perhaps one of the Cathedral’s canons who had previously served the cloister—knew the refrain’s text and was compelled to insert it at the end of the sequence. However, he (or the notator of the manuscript, if it was indeed the work of two scribes) did not know the melody of the refrain well enough to include it. Furthermore, the phrase *ornant te* “they adorn you” has been misunderstood as *ornante*, “ornamenting,” giving the impression of a text reconstructed from an aural memory. Thus the manuscript witnesses how a fragmentary memory of the Kloster Preetz sequence refrain traveled outside its walls, but ultimately, the cloister’s music remained enclosed.

Summary

In sum, Kloster Preetz preserved a distinct and conservative sequence repertoire, the earliest layer of which originated in the Rhineland, as reflected in repertoire, liturgical assignments, and melodic variants. The presence of later sequences from Lübeck and the region show that the nuns of Preetz selectively supplemented their repertoire with newer material, perhaps introduced through the priests who served the convent. The uniquely ornamented *Letabundus exultet* speaks to the strong role of Marian devotion at the convent, hints at its imperial origins, and serves as self-depiction of the nuns’ devotional singing practices.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Preetz Gradual contains a repertoire that preserves its Rhineland origins, and supplements the oldest layer of composition with local and regional pieces. It reflects the continuation of older musical practices, including the use of proprium troping. Its repertoire suggests that the Gradual was written prior to any influence from the Bursfeld reform.

CHAPTER VI
MUSIC FOR THE OFFICE:
CASE STUDIES IN THE REPERTOIRE
OF THE PREETZ ANTIPHONER

This chapter will investigate music for the divine office as recorded in the Preetz Antiphoner. The divine office, which consisted of over four hours of daily sung prayer, was of central importance to any Benedictine community, as it represented the bulk of the daily round of corporate observance, above and beyond the two daily sung masses. Unlike the mass, which required clerical officiation, the office also represented an autonomous realm of activity in a female community: a part of the daily liturgy that was usually led by abbess or prioress without an officiating priest.¹ The music of the medieval office was also less uniform than that of the mass in that it offered greater independence in terms of repertorial choice. For these reasons, the office offers a window into the specific music practices of Kloster Preetz.

As described in Chapter IV, the Preetz Antiphoner has an integrated Temporale and Sanctorale, and once consisted of two volumes. The Summer volume of the only existent Preetz antiphonary has been lost, and with it, the bulk of the feasts of the Sanctorale, which doubtless contained the most information about the cloister's calendar and liturgy. The remaining Winter volume, referred to throughout this study as the Preetz Antiphoner, once contained the feasts of Advent through Lent, as well as the Winter feasts of the Sanctorale; it has lost about a third of its original folios, including the book's calendar. Despite these lacunae, enough of the Antiphoner's repertoire survives to allow

¹ Gisela Muschiol, "Time and Space: Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages," 192.

for selected case studies of substantial extant offices. Of these, I will select the most distinct (rather than universal or ubiquitous) office materials contained in the book as my central case study, namely, the office for St. Blaise. This case study is appealing because it is distinct from more universal or widely disseminated repertoires, and represents the earliest chronological stratum in the cloister's repertoire, dating from the tenth century. The study of this office not only helps to reconstruct the musical practice of the cloister, it helps in identifying the earliest origins of the community.

The office for St. Matthias, an addendum to the manuscript, is clearly of late origin and has a very limited transmission history. As this office has been transcribed and analyzed elsewhere, my comments will be limited to offering an explanation for its presence in the Kloster Preetz repertoire, arguing that its adoption in the practice of Kloster Preetz is likely evidence of repertorial influence of the late fifteenth-century Bursfeld reform of Benedictine monasticism.

The office for St. Blaise contained in the Preetz Antiphoner, by contrast, has not been previously documented. As part of the original repertoire of the Antiphoner, analysis of this office offers the possibility of telling us more about the age and regional origin of the Kloster Preetz office repertoire, and may reveal evidence of the cloister's foundational origins. A complete transcription of extant portions of the office will be accompanied by a stylistic analysis that will assist in determining the likely age of the office. In support of my analysis, I will offer a review of the literature on compositional style in music for the office. From the office for St. Blaise, I will analyze four groups of material: 1) a set of nine modally ordered Matins antiphons, 2) a group of three mode 4 antiphons, 3) the extant canticle antiphons, and 4) the extant great responsories from

Matins. Differences in the compositional features of antiphons and responsories from each of these groups will determine the analytical methodology to be applied. I will also draw on contextual evidence in order to determine a possible origin of the St. Blaise office. This analysis will support several hypotheses: first, I will argue based on my analysis that the composer of the Preetz office for St. Blaise employed compositional techniques that rely on melodic repetition and variation. In the case of the Matins antiphons, the composer transformed received Gregorian models through using the form of the double antiphon. The parallel form of the double antiphon lent itself to setting texts including parallel or juxtaposed ideas, underscoring the syntactical structure of the text, and presenting richly expressive possibilities. While the form of the double antiphon appears a compositional possibility in other tenth-century offices, its near exclusive use in the office of St. Blaise suggests that it was a deliberate compositional choice that may be used as a clue to identify a possible composer for the office.

Second, I will present a case study of mode 4 antiphons in the Preetz office for St. Blaise. I will suggest that the mode 4 Matins antiphons exhibit a particular modal type that behaves in a way distinct from other mode 4 examples in the general chant repertoire, and represent a distinct compositional style even within tenth-century repertoire. I will compare modality of these Matins antiphons with that of mode 4 canticle antiphons in the office, which were composed in a very different and distinctly late style that emerged in the eleventh century. My analysis of the mode 4 canticle antiphons will show which aspects of their modality adhere to general characteristics of a late style, and which aspects suggest a behavior more specific to mode 4. I will suggest that differences between the modality and style of the mode 4 Matins antiphons and the

mode 4 canticle antiphons, paired with the wider distribution of the canticle antiphon *Adest nobis*, suggests that the canticle antiphons in the Preetz office for St. Blaise were written independently and at a later date.

Third, I will show how the Matins responsories of the office for St. Blaise are not based on traditional compositional formulae, but rather on melodic variations of one or more melodies. Like the parallel form of the double antiphon, the forms of the Matins Responsories attest to a stylistic preference for compositions built on the principle of varied repetition.

My analysis supports several additional hypotheses: first, I propose that the Preetz office for St. Blaise may be a lost office composed by the renowned composer Reginold of Eichstätt, who flourished in the late tenth century. In order to support this identification, I offer a comparative analysis of the Preetz office to 1) two other proper offices for St. Blaise and 2) the widely-distributed office for St. Nicholas attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt. This comparative analysis shows that of the proper offices for St. Blaise, that from Kloster Preetz is most consistent with the style of Reginold of Eichstätt based on compositional resemblance to the office for St. Nicholas.

The mother-house of Kloster Preetz has never been identified. I suggest that the presence of the office for St. Blaise in the Preetz Antiphoner may be indirect evidence that the cloister had its origins in the network of royal foundations for secular canonesses established by Saxon royalty into the Ottonian era. It suggests a third stream of musical transmission of office music—one that is connected to neither the traditional male monastic establishment or nor to the secular cursus of cathedral usage. This third stream

of transmission was through a network of religious women— especially as found in the female secular foundations of German-speaking realm.

The following chapter is divided into three sections. First, I will discuss the origins of the St. Blaise cult and office. I will also review the secondary literature on stylistic periodization of music for the office, establishing a starting point on which my analysis of the office for St. Blaise will be built. Secondly, I will analyze the Kloster Preetz office for St. Blaise, with particular attention to emerging forms in the genres of antiphon and responsory. Finally, I will briefly turn to the added office for St. Matthias, arguing that its presence may represent evidence of the influence of the late fifteenth-century Bursfeld Reform on the convent's repertoire.

The Office of St. Blaise

Origins

Prior to analyzing the music of the office for St. Blaise, it is helpful to understand when the cult of the saint first became visible in northern Europe and how the office relates to the textual tradition of the saint's vita. The first traces of the cult of St. Blaise in the German-speaking realm date to circa 855, when the saint's relics were transferred to from Rome to Rheinau. From Rheinau, the Abbey of St. Blasien in the Black Forest was founded in the mid-eleventh century. Another, separate early establishment of the saint's cult north of the Alps is represented by the transfer of St. Blaise's relics to the cathedral of Toul in 994. Later translations followed to Paderborn (1014), Quedlinburg (1021), the Cathedral of Braunschweig (1030) and Admont (1074), though it is unknown from which source—Rheinau, Toul, or another precursor—these foundations were made. The cult of St. Blaise appears to have been encouraged during the reigns of Otto II (955–983) and Otto

III (980–1002) during a period of intensified Byzantine influence. This renewed interest has been attributed in part to the presence of the Empress Theophania, the young noblewoman who was brought from Constantinople to marry Otto II in 972, along with a substantial dowry and retinue.²

The Texts

A textual comparison reveals that the text of the Preetz office for St. Blaise was likely modeled on the vita BHL 1377.³ Appendix B gives excerpts from the vita BHL 1377 for St. Blaise in the left hand column, and that of the Preetz office for St. Blaise on the right, with shared textual elements appearing in bold face. As this comparison shows, the narrative texts of the Matins responsories and first nine antiphons usually consist of distillations of passages drawn from the vita. Crocker has suggested that hagiographical texts might have been adapted in shapes rendered to fit melodic phrasing.⁴ It is possible that the adaptation of the texts here might also have been made with a specific musical setting in mind. Texts taking the form of prayers—the last three Matins antiphons and the canticle antiphons—are of independent origin. The earliest documented version of this vita is found in the manuscript D-Mü clm 22240, known as the Windberg Legendary, dating from the second half of the twelfth century,⁵ which demonstrates that the vita was

² Hermann Jakobs, “Die Anfänge der Blasiusverehrung in Deutschland,” in *St. Blasien: Festschrift aus Anlass des 200-jährigen Bestehens der Kloster- und Pfarrkirche*, edited by Heinrich Heidegger and Hugo Ott (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1983): 28. See also Judith Herrin, “Theophano: considerations on the education of a Byzantine princess” in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, edited by Adelbert Davids (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Krijna Nelly Ciggaar “Theophano: An Empress Reconsidered,” *idem*.

³ See *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina (BHL)* <http://bhllms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/> [Accessed 22 October, 2010]

⁴ Richard Crocker, “Matins Antiphons at St. Denis,” *JAMS* 39 no.3 (Fall 1986): 441–490.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta: Liste des témoins du texte "BHL 1377"* http://bhllms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquerysaintsectiondate.cfm?code_bhl=1377 [Accessed 22 October, 2010] Other early manuscript sources include A-Gu 713, from the Benedictine house of St. Lambrecht, dating from the

in circulation at the time of the founding of Kloster Preetz the 1220s. It is therefore possible that the office for St. Blaise based upon the vita BHL 1377 could have been transmitted to the cloister as early as the time of its founding.

Review of Literature on Style and Chronology in Office Composition

Before embarking on a musical analysis of the Kloster Preetz office of St. Blaise, I will summarize previous scholarly discussion of the stylistic traits that distinguish early Gregorian chants for the office from later compositions. My summary is based on the work of Jean-François Goudesenne, with consideration of the contributions of David Hiley, Roman Hankeln, László Dobszay, Janka Szendrei, and Richard Crocker.⁶ This summary will especially aid in identifying, from a stylistic point of view, which pieces from the St. Blaise office may belong to earlier or later strata of composition. Previous work in stylistic periodization that centered on formal traits points to a tenth-century origin for portions of the St. Blaise office.

The description of musical styles within the chant repertoire as “early” and “late” is problematic for several reasons. First, these terms are relative, and their use always necessitates a point of reference. Second, because various styles of composition coexisted, style is not always a reliable indicator of date of composition. A single composer could write pieces that adhered to older models, while simultaneously using a

year 1216. See <http://www-classic.uni-graz.at/ubwww/sosa/katalog/katalogisate/713.html> [accessed 19 October, 2010]

⁶ Jean-François Goudesenne, “A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia (8–10 c.),” *PMMS* 13 no.1 (2004): 1–31; Roman Hankeln, “Properization and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints’ Offices: The Offices for Saints Henry and Kunigunde of Bamberg,” *PMMS* 10 no.1 (2001): 3–22; David Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” *PMMS* 10 no.1 (2001): 23–37; David Hiley, “Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance. Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004): 369–400; *Monumenta monodica medii aevi* vol. 5, *Antiphonen*, edited by László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999 (hereafter: *MMMA* vol. 5); Crocker, “Matins Antiphons at St. Denis,” 441–490.

distinct and “newer” style to set other texts. Third, certain stylistic differences may be more apparent in the longer, melismatic genre of the responsory than in the shorter, more syllabic genre of the antiphon. Finally, the choice of compositional style may be determined in part by liturgical usage: canticle antiphons, for instance, may be set in a style distinct from that used for Matins antiphons, despite being composed at the same date. Nevertheless, it is theoretically possible to identify general dates from which particular stylistic features begin to appear in the repertoire of office chant, while recognizing that the use of these stylistic features may persist, even as new ones are introduced.

The clearest model of office composition from the eighth through eleventh centuries is the typology of *historiae* proposed by Goudesenne.⁷ I will use Goudesenne’s proposed model as a framework, supplemented by other descriptions of stylistic strata proposed by Hiley, Hankeln, Dobszay, Szendrei, and Crocker.

Focusing on sources from the former *Francia occidentalis*, and in particular, the Diocese of Rheims, Goudesenne proposed a three-fold classification of offices composed before the year 1000: 1. the Carolingian basilical office (eighth–ninth centuries); 2. offices organized in modal order (after 900); and 3. offices composed around the year 1000. Goudesenne’s classification coincides with Hiley’s description of three layers of chant composition for the office: Gregorian compositions, non-Gregorian chant that appears from the tenth century on, and accentual-rhymed chants.⁸

Goudesenne describes the Carolingian basilical office, created from the end of the eighth century to circa 840. These offices are believed to have been modeled on Roman

⁷ Goudesenne, “A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia,” 1–31.

⁸ See Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” 25–26, Table 2.

offices of the seventh and eighth centuries with texts provided by the saint's hagiographic narrative (the *vita* or *passio*), which was often written at the same time as the office. The texts of the basilical office favors prose writing and uses a chronological narrative. The music is thought to have been written in imitation of established Roman melodic models, and uses primarily protus (modes 1 and 2 on *D*) and tetrardus (modes 7 and 8 on *G*.) The antiphons, which usually consist of short melodies, take the form of a few specific tunes. The melismatic responsories were modeled on stock formulae adopted from the Roman repertory, while their associated verses assumed traditional tones.⁹

Goudesenne notes that these offices, referred to en masse as the Frankish Sanctorale, can be called Gregorian or Romano-Frankish, because they appear as a reworking of older Roman literary and musical models.¹⁰ Hiley notes that Gregorian antiphons and responsories have unrhymed prose texts, are usually restricted to an octave in range, are freely ordered without regard to mode.¹¹

Goudesenne's second category of office compositions are those organized according to a modal order, written after the year 900. These offices continue the tradition of Carolingian offices, but with extra characteristics. The texts of these offices are usually prose, though versified passages in which elements of rhyme or assonance

⁹ See W.H. Frere, introduction to *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century, with a Dissertation and Analytical Index*; and Kate Helsen, "The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission" (PhD. diss., University of Regensburg, 2008.)

¹⁰ Goudesenne notes that many melodies of these offices were subject to later rewriting. See Goudesenne, "A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia", 5–9, 22.

¹¹ See Hiley, "The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints," 25–26.

appear begin to appear in this era.¹² The organizing element of modal ordering appears from around the year 900, in which antiphons and responsories appear in the office in order of ascending mode. Hucbald and Stephen of Liège were among the earliest composers to systematize this compositional procedure. The element of modal ordering has an important impact on the composition of the resulting offices, because it introduces many more compositions in deuterus (modes 3 and 4, centered on *E*) and tritus (modes 5 and 6, centered on *F*.)¹³

Hiley refers to this stratum of office compositions as non-Gregorian, noting that these compositions may inhabit a combined plagal and authentic range and favor the undertone cadence (known variously as the subfinal or Gallican cadence, for example, *C-D-D*.) The office responsories of this stratum begin to abandon traditional compositional formulae and traditional verse tones. Unlike the responsories of the Gregorian layer, non-Gregorian responsories are rarely formulaic. Their verse tones may begin in way the same as traditional tones, with a freely composed second part, or may be wholly new. Goudesenne notes the appearance of melismas with the repeating melodic pattern of *aab* in the responsories of this era.¹⁴

Dobszay and Szendrei describe several changes that occur in this stratum of composition, characterized by the authors as written in a “later ” or “transitional” style. They describe how melodies thought to be received from Roman were still used in this era, but reworked to more closely reflect the tenets of Carolingian modal theory. While

¹² See Hiley’s discussion of the tenth-century office for St. Cuthbert in “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” 31–36.

¹³ Dobszay and Szendrei, *MMMA* vol. 5, 30*, 60*–61*, 69, 77*–78*; and Goudesenne, “A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia,” 24–25.

¹⁴ Goudesenne, “A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia,” 24–26.

melodies written in offices of this stratum may use traditional models, the influence of theoretical modal criteria usually resulted in an expansion of range to an octave and clear demarcation of the theoretical modal tenor. Likewise, the traditional formulae of received antiphon melodies were often rearranged or used in novel ways. Older melodies often become so attenuated in this process that they approached “the borderline of the ‘free compositions.’”¹⁵

Crocker’s study of modally ordered office compositions preserved at St. Denis offers a complementary view of northern antiphon composition of the tenth century. Crocker notes that although locally-composed antiphons of this era are based on eighth-century Roman models, those models were transformed, resulting in antiphons that are “considerably expanded in phrase dimensions, range, and use of neumatic ornament.”¹⁶

Goudesenne’s third category is that of offices composed around the year 1000 (950–1030.) These offices are written according to new literary and musical styles, and depended less on Gregorian, or Roman-Frankish, literary and musical models. Their texts depart from a reliance on hagiographic accounts in favor of rhymed, metrical texts. Goudesenne suggests that structure of rhymed, metrical poetry, in turn, is at the origin of a new type of melody, in which the repetition of small melodic cells reinforces the poetic structure, while Hiley has noted important precedents in earlier prose offices.¹⁷ Hiley notes that like the “non-Gregorian” office compositions, those compositions based consisting of rhymed verse inhabit a wide ambitus that encompasses both the authentic

¹⁵ Dobszay and Szendrei, *MMMM* 5, 55*. See in particular the description of mode 1 type D5 (1356–1379).

¹⁶ Crocker, “Matins Antiphons at St. Denis,” 488.

¹⁷ Goudesenne, “A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia,” 25–26. See also Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” 25–26.

and plagal ranges: from the fifth below the *finalis* to the octave above the *finalis*, and favor the undertone cadence. The verses of accentual rhymed chant are typically wholly new compositions.

Hiley and Hankeln have also described specific tonal behaviors particular to compositions in the “late” style: these essentially coincide with Goudesenne’s third category of office composition. Both Hiley and Hankeln have described the tendency of late chant compositions to use the modal *finalis* and *co-finalis* (the fifth of the mode) as structural poles around which the melody centers, or for plagal modes, the fifth of the mode below and above the *finalis*.¹⁸ According to Hankeln, these tones are preferred for beginnings and as cadential points for phrase units and even for individual words. Like Goudesenne, Hankeln has described the use of repetition of non-structural melodic formulae as a typically “late” characteristic. In contrast to the melodic formulae that have specific functions such as opening formulae, reciting formulae, and cadential patterns, Hankeln argues that the repeated formulae of late chant have no specific structural function and may be used in any position in the composition. Other stylistic gestures typical of late composition noted by Hiley and Hankeln include large, often sequential melodic leaps, and long scalar runs of the interval of a fifth or more.¹⁹ Both Hankeln and Hiley point to an origin of the “late” style in the eleventh century.²⁰

¹⁸ Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” 27, 30; Hankeln, “Properization and Formal Changes,” 11, 19; Hiley, “Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene,” 371.

¹⁹ Hankeln, “Properization and Formal Changes,” 11–13, 15, 17, 19; and Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” 25–27. Hiley notes that mode 3 uses *c* rather than the fifth of the mode as a structural pole (see discussion of mode 4 below.)

²⁰ Hankeln, “Properization and Formal Changes,” 11; and Hiley, “The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints,” 30.

Goudesenne cautions that the proposed typology must be balanced with the reality of the co-existence of diverse textual styles: during the era between 850–1000, prose offices whose narrative texts relied on hagiographic vitae co-existed with offices having metrical or versified texts, and offices with rhymed poetic texts that were less historical in nature.²¹ As Goudesenne warns, “it would seem necessary to approach the question of style and chronology with extreme caution, for, despite everything it still remains too uncertain.” We should also be cautious of universalizing Goudesenne’s model, which was developed based on the office repertoire of the former East Francia, to all parts of the former Carolingian territory without supporting evidence.

With these caveats, this study will investigate one example from the second stratum of office composition, that is, the office for St. Blaise found in the Preetz Antiphoner. Besides modal ordering, extended range, and abandonment of traditional formulae, are there other compositional attributes that may be used to characterize the style of these chants? In the absence of compositional formulae, how may their composition be described? The following study will complement the foundational work of Goudesenne, Hiley, Hankeln, Dobszay, Szendrei and Crocker by offering an assessment of one tenth-century office. My methods will include identification of the source of the text, formal analysis that includes an examination of how previous antiphon models were adapted and transformed and the creation of new forms, an interpretive description of text-music relationship, and an assessment of modal behavior.

²¹ Goudesenne, “A Typology of *Historiae* in West Francia,” 27.

Proper Offices for St. Blaise

While most of the music contained in the Antiphoner is of international distribution, the office of St. Blaise has not been described in any other source. Below, I will analyze the text and music for the office for St. Blaise, suggesting that it is from the oldest layer of repertoire in the Antiphoner. Appendix C, *Four Proper Offices for St. Blaise*, summarizes the contents of four known proper offices for St. Blaise. The proper office for St. Blaise from Preetz appears first on the left, labeled *Blaise office I*. This office is preserved in partial form, including a partial Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers, the first two Nocturns of a monastic Matins, and incipits indicating assignments for processions and the hours of the following day. Aside from four pieces indicated in boldface: the hymn *Martir egregie*, the three antiphons *Domine rex eterne*, *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies*, and *Adest nobis veneranda*, the music transmitted in the Preetz office has not previously been documented. The first three pieces mentioned above also appear in Proper offices IIa and IIb for St. Blaise (second and third columns from the left.) The canticle antiphon for Matins, *Adest veneranda dies*, has been identified in the manuscript in D-Ful Aa 55 from Fulda, used as a Vespers antiphon for St. Martin: it is unclear in which direction the borrowing took place. Two versions of a more widely distributed proper office for St. Blaise, identified by its first Matins responsory R. *Dum satellites* were in circulation by the eleventh century.²² These two versions, identified as Proper Office IIa and IIb, follow the secular and monastic cursus respectively. The two versions

²² See Christopher Hohler, "The Proper Office of St. Nicholas and Related Matters with a Reference to a Recent Book," *Medium Aevum* XXXVI (1967), 42. According to Hohler, the Rheinau office begins with R. *Vir dei sanctus*: this responsory is the second of the office *Dum satellites*. It is therefore incorrect to claim these as two separate offices. Hohler also mentions that by the twelfth century, Eichstätt only used one antiphon and one responsory proper to St. Blaise. Because Hohler names neither his source nor the incipits of the pieces proper to Saint Blaise, it is impossible to test his statement.

of the office share a set of nine Matins antiphons, a set of five Lauds antiphons, and the canticle antiphons: Magnificat antiphons *Adest nobis celeberrimus* for First Vespers and *Haec eo orante* for Second Vespers, and the Benedictus antiphon *Quicumque in pericula* for Lauds. However, their responsory series diverges after the first responsory, *Dum satellites*.²³ A detailed consideration of the relationship and transmission history of these two offices is outside of the bounds of this study. However, it is important to note that neither version of the office is modally ordered.

A third proper office for St. Blaise, identified by Bruno Stäblein in the antiphoner D-LÜh 6, is given as Blaise Office III in Appendix C. This office represents yet another tradition following the secular cursus, and shares the Magnificat antiphons *Adest nobis celeberrimus* and *Haec eo orante* and the Benedictus antiphon *Quicumque in pericula* with Blaise Office IIa and IIb (shared elements appear in boldface.) This overlap, along with the appearance of *Adest nobis* in the Kloster Preetz office, suggests that the canticle antiphons may have been circulated independently from the proper office *Dum Satellites*. Given the fact that the liturgical tradition of Lübeck possessed a different proper office for St. Blaise, it is unlikely that the Kloster Preetz office for St. Blaise was transmitted through the Lübeck practice.

Below, I will analyze the twelve Matins antiphons of the office for St. Blaise. Beginning with the first nine modally ordered antiphons, my analysis will focus on the form of the double antiphon and how its compositional aspects of parallelism and melodic variation support an effective setting of text. I will then turn to the remaining

²³ Manuscripts following the secular cursus include A-SF XI 480, A-Wda C11, D-KNd 215, and GB-Ob Laud misc. 284. Manuscripts following the monastic cursus include A-Gu 29 and A-LIs 290. Note the textual variant of *Cum satellites* in A-LIs 290, A-Wda C-11, and D-KNd 216.

three mode 4 antiphons as a case study in tenth-century modality. I will analyze the melodic behavior of these antiphons, contrasting it both with earlier melodic types and with contemporary mode 4 compositions from the tenth-century repertoire. I will also present an analysis of the mode 4 canticle antiphons in the office, suggesting that their modality and melodic construction represent a later layer of composition. Finally, I will return to the questions of the origins of the Kloster Preetz office and a comparison of the three proper offices. This comparison will be further supported by a comparative assessment of responsories that focuses on the aspect of form.

Composition of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise

The office for St. Blaise from the Preetz Antiphoner originally consisted of Magnificat antiphons for first and second Vespers, and a Matins following the monastic cursus of twelve lessons.²⁴ Additional assignments of antiphons and responsories to be sung during the Little Hours and the festal procession preceding Mass are indicated by incipit. As indicated throughout the Antiphoner, pieces to be sung in procession were typically taken from the night office, or Matins. In the case of the office of St. Blaise, two responsories (1.1 *Beatus Blasius* and 2.2 *Erat vir*) and an unidentifiable antiphon beginning with the incipit *Domine* were assigned for processional use.²⁵ Lacunae occur at the beginning of the office, following the canticle antiphon of the third Nocturn, and at the end of the second Vespers. According to the criteria laid out by Goudesenne, Hiley, Hankeln, and Szendrei, the office of St. Blaise found in the Preetz Antiphoner can be

²⁴ A clear description of the differences in structure and order of secular and monastic Matins are given in Harper, *Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy*, 86–97.

²⁵ Responsories and antiphons are numbered according to their placement in Matins. Thus, 1.1 R. *Beatus Blasius* refers to the first responsory of the first nocturn; 2.2 R. *Erat vir* to the second responsory of the second Nocturn.

placed among the modally ordered offices composed in the tenth century. The factors that contribute to this dating are 1) the modal ordering of the Matins antiphons, 2) the use of narrative prose that bears a close relationship with a hagiographic model, and 3) the use of Roman-Frankish models for the antiphon melodies. As observed by Dobszay, Szendrei and Crocker, the antiphons of this office, as typical of the stratum of composition, can be distinguished from their Romano-Frankish models in their use of extended ranges, reuse of traditional formulae in novel ways, and increased use of embellishment. Otherwise, they do not exhibit other identifiable hallmarks of “late composition.” My analysis will focus on how these antiphons reuse traditional models, and how the emergent form of the double antiphon supports the setting of text.

The Matins responsories also seem to fall between a complete reliance on traditional models and those compositions that exhibit a typically “late” style, again pointing to a tenth-century date of composition. My analysis of these pieces will focus on the element of melodic repetition within the responsory, identifying forms that are generated in this process.

The canticle antiphons do show the hallmarks of late composition as described by both Goudesenne, Hiley, Hankeln, Dobszay and Szendrei. I will suggest that the later composition style of these canticle antiphons, paired with their relatively wide manuscript distribution, suggests that they represent later borrowings into the office.

Matins Antiphons and their Relationship to Received Models

The composition of antiphon melodies is often assumed to be so unremarkable that it goes without comment in analyses of material from the office. However, I will argue that an analysis of how antiphon melodies adapt traditional models shows much about the compositional process, and reveals them to be sophisticated and effective settings of text.

Most of the antiphon melodies from the Preetz office for St. Blaise are based on recognizable modal melodic types of the oldest layer of chant. As Dobszay and Szendrei have shown, these simple, largely syllabic melodies can be grouped into families of related melodies. The form of a melody can expand and adapt to texts of differing length through melodic expansion which typically occurred in the middle portion of melody, leaving the formulaic opening and closing formulae intact.²⁶

An example of how a mode 1 melody is transformed to fit texts of varying lengths will illustrate this principle of expansion. I will use the following labeling system to identify portions of the melody: (a) indicates opening formulae, (b) indicates the middle section (or sections) of the antiphon, and (c) indicate closing formulae.²⁷ My definition of these phrases are determined by a combination of related factors. First, they are divided by cadences, or potential cadential points in an expanded version of the melody. This is said with the caveat that cadences, or potential cadential points in a melodic type may be purposely avoided in certain instances. Secondly, melodic phrases are also determined by

²⁶ See, for example, mode 1, melody B in Dobszay and Szendrei, *MMMA* vol. 5, 45*–48*, 9–81.

²⁷ In the following examples, is not my intention to replicate the intricate classification system of melodies proposed by the editorial team of *MMMA*. Rather, I will describe in terms that are intentionally flexible a melodic model that may be manipulated by the composer.

the text, and are often expanded to accommodate the text. At the same time, the choice of how to fit a text to a melody may either underscore or contradict the natural phrasing of the text. Divisions in the melody and divisions in the syntax of the text can mutually reinforce or contradict each other. Finally, antiphon melodies often contain established opening and closing formulae that operate somewhat independently of the text: these formulae represent another factor in analyzing the constituent phrases of a melody.

While the opening and closing tends to be quite formulaic and stable, the middle (b) phrase of an antiphon is the least stable section, and varies considerably. It is in this elastic (b) phrase that melodic expansion occurs to fit longer texts. The (b) phrase may even be partitioned into multiple sections to accommodate a lengthy text of multiple phrases. Melodic expansion is usually achieved through the processes of repetition, embellishment, interpolation, or the insertion of additional internal cadences, resulting in multiple sections. While the melodies typically consist of three phrases, melodies consisting of two or four phrases are not uncommon: expansion in these cases still occurs in the least formulaic middle part of the melody.

Below, I have chosen a common mode 1 antiphon melody in order to demonstrate how this process of melodic expansion occurred in received practice. This widespread melody provided the model for the first antiphon in the series of twelve Matins antiphons in the Kloster Preetz's St. Blaise office. Musical Examples 6.1 through 6.4 have been selected from a group of 139 antiphons identified by the editors of MMMA vol. 5 as belonging to one melodic family (hereafter, mode 1 melody "B").²⁸ In order to demonstrate a typical compositional process, I have selected antiphons from the

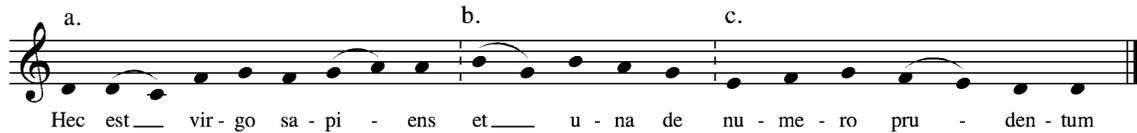
²⁸ MMMA vol. 5, group B (1028–1167), consisting of 139 examples.

Temporale, Common of Virgins, and from the office of the Blessed Virgin that show the early and widespread adaption of a single melody to multiple texts.

Musical Example 6.1 gives the sample mode 1 melody setting the two-phrase text *Hec est virgo sapiens*.²⁹ The text consists of two phrases:

*Hec est virgo sapiens
et una de numero prudentum*

The melody can be analyzed in terms of an opening phrase (a) that rises to *a*, a second phrase (b) that descends from *b* to *G*, and a closing phrase (c) consisting of an formulaic cadence to the *finalis D*.



Musical Example 6.1. *Hec est virgo sapiens* (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Text of Two Phrases)

This melody is also used in Musical Example 6.2, *Erant autem*, expanded to accommodate slightly longer text.³⁰

*Erant autem qui manducaverant
quasi quatuor milia
et dimisit eos*

The text is adapted to the melody’s tripartite structure in Musical Example 6.2:



Musical Example 6.2. *Erant autem* (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Text of Three Phrases)

²⁹ MMMA vol. 5, 1024; CAO 3006 (from the Common of Virgins).

³⁰ MMMA vol. 5, 1028; CAO 2646, for the eighth Sunday after Pentecost.

The opening phrase (a) of this example is slightly expanded from the melody as given in Musical Example 6.1. The middle phrase (b) is expanded by means of a lengthened recitation on *G* on the word *quatuor*, and by the insertion of the temporary cadence to *D* at the end of the phrase. This inserted cadence creates a break between phrases (b) and (c) that did not exist in Example 6.1 The closing phrase (c) remains unaltered. As this example demonstrates, most of the alterations that allow for melodic expansion take place in the variable (b) section, while the more formulaic opening and closing phrases (a) and (c) remain relatively stable.

In Musical Example 6.3, *Sancta Dei genitrix*, the melody has been expanded to accommodate four textual phrases:³¹

*Sancta Dei genitrix
virgo semper Maria
intercede pro nobis
ad Dominum Jesum Christum*

Sanc-ta De-i ge-ni-trix vir-go sem-per Ma-ri-a in-ter-ce-de pro no-bis

ad Do-mi-num Je-sum chri-stum

Musical Example 6.3. *Sancta dei genitrix* (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Text of Four Phrases)

This example opens and closes with versions of standard formulae now familiar from the preceding examples. The middle (b) section has been broken into two parts to accommodate four textual phrases: section (b) makes a transition from the previous cadence on *a* via its upper neighbor *b*, arriving on a temporary cadence on *G*. The second

³¹ MMMA vol. 5, 1075; CAO 4699; for the Blessed Virgin Mary.

middle section (b¹) recites on *G* before cadencing on *F*. This example achieves expansion by partitioning the middle section of the melody into two sections, in addition to breaking before the final phrase (c). I will refer to this type of antiphon, whose (b) section has been partitioned into two or more phrases, as an *expanded antiphon*.

As these examples demonstrate, various strategies are used to accommodate texts of varying lengths: typically, the middle (b) section of the melody is extended by repetition, embellishment, or by the insertion of additional cadences that partition the melody into multiple sections. This series of examples demonstrates how a common formulaic melody may be expanded: countless other examples of this process may be found in the melodies of the antiphon repertoire.³²

Double Antiphons

Another way of adapting a melody to accommodate a significantly longer text, and one that is of particular importance to this study, is to repeat the entire melody over the course of a single text, generating the form termed the “double antiphon” by Dobszay and Szendrei. The simplest form of the double antiphon repeats a given melody twice in the setting of a single text. Other double antiphons repeat only part of the melody, or join two melodies from different families in a single text setting. Complex examples of double antiphons may repeat and vary the elements of the melody in more subtle ways. Dobszay and Szendrei describe a group of complex double antiphons in mode 1:

The full form runs through the melody twice or more, but the ‘periods’ themselves may belong to types in different subclasses. Meanwhile amalgamation, change of function or extensions may appear, bringing us to the

³² See the classification of melodies in MMMA vol. 5. The editorial team of MMMA vol. 5 has done researchers of office music a great service by grouping a large repertoire of antiphons into melodic families, and describing the processes by which those melodies are expanded and altered.

borderline of the ‘free compositions.’ The majority of the antiphons in this group belong to the series of canticle antiphons of the Sundays *per annum*, or the oldest layer of the *Sanctorale*. This means that they are, if not ‘new’ compositions, at least adaptations made in the second creative period of chant history.³³

In other words, double antiphons of the so-called “transitional” or “second creative period of chant history” (contextualized elsewhere in Dobszay and Szendrei’s introduction as approximately the ninth through eleventh centuries) may repeat a melody with variations, embellishments, or interpolations, sometimes transforming the function of phrases within the melody. A double antiphon may even combine material from separate melodic types.

Musical Example 6.4, *Ego sum lux*, is a mode 1 double antiphon that repeats the mode 1 melody “B” presented in Musical Examples 1-4, with embellishment and extensions.³⁴

The text consist of three phrases:

<i>Ego sum lux mundi</i>	I am the light of the world
<i>qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris</i>	He who follows me shall not walk in darkness,
<i>sed habebit lumen vitae, dixit dominus</i>	But shall have the light of life, said the Lord.

As illustrated in Musical Examples 6.3 above, there are several ways in which the example mode 1 melody could be adapted to fit a text of three or more phrases. Instead, the melody is manipulated using a variety of methods.

³³ MMMA vol. 5, 156.

³⁴ MMMA vol. 5 1357; CAO 2592; Saturday of the fourth week of Lent/ Passion Sunday.

Musical Example 6.4. *Ego sum lux* (Mode 1 Melody “B”, Double Antiphon).

The opening formula (a), relatively stable in previous examples, begins in the established manner on the text *Ego sum*. According to the formula, we expect the melody to rise to an undertone cadence to *a* via the figure *F-G-F-G-a-a*. This expectation is frustrated when the melody instead turns back downward on the word *lux* with the pitches *F-G-F-E*, leading into a repetition of the opening formula (*a*¹). The text setting of phrase (*a*¹) creates an enjambment between the first and second textual phrases, creating additional disorientation. Again, the anticipated undertone cadence to *a* typical of the opening formula is denied: while the melody does leap to *a* on the syllable *qui*, this really marks on arrival on *G* via its upper neighbor. In light of the text, the repetition of the (a) section can be interpreted as echoing the meaning of *sequitur*—he who follows. The lack of a clear cadence at the end of (*a*¹) means that the demarcation between this phrase and the short (b) section that follows is not altogether clear. In the division I have proposed, the (b) section consists only of four pitches, *a-G-E-F*, leading into the closing (c) section. The listener anticipates that this formula will conclude in an undertone cadence to the *finalis*: *C-D-D*. Instead, the melody leads into an unexpected cadence to the undertone *C*.

This deceptive version of the (c) formula is set to the text: *in tenebris*: fittingly, the listener is deceived and left in a kind of aural “darkness,” not knowing what will come next. The sense of disorientation is continued, as the unexpected cadence to *C* is elided into a repetition of the opening motive (a^2) through the repetition of the note *C*: together, the final notes of (c) and the first note of (a^2) create a typical a cadence to *C* (*D-C-C*.) This cadence straddles the two phrases, creating an enjambment in the text, placing rhetorical emphasis on the conjunction *sed*. The phrase (a^2), like the previous (a) phrases, does not reach its goal of the undertone cadence to *a*: instead, it becomes caught in a recitation on *F*, decorated by its upper neighbor *G*. The (b) phrase of the melody is omitted, with the phrase (a^2) instead leading directly into an extended closing phrase (c^2). The closing phrase (c^2) ends in an undertone cadence to *d*, providing a sense of finality to the piece. The repetitions in the piece create the complex extended form of aa^1b^1c , a^2c^1 . Joined through the use of the unexpected cadence, the two iterations of the melody together generation a subtler composition with a complex musical form. The melodic parallelism created by repeated musical phrases not only follow divisions within the text, but also enhance the juxtaposition of opposing meanings of darkness versus light conveyed within the text.

The double antiphon, identifiable by its form, appears to be prevalent in offices of the tenth century, and yet is stylistically distinct from antiphons composed in a more typically late style. Previous discussion of style in antiphons has paid little attention to the element of repetition in the form of the double antiphon. Musical Example 6.6, *Luciano venerabili*, is from the office of the Finding of St. Stephen, attributed to Stephen of Liège (c.850–920.) The offices attributed to Stephen are of particular historical

importance, and are often cited as they contain the first documented examples of modal ordering.³⁵ This antiphon is built on another expanded, four-part form of a common mode 1 melodic type. As the editors of MMMA vol. 5 explain, the main difference between this mode 1 melodic type (hereafter mode 1 melody “C”) and the previous melodic type (mode 1 melody “B”) is seen in its incipit. Whereas the incipit of Musical Examples 6.1–6.4 ascended from *D* to *a* through the intermediary pitch *F*, antiphons of this second type ascend directly from *D* to *a* in one ligated neume. This leap is usually followed by *b*, *b-flat*, or *c*, depending on the dialect of chant.³⁶ Musical Example 6.5, the antiphon *Libera me domine*, serves as an example of this melodic type.

Musical Example 6.5. *Libera me domine* (Mode 1, Melody “C”).

As seen in this example, the first phrase of the melody (a) begins with a rising fifth from *D* to *a*, a figure which is embellished by *c* in this version of the melody. The second phrase (b) consists of an embellished stepwise descent from *a* that lingers momentarily on *E* before cadencing to the *finalis* of *D*. The third phrase (c) ascends from *D* to recite on *F* before resolving to *G*. This is the most malleable of the phrases: it is here we should expect to see the greatest amount of variation in melodic settings. The fourth

³⁵ See Antoine Auda, *L'École Musicale Liégeoise au X^e Siècle: Étienne de Liège* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, libraire-éditeur, 1923.)

³⁶ See MMMA vol. 5, 48*–49*: mode 1, Group C.

to the musical phrase (c) of the model melody, but in this version, the melody cadences to *F* instead of *G*. Based on knowledge of the model melody, we now expect to hear phrase (d), the resolution of the melody: instead, a second statement of the melody follows that repeats, consisting of phrases (a¹) and (b¹), setting the third textual phrase. The opening phrase (a¹) is adapted to a slightly longer text, and is embellished. These embellishments consist of 1) an initial descent the undertone of *C*, and the filling in of the *D* to *a* ascent with the pitches *F* and *G*. Seen in another light, the resulting phrase (a¹) borrowed aspects of the opening gesture of the other typical mode 1 melody illustrated in Musical Examples 6.1–4, while maintaining embellishment of *b-flat* typical of its model melody.³⁷ Phrase (b¹), by contrast, offers a simplified rendering of the melody first heard as phrase (b) in the first statement of the melody.

To this point, we have seen two partial statements of the mode 1 melody. The final two phrases of text are set to the third and final iteration of the melody. The opening motive (a²) is now completely transformed into the opening formula of the mode 1 melody “B”, illustrated in examples 6.1–6.4: it has even lost its characteristic *b-flat*. The phrase (b²) that follows has been further simplified. Its final pitch of *D* has been elided into an interpolated section of the beginning of the opening mode 1 gesture: this interpolation completes the gradual transformation of the opening motive seen in (a), (a¹) and (a²) by adding an initial flourish up to *F* before descending to the undertone *C*: similar versions of this opening formula may be seen in Musical Examples 6.2 *Erant qui* and Musical Example 6.4, *Ego sum lux*. This interpolation of the *a* creates a double deception: first, we anticipated a *D* cadence, but (b²) resolves instead to *C*. Second, we

³⁷ As stated above, this embellishment may take the form of *b*, *b-flat*, or *c* in versions of the melody from different dialectal regions.

hear an interpolation of the beginning of the opening mode 1 motive, which we expect to continue with a leap from *C* to *F* and an ultimate ascent to *A*. Instead, the *C* leads directly into the long-withheld closing phrase (d). Thus the composer Stephen of Liège plays with the expectations of the listener through unanticipated patterns of formal repetition, the interpolation of elements from other melodic models, and by withholding the arrival of the final cadence.

It is surprising that little attention has been paid to the genre of the double antiphon, and its use of varied repetition. How common were such double antiphons within ten-century composition? The form appears often in the three offices composed by Stephen of Liège (c.850–920): the office of the Finding of St. Stephen, the office of the Trinity, and the office of St. Lambert. As the first recorded examples of modally ordered offices, these compositions have been recognized as important examples of tenth-century office composition.³⁸ In his foundational study of the offices composed by Stephen of Liège, Antoine Auda did briefly comment on the phenomenon of repeated melodic elements in certain antiphons from the office of St. Lambert. However, Auda's primary interest was in the appearance of versified elements in the texts of the office, which he interpreted as a sign of the increasing sophistication of Stephen's authorship. As a result, he only shows how the end of lines end in musical "rhymes" in accordance with the ends of divisions within the text. Because his analysis was driven by the appearance of versified elements within the text, he did not concern himself with the forms of double antiphons that appear in the earlier offices attributed to Stephen.³⁹

³⁸ See Auda, *L'École Musicale Liégeoise*. See also Crocker, "Matins Antiphons at Saint Denis," 441–490. My transcription is based on Crocker, 468, example (i.)

³⁹ Auda, *L'École Musicale Liégeoise*, 177–182.

Andreas Haug and Gunilla Björkvall have also commented on the phenomenon of musical parallelism within one example of Stephen's double antiphons, and its relationship with poetic form.⁴⁰ Aside from these examples, there has been no effort to assess where and how often the form of the double antiphon appears in the repertoire, or to assess how the variation between melodic statements functions in text-music relations.

A survey of the Matins antiphons from the three offices composed by Stephen of Liège shows that double antiphons comprise seven out of nine Matins antiphons from the office of the Invention of Stephen, four out of nine Matins antiphons from the office of the Trinity, and three out of nine Matins antiphons from the office of St. Lambert. In other words, the form of the double antiphon is used for about half of Stephen's Matins antiphons alongside melodies that did not assume this form of expansion.⁴¹

Another example of a tenth-century office that uses the form of the double antiphon is the office for St. Cuthbert of Lindesfarne. This English office was most likely written in the first four decades of the tenth century, most likely by a clerk from the Low Countries. David Hiley reports that the similarities between the St. Cuthbert office and the Trinity office are strong enough to make it tempting to speculate that the composer of the St. Cuthbert office was familiar with the compositions of Stephen of Liège.⁴² One compositional similarity that Hiley did not comment on is the use of the double antiphon in the office of St. Cuthbert, visible in the mode 7 antiphon *Languor accrescens*,

⁴⁰ For a discussion of melodic parallelism in the antiphon and its relationship to text setting, see Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Text und Musik im Trinitätsoffizium Stephans von Lüttich: Beobachtung und Überlegungen aus mittelländischer und musikhistorischer Sicht," in *Die Offizien des Mittelalters: Dichtung und Musik*, edited by Walter Berschin and David Hiley, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte 1 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), 11, musical examples 7–8.

⁴¹ The exact figure is 51.85%. The office for St. Stephen was examined as recorded in the antiphoner NI-Uu 406, fols. 119–120, 154–156v, 171–172v.

⁴² Hiley, "The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints," 31–36

transcribed as a musical example in his study. This antiphon consists of two varied statements of the same melody.

A sampling taken from offices composed in the tenth century yields similar results. Analysis of the examples given in Richard Crocker's study of northern-composed Matins antiphons reveals that of a group of mode 1 Matins antiphons sampled from across different offices, ten percent take the form of double antiphons. By contrast, twenty-five percent of Matins antiphons from the office of St. Vincent, transcribed in the same study, take the form of double antiphons. This shows that the composer of the Vincent office used the technique of the double antiphon with more-than-average frequency.⁴³ It is not surprising that the group of antiphons taken from numerous offices should reveal more varied compositional techniques, confirming that while the double antiphon was an identifiable form in tenth-century office compositions, it was not the only compositional choice available. It is uncertain how early the double antiphon appeared, or how long it was in use: at the very least, we can be certain that it was in use by the early tenth century in the works of Stephen of Liège, and was used in some offices more frequently than others in the repertoire of St. Denis.

Despite these uncertainties, it is worthwhile to consider the double antiphon, with its inherent melodic parallelism and characteristic methods of repetition and variation, as an important form in northern office compositions of the tenth century. The prevalence of this form of antiphon in saint's offices of the period may also suggest some connection between the dramatic narrative texts typical of prose vitae, and the narrative possibilities inherent in the genre of the double antiphon. As Auda, Haug and Björkvall have all

⁴³ Crocker, "Matins Antiphons at St. Denis," 459–468; see example 1: b, d, and k, and example 2: a, i.

shown, the element of parallelism within the double antiphon also lends itself to the adaption of texts that contain elements of versification.

The fact that the composer of the Preetz office for St. Blaise used the form of the double antiphon almost exclusively for the series of Matins antiphons in narrative prose suggests that it was a preferred and deliberate stylistic choice. It may possibly be used as one of a handful of identifying compositional traits linking this office not only to a stylistic layer of composition, but also to a composer of similar offices.

The Matins Antiphons of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise

Below, I will analyze the Matins antiphons of the first and second Nocturns of the Preetz office for St. Blaise. This group of twelve antiphons consists of a series of nine modally ordered antiphons with narrative texts from the saint's vita followed by a group of three mode 4 intercessory antiphons with texts of independent origin. The first nine Matins antiphons were almost certainly written as a set: they are modally ordered and narrate events from the saint's passio in chronological order. These antiphons use traditional formulae in novel ways: while they rely on models from the earliest layer of antiphons, those models have been adapted to Carolingian modal criteria and manipulated using the technique of varied repetition. Stylistically, they do not exhibit the typical indicators of late composition: namely extended ranges, structural use of *finalis* and fifth, long scalar passages, marked melodic leaps, and repetition of non-structural melodic phrases. As argued above, this lack of the most modern melodic aspects, together with the presence the modal ordering of the antiphons suggests a tenth-century date of composition.

The techniques of extension and manipulation of melody described in the examples of double antiphon above are all at work in the composition of the Matins antiphons found in the Preetz office for St. Blaise. Remarkably, the form of double antiphon is used for the entire set of nine modally ordered antiphons that begin the series of Matins antiphons. Some of these antiphons repeat entire melodies; some, like Musical Example 6.4 *Ego sum lux mundi*, and Musical Example 6.6, *Luciano venerabili*, (given above) repeat only certain portions of the melody. Repetitions of melodic phrases, or of the entire melody, are often linked by means of an evaded cadence or through the elision of musical phrases. As will be illustrated below, individual portions of the melody may be extended, abbreviated, or even omitted, creating longer, multi-part forms with elements of melodic parallelism. The melody may be further varied through subtle variants or elaborate ornamentation. Melodic repetition, parallelism, and variation mirror the phraseology and underscore the semantic content of the text. The prevalence of mode 4 antiphons throughout the Preetz office for St. Blaise creates an ideal case study in which to consider in greater detail patterns of tonal behavior within a single mode. When possible, I will compare each antiphon to a simple composition from the same melodic family in order to illustrate how traditional models are used and transformed.

While some of the antiphons of the series take the form of recognizable melodies the examples in plagal modes 2, 4, and 6 cannot be as easily categorized. Due to the limited ambitus and circular nature of melodies in these modes, the oldest examples are linked by similar melodic behavior rather than adhering to an identifiable melody.⁴⁴ Even in the absence of melodic types, the examples of the mode 2 antiphon *Erat enim* and the mode 6 antiphon *Hiis et talibus* do bear a similarity to specific, well-disseminated

⁴⁴ See MMMA vol. 5, 60*–61*, 71*, 84*.

examples within the chant repertoire. The mode 4 antiphon *Ibi magnis* also presents a special case: while no specific melodic model exists for this piece, it belongs a family of pieces built on similar melodic traits found in tenth-century compositions. Finally, I suggest that the mode 1 antiphon *Ineffabile* that concludes the set of modally ordered antiphons purposefully defies expectations of the mode in order to express that which cannot be expressed, or even conceived of by the human imagination.

The mode 1 *Beatus Blasius* opens the set of modally ordered Matins antiphons, the first six of which belong to the first Nocturn, and would be sung in an uninterrupted flow in alternation with their psalms. These first six antiphons all relate events from the saint's vita prior to the beginning of his martyrdom. The text of *Beatus Blasius* relates how Blaise, by merit of his talents as a healer, was unanimously elected as bishop. The text consists of three phrases:

*Beatus Blasius corporalis medicinae peritus
ex concensu tam cleri quam populo electus
Sebaste civitatis promotus est episcopus*

Blessed Blasius, expert in medicine of the body,
by the consensus of both the clergy and the people, was elected
bishop of the city of Sebaste.

The antiphon, transcribed in Musical Example 6.7, is based on mode 1 melody "B" illustrated in examples 6.1–6.5. The melody repeats in its entirety: the first iteration sets the first line of text; the second iteration accompanies the second and third lines.

Musical Example 6.7. *Beatus Blasius*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise

The first iteration of the melody begins with a prolongation of the initial pitch *D*. The opening gesture travels from *D* to reciting tone *a*. The middle phrase (b), the most malleable part of the melody, travels from *a* to a temporary cadence on *F*. The closing section (c) is comprised of a cadential formula that centers around a shift from the structural note of *F* to the *finalis* of *D*. Whereas in other of the melody, this formula begins simply *E-F*, in this version extends the approach to *F* from the lower fifth: *C-D-F-E-F*. This same melody is repeated in an expanded and embellished form. The opening (*a*¹) is reinterpreted as scalar ascent from the undertone *C* to the reciting tone *a*, building upward momentum. We expect this portion of the melody to end in an undertone cadence to *a*: *G-a-a*, but instead the melody continues on through these pitches, following the text. The parallel phrase *tam cleri quam populi* is set as an embellished recitation on *a* in which *quam* is emphasized by a leap up to *c*. The repetition around *a* builds a sense of urgency in the narrative, which culminates in the upward gesture *c-d* on *electus*, conveying a sense of elevated excitement over the unanimity of Blaise's election. The

middle section (b¹) is re-interpreted as a downward descent from *a* to *D*, leading into the cadential formula (c¹). An added undertone cadence adds finality to the closing formula.

In sum, the repetition of the melody has been adapted to not only the length of the second textual phrase, but to its meaning. Excitement over the saint's unanimous election is conveyed in the (a¹) phrase by upward scalar motion, the evaded cadence to *a*, the horizontal expansion of the melody, and the extended pitch range.

It should also be noted that there is a tendency in double antiphons to reserve the most extended range for the final pre-cadential position that occurs in the final repetition of the melody. Thus, the tonal expansion seen in the example above simultaneously heightens the meaning of the text, and serves a structural function, marking the arrival of the final cadence of the piece. This dual function of the pre-cadential expansion suggests careful and deliberate crafting of text and musical setting. It also shows that the double antiphon involves more than simple melodic repetition: rather, the resulting piece is crafted to have a melodic shape that expands in the final repetition, prior to the final cadence of the piece. But like all expectations of the genre, even this aspect of the double antiphon can be manipulated for expressive effect.

The next antiphon of the series, the mode 2 double antiphon *Erat enim* relates a description of Blaise as a patient and holy man. The antiphon is based on simple, two-part melody similar to that of *In patientia*, transcribed as Musical Example 6.8.⁴⁵ *In patientia* is taken from the office of the Dead, and its text and melody would have been familiar to any liturgical singer.

In patientia vestra

⁴⁵ MMMA vol. 5 1277; classified as mode 1. The editors concede: "it is doubtful whether this type really belongs to the first mode after all. Some manuscripts rank these antiphons (or some of them) among the second mode pieces."

possedebitis animas vestras

By your patience
you shall possess your souls

Unlike the mode 1 examples given above, short, simple melody of *In patientia* cannot be identified as belonging to a particular melodic type.

a. palindromic arch form b.

In pa - ti - en - ti - a ve - stra po - ssi - de - bi - tis a - ni - mas ve - stras

Musical Example 6.8. *In paciencia* (Mode 2 Model Melody)

The first phrase (a) contains a palindromic arch form, the ambitus of which confirms the modal space of the mode 2 by beginning on *C*, one note below the *finalis*, and ending on *G*, one note above the theoretical reciting tone. This arch could be conceived of as two overlapping scalar motives that ascend and descend from *C* to *G*. The second phrase (b) begins on *F* and fills out the trichord *F-G-a* before descending in a decorated stepwise manner to the *finalis* of *D*.

The mode 2 double antiphon *Erat enim* from the Preetz office for St. Blaise is set to a version of this melody that is simpler than *In patientia* in its pared-down melodic contour, but more complex in its form. Like *Beatus Blasius*, *Erat enim* uses techniques of repetition and variation within the form of the double antiphon. In this case, rather than moving from a simple form of the melody to a more complex version, the expanded version of the melody is presented first. This is partly a result of the text, which consists of phrases of unequal length:

Erat enim magne humilitatis mire paciencie
Mente sanctus [...]

For he was [a man] of great humility, of marvelous patience
of holy mind...

The second line ends in a lacuna. Even accounting for four missing syllables, the second line of *Erat enim* would consist of eight syllables—significantly shorter than the first line of eighteen syllables. We can therefore anticipate that either the first statement of the melody must be expanded, or the second must be abbreviated, or both, to accommodate the text.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in treble clef. The first staff contains two phrases: 'a.' and 'b.'. Phrase 'a.' is marked with 'elision' and 'a¹'. The notes are: E4, G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. Phrase 'b.' is marked with 'b.'. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The lyrics under the first staff are: E - rat e - nim mag - ne hui - mi - li ta - tis mi - re pa - ti - en - ti - e. The second staff contains two phrases: 'a²' and 'b¹'. Phrase 'a²' is marked with 'elision'. The notes are: E4, G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. Phrase 'b¹' is marked with 'b¹'. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The lyrics under the second staff are: men - te san - - - - ctus [...].

Musical Example 6.9. *Erat enim*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise

Like *In patientia*, the first phrase of this melody (a) is built around a palindromic arch: C-D-F-D-C. In the first statement of the melody, this phrase is elided into a repetition of the phrase (a¹). The closing phrase (b) is used to set the text *mire patientie*. In the second iteration of the melody, the opening phrase (a²) abbreviates the opening phrase, delivering only the ascending motive of the palidromic arch C-D-F, then pauses on F, decorated by the upper neighbor G. The closing phrase (b¹) is simplified to its last four pitches, G-F-E-D. Thus, expansion is achieved in the first statement of the melody through repetition; the repetition of the melody is shortened through abbreviation of its constituent phrases. In both instances, motives are elided to create a smooth melody.

Possibly in the word *patientia* or “patience,” we can hear an echo of the text of the model

antiphon *In patientia* in the text *Erat enim*: if so, the memory of the first text and its melody, taken from the office of the Dead, serves to foreshadow Blaise’s martyrdom.

The mode 3 antiphon that follows continues the narrative, describing how St. Blaise, leaving the position of bishop to flee persecution, retreated into the life of a hermit. The melody of the mode 3 antiphon *Instante* from the Preetz office for St. Blaise is based on a melodic type exemplified in the antiphon *Si quis per me*, transcribed as Musical Example 6.10.⁴⁶

Musical Example 6.10. *Si quis per me* (Mode 3 Model Melody)

The opening phrase of the melody (a) of *Si quis per me* first descends from the *finalis* of *E* to *D*, then ascends to the reciting tone of *c*: this phrase constitutes a common, formulaic mode 3 opening. The second phrase (b) centers around the reciting tone of *c* and cadences to *G*. The third phrase (c) briefly returns the reciting tone via *G-a-c* before settling into a temporary recitation on *a*. The phrase (d) begins from *G*, and descends to *E*, and constitutes a common mode 3 cadential pattern. Like the opening phrase, the ending phrase is formulaic and is rarely altered.

⁴⁶ MMMA vol. 5, 3029.

The mode 3 antiphon *Instante* from the office for St. Blaise repeats the melody given in Musical Example 6.10 to create a double antiphon:

Musical Example 6.11. *Instante*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise

Despite a textual lacuna of approximately ten syllables, it is possible to reconstruct the meaning of the text using details from the text of the vita BHL 1377.

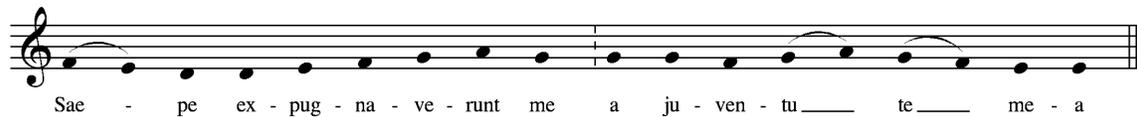
*Instante pers [...]tem secessit
ibique liberius divinitatis contemplacio vacavit*

Threatened with [persecution], he withdrew to [Mount Argeus]
Where, unconstrained, he was free for divine contemplation.

The two phrases of the text are set to the two statements of the mode 3 melody. This not only clarifies the syntax of the text; it also serves to contrast the opposing images of persecution in office and retreat into uninterrupted meditation given in parallel phrases. The first statement of the melody is very similar to the model given in Musical Example 6.10. In second statement of the melody, the only significant variation consists of the interpolation of a recitational passage on *G* in phrase (*c*¹) in order to accommodate the longer text. This is an example of the simplest kind of melodic repetition within in the double antiphon: a literal repetition of the entire melody, with slight modifications to accommodate a text of differing syllable count. The parallelism of melody supports the

parallelism of the text, enhancing the juxtaposition of St. Blaise’s persecution and retreat from office.

The mode 4 antiphon *Ibi magnis* continues the narration, comparing St. Blaise to the great anchorites. This antiphon uses techniques of both and literal repetition and the addition of a coda to achieve melodic expansion. *Ibi magnis* has no immediately recognizable melodic model in the mode 4 repertoire. However, the antiphon can be seen as an offshoot of a general category of mode 4 melodies that gravitate around *E*.⁴⁷ The editors of MMMA vol. 5 have described this group of antiphons as based on a melodic row consisting of the pitches *F-D-E-F-G-F-(G-a-)G-F-E* “producing individual pieces according to different articulations and expansions motivated by the text.” This melodic type is exemplified by the mode 4 ferial antiphon *Saepe expugnaverunt*, transcribed as Musical Example 6.12.⁴⁸



Musical Example 6.12. *Saepe expugnaverunt* (Mode 4 Model Melody)

Like many mode 4 pieces, the melody of this short antiphon is driven by the tension between the *finalis* of *E* and its upper neighbor *F*. Its first note establishes a center of *F* which descends to *D* through a passing tone of *E*; this figure is immediately reversed in the ascent *D-E-F*. The phrase ends on *G*, decorated by its upper neighbor: *G-a-G*. Until this point, there is no indication that *E* will be the final goal of the melody: as with many mode 4 melodies, there is a calculated avoidance of using *E* in a structural position until

⁴⁷ See MMMA vol. 5, group B2 (4117–4172.)

⁴⁸ MMMA vol. 5, *Feria 4 per annum*.

final cadence. To one familiar with the repertoire, this absence of *E* in a structural position can evoke a sense of longing for the arrival of that note. The second line of text of *Saepe expugnaverunt* is set to a standard mode 4 closing formula, *G-F-G-a-G-F-E-E* that signals the arrival of the *finalis* and the final cadence of the piece.

a. b. c.

I - bi mag - nis non in - fe - ri - or a - na - cho - re - tis

4 b1. c1.

non so - lum an - ge - lo - rum vi - si - o - ne per - fru - i

a1. b2. precadential expansion c2.

sed be - sti - a - rum quo que a ce - si - on - e me - ru - it con - so - la - ri

Musical Example 6.13. *Ibi magnis*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

The mode 4 antiphon *Ibi magnis* is constructed of three statements of a very similar melody, each set to three phrases of the text:

Ibi magnis non inferior anachoretis
Non solum angelorum visione perfrui
Sed bestiarum quoque acesione meruit consolari

There, he was not inferior to the great anchorites
 Not only did he deserve to enjoy visions of angels
 But also to be consoled by the approach of wild animals

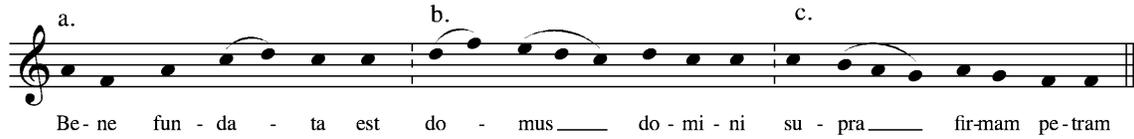
These textual phrases place St. Blaise’s saintly attributes in order of ascending hierarchy, each accompanied by a statement of the melody. Like *Saepe expugnaverunt*, the melody of *Ibi magnis* centers around the tension between *F* and *E*. In the first statement of the melody, the opening phrase (a) establishes a reciting center on *F*, using the *D-E-F* trichord. The (b) phrase shifts the reciting center to *G* by moving through the *E-F-G*

trichord. The (c) phrase consists of a cadence to *F*: at this point, the mode of the piece is still ambiguous.

The second statement of the melody consists of expanded versions of phrases (b) and (c). Phrase (b¹) still centers around *G*, but the melody expands the *E-F-G* trichord by one note to include *a*. The closing phrase (c¹) is expanded through the addition of initial pitches *G-F-D-E-F* to create a longer version of the closing cadential formula. This version of the (c) phrase is more deceptive than in the first statement of the melody: we expect that as in the model melody in Musical Example 6.12, the cadential formula which begins *G-A-G-F* will descend to cadence on *E*. Instead, the phrase cadences to *F*.

The third statement of the melody reestablishes the reciting center of *F* in the phrase (a¹), an expanded version of the opening motive that unexpectedly ends on *C*. The melody's arrival on *C* initiates a pre-cadential expansion that continues into the (b²) section, built on the pentatonic set *C-D-E-G-a-c*. (I will describe this melodic feature in greater detail below, in a discussion dedicated to the modality of mode 4 pieces in the St. Blaise office.) The final section (c²) begins as a literal replication of (c¹), but ends in a long-awaited cadence to *E*, the *finalis* of the mode. The three statements of the melody thus build tension by postponing the cadence to the end of the final statement. At the same time, the statements of the melody become progressively longer and more elaborate. The precadential expansion in the final statement of the melody represents the peak of the entire piece, just prior to the final cadence to *E*. All of these alterations of the melody function rhetorically, underscoring the not only the syntax, but also the meaning of the text, as the saint's miraculous qualities and experiences are listed in ascending order, each one trumping the last.

The mode 5 antiphon *Si quo ex illis* continues the narrative, describing how injured animals would approach St. Blaise to be healed. The antiphon is based on a simple, three-phrase mode 5 melody, exemplified here in the antiphon *Bene fundata est*.⁴⁹



Musical Example 6.14. Mode 5 *Bene fundata est* (Mode 5 Model Melody)

This melody can be described as consisting of three phrases. The first phrase (a) outlines a melodic triad *F-a-c* that is built on the *finalis* of *F*. The phrase cadences on the theoretical reciting tone of *c* reinforced by its upper neighbor *d*. The next phrase (b) explores the upper tetrachord of the mode, *c-d-e-f*, before repeating the cadence to *c*. The final phrase (c) consists of a stepwise descent from *c* that momentarily lingers on *G* before cadencing to the *finalis* of *F*. Musical Example 6.15, *Si quo ex illis*, is a double antiphon based on a very similar melody, with the addition of a *b-flat*. The text speaks of the animals that befriended St. Blaise in his hermitage and came to him to be healed:

*Si quo ex illis aliqua molestia detinebatur
Ad virum dei veniebat et salutem pristinam recipiebat*

If one of them was inhibited by some injury
It came to the man of god, and was restored to its original health

The antiphon consists of two statements of the melody:

⁴⁹ The editors of MMMA vol. 5 include this melody in a group of exclusively new-style pieces. This example, however, seems to be a form of melodic type A1 with an extended range.

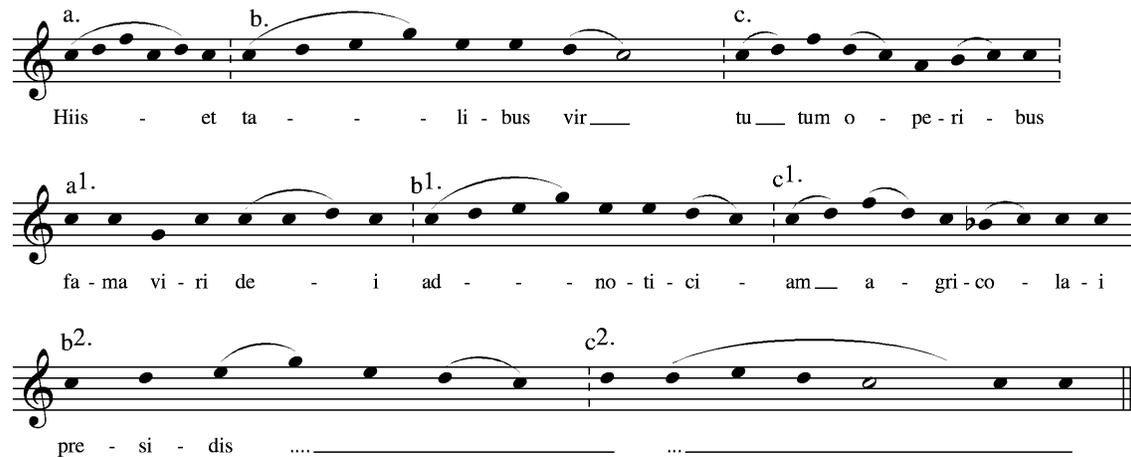
uses melodic repetition with significant variants between statements of the melody, including the repetition of individual melodic phrases. As a transposed mode 6 antiphon written on *c* with the possible inflection of *b-flat*, this antiphon has no immediately recognizable model from the traditional repertoire.

The text of *Hiis et talibus* reads as follows:

*Hiis et talibus virtutum operibus
fama viri ad noticiam Agricolai presidis [...]*

By these and similar works of virtue
the man's fame [came] to the attention of the governor Agricola

While the general meaning of the text can easily be guessed in context, the lacuna of approximately six syllables cannot be filled in because the text is not taken directly from the *vita*, but is rather a paraphrase of a longer passage. What is noteworthy about the musical setting of this example is how expansion is achieved not through the addition or repetition of notes in the melody itself, but through selective repetition of the form.



a. b. c.

Hiis - et ta - - - li - bus vir___ tu___ tum o - pe - ri - bus

a1. b1. c1.

fa - ma vi - ri de - i ad - - - no - ti - ci - am___ a - gri - co - la - i

b2. c2.

pre - si - dis dis

Musical Example 6.16. *Hiis et talibus*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

In Musical Example 6.16 *Hiis et talibus*, the first phrase of text is set to the first statement of the melody. The melismatic quality of the melody contrasts with the predominately neumatic texture of the previous antiphons. The melody has no interior

cadences, and does not lend itself to analysis into phrases along word divisions. Instead, I propose a tripartite division based on melodic shape, even when it the division splits up a word. The first phrase (a) consists of an arch-shaped melisma built on the *finalis* of *c*: this arch-shaped melody reaches up to *f*, skipping *e*, in the notes *c-d-f-c-d-c*. The second phrase (b) is a variation of the first phrase (a): it also begins and ends on *c*, but this time, the upward trajectory of the melody is extended to the interval of a fifth to *g*, skipping the pitch *f*: *c-d-e-g-e-e-d-c*. The third and final phrase (c) repeats the arch-shaped *c-d-f-d-c* motive of the opening phrase, and concludes in an approach to the *finalis* from below: *a-b-c-c*.

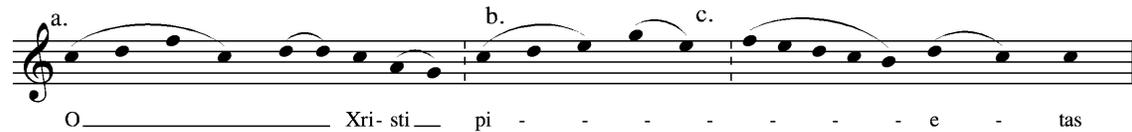
The second line of the text through the name *Agricolai* is set to a second statement of the melody. Phrase (a¹) is simplified to little more than a recitation on *c* that briefly touches on the lower *G* and on the upper neighbor of *d*. Phrase (b¹) is an almost exact repetition of the phrase (b); phrase (c¹) retains the basic shape of (c), but resolves to the *finalis* in an undertone cadence: *b-flat-c-c*. The third statement of the melody omits the (a) phrase, and begins with (b²): as with (b¹), there is little alteration of this middle melodic phrase. The phrase (c²) flattens out the melody of phrase (c) into a simple cadence to *c* consisting of the pitches *d-e-d-c*.

It is striking that, with the exception of (c²), all the phrases of the piece begin and end on the *finalis c*: this use of the *finalis* for the beginning and ending of melodic phrases is one of the characteristics of the “late” style as described by Hiley and Hankeln, again indicating a later origin for this melody. While *Hiis et talibus* has no identifiable melodic precedent in the Gregorian repertoire, the antiphon bears an unmistakable resemblance the opening of the mode 6 antiphon *O Xristi pietas* from the office for St.

Nicholas attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt, also contained in the Preetz Antiphoner:⁵⁰

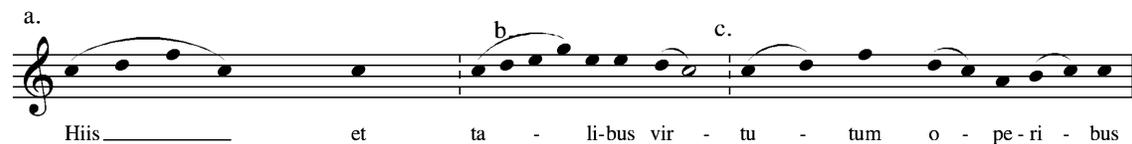
Musical Example 6.17a-b transcribes the opening phrase of *O Xristi pietas*, and the first melodic statement of *Hiis et talibus*.

5.17.a



Musical notation for the opening phrase of *O Xristi pietas*. The notation is on a single staff in treble clef. It consists of three phrases labeled 'a.', 'b.', and 'c.'. Phrase 'a.' starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Phrase 'b.' starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Phrase 'c.' starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The lyrics are: O Xristi pietas.

5.17.b



Musical notation for the opening phrase of *Hiis et talibus*. The notation is on a single staff in treble clef. It consists of three phrases labeled 'a.', 'b.', and 'c.'. Phrase 'a.' starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Phrase 'b.' starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Phrase 'c.' starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The lyrics are: Hiis et talibus virtutum operibus.

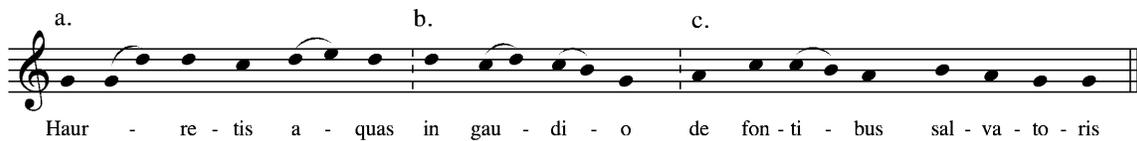
Musical Example 6.17. Opening Phrases of *O Xristi pietas* and *Hiis et talibus*.

While the melodies do differ slightly, the resemblance between the two is visible particularly in the motives *c-d-f-c* in phrase (a) and the phrase *c-d-e-g-e* in phrase (b), and in the general orientation around the *finalis c*. The similarities between the pieces end here: *O Xristi pietas* continues as a lengthy, melismatic antiphon that combines plagal and authentic ranges. The much shorter *Hiis et talibus* has a denser text setting and uses only the opening phrase of the melody of *O Xristi pietas* which is limited to the range of a sixth. *Hiis et talibus* completes the first Nocturn of six antiphons that describe the saint's life and miracles that occurred prior to his incarceration and passion: it is possible that a special melodic model was deliberately chosen to end the series. Might the melody of *O Xristi pietas*, whose text describes the healing miracles of St. Nicholas, have been

⁵⁰ D-PREk Reihe V G1 (the Preetz Antiphoner), fol. 13v.

consciously chosen for *Hiis et talibus* as an allusion meant to draw a parallel between the two saints?

The modally ordered set of Matins antiphons continues in the second Nocturn, beginning with the mode 7 antiphon *Idcirco hec torment* that narrates events from the saint's passion. This antiphon represents the climax of the modally ordered set, in both tessitura and drama. *Idcirco hec tormenta* is based on a simple antiphon melody similar to the following example *Hauretis aquas*.⁵¹



Musical Example 6.18. *Hauretis aquas* (Mode 7 Model Melody)

Like many mode 7 melodies, this melody can be characterized as centering around a tension between *d*, the theoretical reciting tone of the mode, and the alternate reciting center of *c*. The melody of *Hauretis aquas* opens in phrase (a) with a leap of a fifth to *d*, decorated by auxiliary notes *c* and *e*. The next phrase (b) hovers around *c* before descending to the *finalis* of *G*. The concluding phrase (c) prolongs the second degree of the mode *a* by outlining the trichord *a-b-c* before cadencing to *G*.

Musical Example 6.19, the mode 7 double antiphon *Idcirco hec tormenta* is built on this same melody. The text of *Idcirco hec tormenta* quotes St. Blaise's confirmation of his faith during his torture. In these first line, the saint states his unshakable faith, and in the second longer line, he gives the reason for his faith: that he possesses, and has been strengthened by, Christ.

⁵¹ MMMA vol. 5, 7018.

*Idcirco hec tormenta formidare non possum
quia habeo qui me confortata dominum meum, Ihesum Xristum*

Therefore, these torments I cannot fear
for I have him who has strengthened me, Jesus Christ.

These two lines of text are set to two statements of the melody, as transcribed in Musical

Example 6.19.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major. The first staff contains three phrases labeled 'a.', 'b.', and 'c.'. The notes are: 'a.' (G4, A4, B4), 'b.' (F4, G4, A4, B4), and 'c.' (C5, B4, A4, G4). The lyrics are: 'Id - cir - co', 'hec tor - men - ta', and 'for - mi - da - re non pos - sum'. The second staff contains three phrases labeled 'a1.', 'b1.', and 'c1.'. The notes are: 'a1.' (G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4), 'b1.' (F4, G4, A4, B4), and 'c1.' (C5, B4, A4, G4). The lyrics are: 'qui - a ha - be - o', 'qui me con - for - ta do - mi - num me - um', and 'Ihe - sum Xris - tum'.

Musical Example 6.19. *Idcirco hec tormenta*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

The first line of text, Blaise's initial statement of faith, is set as a simple melodic statement with little elaboration. The first phrase (a) offers an abbreviation of the opening phrase of the melody that leaps from *G* to *d* through the intermediary note of *c*, while omitting the auxiliary note of *e*. In comparison to the model melody, the range of the second phrase (b) has been extended down by one note to *F* to allow for the use of the undertone triad *F-A-C*, a pre-cadential motive that spans the division between phrases (b) and (c) and ushers in the final cadence to *G*. The second statement of the melody is selectively abbreviated and elaborated to adapt to the longer second line of text, and to enhance its meaning.

By contrast, the second line of text, which states the source of Blaise' confidence, is set to a more elaborate version of the melody. In the opening phrase, (a¹), the word *habeo* is emphasized through melodic repetition of the pitches *c-d*, *c-d-d*: a repetition

which also creates an undertone cadence to *d*. While the first statement of the melody presented a balanced alternation between central pitches *c* and *d*, the second statement of the melody, beginning with the undertone cadence to *d*, emphasizes the pitch of *d* over the pitch *c*, arguably reflecting a heightened emotional effect. This effect is carried into phrase (b¹) on the text *qui me confortata domine*: this statement begins with a recitation on *d* which then rises to *e* on the syllable *con-*, exceeding the range of the first statement of the melody. Immediately, the pitch center shifts to *c* on the syllables *-fortata do-*. This arguably has the effect of conveying a sense of relaxation to the melody, as Blaise states the source of his comfort. The closing phrase (c¹) sets the text *Ihesum Xristum* with an abbreviated melodic simplicity. Thus, the second statement of the melody uses techniques of melodic elaboration, expansion of range, and a focus on the pitch center of *d* in its first half to convey a sense of heightened emotion: the shift in pitch center to *c* and simplification of the melody that follow conversely convey a sense of comfort and relief. These subtle melodic variations represent more than melodic expansion to accommodate a longer text: rather, they add rhetorical depth to Blaise's statement of faith under torture.

The modally ordered set continues with the mode 8 antiphon *Cum videret*. This antiphon represents a cathartic moment in the narration of the martyr's passio: this shift is mirrored in the relaxation of tessitura that occurs by virtue of the shift from the authentic range of mode 7 to the plagal range of mode 8. *Cum videret* is based on a simple, three-part melody as exemplified in Musical Example 6.20, *Memento mei domine*.⁵²

⁵² MMMA vol. 5, 8048.

He ordered him to be taken from the tree and thrown back in jail

The text is a kind of rhetorical *depositio*: its expressive musical setting brings out its sense of sadness and catharsis. The setting of *Cum videret* has extended the range of its melodic model from *F* down to *E*; and undertone cadences to *G* are rendered *E-F-G*. This unusual alteration, paired with repeated ligated pitches, results in a deliberate pacing and separation of each phrase that makes up the text. For example, in phrase (a), the addition of insertion of the passing tone of *G*, and the extension of the undertone cadence to include *e* function together to slow down the end of the statement and delay the arrival its cadence. In phrase (b) the repetition of tones in the descent *c-b*, *b-a*, *a* delay the arrival of the end of the phrase, creating a deliberate pace. The neumatic rendering of the melody in phrase (c) causes a broadening and slowing of the entire phrase, not just its end, lending emphasis to the entire phrase *in fide constanciam*—the constancy of (his) faith. The second statement of the melody begins in a similar way as the first. Phrase (b¹) sets the text *de ligno poni* in a stark, unadorned manner. The concluding phrase (c¹) which we expect to cadence without fanfare begins with a surprising leap from *a* to *c*, and then up to *d*, exceeding the range of the melodic model. A cascading descent follows on the text *in carcerem*, spanning a minor seventh from *d* to *E* that reflects St. Blaise’s deposition and return to jail. In contrast to the urgency of the preceding mode 7 *Idcirco*, that stated Blaise’s faith under torture, the mode 8 *Cum videret* conveys a sense of sadness and finality in its deliberate pacing and expressive detail.

With the ninth and final antiphon of the series *Ineffabile illud gaudium* comes a resolution to the narrative as the modal ordering comes full circle to return to mode 1.⁵³

⁵³ It is not unusual for the ninth antiphon of a modally ordered set to return to mode 1. See Crocker, “Matins Antiphons at St. Denis,” 449.

In contrast to the previous narrative antiphons, its introspective text consists of a private utterance in the martyr's own voice:

*Ineffabile illud gaudium expecto
quod nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit
nec in cor hominis ascendit*

Ineffabile, that joy which I await
which neither eye has seen, nor ear has heard
nor has arisen in the heart of man.

The musical setting of this text mirrors the paradoxes of its context within the martyrdom of St. Blaise. First, it is fitting that the musical setting this text, which anticipates the unimaginable joy of heaven, should have no identifiable melodic precedent. Furthermore, unlike the previous eight antiphons that inhabit typical modal ranges, this mode 1 melody is ambiguous, inhabiting the plagal range.

Finally, I would argue that in trying to express that which the senses cannot apprehend, the composer reverses the kind of gestures that typify mode 1, thus expressing the ineffable through the unfamiliar. This reversal also resonates with the paradox of Christian martyrdom, in which death is transformed into triumph as the martyr gains his heavenly reward. The overarching motion of the melody is one of descent: but just as the martyr's death is transformed into triumph, so the melody reverses direction at the very end of the piece.

Musical Example 6.22. *Ineffabile illud gaudium*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

The opening phrase (a) begins with an emphatic statement of the word *ineffabile* on *a*, the fifth of the mode, an unusual choice for mode 1, since antiphons of this mode typically ascend from the *finalis* of *D* to the fifth of *a* in the opening phrase. This one word opening phrase ends in the undertone cadence *G-a-a*, creating a momentary pause that sets the word off from the text that follows. The second phrase (b) descends to cadence on the undertone of *c*. Phrase (c) ascends stepwise from *C* to *a* with a brief pause on *f*; phrase (b¹) returns to the undertone of *C* in a mirror-image descent. Phrase (c¹) repeats the previous ascent to *a*, invoking an expectation in the listener for another cadence to *C*. However, just as Blaise describes “that which neither eye has seen nor ear has heard, nor has arisen in the hearts of men,” so the melody takes an unexpected turn, when the final phrase (b²) again descends, but arrives unexpectedly on the *finalis* of *D* via the same unusual extended undertone cadence of *B-C-D* used in example Musical Example 6.21. This startling cadence creates an unanticipated ascent at the end of the descending figure, mirroring the text *ascendit*. As with Musical Example 6.21, the entire descending figure

of *a* to *B* outlines a minor seventh, creating an unusual sound. Through the use of unexpected range and melodic gestures, the composer expresses the ineffable, that which cannot be perceived through the senses. The juxtaposition of the mirror images of descent in the (b) phrases and ascent in the (a) phrases reflects the paradoxical nature of the martyr's impending death, in which the *depositio*-like descent of Musical Example 6.21 has been balanced by the image of the martyr's heavenly ascent, and achievement of the indescribable joy of heaven.

Summary: Modally Ordered Matins Antiphons in the Office for St. Blaise

The above examples demonstrate the basic principles at work in the construction of the modally ordered set of Matins antiphon in the Preetz office for St. Blaise. As demonstrated above, the formal convention of modal ordering has been used to enhance the narrative trajectory of the *vita*.⁵⁴ All antiphons take the form of a double antiphon, in which received antiphon melodies are recast through varied repetition. The melodic repetitions range from literal repetitions to repetitions varied through elaboration, interpolation, expansion of range and the addition or evasion of cadences. Both first and second statements of the melody may be further varied by repeat or omission of elements within the form. Through this process, received antiphon melodies are transformed into longer, multipart melodies. The double antiphon's parallel form and use of varied repetition simultaneously underscores syntactical divisions within the text, and allows for an expressive musical setting that heightens the text's meaning.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 489. Crocker suggests "...there are cases that suggest strongly that the numerical ordering was intended to have a musical effect through relative pitch—relative ascent to a climax, for instance."

Modality of the Mode 4 Antiphons of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise

Now I will turn my attention to a discussion of modality within the antiphons, using the mode 4 antiphons as a case study. Mode 4 represents an interesting case study for several reasons. First of all, the typical antiphons of this mode were characterized by a narrow range and melodies that centered around the *D-E-F* trichord inhabiting an ambitus even tighter than those of compositions in the other plagal modes. The antiphons written in mode 4 are more linked by common melodic tendencies than a common melodic type. As mentioned above, the offices of the ninth century favored *protus* and *tetradus* modes, but the number of mode 4 antiphons written increased dramatically in the tenth century due to the advent of the system of modal ordering that necessitated their presence. More than any other mode, the melodic behavior of mode 4 was transformed due to the application of Carolingian modal theory, in that this theory placed the theoretical tenor on *a*, above the mode's traditional melodic center. Perhaps in consequence to the introduction of new theoretical parameters, a new kind of mode 4 melody appears in the tenth century offices that interpolates a melodic passage centered on *a*. This type of melody is found in various forms. The third kind of mode 4 piece that appears in the office for St. Blaise is of a later and much different melodic style.

In accord with this history, the mode 4 antiphons of the St. Blaise office can be divided into three types. The first type consists of those antiphons written in the older style similar to the antiphon *Saepe expugnaverunt* (Musical Example 6.12) and limited to the range of *D* to *a*. The editors of MMMA vol. 5 characterize the essence of this oldest

type of mode 4 antiphon as the note *E* and its neighbors. The resulting trichord of *D-E-F* can be expanded to include *C* and *a* as auxiliary notes.⁵⁵

The second type includes examples similar to the antiphons *Ibi magnis* (Musical Example 6.13) that contains what I have referred to as a precadential expansion.

According to the editors of *MMMA* vol. 5, this younger type of antiphon that incorporates a melodic section centering on *A* into the middle of the melody.⁵⁶ This expanded mode 4 type seems to have emerged around the time of the introduction of modal ordering, which necessitated equal numbers of antiphons to be written in *deuterus* and *tritius* as in other modes. The expansion of range in this type of antiphon furthermore can be seen to embody the theoretical range of *A* to *a* and tenor of *a* dictated by Carolingian modal theory. As I will show below, however, the antiphons of this type found in the Preetz office for St. Blaise show an atypical approach to the expansion of range. Finally, the office for St. Blaise contains a third group of antiphons consisting of Canticle antiphons written in a later style.

The three mode 4 antiphons *Domine rex eterne*, *Sancte Blasi martyr*, and *Sancte Blasi intercede* form a distinct set: together with the nine modally ordered antiphons discussed above, they complete the twelve antiphons of the first and second Nocturns of Matins of the office of St. Blaise. The texts of these antiphons depart from the *vita*: all three are intercessory prayers uttered by the singers in the here and now. Melodically, they are quite similar to Musical Example 6.13 *Ibi magnis*: they are neumatic in texture, and generally inhabit the modest range of a fifth (*D* to *a*), with frequent internal cadences to *E*. While these three pieces may have been part of an original monastic cursus of

⁵⁵ *MMMA* vol. 5, *71.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, *71.

twelve Matins antiphons, it is also possible that they are supernumerary antiphons added to expand a secular cursus of nine modally ordered antiphons to a monastic cursus of twelve, or that they previously occupied the place of canticle antiphons in the office that were displaced by later compositions.⁵⁷ *Domine rex eterne* is shared by the monastic version of the proper office for St. Blaise *Dum Satellites* (Proper Office IIa, in Appendix C), where it appears as a canticle antiphon. It is possible that *Domine rex eterne* was borrowed to expand a set of nine modally ordered antiphons to a monastic cursus of twelve antiphons. If this is the case, the final two mode 4 antiphons *Sancte Blasi martyr* and *Sancte Blasi intercede* might have been written in imitation of *Domine rex eterne*, creating a set of three mode 4 antiphons, with the latecomer *Adest veneranda* taking the place of the canticle antiphon.⁵⁸

The first and oldest type of mode 4 antiphon is exemplified in the second antiphon of the intercessory set, *Sancte Blasi martir*. This antiphon has a range of only a sixth, *C* to *a*, centers on the *D-E-F* trichord. The antiphon is transcribed below as Musical Example 6.23:

Musical Example 6.23. *Sancti Blasi martyr*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

⁵⁷ Crocker, “Matins Antiphons at St. Denis,” 458. Crocker discusses supernumerary antiphons and how stylistic analysis can be used to show if they were composed together with, or separately from, antiphons in the numerical series.

⁵⁸ The proper office *Dum Satellites* for St. Blaise is found in secular form in A-SF XI 480, A-Wda D-11, D-Knd 215, GB-Ob Laud Misc. 284, MA Impr. 1537 (the printed Münster Antiphoner), and D-LÜh 2° 6.

This antiphon can be analyzed as two long phrases characterized by a pitch center that constantly shifts between *F* and *E*, and finally cadence to the finalis of *E*. Its range is limited to the interval of a sixth (*C* to *a*) and exhibits no form of expansion prior to the final cadence. This composition is exceptional in that it is the only one of twelve Matins antiphons from the Preetz office for St. Blaise that does take the form of the double antiphon.

The first and third antiphons of the intercessory set exemplify the second type of mode 4 antiphon in the office. They both take the form of a double antiphon, but their forms are more distorted than those of the previous examples. Like the mode 4 antiphons discussed thus far these antiphon melodies are driven by a tension between *F* and *E*. The tendency to recite on *F* and the half-step proximity between *F* and the *finalis* of *E* create tension and also provide a convenient opportunity for the exploitation of the evaded cadence.

Most importantly, in this type of mode 4 antiphon, the melodic phrase that precedes the final cadence of the piece is altered to include an expansion of range in the form of a gesture that ascends through the pentatonic pitch set *C-D-E-G-a-c*. This type of expanded mode 4 melody may result, in part, from the formalization of modal theory in the Carolingian era, which names *a* as the theoretical tenor of mode 4. It is also possible that the new types of mode 4 melodies were spurred by the advent of the modally ordered office, which required equal numbers of antiphons to be created in all the modes.

The aspect of pre-cadential expansion in these antiphons furthermore has the effect of rendering the structure of formal repetition in the double antiphon almost

invisible, due to the alteration of the melodic phrase in which it is contained. The peculiarities of melody in these mode 4 antiphons: the lack of a set melodic model, the narrowness of range, the semitone between recitation center and *finalis*, and the pre-cadential expansion, render the form of repetition complex and subtle, and more difficult to chart than it is in wider ranging melodies having identifiable melodic models.

The first antiphon of the set, *Domine rex eterne*, is the only one of the series of twelve Matins antiphons to appear elsewhere in the manuscript tradition, where it is used as canticle antiphon.⁵⁹ The piece, transcribed below as Musical Example 6.24, is based on the alternation of two phrases (a) and (b). As an independent variable, phrases (a) and (b) may cadence to the *finalis* of *E*, or may evade the *finalis*, cadencing instead to *F*. The combination of these two independent variables is further complicated with the element of melodic interpolation, and the pre-cadential expansion described above.

Musical Example 6.24. *Domine rex eterne*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

The first musical line is set to the vocative phrase *Domine rex eterne*. The phrase (a) establishes the modal center of *F* in the falling trichord *D-E-F* which is immediately

⁵⁹ A-Gu 29: Blasius, Matins canticle antiphon, Terce antiphon; A-Gu 30: Lambert, *Benedictus* antiphon; A-LIs 290: Matins canticle antiphon; A-Wn 1890: George, Vespers antiphon, Terce antiphon; CH-E 611: Meinrad (no assignment); MA Impr. 1537, Vespers, Magnificat antiphon.

elided into an undertone cadence to *E*. The phrase (b) that follows opens with the motive *F-D-C*, and expand in range from *C* to *G*. It reestablishes the reciting center of *F*, and cadences to *F*.

In the second statement of the melody, phrase (a¹) is expanded by the interpolation of the arched-shaped figure *F-G-a-G-F-E*, extending the range of the phrase to the fifth of *D* to *a*. This figure has the function of prolonging the tone *F* prior to a cadence to *E*. Phrase (b¹) opens identically to phrase (b), but instead of cadencing to *F*, ends in an undertone cadence to the *finalis*, *D-E-E*.

The third statement of the melody must be assessed in detail. The beginning of the phrase (a²) occupies an expanded range of a fifth *D* to *a*. Its opening has been modified from (*F-E-D*) to (*E-E-D*), setting in motion the shift from the reciting center of *F* to the pre-cadential expansion expressed in the ascending figure: *D-E-G-a-c*. As described above, this expansion typically occurs in the penultimate phrase of the piece, cuing the impending arrival of the final cadence. The next figure *G-F-a-F-E* can be seen as a variant of the arched phrase *F-G-a-G-F-E* that preceded the cadence to *E* in (a¹). The ear anticipates that an undertone cadence to *E* will follow, but it is evaded by means of a leap to *F*, which functions as a momentary reciting center that leads into the final phrase. Phrase (b²) begins with the rising figure *E-F-G*, then recasts the opening (b) figure *F-D-C* as a stepwise descent *F-E-D-C*. It then quotes the motive *G-F-a-F-E* from (a²), tricking the ear into expecting another unexpected cadence to *F*. But instead, it leads into the final undertone cadence to *E*. To summarize, this piece may be termed as a “triple antiphon”, or three lines consisting of alternating motives (a) and (b.) The piece is driven by the alternation between *F* and *E*, with each subsequent phrase expanding in range. The

motive (a) is expanded nearly beyond recognition in the third statement of the melody in order to accommodate the pre-cadential pitch set. Unexpected or evaded cadences and quotation between the musical phrases are used to confound expectations in the ear of the listener.

The third and final mode 4 intercessory antiphon, *Sanct Blasii intercede*, is unusual for mode 4 in that it includes no recitation on *F*. The antiphon can be analyzed as four statements of a melody, constructed of the short phrases (a) and (b).

The musical score consists of four staves of music in a single system, each with a treble clef. The lyrics are written below the notes. The phrases are labeled as follows:

- Staff 1: Phrase (a) and Phrase (b). Lyrics: San - cte — Bla - - - - - si
- Staff 2: Phrase (a¹) and Phrase (b¹). Lyrics: in - ter - - - - - ce - de - pro — no - bis
- Staff 3: Phrase (a¹) and Phrase (b²). A dashed line labeled "precadential expansion" spans the end of (a¹) and the beginning of (b²). Lyrics: ut con - for - tes glo - ri - e - san - cto - rum
- Staff 4: Phrase (a²) and Phrase (b³). Lyrics: te - cum e - ffi - - - - - ci - me - re - a - mur

Musical Example 6.25. *Sancte Blasi intercede*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

In the first melodic statement, the opening phrase (a) establishes the tonal center of *E* before moving to *G*. The concluding phrase (b) consists of the scalar descent *a-G-F-E* that ends in an undertone cadence to the *finalis*: *D-E-E*. Phrase (a¹) is abbreviated to the two pitches *E-G*, and phrase (b¹) varies the scalar descent: *G-a-G-F-E* before cadencing to *E*. In the third statement of the melody, an arched figure consisting of the pitches *G-a-*

c-a-G is interpolated into (*a*²): this interpolation represents the previously discussed pre-cadential expansion, that borrows from the pentatonic pitch set *C-D-E-G-a-c* and marks the apex of the piece. The fourth statement of the melody begins with the phrase (*a*³) which adds the initial pitches before repeating the now familiar *E-G* motive. Phrase (*b*³) uses the same pitches as phrase (*b*¹), with a different ligation pattern. The final undertone cadence to the finalis of *E* has an additional pitch to accommodate the accent pattern of the text. Comprised of these four repetitive statements, the final intercessory antiphon of the set has an effect of urgent and insistent pleading.

Whether or not these antiphons were part of an original monastic cursus, or if they were later additions to a secular cursus, analysis shows that these mode 4 antiphons all share a similar tonal behavior with the mode 4 antiphon *Ibi magnis* in the modally ordered series that precedes the intercessory antiphons.

The tonality of these antiphons finds few matches in the literature. Early mode 4 antiphons tend to be extremely limited in range, focusing around the *E-F-G* trichord as demonstrated in Musical Examples 6.12, *Saepe expugnaverunt* and Musical Example 6.23, *Sancte Blasi martir*. Other, later mode 4 examples in the literature do exhibit a type of pre-cadential expansion, but this expansion consists of variations of an established melodic pattern. This contrasting melodic behavior may be seen in the mode 4 antiphons from the three early tenth-century offices attributed to Stephen of Liège. Of the six mode 4 antiphons identified from Stephen's compositions, two are of a melodic type having a narrow ranges, a melodic center that shifts between the contrasting pitch areas of the *E-F-G* trichord and the *D* to *F* minor triad, and no form of pre-cadential expansion.⁶⁰ The

⁶⁰ These examples include *Te invocamus*, Matins antiphon 2.1 from the Office of the Trinity (consulted in NI-Uu 406, fol.119v) and *Magnum triumphum*, First Vespers antiphon 4, from the Office of St. Lambert

remaining four antiphons follow a similar tonal structure, up until the precadential location, where variations of the melodic motive *D-a-c-a-G-F-G-a-G-F-F* appear just prior to the final cadential formula.⁶¹

Example 6.26 transcribes an example of this kind: the antiphon *O vera summa* from the office for the Trinity, attributed to Stephen of Liège.

Musical Example 6.26. *O vera summa*, Office for the Trinity

This mode 4 antiphon consists of four phrases. The first phrase (a) ascends the tetrachord of *E-F-G-a*, and descends once more to cadence to *E*: the entire phrase could be thought of as an extended cadence to *E*. The second phrase (a¹) expands this phrase by prolonging the initial *E*, and then by leaping down to *C* to begin an extended stepwise ascent from *C* to *a*, and finally by repeating the descending notes *G-F* before cadencing to *E*. The third phrase (b) consists of the precadential expansion consisting of the pitches *D-a-c-a-G-F-G-a-G-F-F*. This expansion in range and cadence on *F* builds a momentum that propels

(consulted in NI-Uu 406, fol.171r), and *Ibi olim positi* from the Office of the Finding of St. Stephen (consulted in NI-Uu 406, fol.155v). *Ibi olim positi* substitutes the opening pitches *E-G-A* for the more typical *D-A*.

⁶¹ These four antiphons are *O vera summa*, Lauds antiphon 4, office of the Trinity, (consulted in NI-Uu 406, fol. 120v), *Vir dei gamalielel*, Matins antiphon 2.1, office of the Finding of St. Stephen (consulted in NI-Uu 406, fol. 154v), *Is subiectus erat*, Matins antiphon 2.1 from the office of St. Lambert (consulted in NI-Uu 406, fol. 172r)

the melody into the final phrase (a²) which ends in a resolute undertone cadence to the *finalis* of *E*.

The kind of pre-cadential expansion demonstrated in this melody follows a particular melodic pattern that is also visible in other melodies of this type written by Stephen of Liège.⁶² It is distinct from the type of pre-cadential activity exhibited in the mode 4 Matins antiphons of the Preetz office for St. Blaise. The antiphons from the offices composed by Stephen of Liège are not modally unique, but rather belong to a larger group of mode 4 antiphons that exhibit similar melodic activity.⁶³ The editors of MMMA vol. 5 comment:

This form appears to have been very popular in the period of **the new style**: beyond the examples published here secondary Hungarian sources contain eight more items (all from the **younger layer of the Sanctorale**), to which many local compositions could be added.⁶⁴ (Emphasis is mine.)

“The new style” and “the younger layer of the Sanctorale” have not been clearly defined by the editors; nevertheless, the example composed by Stephen of Liège demonstrates that this melodic type was in use by the early tenth century.

Are there any examples of mode 4 antiphons composed in the tenth century that do exhibit melodic behavior similar to that of the antiphons for St. Blaise? One tenth-century example that does show a very similar tonal behavior to the mode 4 Matins antiphons from the office of St. Blaise is antiphon *Auro virginis* from the office of St. Nicholas, attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt, transcribed as Musical Example 6.27.⁶⁵

⁶² See nt. 51.

⁶³ MMMA vol. 5, 4178–4190, see also invitatories 4191–4198.

⁶⁴ MMMA vol. 5, 76*

⁶⁵ CAO 1534

The image shows four phrases of a Gregorian chant melody in a single staff, with Latin lyrics underneath. The notes are quarter notes with stems pointing up. Brackets and dashed lines indicate specific musical structures: 'a.' and 'b.' are the first two phrases; 'c.' is the third; 'd.' is the fourth, with a 'pre-cadential expansion' bracket over the first part and a 'cadential formula' bracket over the second part.

a. Au - ro vir - gi - num in - ce - stus au - ro pa - tris e - a - rum i - no - pi - am

b. (continuation of phrase a)

c. au - ro pror - sus u - tro - rum que de - te - sta - bi - lem in - fa - mi - am

d. pre-cadential expansion cadential formula
De - i ser - vus a - de - mit Ni - co - la - us

Musical Example 6.27. *Auro virginum*, Office of St. Nicholas

While the office of St. Nicholas does contain Matins antiphons that take the form of the double antiphon, *Auro virginum* is not among these. The antiphon may be thought of as consisting of four phrases, and its construction resembles, in some respects, the antiphon *Vir dei Gamaliel*. Phrase (a) establishes a recitational center on *F* before cadencing to *E* via the undertone. Phrase (b) shifts the recitational center to *G*, before entering a cadential formula that leads to the *finalis* of *E* via the undertone. In phrase (c) the recitational center is moved yet one note higher to *a*, embellished by *c*. The melody then descends, pausing to recite on *F* before cadencing to *C*. With the arrival on *C*, the melody is set up to enter the pre-cadential expansion, expressed here as a rising triad built on *C*, embellished by *a*, *C-E-G-a-G*. A brief recitation on *G* then leads into the established cadential formula to the *finalis* of *E*. While not a double antiphon in form, the tonal behavior of this mode 4 antiphon recalls that of the mode 4 Matins antiphons in the Preetz office for St. Blaise. It is important to note that this is the second example that has shown a likeness between the office of St. Blaise found at Kloster Preetz and the office of St. Nicholas attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt.

Mode 4 Antiphons in the Late Style

Below, I will discuss several mode 4 antiphons of later style that appear in the Blaise office. These include two borrowed antiphons and one *unicum*. The clear markers of a later style provide a contrast with the unified style of the four antiphons previously discussed. Yet, certain features of their tonality may have developed out of the phenomenon of pre-cadential expansion identified in the previous examples.

Adest nobis celeberrimus dies appears as a Magnificat antiphon for First Vespers in St. Blaise Proper Offices IIa, IIb, and III (see Appendix C.) At Preetz, it was re-assigned to Terce. The antiphon appears in the late-eleventh century Hirsau *liber ordinarius*, in a version of the office *Dum Satellites*, Proper Office for Blaise II, Appendix C *Adest nobis* appears to be one of a group of canticle antiphons proper to St. Blaise that were transmitted semi-independently and were variously adapted into more complete offices.⁶⁶

Unlike the mode 4 pieces previously discussed, *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies*, transcribed as Musical Example 6.28, has distinct markers of a late style that became current from the eleventh century on. In contrast to the previous mode 4 antiphons of the office, *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies* has an unusually high tessitura and emphasis on the final, fifth and octave: *C-G-c*. The piece has an extended range of *C* to *d*, (versus the theoretical mode 4 range of *B-b*, or the narrow ranges of *D* to *a*, *C* to *c* or *D* to *c* found in the set of mode 4 intercessory antiphons discussed above.) It has compositional features of extended runs and large leaps in close

⁶⁶ The antiphon *Adest nobis* from this group is found in the 13th century source Rheinau, CH-Zz Zürich Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 28, and also in the eleventh-century ordinal from Rheinau reflecting the use of the Hirsau reform. See Anton Hänggi ed. *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius (Zürich Rh 80, Anfang 12. Jh.)*, 85–86.

a. b. c. a.
 Ad - est no-bis ce - le - be - rri - mus di - es fe - stus be - a - ti Bla - si - i
 c. c. d.
 quem e - gre - gi - um mar - ti - rem et mi - re san - cti - ta - tis -
 d. (cont.) b. c. - d. (fused) a.
 pon - ti - fi - cem mi - ra - bi - li sig - no - rum pre - ro - ga - ti - va -
 4 a. (cont.) c. c.
 pre - di - tum ut in - ter - cess - o - - - rem a - pud do - mi - num
 c. (cont.) d. a. (evaded cadence) c.
 pro no - stris ex - ce - ssi - bus sen - ci - a - mus to - ta men - tis
 c. - d. (fused) a. (evaded cadence) c. d.
 in - ten - ci - on - ne fla - gi - te - mus i - lli - us ut pre - ci - bus ad vi - ti
 7 c. d. b. c. - d. (fused)
 me - re - a - mur ab - sol - - - vi de du - ri - ssi - ma de - li - cto - rum
 8 a.
 no - stro rum ca - - - te - - - na

Musical Example 6.28. *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies*, Office for St. Blaise.

proximity to one another, both markers of a late style. Most importantly, the melody is created almost entirely out of repeated musical formulae recognizable even in varied guises. In accordance with Roman Hankeln’s observation about use of recurrent

formulae, these formulae occur throughout the antiphon apparently without any specific structural function.⁶⁷

Formula **a** designates short and long forms of undertone cadence to the *finalis* of *E*. Versions of this formula are found in the first phrase of the piece, and at its end.

Versions of this cadential formula are given in the order that they appear in the piece:

1. *F-E-D-E-E-E*
2. *G-F-G-a-G-F-E-D-E-E*
3. *G-F-G-a-G-F-E-D-E-E*
4. *F-E-D-F-F* (unexpected cadence to *F*)
5. *a-G-F-E-D-D-E-E-D-F-F-F* (unexpected cadence to *F*)
6. *G-F-G-a-G-F-E-D-E-E*

From this list, we can see that the regular form of the cadence in cases 2, 3, and 6. Case 1 is an abbreviated version. Cases 4 and 5 use elements of the formula to create an unexpected cadence to *F*.

Formula **b** consists of a cadence to *C*. This cadential formula is encountered for the first time in the second phrase of the piece. Versions of this formula are as follows, in order of appearance:

1. *E-D-E-F-D-C-C*
2. *G-F-D-F-D-C-C*
3. *E-E-D-E-F-D-C-C*

Formula **c** consists of an ascent of a fifth, from *D* to *G*, sometimes often triadic, and usually ends in *G-a-G*. The formula may be varied, inverted, or extended to include the upper octave *c*:

1. *C-E-G-a-G*
2. *E-D-D-C-G-a-G* (beginning inverted)
3. *F-E-D-C-G* (beginning inverted, abbreviated)
4. *C-C-G-G-a-G G-c-c-d-G* (extended to upper octave)
5. *E-D-E-C-C-C-G-G-a-G-G-a-a-E-G-G*
(beginning inverted, extended ending)

⁶⁷ Roman Hankeln, "Properization and Formal Changes," 11–21.

6. *G-F-E-D-C-G* (beginning inverted, abbreviated)

Formula **d** is essentially a decoration of a recitation on the note *G*, built around the kernel *G-a-c-a-G*. The formula may be abbreviated or extended. Examples, in order of appearance:

1. *G-a-c-a-a-G-F-G-G* (extended)
2. *G-a-c-a-G-G-a-G*
3. *G-a-c-a-G-a-G*

The formulas **c** (rising from *C* to *G*) and **d** (decorating *G*) are also found fused together, elided through the note *G*:

1. *C-F-E-G-a-c-a*
2. *C-E-D-G-a-c-a*

When these extended motives are mapped onto the antiphon, it becomes obvious that *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies* is constructed almost exclusively of non-structural formulae that are repeated with variations. Thus not only the tonal behavior, but also the structure of this mode 4 piece is completely different than the mode 4 pieces discussed above.

The partial Magnificat antiphon *Sacerdotem et martirem* declares the praise of the universal church for St. Blaise, and the martyr's heavenly reward. The extant portion of the antiphon is transcribed as Musical Example 6.29. *Sacerdotem et martirem* features unusual scalar melismas ascending from and descending to *C*. It has an unusually high tessitura and emphasis on the final, fifth and octave: *C-G-c*. This piece, an *unicum*, is of unclear modal classification, as the ending has been lost. The fact that it shares similar formulae with *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies* suggests that it is likely another mode 4 piece in the late style. The main difference, in terms of the adaptation of formulae, is the

ascending scalar runs that appear in place of the rising formula *c*. These runs add emphasis to the structural pitches of *C* and *G*.

The image shows three staves of musical notation in a single system. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. Above the staves, dashed lines indicate structural formulas labeled 'a.', 'b.', 'c.', 'd.', and '(lacuna)'. The first staff contains the lyrics 'Sa - cer - do - tem et mar - ti - rem ___ Bla - si - um au - - - det eccle - si - a ___'. The second staff starts with a measure labeled '(lacuna)' and contains 'per u - ni - ver qui pon - ti - fi - ca - li san - ctus in - su - la in ___ om - ni - bus man - da - tus d[...]. ne ___ que - re - la'. The third staff starts with a measure labeled 'c./d. fused' and contains 'et ___ i - - - de - - - o ___ me - ru - it ___ sto - lam ___ glo - ri - e [...]'.

Example 6.29. *Sacerdotem et martirem*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

Due to their ubiquity, the recurrent figures play an important role in the discussion of modality within these two late mode 4 pieces. Save the cadences to *E*, the pieces strongly centers on the notes *C* and *G*: *C* is used as a note for beginnings and endings, and *G* is used as an axis of recitation. The note *F* is seldom used, and it is usually in passing. The exceptions to this are the moments in lines 4 and 5 of Example 6.29 when the melody momentarily lingers on *F*, arrived at via an unexpected cadence. This use of *F* contrasts with its function in the four mode 4 matins antiphons previously discussed that use *F* as a structural note, or reciting axis. The note *b* is staunchly avoided in the canticle antiphons. Thus we are left with the pentatonic pitch set: *C-D-E-G-a-c*. Whereas this pitch set was used for pre-cadential expansion in the earlier pieces, it defines the entire tonality of the canticle antiphons *Adest nobis celeberrimus* and *Sacerdotem et martirem* indicating an enormous shift in the conception of the tonality of mode 4. This new kind of tonality corresponds with David Hiley’s observation that for plagal mode compositions in the late style, the structural poles of the melody were the fifth of the mode below and

above the *finalis*.⁶⁸ In the case of mode 4, the fifth was moved a half-step up from the unstable *b* to *c*, reflecting a wider tendency observable in other *E* mode pieces.⁶⁹

One explanation could be that the same pitch set used for pre-cadential expansion, in opposition to the central pitch of *F* eventually crowded out *F*'s position of centrality. I have already proposed that the structural pitches of *C* and *G* together with the entire pentatonic pitch matrix in which they are embedded might have been taken over from the pitch set used in the pre-cadential location in the mode 4 Matins antiphons. It is also possible that if *Adest nobis celeberrimus dies* and the other canticle antiphons were written at a later date (perhaps twelfth century), then there was increased presence of music, generally built on *C*—a second possible influencing factor on the structural centrality of *C* and *G* in late mode 4 pieces. The question remains to be answered, of whether these pieces are indeed tenth century compositions in a “late” style, chosen specifically for canticle antiphons, or if they are later compositions that reflect a truly later conception of modality in mode 4.

A Lost Office of Reginold of Eichstätt?

Unlike the majority of unattributed offices, there is a possible point for origin of the St. Blaise office. According to the so-called *Anonymous Haserensis*, a history of the bishops of Eichstätt written circa 1060, Reginold, Bishop of Eichstätt from 966–991, was a learned man and the finest musician of his day. Indeed, it was Reginold's composition of a *historia* for St. Nicholas that led to his appointment as bishop. The chronicler relates,

⁶⁸ David Hiley, “Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene,” 371.

⁶⁹Ibid., 387.

too, that Reginold of Eichstätt also wrote *historiae* for St. Willibald, St. Wynnebald, and lastly St. Blaise.⁷⁰ The chronicler writes:

Reginold was of noble blood, but even nobler in learning—not alone in Latin and Greek literature, but even somewhat trained in Hebrew; and, what was unique and exceptional indeed, he was the finest musician of his day. He first wrote an office for St. Nicholas, and for this he was deigned worthy to be bishop. Once Bishop, with profound study and ardent devotion he composed *historica carmina* for St. Willibald, founder and patron of the see. He exerted all his powers of intellect to attain remarkably varied ornamentation, for he adjoined phrases (notulas) at the end of some of the longest responses, and under those phrases he wrote short verses in the manner of sequences...thereafter he made a most beautiful *historia* for St. Wunebald, **and lastly, one for St. Blaise...**⁷¹ [emphasis mine].

Reginold's St. Nicholas office, written sometime before 966, achieved tremendous popularity as witnessed by its widespread manuscript distribution, including a version found in the Preetz Antiphoner. In addition, his offices for St. Willibald and for St. Wunebald have been identified in the eleventh-century source D-TRb F6.⁷² The office for St. Blaise has not been identified, and has been presumed lost.⁷³ Is it possible that of the three proper offices for St. Blaise identified above, one could be the lost composition of Bishop Reginold of Eichstätt? In order to address this question, I will make a stylistic comparison of selected examples from the three offices for St. Blaise, and from the office for St. Nicholas, focusing on the repertoire of Matins antiphons and responsories. When possible, I will transcribe examples from the Nicholas office as found in the Preetz

⁷⁰ Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Eichstätt*, vol. 1: *Die Bischofsreihe bis 1536* (Berlin: Walter, 2006), 45–48.

⁷¹ Translation adapted from Charles W. Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and Its Literary Relationships* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 69–70.

⁷² See Friedrich Dörr, Karlheinz Schlager, and Theodor Wohnhaas, “Spicilegia Willibaldina: Musikalische und literarische Gaben zu Ehren des Eichstätter Bistumspatrons aus Mittelalterlichen Quellen,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 98, nos. 1–2: 37–62.

⁷³ Stefan Weinfurter, *Die Geschichte der Eichstätter Bischöfe des Anonymus Haserensis* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1987,) 47–49, 76–78, 128–133; Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Eichstätt*, 46–47.

Antiphoner; when not possible due to lacuna, I will use examples transcribed from manuscript A-Gu 29, a fourteenth-century antiphoner from the Abbey of St. Lambrecht.

The office for St. Nicholas, attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt, exists in many different versions, reflecting a complicated transmission history, the analysis of which lies outside of the scope of this study. The cursus of Matins antiphons, however, can be sorted into a limited number of types, summarized in Table 6.1.⁷⁴

The version of the office contained in Kloster Preetz is a German monastic type, but has no exact match in documented sources. The first six antiphons from the first Nocturn are missing, but the order of the second Nocturn reflects that the version found in Kloster Preetz likely preserved the order of the first nine antiphons that were written as a modally ordered set.⁷⁵ Thus, the first three antiphons of the second Nocturn are from the original layer of composition. To this order, three antiphons are added that continue

⁷⁴ Compare with Christopher Hohler, “The Proper Office of St. Nicholas,” 41–46. Based on the analysis of the Matins antiphons only, the St. Nicholas office that appears in the Preetz antiphoner is a monastic version of the widely-distributed office attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt. The Nicholas office appears to have been expanded from an original composition that followed the secular cursus of nine Matins antiphons. Manuscript examples of this secular type that preserve the modally ordered series of nine antiphons include A-Kn 1011, A-Kn 1013, and A-Kn 1016. Several versions exist of an expanded series adhering to a monastic cursus of twelve antiphons. A version that appears in French (or French-influenced) monastic sources inserts three extra antiphons: the mode 2 antiphons *Hic dum matris* and *Iam decus lactentium* in positions 1.2, 1.3, and the mode 3 antiphon *Ad quantam vero* in position 1.6. The mode of these inserted pieces repeats those of the pieces they follow in the series. Sources of this type include F-Pn 12044 (reverses the order of the last 2 responsories), F-As 893, and F-Val 114, as well as CAO sources D (St. Denis) and F (St. Maur). Monastic sources from the German-speaking realm fall into several types. The first preserves the original series of nine modally ordered antiphons, and adds three mode 4 antiphons to the end of the series: *O mira caritas* (2.4), the Lauds antiphon *Opus bonum decenter* (2.5), and *Omnibus se invocantibus* (2.6.) Manuscripts of this type include A-Gu 29, A-Gu 30, and CH-E 611. A second German type, also monastic, inserts the Lauds antiphon *Infantia teneriori* into position 1.3, omits the antiphon *Opus bonum decenter*, and reorders the remaining antiphons, so that the modal ordering of the original was lost. Examples of this type include A-LIs 290 (responsories in same order), A-W 1890 (responsories not in same order), and D-SI HB. I. 55 (order matches Rheinau). The office as preserved in Kloster Preetz represents a third monastic cursus, independently derived from the original secular cursus of nine antiphons. Three antiphons have been added in modes 2, 3, and 4 respectively. It is worth noting that all three German types conclude with the antiphon *Omnibus se invocantibus*: This suggests that while the Preetz Office was independently adapted, it was not without the influence of another Benedictine model.

⁷⁵ This modally ordered set of nine antiphons may be seen, for example in A-Kn 1011. The first type of German monastic order, described in the previous footnote, also preserves this order of the first nine antiphons.

the modal order: *Naute quidam* (mode 2), *Constanciam augustam* (mode 3) and *Omnibus se invocantibus*. The tenth and eleventh antiphons are unique to the Preetz Antiphoner.

Table 6.1. Matins Antiphons in Secular and Monastic Types of the St. Nicholas Office.

SECULAR TYPE (cursus of 9 antiphons)			MONASTIC TYPES (cursus of 12 antiphons)								
position	incipit	mode	position	French		German type 1		German type 2		Preetz	
				incipit	mode	incipit	mode	incipit	mode	incipit	mode
1.1	<i>Nobilissimis</i>	1	1.1	<i>Nobilissimis</i>	1	<i>Nobilissimis</i>	1	<i>Nobilissimis</i>	1	<i>Nobilissimis</i>	1
1.2	<i>Postquam</i>	2	1.2	<i>Hic dum matris</i>	2	<i>Postquam</i>	2	<i>Postquam</i>	2	<i>Postquam</i>	2
1.3	<i>Pudore</i>	3	1.3	<i>Iam decus</i>	2	<i>Pudore</i>	3	<i>Infantia</i>	8	<i>Pudore</i>	3
2.1	<i>Auro</i>	4	1.4	<i>Postquam domi</i>	2	<i>Auro</i>	4	<i>Innocenter</i>	2	<i>Auro</i>	4
2.2	<i>Innocenter</i>	5	1.5	<i>Ad quantum vero</i>	3	<i>Innocenter</i>	5	<i>Pudore</i>	3	<i>Innocenter</i>	5
2.3	<i>Gloriam</i>	6	1.6	<i>Pudore</i>	3	<i>Gloriam</i>	6	<i>O mira</i>	4	<i>Gloriam</i>	6
3.1	<i>Pontifices</i>	7	2.1	<i>Auro</i>	4	<i>Pontifices</i>	7	<i>Auro</i>	4	<i>Pontifices</i>	7
3.2	<i>Sanctus</i>	8	2.2	<i>Innocenter</i>	5	<i>Sanctus</i>	8	<i>Gloriam</i>	6	<i>Sanctus</i>	8
3.3	<i>Muneribus</i>	1	2.3	<i>Gloriam</i>	6	<i>Muneribus</i>	1	<i>Pontifices</i>	7	<i>Muneribus</i>	1
			2.4	<i>Pontifices</i>	7	<i>O mira</i>	4	<i>Sanctus</i>	8	<i>Naute quidem</i>	2
			2.5	<i>Sanctus</i>	8	<i>Opus bonum</i>	4	<i>Muneribus</i>	1	<i>Constancium</i>	3
			2.6	<i>Muneribus datis</i>	1	<i>Omnibus</i>	4	<i>Omnibus</i>	4	<i>Omnibus</i>	4

The twelfth and final antiphon, *Omnibus se invocantibus*, is common to two other documented German monastic types of the Nicholas office. This reflects that the Preetz St. Nicholas office was adapted independently from a secular cursus to a monastic one, but with some outside monastic influence in the choice of the final antiphon. Below, I will compare selected examples from three proper offices for St. Blaise to determine which of them is most like the Nicholas office in construction. The examples will be limited to those from the original cursus of nine antiphons: when possible, these will be taken from the Nicholas office as preserved in the Preetz Antiphoner.

Musical Example 6.30 compares four mode 1 Matins antiphons taken from the St. Nicholas office attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt, and from the three proper offices for St. Blaise. The first two melodies are from the Preetz Antiphoner: Music Example 6.30a, *Muneribus datis*, is from the office of St. Nicholas, and Musical Example 6.30b, *Beatus Blasius*, is from the office for St. Blaise. Musical Example 6.30c, *Sanctus Blasius in Sebastia*, is from St. Blaise Proper Office IIb as recorded in the antiphoner A-Gu 29. Musical Example 6.30.d, *Beatus vir martyr Blasius*, is from the St. Blaise Office III, found in the antiphoner D-LÜh 6.

Musical Example 5.30a, *Muneribus datis*, is an example of a double antiphon whose melody runs through twice in succession with slight variations. The melody consists of three sections, labeled here (a), (b), and (c). The opening gesture (a) moves from *D* via its undertone *C* upward through the pitches *F* and *G* to *a*, the fifth of the mode. The second phrase (b) centers on *a*, decorated by auxiliary pitches *c* above, and *G* and *F* below. The second iteration of the melody replaces the anticipated opening formula with a recitation on *a* (b^1). The range of the middle (b^2) section is extended from *c* to *d*. The final closing formula (c) is marked by a descent from *G* to *D*, touching on the undertone of *C* before resolving to the *finalis* of *D*.

Musical Example 6.30b, the antiphon *Beatus Blasius* is written to the same melody as *Muneribus datis* for St. Nicholas. Also a double antiphon, the second iteration of the melody is varied: the opening (a^1) section has been altered to take on a scalar quality. As with *Muneribus datis*, the range of the middle (b^1) section is extended by one step to *d*. The closing (c^1) is heavily embellished, and ends a strengthened undertone

ME 6.30c, *Sanctus Blasius in Sebastia*, is from the proper office *Dum satellites* as preserved in the antiphoner A-Gu 29 from St. Lambrecht. This antiphon uses a different mode 1 melody, one that never appears in the St. Nicholas and St. Blaise offices as transmitted in the Preetz Antiphoner. Moreover, the form of *Sanctus Blasius in Sebastia* is that of a syllabic simple antiphon, as opposed to the double antiphon form of the previous two examples. The rest of the Matins antiphons of the office *Dum Satellites* in A-Gu 29 take this same simple form, unlike the double antiphons of the Nicholas office. Thus the stylistic, procedural, and structural evidence support that that the St. Blaise office found in A-Gu 29 is unlikely to be that composed by Reginold of Eichstätt.

In Musical Example 6.30d, the antiphon *Beatus vir martyr Blasius* (from D-LÜh 2° 6) is based on the same melody as *Beatus Blasius* and *Muneribus datus*, and also could be considered a double antiphon, though its composition draws on somewhat different principles. In the first instantiation of the melody of *Beatus vir*, the (b) section emphasizes the note *G* more than *a*. As in *Muneribus datus*, the closing (c) section approaches the final from *a* and cadences to *D* from above. In the reiteration of the melody, the (a¹) melody remains relatively unchanged. The expanded (b¹) section alternates between emphasizing *G* and *a*. Prior to the reiteration of the (c) section, there is a brief reprise of the opening formula (a²). The closing (c¹) section is varied to begin from the undertone of *C* rather than descending from *a*, as with the c section of *Beatus Blasius*. In sum, in comparison with the first two examples, small differences exist in the tonal structure of the b section, and in the emphasis and technique of the variation in the reiteration of the melody. While each of these differences is small, it seems that *Beatus*

Blasius from the Kloster Preetz St. Blaise office is more similar to *Muneribus datis* from the St. Nicholas office than is *Beatus vir martyr Blasius* from the Lübeck office.

The similarity in style between the St. Nicholas office and the Preetz St. Blaise office is further confirmed by a comparison of the mode 7 antiphons *Pontifices almi divina* and *Idcirco hec tormenta*.

a. *Pontifices almi*, St. Nicolas office, Preetz Antiphoner

Pon - ti - - fi - ces al - - - - mi - - - di - - - vi - - na

b. *Idcirco hec tormenta* from St. Blaise office, Preetz Antiphoner

Id - cir - - co - - - - hec - - tor - - men - ta - - for - mi - da - - re - - non po - ssum

a. *Pontifices almi*, St. Nicolas office, Preetz Antiphoner (continued)

re - ve - la - - ci - o - ne le - ti - fi - ca - ti Ni - co la - um tunc - - pre - su - lum de - vo - ti - ssi - me con - se - cra - ve - runt

b. *Idcirco hec tormenta*, from St. Blaise office, Preetz Antiphoner (continued)

qui - a - - ha - - be - - o qui me con - for ta do - mi - ne me - um - - Ihe - sum - - Xri - stum

ME 6.31. Mode 7 Antiphons *Pontifices almi* and *Idcirco hec tormenta*.

Musical Example 6.31a, *Pontifices almi*, is a double antiphon based on a three-part melody. The (a) section of the melody is marked by a rising fourth *G-c*, and resolves to the fifth, *d* via an undertone cadence. The middle (b) section consists of a stepwise descent from *d* to *G*. The concluding (c) section arrives to the *finalis G* via an undertone cadence (*F-G-G-G*.) The second iteration of the melody is expanded through ornamentation. The (a¹) section extends the opening motive by adding a circular

decorative figure around the *d* before cadencing. The section (b₁) now interpolates an arch-shaped melody that extends the range of the piece from the fifth *d* to the octave *g*, resolving again to *d* via an undertone cadence. This expansion of range coincides with the martyr's name—*Nicolaum*—placed at the peak of the expanded melody. The (c¹) section finishes the piece with an ornamented version of the cadence to *G*.

Musical Example 6.31b, the double antiphon *Id circo hec tormenta*, previously analyzed in Musical Example 6.19, uses the same melodic model as *Pontifici alme*: the chief difference may be seen in how *Idcirco* uses the undertone triad in the *G* cadence. While the opening (a) section is abbreviated, the (a¹) repeat set to *quia habeo* is just the same as the melody of *Pontifices*. The (b) section is comprised of a descent from *d* to *a* (emphasized by the undertone cadence *g-a*) and then on through *g* to *f*: (b¹) shows a melodic expansion of this section by expanding to *e* on the word *conforta* and ornamenting the descent. This destination of *F* forms the first note of the undertone triad *F-a-c* used to cadence to the *finalis* of *G*.

Thus in these two antiphons, two related melodies are manipulated in a similar way: they are varied in their repetitions through abbreviation, extension, and expressive expansion of range on important words in the text in the second iteration. These similarities in the composition of the Matins antiphons support the conclusion that of the three proper offices for St. Blaise, that found in the Preetz Antiphoner is most like the St. Nicholas office composed by Bishop Reginold of Eichstätt, and could possibly be his lost office.

Responsories of the Preetz Office for St. Blaise

While the responsories of the third Nocturn have been lost, responsories of the first two Nocturns of the Preetz office for St. Blaise survive: of these, seven are notated in full and one (responsory 2.4 *Beatus Blasius*) is given in incipit only.

Analysis reveals that the verses of the responsories for St. Blaise are based on traditional tones: the same may not be said for the responsories themselves, which contain few if any traditional formulae.⁷⁶ The responsories furthermore contain melismas of 21–28 notes preceding the final cadence, a marker, according to Frere, of later composition.⁷⁷ The absence of typical modal formulae and the lengthy melismas distinguish these compositions from the earliest layer of responsory repertoire composed in a formulaic style, and from later pieces that emulate that style. Most significantly, with the exception of the responsory *Martyr Blasius iterum*, the responsories of the office for St. Blaise exhibit a compositional structure of varied repetition, a trait that is shared with responsories from the office of St. Nicholas, attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt. Before giving a comparative analysis of pieces from these offices, I will examine the through-composed *Martyr Blasius iterum* for its sensitive setting of text.

⁷⁶ The classic reference for compositional formulae of responsories and their verses is contained in the introduction to W.H Frere's *Antiphonale Sariburiense*, 1–61.

⁷⁷ Frere, *Antiphonale Sariburiense*, 58.

transcription, is a melody centered around the *finalis* of *D*, which gradually expands in range, filling out the plagal range of *A* to *a*. The melody is punctuated by variations of an undertone cadence to *D*, which serve to set off individual words or sub-phrases of the text. The melismatic setting of the word *iterum* hovers around the *finalis* of *D*.

In contrast, the setting of the second sentence, marked (b) in the transcription, centers on *a*, the fifth of the mode. The sentence begins with a statement of the word *iterum*, which soars to *c*, the top of the ambitus, before descending to *E*. This statement concludes on a *D* cadence that approaches the *finalis* from above: this marks the arrival at the medial cadence of the piece. The third sentence, marked (c) in the transcription, is comprised of the *repetendum*—that is, the portion of the respond that is repeated following the verse. It opens with the third statement of the word *iterum*, dipping to the bottom of the plagal range. This phrase resolves immediately into an internal undertone cadence to *D*, setting the word apart from the text that follows. An expansive pre-cadential melisma follows on the word *tormentis*, which resolves via an undertone triad into the second type of *D* cadence: that is, approached from above, as at the medial cadence.

With this example, we see the use of recurrent, albeit non-formulaic, cadences. The two different kinds of *D* cadences heighten the rhetorical effect of the text: frequent repetition of the undertone cadence in the first phrase builds tension that is reflected in the gradual expansion of range. The second type of *D* cadence that approaches from above is reserved to mark the arrival of the medial and final cadences. The three settings of the word *iterum* provide musical contrast that heightens the rhetorical effect of the text. The text builds in intensity, as the saint's trial moves from questioning to physical

torture. The narration is heightened by the placement of the pre-cadential melisma on the word *tormentis*—or is it rather the placement of the word on the melisma? This melisma could have easily been put on the first or second syllable of the last word, but instead, it is used to extend the word *tormentis*, or the torture, of St. Blaise. In sum, this well-planned treatment of text is unified by two kinds of *D* cadence, each of which serves a particular rhetorical function. The placement of the end melisma is not without meaning: rather, it has a specific function in enhancing the text. The analysis of *Martir Blasius* serves as an example to demonstrate the careful pairing of text and music in the responsories of St. Blaise.

Form in Responsories for the Offices of St. Blaise and St. Nicholas

A comparison of the Matins antiphons from four proper offices for St. Blaise revealed that of the four, the Preetz office of St. Blaise most resembled the office for St. Nicholas composed by Reginold of Eichstätt. A consideration of the composition of Matins Responsories also shows that among the proper offices for St. Blaise, that from Kloster Preetz is most similar to the St. Nicholas office. The following table compares selected elements of responsory composition from the four offices.⁷⁸

Table 6.2. Comparison of Responsories from Four Proper Offices for St. Blaise

	St. Nicholas (Preetz)	St. Blaise I. (Preetz)	St. Blaise IIa. (A-Gu 29)	St. Blaise III. (D-LÜh 6)
Formulaic responsories	no	no	Yes	based on formulas
Traditional verse tones	yes	yes	Yes	based on traditional tones
End melismas	yes	yes	No	No

⁷⁸ My information for the Nicholas responsories is drawn from Gilbert Reaney, “Essay on the Music,” in Charles W. Jones, *The Saint Liturgy and its Literary Relationships (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 140–151.

The St. Nicholas office and the Preetz St. Blaise office are similar in that neither use formulaic melodies for responsories, while the office in D-LÜh 2° 6 uses melodies based in formulas, and A-Gu 29 uses melodies only loosely based on formulae. The Nicholas office, the Preetz Blaise office, and the office in D-LÜh 2° 6 all use formulaic tones for the responsory verses, while the melodies of A-Gu 29 again are only loosely based on those same tones. Finally, the Nicholas office and the Preetz office have pre-cadential melismas at the end of each respond, while the offices for St. Blaise in A-Gu 29 and D-LÜh 6 do not. This comparison provides further evidence indicating that, of the three proper offices for St. Blaise, the one found in the Preetz Antiphoner is most like the St. Nicholas office, and could possibly be the work of the same composer. Below, I will compare selected examples of responsories from the two offices, analyzing their composition in greater detail.

The repertoire of Matins responsories may be divided into an older layer of compositions that rely on set formulae, and a newer layer of repertoire that use newly composed melodies. The non-formulaic responsories of the offices for St. Nicholas and the Preetz office for St. Blaise offer an opportunity to test effective methodologies for describing that which is *not* formulaic in the composition of responsories. The music of the responsories for St. Nicholas has been given brief attention in Reaney's 1963 study. Regarding their composition, Reaney writes that the responsories "seem to belong to the new trend, for they certainly do not employ standard formulas of the classic type" as first cataloged by W.H Frere.⁷⁹ Reaney's analysis of responsories and verses focuses on the use of formulae, and on motivic material shared by responsories and their verses. Reaney

⁷⁹ Reaney, "Essay on the Music," 146.

notes that “the melisma occupies an important part of the Nicholas responses” noting that they were “mature for their time” in the sense that they have the element of reduplication in their form.⁸⁰ Reaney does not attempt to describe the compositional characteristics of the responsories themselves, or the relationship of the melisma to the piece as a whole, an omission that must be redressed. Thus, my analysis will focus on 1) the tonal structure of the responsories, 2) their form (when applicable), and 3) the relationship of the melisma to the responsory as a whole. As the responsories of the two offices use traditional verse tones, I will not analyze the verses.

Appendix C compares selected compositional characteristics of the two offices as transcribed from the Preetz Antiphoner, with lacunae noted. The Matins from the office for St. Blaise is complete through Responsory 2.3; Responsory 2.4 is given in incipit only. The responsories of this office are not modally ordered.

All twelve of responsories for the St. Nicholas office remain in the Antiphoner, with lacunae. The series of responsories seems to have consisted originally of secular cursus of nine modally ordered responsories, which was expanded to a monastic cursus through the addition of three responsories. Those responsory incipits marked * in the table interrupt the modal ordering of the series and likely represent the later additions to the office. The remaining nine responsories replicate the modal order of an original secular cursus of nine responsories.⁸¹

As for the ranges of the responsories, they generally match theoretical modal ranges, sometimes extended by one note. The mode 4 responsories from both offices

⁸⁰ Reaney, 146–149.

⁸¹ For the what is likely the original order of the responsories, see CAO source “B”, D-BAa lit. 25 (Bamberg, late eleventh to twelfth century).

share the characteristic of a theoretical range whose upper limit has been shifted one note higher, from *B* to *b* to *C* to *c*: this extension of range from *b* to *c* concurs with the melodic behavior of other mode 4 pieces from this office discussed above. The fifth column from the left lists identifiable cadential points. The responsories from the Nicholas office are approximately evenly divided between compositions that cadence exclusively on the final of the mode and those that use both the fifth degree of the mode and the final as a cadential arrival. This melodic behavior matches the characteristics of “late” repertoire as described by David Hiley and Roman Hankeln. The St. Blaise office shows the same tendency, with several exceptions. The mode 4 *Cum duceret* has one cadence each on the lower *C* and the upper *a*. As argued above, these notes are important structurally in other mode 4 pieces in this office, particularly in the pre-cadential location. The single *F* cadence in this piece is a kind of “deceptive” cadence that had an anticipated resolution to *E*. Other occurrences of unanticipated cadences are non-structural in nature: In the mode 6 (transposed) *Viri domini*, an anticipated *c* cadence has been altered by a liquesced neume to become a *b*. In the mode 2 *Presente*, there is an isolated *E* cadence mid-phrase; in the second statement of the melody, this is reiterated as a momentary melodic goal, but not a cadence. In sum, the Blaise responsories follow the principle of cadences limited to the *finalis* and the fifth of mode; exceptions occur in mode 4 (which seems to be governed by its own modal logic) and other isolated instances that are not structural in nature. In the absence of formulaic structuring, the limited cadential destinations serve as an alternative organizational principle, as has been illustrated in *Martir Blasius*, given above.

There is another important structural principle that organizes examples from both offices: successive phrases of the responsories are set to repeating melodies, using the technique of varied repetition. David Hiley, in his discussion of the responsory *Lugens pie defunctum* observed that this example did not follow traditional composition based on the use of established formulae. Instead, it is based on a repetitive structure which gives the composition its own internal sense.⁸² This is also true for the Preetz office for St. Blaise.

The sixth column from the left in Appendix C, Structure of Responsories in Proper offices for St. Nicholas and St. Blaise, gives the form of each responsory, with the letters a, b and c indicating different melodies, and a colon marking the location of the repetendum. The responsories *Cesus fustibus* and *Vir domini* from the St. Blaise office, and *Operibus* and *Qui cum audissent* from the St. Nicholas office are set as variations of one melody. Others are set as variations of two or three melodies, often with a shift of melody marking the beginning the repetendum section. Examples of each of these formal types from the offices for St. Blaise and St. Nicholas will be demonstrated below. While similar forms are visible in both offices, the repeated “melodies” of the St. Nicholas responsories consist of looser melodic ideas, resulting in greater variation between repeated sections. These responsories, looser in form, are indicated with a ~. To my knowledge, no other responsory repertoire has been described as taking these compositional forms.

Additionally, the end melismas of the responsories may also be organized by repetition. The seventh column from the left in Appendix C indicates the internal form of

⁸² David Hiley, “Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance. Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 383, Example 14.3a.

the end melismas in the responsories, schematized in terms of repeating melodic elements *x*, *y* and *z*. The *x* and *y* sections of this kind of melisma are typically short, recognizable, and their repetition is more literal than the repetition of melodic elements within the greater form of the responsory as a whole. As the table shows, most of the responsory melismas from the Nicholas office involve two melodic elements. The responsories *Dum vero* and *Servus dei* exhibit different forms, but these are likely later additions to the office. The responsory *Audiens Christi* that appears to be part of the older layer is another exception: as has been noted by Reaney, this exceptional responsory lacks an extensive end melisma.⁸³

While the responsories of the St. Blaise office all have lengthy end melismas, only *Cum duceretur* is the kind of reduplicative melisma with distinct, repetitive form. The other end melismas from the responsories for St. Blaise are not organized by an interior, reduplicative form. This point of difference between the two offices is significant, but may speak more to differences in transmission, than in an innate aspect of their composition. Ruth Steiner has also shown that responsory melismas are portable: the same melisma may appear in different pieces, even pieces of different genres.⁸⁴ As Thomas Kelly has shown, even the same responsory melisma in the same piece can show considerable variation between manuscripts, especially in the aspect of reduplication.⁸⁵

Therefore, more pertinent to this study is not this point of difference between the two offices (ie. the form of the melisma), but an overriding similarity in the relationship

⁸³ Reaney, "Essay on the Music," 146.

⁸⁴ Ruth Steiner, "Some Melismas for Office Responsories," *JAMS* 26 no.1 (Spring, 1973), 108–131.

⁸⁵ Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Melodic Elaboration in Responsory Melismas," *JAMS* 27 no.3 (Autumn, 1974), 461–474.

of the melodic content of the melisma to the melody and form of responsory as a whole. In this relationship, the melisma is can be seen to be a) derived from melodic elements that appear in the responsory, or b) is a constituent melodic part of the form of the piece, or c) both points a) and b), and indicated in the last column on the right of Appendix C. Examples of the melodic relationship between the melisma and the responsory in which it is embedded will be illustrated below.

The mode 3 responsory *Cesus fustibus* from the office of St. Blaise is an example of composition created by the technique of varied repetition: five varied instantiations of the same basic melody are used to set the text. A simplified form of this melody is given as musical example 6.33.



Musical 6.33. Simplified Melody of R. *Cesus fustibus*, Preetz Office for St. Blaise.

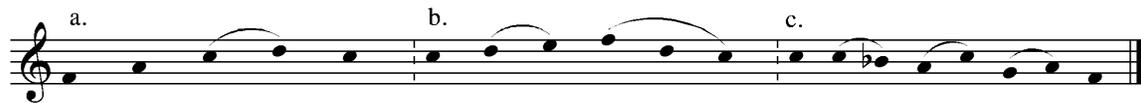
The skeletal melody given in example 6.33 represents of the underlying melody used in *Cesus fustibus* in its simplest conceivable form. This idealized underlying melody, built around the central pitches of *E*, *G*, *a* and *c* can be conceive of as consisting of three phrases: phrase (a) descends from the finalis of *E* one step to *D*, before ascending through *G* and *a* to the theoretical tenor of *c*. Phrase (b) ascends and descends through the trichord of *b-c-d*, before resolving to *G*. Phrase (c) ascends momentarily from *a* to *c* and back, before descending via the trichord *G-F-E* to a final cadence on *E*.

In the actual composition, transcribed in Musical Example 6.34, five varied statements of this melody are used to set the text. The variations of each phrase contrast in length and method of variation.

the pitches *G-a-c* before descending to make the typical mode 3 opening *E-D-G-a-c* at the very end of the phrase. The second phrase, based on the pitches *b-c-d-b-c-a-G* is stated most simply in phrase (b³) and most elaborately in (b¹), which consists of two varied statements of the underlying melodic phrase. The final phrase is seen in its simplest version in (c³), and in its most elaborated versions in (c) and (c⁴.) In both of these variations, the initial descent to the finalis of *E* is followed by a rising motive built on the undertone: *D-F-G-a-G* that precedes the final cadence.

The end melisma on the word *karitas* constitutes the bulk of the statement of the melody. As this analysis shows, the melody of the melisma is a constituent part of greater structure of the piece: the form of the piece would not be complete without it. In contrast to other documented examples of melismas added into responsories, this melisma is neither an interpolation, nor an elaboration of the melody after its initial composition: without this melisma, the last iteration of the melody would be incomplete. This relationship of melisma to a larger form in “non-formulaic” responsories has not, to my knowledge, been previously documented.⁸⁶

The same compositional form of varied repetition of a single melody structures the responsory *Qui cum audissent* from the St. Nicholas office. A simplified form of this melody is presented in Musical Example 6.35.



Musical Example 6.35. Simplified Melody of R. *Qui cum audissent*, office of St. Nicholas.

⁸⁶ Compare with examples of portable melismas in Kelly, “Melodic Elaboration in Responsory Melismas,” 461–474; Steiner “Some Melismas for Office Responsories,” 108–131.

The melody of *Qui cum audissent* can be analyzed as comprising three phrases. The first phrase (a) consists of variations of the rising triad *F-a-c*, followed by a confirmation of the *c*: *c-d-c*. The second phrase is an arch shaped melody that ascends from *c* and the octave *f*, and descends back again to *c*. The third and final phrase consists of a decorated, stepwise descent from *c* to the finalis *F*. This melody is repeated, varied and embellished in four iterations, as transcribed in Musical Example 6.36.

The musical score consists of four staves of music in a single system, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff is divided into three sections labeled 'a.', 'b.', and 'c.'. The second staff is divided into three sections labeled 'a1.', 'b1.', and 'c1.'. The third staff is divided into three sections labeled 'a2.', 'b2.', and 'c2.'. The fourth staff is divided into four sections labeled 'a3.', 'b3.', 'c3.', and 'y.'. The lyrics are: 'Qui-cum au-di-ssent san-cti Ni-co-lai no-men sta-tim ex-pan-dunt ma-nus ul-tra-que ad ce-lum sal-va-to-ris lau-dan-tes cle-men-ti-am'.

Musical Example 6.36. R. *Qui cum audissent*, Office of St. Nicholas

The text of this example translates as follows:

*Qui cum audissent sancti Nicolai nomen
Statim expandunt manus
ultraque ad celum salvatoris laudantes
clementiam*

Whoever had heard the name of Saint Nicholas
Immediately extend their arms,
while praising to heaven the savior's
clemency

As in the example of *Cesus fustibus*, each of these lines is set with a statement of the melody. It is important to note the parallel images of lines two and three: line two offers a visual image of the physical extension of the subjects' hands in prayer. Line three gives a parallel image of the vocal praise: these two images, one visual and one auditory, are juxtaposed in successive lines. The last statement of the melody takes the form of an elaborate end melisma on a single word, *clementiam*, which, like the word *karitas* of the previous example, represents a quality of God's love.

The first statement of the melody embellishes opening and closing phrases, while maintaining a simple form of the arch-shaped (b) phrase. The second statement is a longer variation that plays with repetition in the (b¹) section: *c-c-e-f-e-c-d-c, f-f-e-c-d-c*, on the text *expandunt* or “extend”: versus the repetition of the example above, this is a literal repetition of the motive. This repeated figure may be interpreted as a reflection of the visual image of the expansion of two hands in prayer. The third statement of the melody returns to a simpler variation of the opening and middle phrases, but plays with the repetition of a four-note figure *b-flat-c-b-flat-a* on the syllable *-ris* of *salvatoris*. While the repeated figure in line 3 accompanied a visual image, this repetition accompanies an auditory “image”—that of sung praise. If this is indeed an example of text painting, it is noteworthy that the form of vocal praise it portrays is that of *melodic repetition*.

The example *Qui cum audissent* also provides the opportunity to examine the relationship of the melisma to the composition of the responsory as a whole. The responsory *Qui cum audissent* contains a reduplicative end melisma on the word *clemenciam* that takes the form *xxy*; this melisma has attracted scholarly attention for its

later use as a setting of the *Benedicamus domino*.⁸⁷ The melisma is located within second and third phrases of the fourth and final statement of the melody; the component parts of the melisma have been labeled *xy* in the transcription. The melodic statement begins with phrase (*a*³) an abbreviated version of the opening phrase *F-F-c*. The range of the second phrase (*b*³) has been extended to include an upper neighbor at the top of the range(*g*) and a lower neighbor of *b-flat* to the concluding *c*. This second phrase is then repeated, creating the *xx* part of the melisma's form. The final phrase, or *y* part of the melisma, is reinterpreted as a stepwise descent from *c* to *F*, followed by coda that confirms the arrival on *F*. Thus the melisma, often discussed in isolation from the melodic context and formal structure of the respond as a whole, comprises a structural part of the melody and is part of the form of the piece: without the melisma, the form of the piece would be incomplete.

Most of the scholarly attention to responsory melismas has focused on the interior structure of the melisma itself, its relationship to texted prosulae using the same melody, or the appearance of the same melisma in multiple contexts. The melodic function and formal role of the melisma within the context of the responsory as a whole has been relatively neglected.⁸⁸ As these examples show, the end melisma, even in its reduplicated forms, is not just an afterthought. Rather, it functions as a structural element within the form of the entire responsory. Further research is required to determine how wide a repertoire of responsories shares the forms described above. At this time, it is sufficient to

⁸⁷ Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition," 29, 31–32.

⁸⁸ One exception is Steiner's brief discussion of the melisma to the responsory *Gloriosus Domini Germanus*. See Steiner, "Some Melismas," 116.

notice that the technique of varied repetition is a shared compositional principle of the responsories for the offices of both St. Blaise and St. Nicholas.

An Aesthetic of Reduplication

The fact that the compositional technique of varied repetition is at work in both the genres of Matins double antiphons and responsories suggests an underlying aesthetic of melodic reduplication and variation. While reduplication at the motivic level is a compositional feature that occurs regularly in other genres of chant, the only genres that employ repetition on a formal level are sequences and prosulae. Moreover, the use of melodic repetition increased dramatically in the Alleluia after the ninth century. The expansion in the Alleluia repertoire that took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries was marked by aspects of melodic repetition that took on a quasi-formal dimension: these include imitation of the Alleluia melody at the beginning of the verse, melodic repetition within the *iubilus* and verse, and correspondence between *iubilus* and verse ending.⁸⁹ Possibly, we could speak of a tenth-century aesthetic of reduplication: a stylistic practice that centered on playing with repetition and variation visible in such genres as sequence, prosula, untexted reduplicative melisma, and late alleluias. In the compositions of Reginold of Eichstätt and his contemporaries, this aesthetic also recast received genres such as the antiphon and the responsory into forms relying on varied repetition. That Reginold was called the best *musicus* of his generation must refer to his compositional activity and not his singing (would he not otherwise have been called cantor?) shows an appreciation for his style of composition. What made his work so good in the eyes of his contemporaries? With his antiphons, he set parallel texts to received melodies, recast as

⁸⁹James McKinnon, "Alleluia", *NGD*, vol. 1, 275.

melody and variation, resulting in sensitive, clever, and poignant songs. Like those who praised the savior to heaven in the form of the repetitive melisma, Reginold used familiar elements of reduplicative song to transform the formulaic genre of responsory into a composition based on repetition and variation.

Implications for Composition and Transmission

I have argued that the St. Blaise office transmitted in the Preetz Antiphoner may possibly be the missing office composed by Reginold of Eichstätt, as reported in the eleventh-century chronicle of *Anonymous Haserensis*. Assuming that this is true, what does this tell us about circumstances of composition and process of transmission?

Historian Stefan Weinfurter has hypothesized that Reginold's offices for St. Nicholas and St. Blaise, two of the greatest Eastern saints, were written for the circle of Empress Theophania. However, simple chronology contradicts this scenario, as least as far as the St. Nicholas office is concerned. According to *Anonymous Haserensis*, the St. Nicholas office was written before Reginold was elected bishop in 966. Theophania was married to Otto II in 972, when she was approximately twelve years of age. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the composition of the St. Nicholas office was written for the Byzantine empress or her circle.

The St. Blaise was likely written several decades after the Nicholas office. The otherwise inexplicable presence of the office in the remote location of Preetz may, itself, prove to be evidence that suggests possible patrons and supports a possible line of transmission. Very little is known about Theophania's role in Ottonian intellectual culture or her activity as a patron. However, she is believed to have been responsible for

encouraging the cults of numerous Greek saints, among them St. Nicholas (100 years before his translation to Bari in 1087) and St. Pantaleon, whose namesake abbey in Cologne the empress Theophania chose as her burial place.⁹⁰ Traces of the cult of St. Blaise appear in Otto II's gift in the year 974 to his wife Theophania of *civitas et curtis* (city and court) of Mühlhausen, where a church to St. Blaise was documented from the year 1000.⁹¹ A relic of St. Blaise is mentioned in Halberstadt, the city built by Otto II, in 992.⁹² A cloister in Witteskindburg established by Theophania's son Otto III in 993, two years after his mother's death, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Blaise. This cloister was moved to Minden in the year 1000.⁹³ It is evident that the Ottonian royal family had some devotion to St. Blaise. It is possible that the office was written by Reginold of Eichstätt for a patron in the royal family, prior to his death in 991. If the office were written for a royal patron, and kept within family institutions, this would explain why it never achieved widespread manuscript distribution of the St. Nicholas office. The vita of St. Blaise tells of a holy man whose healing talents resulted in his being elected to an office that he ultimately abandoned for the life of a hermit. He was kind to animals, who came to him for healing and protection. Most of his miracles involved women and children: the vita relates how *parvuli* (little children) were led to him to be healed, and many were converted to Christianity as a result of his healing miracles. In one miracle, he healed a sick child by removing a bone stuck in his throat,

⁹⁰ Hermann Jakobs, "Die Anfänge der Blasiusverehrung in Deutschland," 28.

⁹¹ Joan A. Holladay, "Mühlhausen," in *Medieval Germany: an Encyclopedia*, edited by John M. Jeep, 539–541 (New York: Garland, 2001)

⁹² Herman Jakobs, "Die Anfänge der Blasiusverehrung in Deutschland," 28

⁹³ Caspar Ehlers, *Die integration Sachsens in das fränkische Reich (751-1024)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 80, 565–566.

much to the joy of his mother. In another, he recovered a pig stolen by a wolf to its owner, an impoverished widow. Seven women who were converted by Blaise's miracles, teaching, and faith, accompanied him in martyrdom, one with her two young children. One could imagine how a saint who so prominently cared for women and their children would have been an ideal protector for a female patron in the royal family—if not for Theophania, wife of Otto II, then perhaps Adelheid of Burgundy, her mother-in-law, two of whose four children had died in childhood. The numerous female members of the family who served as abbesses of the Saxon royal convents may have provided a means of transmission of this office from the private use of a royal family member into the repertoire of one of the royal foundations. Another possibility is that it could have been composed for a yet-unidentified translation or foundation.

Rosamond McKitterick and others have pointed out the close familial and institutional connections of Saxon convents to the Ottonian royal family. These convents, founded as early as the eighth century, served as educational and intellectual centers. They served as homes not only for canonesses, but for royal women prior to marriage and in their widowhood. According to McKitterick, the Saxon royal convents, many of which were presided over by royal abbesses, were where the most innovative of Ottonian historiographical and literary writing were done, some of which was dedicated to, or commissioned by female members of the royal house.⁹⁴ She explains:

..a lack of total familiarity with Ottonian culture may have militated against Theophano playing anything other than a passive role as far as the patronage of intellectual culture was concerned. It was her mother- and sister-in-law and aunt by marriage, together with her daughters, Adelheid and Sophia (and perhaps

⁹⁴ Rosamond McKitterick, "Ottonian Intellectual Culture in the Tenth Century," in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium*, edited by Adelbert Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 186.

Mathilda too) who were the active royal participants in, and occasionally promoters of, Ottonian intellectual and cultural house.⁹⁵

The Saxon royal convents, under the protection of the Ottonian royal family, functioned as centers for the education of royal women, and formed an extended political network. A tight network of such institutions was founded beginning in the eighth and first half of the ninth century.⁹⁶

Female members of Theophania's immediate family were among the abbesses of the Saxon royal convents: the convent of Quedlinburg was founded by Queen Mathilda, the widow of Henry I, in 937: there she retired in her widowhood. Following the death of Abbess Mathilda (sister of Otto II and granddaughter of the founder) in 999, Theophania's daughter Adelheid was named abbess. In 1014, Abbess Adelheid was also put in charge of the convent of Gernrode. Theophania's daughter Sophia was named abbess of Gandersheim in 1001, following the death of Gerberga, Otto II's cousin. Theophania's third daughter Matilda was educated under her father Otto II's niece, Mathilda, Abbess of Essen. Following the abbess's death in 1011, Essen was put under Abbess Sophia's control. Thus, the relationships between these houses were very close. The women of the Ottonian royal family were educated by the institutions, governed them as abbesses, protected them as secular rulers, and retired to them in widowhood.

The mother house of Kloster Preetz has never been identified. If we trust that Reginold did indeed write the St. Blaise office, one possible explanation is that the office was passed down through one of the royal convents of Saxony. Composed prior to 991, most likely for a female member of the Saxon royal family, it could have been

⁹⁵ Ibid., 189.

⁹⁶ Johanna Maria van Winter, "The Education of the Daughters of the Nobility in the Ottonian Empire" in *idem*, 87–88.

transmitted through one of the royal Saxon foundations—Gandersheim or one of its daughter houses, or perhaps through Minden—in a female dominated line of transmission. This hypothesis, in turn, provides a likely origin for Kloster Preetz, whose mother house has never been determined. The foundations of the Saxon royal family, from the eighth century into the Ottonian times, have not been examined for their liturgical repertoire or transmission. These possibly represent an early, northward stream of transmission in female foundations that was separate from that of the bishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, previously assumed to be the chief avenue supplying liturgical music to the north. The theory helps account for some of the anomalous aspects of the Preetz liturgy that point to an older stream of transmission bearing a Rhenish or Lothringian influence. More research into the manuscripts of Saxon foundations is necessary to test this hypothesis.

Historia Universa Plebs fidelis for St. Matthias

I will now turn briefly to the second unusual office in the Preetz Antiphoner: the *historia Universa plebs fidelis* for St. Matthias. This office was notated on a single bifolio, which was added to the original manuscript. The second leaf has since been lost. In a recent article, Szusza Czagány has shown that the *historia Universa plebs fidelis* was likely written in Trier between the years of 1309 and 1329, with the first manuscript instantiation dating to 1346. Versions of the office survive in three Trier sources, one each from Liège and Hildesheim, as well as six sources from Prague.⁹⁷ In the Preetz Antiphoner, the office appears to have been expanded to a monastic cursus with additions

⁹⁷ Szusza Czagány, “Historia sancti Mathiae apostoli—Wege eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiheoffiziums zwischen Prag und Trier” in *Papers Read at the Thirteenth Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus*, edited by Barbara Hagg and László Dobszay (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2009), 143–156. A third manuscript source may be added to the two sources from Trier identified by Czagány: the antiphoner Trier 480 (L.56), 370.

from the common of apostles. What can account for the transmission of this office from Trier to a somewhat isolated cloister in the north of Schleswig-Holstein? I suggest that the office was most likely transmitted during the period of reform by the Bursfeld Union. Kloster Preetz was reformed through the men's house of Kloster Cismar, a founding member of the union from 1449. The liturgy of Trier represented an important source in the half-century-long effort to create standardized liturgical texts for the use of member houses. Thus, the Matthias office was unlikely to have transmitted prior to 1449, and represents a final phase of influence on the cloister's liturgy prior to the reformation.

Summary

In sum, the St. Blaise office is likely part of the earliest layer of repertoire in the Antiphoner: possibly the work of Reginold of Eichstätt, this suggests an origin for the oldest layer of the Kloster Preetz in the royal foundations of Saxony. The style of this tenth-century composition, in particular, uses varied repetition as a compositional principle, and reflects an aesthetic of reduplication, visible in the composition of sequences, prosulae, and alleluias of the ninth through eleventh centuries. While later additions to the cloister's repertoire include material from Lübeck and the region (particularly in the Preetz Gradual), the Antiphoner bears witness to a final phase of liturgical influence which occurred during the beginning stages of the Bursfeld reform, when the *historia Universa plebs fidelis* was most likely transmitted to the cloister.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has examined selected aspects of Anna von Buchwald's *Buch im Chor* in its musical and liturgical context, particularly as seen through two fifteenth-century musical manuscripts that remain in the cloister's archive: the Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner.

In Chapter II, I described the convent's musical tradition in light of its unusually elaborate liturgical practice. The convent's liturgy included up to three daily masses, an extensive votive cycle that changed according to the liturgical season, a rich practice of Marian devotions, and a demanding schedule of memorial observances. I have shown that much of the responsibility of ceremonial officiation and liturgical planning lay with the female leadership of the convent. I have argued that Anna von Buchwald wrote her *Initien Bok* – known since the nineteenth century as the *Buch im Chor* – as a supplement to an existing house ordinal, in order to codify the cloister's unwritten practices into the authoritative genre of the *liber ordinarius*. I interpret Anna's accounts of episcopal visitation and subsequent reforms as exemplifying a power struggle between a women's community that had operated largely independently of outside interference from male ecclesiastical and monastic authorities. Thus, I have surmised that the *Buch im Chor* may have been written as a self-protective mechanism during an era of the encroachment of externally-mandated reforms, which subjected individual monastic communities to unprecedented scrutiny from the outside. The reforms requested by Anna, however, were

not driven by outside concerns, but by the particular needs of a monastic community under an enormous burden of performing an unusually extensive and elaborate liturgy.

In Chapter III, I examined the musical and liturgical roles of the cloister's children, showing that both child oblates and the "worldly children" took part in the performance of the Divine Office, mass, processions, and memorial rituals of the cloister. I presented evidence of a group of female "professional" female singers – perhaps alumnae, perhaps corrodians – who contributed to the music on important occasions, either supplementing the children's choir, or substituting for individual children in their choir duties. I have examined Anna's descriptions of rules governing children's lives and the training of young singers. My analysis of cloister entrance rites shows that Kloster Preetz practiced a unique hybrid rite that combined elements of oblation with a reformed vesting ceremony. Anna's notes on the crowning ceremony offer details of a women's ritual for which there is otherwise little manuscript evidence. Finally, I have argued that three strands of evidence from the *Buch im Chor*: a shift in terminology referring to the convent's children, the inclusion of a redaction of the Benedictine Rule, and the presence of reformed elements in the entrance ceremonies, together support that the cloister's entrance rites underwent limited reform, and that a formal novitiate was established at Kloster Preetz. These changes most likely followed Anna's election to the position of prioress in 1483.

In Chapter IV, I undertook a physical and codicological description of the Preetz Gradual and Antiphoner. For the Gradual, I have proposed a codicological model of the original book that accounts for the lacunae in the remaining portions of the manuscript and its contents. My identification of two bifolios from the Gradual in the manuscript

holdings of the Bruno Stäblein Archive, University of Würzburg, has restored four missing folios to the Gradual. A comparative analysis of the Preetz manuscripts with examples from Lübeck and the region shows that Kloster Preetz fostered an idiosyncratic music script with roots in the notational traditions of the lower Rhineland. This evidence supports the conclusion that Kloster Preetz had its own scriptorium, and that the manuscripts were most likely produced in-house. My analysis of the Gradual's script, notation, and decoration has shown that several artists of differing skill levels cooperated to produce the book, developing unique local adaptations of wider-spread styles of illumination. As for the Antiphoner, I have proposed a codicological model that accounts for all pages missing from the manuscript, and for lacunae in its content. An analysis of the remaining portions of the Advent Sunday responsory series has indicated a lineage that is different from those of other German Benedictine antiphoners. As with the Preetz Gradual, the presence of several hands in the Antiphoner that participate in a unique notational lineage establishes that the manuscript was also a product of the house's scriptorium. I have furthermore shown that the manuscript was originally decorated with modest pen work initials that were later painted over in a manner that combines several established styles of illumination with newly devised motifs. Finally, I have suggested that the image of the oak tree, found in both manuscripts, was an important visual symbol of the convent that alluded both to its founding legend and to the physical space of the convent, by referencing the majestic oaks that cover its grounds.

Chapter V examined music for the mass as found in the Preetz Gradual, focusing on the genres of introit trope, alleluia, and sequence. A comparative analysis of the manuscript distribution of the Gradual's two remaining trope sets, along with a synoptic

transcription of the trope set for the introit *Etenim sederunt* demonstrated an early and melodically conservative transmission of tropes. An analysis of the Gradual's alleluia assignments for Easter Week and the Post-Pentecost Sundays displays a likeness to the manuscript I-Rvat 181 (believed to be from Erfurt) and possibly to the liturgical predecessor of a repertoire eventually promulgated by the Bursfeld reform. Six previously undocumented alleluias in the cloister's repertoire show that the community selectively adopted alleluias for later saints of the Sanctorale, for Marian votive masses, and in support of an increased liturgical attention to both St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist. A comparison of the sequence repertoires of Preetz and Lübeck shows that the cloister maintained a rich, multi-layered repertoire that was different from that contained in other manuscripts from Lübeck and the region. A consideration of sequence assignments for Easter Week and a case study of the melody OCCIDENTANA/REX OMNIPOTENS confirm a Rhenish origin for the earliest layer of the convent's sequence repertoire. Four rare late sequences show the selective adaption of local and regional material; these examples, while contrafacta of known melodies, exhibit textual sophistication and theological complexity. The cloister's unique version of the sequence *Letabundus exultet* reflects the convent's devotion to its patron saint, the Virgin Mary, hints at the community's imperial origins, and serves as self-depiction of the community's devotion through song.

Chapter VI presents the music for the Divine Office preserved in the Preetz Antiphoner, focusing on a previously unknown proper office for St. Blaise. An analysis of the texts of the office has shown that it was based on the hagiography BHL 1377; a comparative analysis of text, form and mode supported the conclusion that the office

may be a lost composition of tenth-century composer Reginold of Eichstätt. This, in turn, suggests that Kloster Preetz may have been founded from one of the Saxon royal foundations for secular canonesses. The “Benedictinization” of the house’s liturgy, which likely occurred in the twelfth century, is reflected in the independent adaptation of Reginold’s St. Nicolas Office from a secular to monastic cursus through the addition of previously unknown antiphons. The later addition of a proper office for St. Matthias to the Antiphoner supports a liturgical connection to Trier, and reflects a likely transmission through the influence of the Bursfeld movement.

In sum, Kloster Preetz was a house with old musical and liturgical roots that predated its relatively late establishment in the thirteenth century; the community maintained this unique liturgy into the late fifteenth century. Certain aspects of its liturgy indicate a historical relationship to the lower Rhine; other aspects to the venerable establishments for royal canonesses established under Saxon control. At the time when the house came under the influence of the Bursfeld reform in the late fifteenth century, it maintained a complex liturgy governed by the female leadership of the house, and not by the priests who administered its sacramental functions. The house—in Anna’s words, the *curia*, or court—was intimately connected to the local nobility on practical, financial, familial, and spiritual levels. The community still accepted child oblates, who, from a young age, were responsible for considerable musical and liturgical duties, but had recently reformed its entrance rites to include a formal novitiate. As cantrix, and later prioress of Kloster Preetz, Anna sought to regularize and codify the cloister’s unwritten practices into the authoritative form of the *liber ordinarius*. The reforms she incorporated

into the book were not imposed from outside; rather, they resolved specific internal problems within the convent's liturgy.

Several directions for future research may be built on this first effort to analyze the fifteenth-century music and liturgy of Kloster Preetz. The most immediate task will be to publish my transcription of the liturgical portions of Anna's book in an edited form, in order to make its contents available to researchers of convent liturgy, and to situate the Preetz nuns' musical responsibilities and extensive memorial culture in the larger context of contemporary (and historiographically dominant) Franco-Flemish polyphonic tradition. A second major project will be a comparative investigation of the remaining musical and liturgical manuscripts from the Saxon foundations of canonesses, including Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, but also lesser-known foundations. A third direction for research is the comparative study of the music and liturgy of convent entrance rites, as preserved in fifteenth-century manuscript sources from the Lüne cloisters, the Penitentials of Strassbourg, the Augustinians of Cologne, and the identification of additional sources. Finally, the recent return of a wealth of liturgical manuscripts to the Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck presents an opportunity for the description of the music and liturgy of this important northern city, and together the early chant traditions of Preetz and Lübeck can provide a window into the relatively unexplored world of medieval music in the northern German-speaking lands.

APPENDIX A

CLOISTER ENTRANCE RITES IN THE *BUCH IM CHOR*

fol. 120v.

Notandum est quod
tenetur quando puer vestitur primo offertur
domino preposito in ianua chori in inquir-
atur si wult servare regulam
dicens hiis verbis wultu den geist-
liken orden entfangen. Item wultu
leven na der regulen sancte benedictus
Item wultu underdanigen unde horsam
wesen dominem (sic) prelatem unde liden mit
dussen iuncvrouwen gud unde arch prepo-
situs. Recipio te in gratiam in patris et
filii et spiritus sancti. Wen *Que est ista* uthe
is so vraget de prawest echter dat

121r.

kint dusse sulven vrage dar na secht
he so ga In gades namen un [...] orloff van dinen olderen. post hec
cantatur *Accende lumen*. Interea sedet
puer coram altari in genibus. Prepositus
involvat manus pueri in palla alta-
ris et tenet dominam nostram super caput
pueri. Quando versus *Per sciamus* cantatur
tunc accedant scolares qui cantabunt
Fiat domine conventus. *Gloria patri*. pueri
repetant secundo. *Fiat domine*. Prepositus
benedicat vestimenta pueri cum duabus
collectis tunc turificentur et postea asper-
gantur. Deinde exuatur vestimentis suis
et induatur vestimentis spiritualibus Can-
trices inponunt *Regnum mundi* Sacer-
dotes. versum et gloria. tunc prosternet
se puer in veniam. priorissa *Kyriel'*

121v.

Pater noster prepositus *Et ne nos. Salvum fac ancillam. Mitte ei. Esto ei Domine exaudi.* Ipse legat unam collectam istis completis. prepositus denunciat(sic) sententiam. statim *Dominus vobiscum* offertorium cantetur priorissa ibit cum puero ad altare. puer offert annulum. priorissa solidum. puer reducit in chorum. missa finitur exuat casularum. ferens candelam manu. intrat chorum. accipit puerum et ducit eum ante altare Cantrices. *Veni in ortum meum* qua finita prosternet se puer in veniam prepositus unam collectam. priorissa *Levavi. Ad te levavi. Ecce quam bonum. Kiriél'* Prepositus *Et ne nos* cum versiculus et collectis de fraternitate priorissa ducit puerum in chorum ubi manebit tunc ibit cum puero per

122r.

porticum et ducit eum in mensam suam. Item modus coronacionis invenitur in libro priorisse + Primo quando episcopus dicit *Dominus vobiscum* tunc dicit *Pax vobis.* conventus. *Et cum spirituo [sic] tuo.* postea dicit semper. *Dominus vobiscum.* nisi prima vice. post secretum. quando secundum *Per omnia* dictum. tunc vertit se unus minister altaris. coram conventum et dicat. Humiliate vos omnis ad benedicionem. conventus ***Deo gratias*** Episcopus quatuor vel quinque collectas. ad unam quamque. Conventus per totum *Amen.* illis lectis. erit parvum silencium. episcopus. *Pax domini sit semper vobiscum. Agnus dei.* communio. quando finita. pueri communicant. si sunt ibi parvi pueri. accipiunt absolutionem. episcopus. *Dominus vobiscum.* missa finita. vadit cum omnibus preparientis suis in capellam. pueri sequuntur

122v.

sacrificant ibi lumina unumquodque de ta-
lenta. sacerdotes episcopi acquirant episcopus
acquirat annulos ipse presentat priorisse
pueros tunc reducuntur ad chorum Item
illo die quando coronantur non licet eis versus
habere nec graduale cantare nec officium
habere per illos tres dies nusque (sic) ibunt
nisi priorissa presente vel ea iubente sed
omnibus pariter manentibus. tertia die confessor
abscedet eis crines post missam suam

APPENDIX B

TEXTS OF PREETZ OFFICE FOR ST. BLAISE COMPARED WITH SELECTIONS FROM VITA BHL 1377

**BHL 1377: ACTA AUCTORE ANONYMO EX MS. ECCLESIAE S. MARTINI
VLTRAIECTI (ACTA SANCTORUM, 339–344)**

from Chapter 1.2:

...etiam hunc a **corporum medicina** ad animarum curam transferre dignatus est. Siquidem omnes qui in **Sebastea** erant, **tam Clerus quam populus**, vitæ eius sanctitate, & morum modestia delectati; vnanimi consensu, & voto concordî, eum eiusdem **ciuitatis Episcopum elegerunt**.

... **Erat enim vir magnæ humilitatis, miræ patientiæ**, summæ pietatis, **mente sanctus**,

...in quemdam montem, qui Argei vocatur, **secessit**: vbi quamuis humana frequentia desolatus esset.

**OFFICE FOR ST. BLAISE, PREETZ ANTIPHONER
FOLS. 85V–87V, 90R.**

Vespers 1. Magnificat Antiphon (Mode 4)

[...] martir inclite fidelibus turbis [...] fa[...] que tue protectionis patrociniõ con[...]si mereamur ab hoste liberari et salvatoris nostri dei gratiam promereri

Invitorium Antiphon (Mode 4)

[...]lendum regi martirum in ymnis convenite in hac sancti Blasii martiris sollemnitate.
Venite.

Hymn (Stäblein 521)

Martyr egre (incipit)

Nocturn 1. Antiphon 1 (Mode 1)

Beatus Blasius **corporalis medicine** peritus ex **concensu tam cleri quam populi electus Sebaste civitatibus** promotus est **episcopus**

Nocturn 1. Antiphon 2 (Mode 2)

Erat enim magne humilitatis mire patientie mente sanctus [...]

Nocturn 1. Antiphon 3 (Mode 3)

Instante per [...] tem **secessit** ibi que liberius divinitatis contemplacio vacavit

from BHL 1377, Chapter 1.5:

Tertio mihi Dominus apparuit hac nocte, dicens: Surge Blasii, & more tibi solito hostias offerre memeto

from BHL 1377, Chapter 2.9 :

...Ad hæc S. Blasij verba Præses iratus iussit **eum fustibus cædi**. Cumque diutissime cæsus, neque vocem emitteret, neque colorem vultus mutaret, conuersus ad Præsidem, dixit: **Miror te, Præses, existimare iis me flagellis alienari posse ab amore Dei... Certus sum enim, quia neque tormenta, neque ipsa mors poterit me separate a caritate Dei.**

Habebo enim corroboratorem meum & saluatorem ipsum Dominum Iesum Christum, filium Dei viuum.

from BHL 1377, Chapter 2.12:

Tunc Præses videns animum eius in Domino fixum, & mentem immutabilem esse, iussit eum in **ligno suspendi, & ferreos pectines**, vnde lanæ carmentari solent, affetri; & inde **dorsum eius & totum corpus discerpi ac dilacerari**... ecce **hoc est**, Præses, ait, quod ex multo tempore desiderabam, vt mente a terris suspensa, & corpus simul in altum sustolleretur. Ecce iam caro spiritui consentit, & spiritus aduersus carnem non concupiscit.

V. Tercio hac nocte michi dominus astitit dicens surge Blasii et more tibi solito michi hostias offer. Quia.

Nocturn 1. Responsorium 3 (Mode 3)

R. Cesus fustibus martir beatissimus dixit presidi miror te preses existimare hiis me flagellis alienari posse ab amore dei. Certus sum quia neque tormenta necque ipsa mors poterit me separare a karita[...]

V. Habeo enim corroboratorem meum et saluatorem ipsum Xristum filium dei vivi. Certus.

Nocturn 1. Responsorium 4 (Mode 1)

R. Presen [...] Blasius presidi suspensus est in eminenti ligno et ferries pectinibus per dorsum discerptus per totum que corpus dilaceratus dixit: Hoc est quod cupivi et mente a terris suspense corpus simul in altum tolleretur.

V. Ecce iam caro spiritui consentit et spiritus aduersus carnem non concupiscit. Hoc.

V. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Hoc.

from BHL 1377, Chapter 2.12

... **Ideirco vero hæc tormenta formidare**, vel quasi graua sentire non possum, quia habeo, qui me confortat, **Dominum meū Iesum Christum.**

from BHL 1377, Chapter 3.13

Itaque Præses, **cum videret tam diris suppliciis eius in fide constantiam** quasi conualescere, & quodammodo augeri, **deponi eum de ligno iussit. & iterum in carcerem tradi.**

from BHL 1377, Chapter 3.12

..**ineffabile illud** in cælis bonorum omnium **expectans præmium, quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit**, quod præparauerit Deus diligentibus se.

Nocturn 2. Antiphon 1 (Mode 7)

Ideirco hec tormenta formidare non possum quia habeo qui me confortit dominum meum Ihesum Xristum.

Nocturn 2. Antiphon 2 (Mode 8)

Cum videret preses eius in fide constanciam. iussit eum de ligno poni et in carcerem retrudi.

Nocturn 2. Antiphon 3 (Mode 1)

Ineffabile illud gaudium exspecto quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit.

Nocturn 2. Antiphon 4 (Mode 4)

Domine rex eterne qui es tuorum spes certa sanctorum per orationem servi tui Blasii memento nostri.

Nocturn 2. Antiphon 5 (Mode 4)

Sancte Blasi marti inclite Xristi te quesumus ut nos tuis precibus semper gracie dei commendare digneris.

Nocturn 2. Antiphon 6 (Mode 4)

Sancte Blasi intercede pro nobis ut confortes glorie sanctorum tecum effici mereamur.

from BHL 1377 Chapter 4.20

Post hæc beatus **Martyr Blasius iterum a carcere reuocatur, iterum ad audientiam exhibetur, iterum tormentis subicitur.**

Nam **tertia iam sessione Præses sibi tribunal præparari præcepit:**

Sanctus Martyr dixit: **Cæcitatæ tuæ tenebras, Præses, non satis admirari queo. Miror quippe te lumen, quod in aperto est & omnibus patet, non videre. Si enim verum lumen vidisses, nequaquam idola adorares. Si verum lumen vidisses, nequaquam ligno, lapidi, aramento, argento & auro diceres: Deus meus.**

Quisnam nesciat opera manuum hominum deos non esse?

from BHL 1377 Chapter 4.21:

Cumque **Dominica Cruce aquam signasset**, mox ad sustinenda eius vestigia tamquam **arida** effecta est: & velut in terra, ita super ipsas aquas currens, venit in medium **stagni**.

Ibi residens, inde Præsidentem, & omnem simul adstantem populum allocutus est.

Nocturn 2. Responsorium 1 (Mode 1)

R. Martyr Blasius iterum a carcere revocatur iterum ad audientiam exhibetur. Iterum tormentis subicitur.

V. Tercia autem sessione preces sibi tribunal preparari precepit. Iterum.

Nocturn 2. Responsorium 2 (Mode 6T)

R. Vir domini cecitatem presidis non satis ammirari valens dixit miror te lumen quod in aperto est et omnibus patet non videre. Si enim verum lumen videres ne quaquam ydola adorares.

V. Quis enim nesciat opera manuum hominum deos non esse? Si enim.

Nocturn 2. Responsorium 3 (Mode 1)

R. Iussus autem sanctus presul ad exemplum domini super aquas ingressus signo crucis eas signavit. Et quasi super aridam ita super profundum stagni incessit.

V. Ubi residens inde presidem. et omnem simul astantem populum allocutus est. Et quasi.

Nocturn 2. Responsorium 4 (Mode ?)

R. Beatus Blasius (incipit)

Nocturn 3. Canticle antiphon (ful 0209, Mode 4)

Ad est veneranda nobis dies est fes [...]

LACUNA

Lauds Benedictus antiphon (Mode 6)

[...] die tue tibi serviamus sine timore et per sanctum Blasium tuum
athletam vitam consequamur eternam. Euouae.

Prime antiphon

Ad est ve[neranda...] (incipit)

Terce antiphon (CAO 1267, Mode 4)

Adest nobis celeberrimus dies festus beati blasii quem egregium martirem
et mire sanctitatis pontificem mirabilis signorum prerogativa preditum ut
intercessorem apud dominum pro nostris excessibus seciamus tota mentis
intencione flagitamus illius ut precibus adiuti mereamur absolvi durissima
delictorum nostrorum catena. Euouae.

Ad processionem

R. Martir (incipit)

R. Vir domini (incipit)

Ad introitum antiphon

Domine (incipit)

Sext antiphon

Domine (incipit)

None Antiphon

Sancte (incipit)

Vespers 2. Antiphon 1

Instante (incipit)

Vespers 2. Antiphon 2

Ibi (incipit)

Vespers 2. Antiphon 3

Si qua (incipit)

Vespers 2. Antiphon 4

Hiis (incipit)

Vespers 2. Responsorium

Sancte Blasi martir Xristi (incipit)

Vespers 2. Magnificat antiphon

Sacerdotem et martirem Blasium laudet ecclesia per univer [...] qui pontificali cunctus(?) insula in omnibus mandates d [...] ne querela et ideo meruit stolam glorie [...]

APPENDIX C

FOUR PROPER OFFICES FOR ST. BLAISE

Blaise Office I. Preetz Antiphoner (monastic cursus)		Blaise Office IIa. A-SF XI 480 (secular cursus)		Blaise Office IIb. A-Gu 29 (monastic cursus)		Blaise Office III. D-LÜh 6 (secular cursus)	
Loc.	Incipit	Loc.	Incipit	Loc.	Incipit	Loc.	Incipit
				V R	<i>Sancte deo dilecte</i>		
V1 MA	<i>...martir inclite fidelibus turbis</i>	V1 MA	<i>Adest nobis celeberrimus</i>	V1 MA	<i>Adest nobis celeberrimus</i>	V1 MA	<i>Adest nobis celeberrimus</i>
M Inv.	<i>...cendum regi martirum in ymnis</i>	M Inv.	<i>Adoremus regem magnum</i>	M Inv.	<i>Adoremus regem magnum</i>	M Inv.	<i>Exultemus deo</i>
M Hymn	<i>Martir egre (incipit)</i>						
M A 1.1	<i>Beatus Blasius corporalis</i>	M A 1.1	<i>Sanctus Blasius in Sebastia</i>	M A 1.1	<i>Sanctus Blasius in Sebastia</i>	M A 1.1	<i>Beatus vir</i>
M A 1.2	<i>Erat enim magne</i>	M A 1.2	<i>Quem catholica fide</i>	M A 1.2	<i>Quem catholica fide</i>	M A 1.2	<i>In monte domini</i>
M A 1.3	<i>Instante...</i>	M A 1.3	<i>Cum totum vitae</i>	M A 1.3	<i>Cum totum vitae</i>	M A 1.3	<i>Exultet felix Sebastea</i>
M A 1.4	<i>Ibi magnis non inferior</i>			M A 1.4	<i>Postea secum</i>		
M A 1.5	<i>Si qua ex illis</i>			MA 1.5	<i>In qua dum</i>		
M A 1.6	<i>Hiis et ta lib</i>			M A 1.6	<i>Et si aliqua</i>		
M W	<i>Gloria et honore</i>			M W	?		

M R 1.1	<i>Beatus Blasius sebaste</i>	M R 1.1	<i>Dum satellites</i>	M R 1.1	<i>Dum satellites</i>	M R 1.1	<i>Beatus Blasius Sebaste</i>
V	<i>Beatis meritorum</i>	V	<i>Surge inquiens</i>	V	<i>Surge inquiens</i>	V	<i>Et quia eum</i>
M R 1.2	<i>Cum duceretur vir</i>	M R 1.2	<i>In itinere plures</i>	M R 1.2	<i>Vir dei sanctus Blasius</i>	M R 1.2	<i>Igitur cum pervidis</i>
M R 1.2	<i>Tercio hac nocte</i>	V	<i>Ibi impletum</i>	V	<i>Verax manuetus</i>	V	<i>Videntes enim eum</i>
M R 1.3	<i>Ce stes(?)</i>	M R 1.3	<i>Accidit autem</i>	M R 1.3	<i>Cum decrevisset</i>	M R 1.3	<i>Summe sanctitatus</i>
V	<i>Habeo enim</i>		<i>Sanctus vero</i>	V	<i>Videns autem</i>	V	<i>Quanto enim se longius</i>
		V	<i>Gloria patri</i>				
M R 1.4	<i>Presen...blasius</i>			M R 1.4	<i>Sancte deo dilecte</i>		
V	<i>Ecce ta[m]? Caro</i>			V	<i>Sanct et gloriose</i>		
V	<i>Gloria patri</i>			V	<i>Gloria patri</i>		
M A 2.1	<i>Idcirco hec tormenta</i>	M A 2.1	<i>Postea secum</i>	M A 2.1	<i>Illis diebus</i>	M A 2.1	<i>Sacerdotes dei</i>
M A 2.2	<i>Cum videret preces</i>	M A 2.2	<i>In qua dum</i>	M A 2.2	<i>Videntes autem</i>	M A 2.2	<i>Glorifica...te deo</i>
M A 2.3	<i>Ineffabile</i>	M A 2.3	<i>Et si aliqua</i>	M A 2.3	<i>Mox reversi</i>	M A 2.3	<i>Gloria et honore</i>
M A 2.4	<i>Domine rex eterne</i>			M A 2.4	<i>Inter quos aries</i>		
M A 2.5	<i>Sancte Blasi martyr</i>			M A 2.5	<i>Gaude Blasi bonus vir</i>		
M A 2.6	<i>Sancte Blasi intercede pro nobis</i>			M A 2.6	<i>Non dicas praeses</i>		
		M W	<i>Posuisti Domine</i>	M W	<i>Posuisti Domine</i>		

M R 2.1	<i>Martyr Blasius iterum a carcere</i>	M R 2.1	<i>Illo sancto</i>	M R 2.1	<i>In hac quidem nocte</i>	M R 2.1	<i>Beatus Blasius episcopus</i>
Verse	<i>Tercia autem sessione</i>	V	<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>	V	<i>Dum ergo pergerunt</i>	V	<i>Totus viribus</i>
M R 2.2	<i>Vir domini</i>	M R 2.2	<i>Dum ergo pergerunt</i>	M R 2.2	<i>In itinere plures</i>	M R 2.2	<i>Audiens inimicus domini agricola</i>
Verse	<i>Quis enim nesciat</i>	V	<i>Haec promissa</i>	V	<i>Ibi impletum</i>	V	<i>Comperto a relatoribus</i>
M R 2.3	<i>Iussus autem sanctus</i>	M R 2.3	<i>His in via</i>	M R 2.3	<i>Accidit autem</i>	M R 2.3	<i>Cumque pervenissent</i>
Verse	<i>Ubi residens inde presidem</i>	V	<i>Sceleratissimus</i>	V	<i>Sanctus vero</i>	V	<i>In hac nocte</i>
M R 2.4	<i>Beatus Blasius (incipit)</i>			M R 2.4	<i>Inclytus domini</i>		
				V	<i>In nomine patris</i>		
				V	<i>Gloria patri</i>		
M CA	<i>Adest veneranda dies</i>	M A 3.1	<i>Illis diebus</i>	M CA	<i>Domine rex aeterne</i>	M A 3.1	<i>Ingressus est autem</i>
		M A 3.2	<i>Videntes autem</i>			M A 3.2	<i>Sanctiss... Blasius</i>
		M A 3.3	<i>Mox reversi</i>			M A 3.3	<i>Honorandus antistes</i>
	lacuna	W	<i>Magna est gloria</i>		<i>Justus ut palma</i>		
M R 3.1	lacuna	M R 3.1	<i>Alto deinde</i>	M R 3.1	<i>Ingresso Sebastiam</i>	M R 3.1	<i>Videns minister Sathane</i>
	lacuna		<i>Pro sanguine</i>	V	<i>Tunc arte</i>	V	<i>O crudelissime penis</i>
M R 3.2	lacuna	M R 3.2	<i>Tunc crudelissimus</i>	M R 3.2	<i>Videns praeses Blasius</i>	M R 3.2	<i>Deportato Christi milite</i>
	lacuna		<i>Cum nec caminus</i>	V	<i>Respondit Blasius dum</i>	V	<i>Devote quidem</i>
M R 3.3	lacuna	M R 3.3	<i>In tertia vero</i>	M R 3.3	<i>Jussus tandem</i>	M R 3.3	<i>Beatum Blasium</i>
	lacuna	V	<i>Beatus ille</i>	V	<i>Non me inquit</i>	V	<i>Apostolicam quippe</i>
	lacuna					V	<i>Gloria patri</i>

M R 3.4	lacuna			M R 3.4	<i>Ad ultimam iratus</i>		
	lacuna			V	<i>Orante eo descendid</i>		
	lacuna			V	<i>Gloria patri</i>		
	lacuna	L A1	<i>Angelus autem domini</i>	L A1	<i>Angelus autem domini</i>	L A1	<i>Educto de carcere</i>
	lacuna	L A2	<i>Tandem surgens</i>	L A2	<i>Tandem surgens</i>	L A2	<i>Non tineo minas</i>
	lacuna	L A3	<i>Quo egresso</i>	L A3	<i>Quo egresso</i>	L A3	<i>Preces dixit</i>
	lacuna	L A4	<i>Omnibus claritatem</i>	L A4	<i>Omnibus claritatem</i>	L A4	<i>Sanctus martyr respondit</i>
	lacuna	L A5	<i>Cum verba verbera</i>	L A5	<i>Cum verba verbera</i>	L A5	<i>Tunc vir domini</i>
	lacuna			L H	<i>Martyr egregie</i>		
	lacuna			L R	<i>Magna est Gloria</i>		
L AB?	...die tue...	L AB	<i>Quicumque in pericula</i>	L AB	<i>Quicumque in pericula</i>	L AB	<i>Quicumque in pericula</i>
P A	<i>Adest ve (incipit)</i>			P A	<i>Sanctus Blasius</i>	?	<i>Iocundus homo qui</i>
T A	<i>Adest nobis celeberrimus</i>			TA	<i>Domine rex aeterne</i>		
				TW	<i>Gloria et honore</i>		
Ad proc. R.	<i>Martire (incipit)</i>						
Ad proc. R.	<i>Vir domini (incipit)</i>						
Ad int. A.	<i>Domine (incipit)</i>						
S A	<i>Domine (incipit)</i>			S A	<i>Videntes autem</i>		
				S W	<i>Posuisti domine</i>		
				N A	<i>Mox reversi</i>		
N A	<i>Sancte (incipit)</i>			N W	<i>Justus ut palma</i>		

V2 A1	<i>Instante (incipit)</i>			V2 A1	<i>Angelus autem domini</i>		
V2 A2	<i>Ibi (incipit)</i>			V2 A2	<i>Tandem surgens</i>		
V2 A3	<i>Si qua (incipit)</i>			V2 A3	<i>Quo egresso</i>		
V2 A4	<i>Hiis (incipit)</i>			V2 A4	<i>Omnibus claritatem</i>		
V2 W	<i>Sancte Blasi martir xpi (incipit)</i>			V2 W	<i>Magna est gloria</i>		
V2 A M	<i>Sacerdotem et martirem blasium</i>	V2 AM	<i>Haec eo orante</i>	V2 AM	<i>Haec eo orante</i>	V2 AM	<i>Haec eo orante</i>

APPENDIX D
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Date</u>
A-Gu 29	Antiphoner	St. Lambrecht Abbey	14th c.
A-Kn 1012	Antiphoner	Klosterneuburg	12th c.
B-DEa ms. Cod. 9	Hildegard Codex	rec. St. Pieters & Paulusabdij	late 12th c.
CH-SGs 484	Troper/proser/sequentiary	St. Gall	10th c.
D-Aam 13	Gradual	Aachen	13th c.
D-BAs 45	Lectionary/missal	Bamberg	15th c.
D-Bsb 2° 487	Gradual	Augustinian, Lower Rhine	1350–1400
D-Bsb 4° 664	Gradual	Trier	13th c.
D-Bsb 40078	Gradual	Quedlinburg	12th c.
D-DÜ1 9	Antiphoner	Paradies bei Soest	early 14th c.
D-FRu Hs. 1500, 14	Processional/rituale	Strassburg, Penitential Cloister	late 15th. c
D-KNa W 270	Missal	Aachen	ca. 1339

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Date</u>
D-LÜh 2° 1	Missal	German	12th c.
D-LÜh 2° 3	Full missal	Hamburg-Bremen	ca. 1200
D-LÜh 2° 6	Psalter/Antiphoner	Lübeck	1397
D-LÜh 2° 11	Gradual	Lübeck, unknown cloister	before 1415
D-LÜh 2° 12	Gradual	Lübeck Cathedral	1442
D-LÜh 2° 13	Responsoriale	Lübeck	1470
D-LÜh 2° 17	Gradual	Lübeck Cathedral	15th c.
D-LÜh 2° 18	Gradual	Lübeck	15th c.
D-LÜh 2° 22	Sequentiary/hymnal	Lübeck	15th c.
D-LÜh 2° 32	Gradual (Augustinian)	St. Michael Cloister	15th c.
D-LÜh 2° 40	Missal	Lübeck	15th c.
D-Mbs 19267	Gradual	Tergensee	15th c.
D-OS GE 01	Processional/rituale	Benedictine Cloister, Gertrudenberg	15th c.
D-OS Ma 101	Graduale	Ruhle (<i>Codex Gisle</i>)	ca. 1300
D-PREk HS 01	Ordinal/rituale/chronicle	Kloster Preetz (the <i>Buch im Chor</i>)	1471–87

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Date</u>
D-PREk Reihe V G1	Antiphoner, winter volume	Kloster Preetz (the Preetz Antiphoner)	1350–1450
D-PREk Reihe V G2	Gradual	Kloster Preetz (The Preetz Gradual)	1350–1450
D-TRs 2254	Gradual/sequentiary	Trier	13th c.
D-WIR s.n	Missal	Koblenz	13th. c.
DK-Kk-Thott 147	Missal	Bremen	15th c.
DK-Gk Gl. Kgl. S.169	Passionale	Kloster Cismar	15th c.
EV-TALab Codex XIV, 181	Antiphoner/gradual	Preetz? (Diocese of Lübeck)	ca. 1526–38
GB-Ob Can. lit 340	Gradual/sequentiary	Admont for Moggio	early 13th c.
NL-Uu 406	Antiphoner	Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Utrecht	12th c.
NL-Uu 417	Gradual	Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Utrecht	13th c.

APPENDIX E

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AH	Analecta hymnica medii aevi
BHL	Bibliotheca hagiographica latina
CAO	Corpus antiphonarium officii
CT	Corpus troporum
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
MGG	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
MMMA	Monumenta monodica medii aevi
MLLM	Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus
NG2	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , Second Edition
PM	Paléographie musicale
PMMS	Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RB	Rule of St. Benedict
ThK	Karl-Heinz Schlager, <i>Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts.</i>

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