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UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK

OLLSCOIL LUIMNIGH

Missale Vetus:
**Liturgy, Palaeography and Repertories in the
Notated Missal EXcl 3515**

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External Supervisor: Dr. Emma Hornby

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ABSTRACT

EXcl 3515 is a notated missal located in Exeter Cathedral. To date, it has received very little attention from chant scholars. This neglect is due possibly to the absence of a liturgical Kalendar and evidence of local saints in the Sanctorale. Its general assignment to the thirteenth century with a generic English origin shows that critical questions concerning provenance and dating have been overlooked. In addition, no in-depth analysis of the liturgical observance in the missal has been undertaken to date. This study seeks to address these omissions. The missal is comprised of four disparate sections, which were put together in a seamless manner to create a full liturgy. However, the parts are not so separate as hitherto believed. The current study reveals new information on the structure and format of the missal; this in turn affects questions of chronology. An added fragment provides the crucial key to unlocking the relationship of the sections to one another. Drawing on methods used by scholars such as Hiley, Hughes and Karp, this comparative investigation indicates an Exeter provenance and a twelfth-century dating for the missal. Despite the seemingly neutral quality of the Sanctorale the inclusion of Saints such as St Blaise and St Leonard enable us to recognise and identify a distinct Use. Of particular interest are the continental links to the Loire Valley that emerge throughout the thesis. The Fleury post-Pentecostal alleluias are a unique series in this insular source. Further evidence of influence from the Loire Valley is found in the notation and melodic variants. Not only do the prayers and chants provide valuable information about the liturgical affiliations and influences in EXcl 3515, but also a study of the script hands adds significant new data about insular 'Protogothic' script and notation. EXcl 3515 represents a transitional stage in the development of script and notation before the widespread influence of Gothic script and square notation that represent the thirteenth century. Therefore, the focus of this study is to highlight the significance of EXcl 3515 and its unique place among the chant sources of the twelfth century. EXcl 3515 is the sole surviving complete insular missal with notation that pre-dates Sarum Use. Therefore, it is a unique and invaluable witness to a secular liturgy from the South-West of England.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this is my own work and has not been submitted for the award of any Degree in any other University or Third Level Institution.

Anne Mannion

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Supervisors: Dr. Helen Phelan / Dr. Emma Hornby

Signed: _____ Date: _____

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMS	Hesbert, R.J., ed. (1935) <i>Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex</i> , Brussels
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale
BNF	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France
c.	<i>circa</i> (approximately)
ed.	editor, edited by
edn	edition
eds	editors
EX	EXcl 3515
facs.	facsimile
f, ff	folio, folios
GR	Graduel Romain, (1957) <i>Edition critique par les moines de Solesmes: Les Sources</i> , vol. 2, Solesmes.
GS	Frere, W. H. ed. (1894) <i>Graduale Sarisburiense, A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century</i> , London: B. Quaritch
GT	Billecocq, M.C. and Fischer, R. (1979) <i>Graduale Triplex</i> , Solesmes
Hartzell	Hartzell, K.D. (2006) <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music</i> , Woolridge: The Boydell Press Hartzell, Catalogue
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
ibid.	ibidem (in the same source)
JPMMS	Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society
LM (L)	Orchard, N. (2002) <i>The Leofric Missal</i> , 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society, 113, 114, London: The Boydell Press
MainS	Main Sanctorale
MGG	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik begründet von Friedrich Blume</i> , ed. L. Fischer. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2nd edn 1994–
MLGB	Ker, N. (1964) <i>Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books</i> , 2nd ed., London: Royal Historic Society
MMBL	Ker, N. (1977) <i>Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press
MMMA	<i>Monumenta monodica medii aevi</i> , Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1956–
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
NG	Sadie, S and Tyrell, J., eds. (2001) <i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd ed., 29 vols. London: Macmillan
PalMus	Paléographie musicale: <i>Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican, publiés en fac-similés phototypiques</i>
Pl	Plate
Pls	Plates
PMM	Plainsong and Medieval Music
r	recto
repr.	reprint
rev.	revised
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
SM	Legg, J. W. (1916) <i>The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press.

SS	Supplementary Sanctorale
T	Temporale
T.1	Temporale 1
T.2	Temporale 2
trans.	translation, translated by
transcr.	transcription, transcribed by
v	verso
vol.	volume
vols	volumes
A	Antiphon
Co	Communion
Cr	Credo
Gr	Gradual
Int	Introit
Of	Offertory
Ps	Psalm
R	Responsory
Seq	Sequence
Tr	Tract
V(v)	Verse
[]	editorial
...	Ellipses (omissions in the text)

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Focus of the Study

EXcl 3515 is a noted missal preserved in Exeter Cathedral Archives. No in-depth study of the manuscript has been made to date. It remains the only complete pre-Sarum missal representing early Norman or even pre-Conquest traditions.¹ Yet surprisingly, chant scholars have seemingly overlooked the manuscript. While the absence of distinctive initials or images may help to explain the general lack of attention by palaeographers and art historians, it does not justify the neglect of this source in the scholarly literature. Essential questions concerning dating, provenance, liturgical observance and melodic tradition in EXcl 3515 have not been subjected to any detailed examination. Even more astounding is that no textual or musical investigations have previously been undertaken. The present study intends to address this significant lacuna, the results of which will reveal the unique position of EXcl 3515 as a conveyor of a complete liturgy representing the transitional period in England before the pervading influence of Sarum Use in the thirteenth century.

Aims and Objectives

The main objective of this study is to examine the liturgical and musical contents of the notated missal EXcl 3515. It proposes to place the manuscript firmly among the main chant sources of the twelfth century, not only establishing an origin for the book but also suggesting more accurate datings for the disparate sections of the book. The core question underlying this dissertation is to determine the gradual, sacramentary and lectionary traditions that lie beneath the chronological layers of emendations and additions inserted into the missal by miscellaneous hands over a period of perhaps two hundred and fifty years. An overall survey of EXcl 3515 betrays a conscious ‘updating’ of the missal to the ‘Use of Salisbury’, which is believed to have been widespread in most parts of England by the early thirteenth century, often in the form of marginal additions (Hiley, 1993, p. 583; Pfaff, 2010). These marginal entries provide clues not only in relation to dating but also in establishing hitherto

¹ A perusal of Hartzell’s recent catalogue of medieval English manuscripts reveals the large number of diastematic missal sources that survive in fragmentary or incomplete form up to 1200, thus setting EXcl 3515 apart as a unique source for this genre (Hartzell, 2006).

unidentified links between different sections of the manuscript. Nine questions are presented below to show more clearly the key topics of this dissertation:

TABLE 1.1

Research Questions and Topics

1. What is the present format of the manuscript EXcl 3515?
2. How does it affect our understanding of the chronology of the book?
3. Can we justifiably claim an Exeter provenance for the missal?
4. What is the liturgical observance in the manuscript?
5. Is there evidence of continuity in the liturgical tradition of EXcl 3515 extending from the Anglo-Saxon era to the post-Conquest period of the late twelfth century?
6. Can we identify the musical tradition in EXcl 3515?
7. What types of script are prevalent in EXcl 3515? Is there evidence of a scriptorium?
8. What types of notation are there within the book, and can we find correspondences with other centres?
9. What are the insular and continental influences visible within EXcl 3515?

Each question will be addressed through comparative analysis based on primary and secondary sources. These key points are the focus of the present dissertation.

In the following section, previous literature relating to the critical themes of the current thesis will be reviewed. Research proposals and questions addressed by main medieval scholars from various disciplines will be analysed and examined, identifying their arguments and methods where relevant to this study, while simultaneously pointing to new areas that require future investigation instigated by the current project.

Literature review

Provenance and Dating

Descriptions of medieval English manuscripts are made available through monumental catalogues compiled by scholars such as Frere (1894), Gneuss, (1981,

2001), Ker (1964, 1977) and more recently by Hartzell, in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* (Hartzell, 2006). These catalogues are recognised as indispensable tools for the researcher, outlining codicological and palaeographical details essential for understanding the make-up of a manuscript. Information about EXcl 3515 is located in Ker (1977) and Hartzell (2006). Both agree that the missal was used in the diocese of Exeter but do not explore the provenance of the manuscript further. Ker merely states: ‘Written in England’ (Ker, 1977, p. 826). It is the intention here to combine interdisciplinary studies based on palaeography and historical narrative to contribute towards establishing a strong premise for an Exeter origin.

One significant difference between Ker and Hartzell lies in the dating of the manuscript. Ker argues in favour of a date sometime between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; in contrast, Hartzell pushes the boundaries back to the twelfth century (Hartzell, 2006, p.184). Neither Ker nor Hartzell justify their respective decisions. The present study intends for the first time to corroborate Hartzell’s choice of a twelfth-century date through comparative analysis of scripts and notations in EXcl 3515.

Notation

Haines argues that ‘the modern study of music palaeography...has focused almost exclusively on the period prior to square notation’ (Haines, 2008, p.31). Haines’s perception of the study of notation is influenced by existing research that peruses predominantly earlier neumatic forms. Monumental surveys have been undertaken, tracing the evolution and development of neumes, grouping them into their respective notational families (Bannister, 1913; Sunol, 1935; Stablein, 1975; Corbin, 1977; Solesmes, *Paleographie Musicale* series, 1889-1983). These surveys, with their various methodologies, form the basis of the present discussion of musical palaeography in EXcl 3515. Some of them resonate with this study in particularly useful ways. Corbin, for example, concentrates on delineating the characteristics of French neumes, linking their graphic features to particular regions of France (Corbin, 1977). She also stresses the recognition of ‘contact’ neumes (Atkinson, 1980, p.101),

and posits that neumes can reveal more than one centre of influence: all these themes proved significant in the examination of the music hands in EXcl 3515.

Although Haines (2008) pertinently remarks on the lack of modern research on square notation, his observations could equally be applied to the absence of detailed enquiry surrounding the intermediate period between neumatic and square notations, which remains a relatively unexplored area. No study comparable to Bannister's or Corbin's exists in relation to pitch-specific insular notation in the post-Conquest pre-Sarum period. The significance of studying musical notations cannot be underestimated, since it 'may open windows onto a wider perspective of the history of writing' (Rankin and Gullick, 2009, p. 266). Both scholars disapprove of Hartzell's attempts at classifying the various Anglo-Norman notations, arguing that the 'descriptions of notation are relatively undisciplined and made without reference to any theorized pattern' (ibid., p. 271). Although Hartzell describes the Exeter notation as 'point-neume' he gives no justification for this (Hartzell, 2006, p. 192).

The nature and development of Anglo-Norman notation remains therefore largely unexplored. It is hindered by the scarcity of representational manuscripts from which the characteristics of the main neumatic forms can be established. Furthermore, there is a lack of comparable tables of Anglo-Norman notation, which would facilitate clearer regional identifications. Hiley (2001) confirms the Norman and French notational influences on English sources in the twelfth century, directing our attention to centres such as St Albans and Worcester. However, Hiley does not discuss regional diversity in English chant notation of the period.

For the first time, the current study intends to refer to this twelfth-century notation whose characteristics lie somewhere between neumatic and square, based on the investigation of the music features in EXcl 3515, as a Protogothic notation relating to the Protogothic script of this period, thus creating a link between the two disciplines. Through this identification, it may be possible to date the music hands of EXcl 3515 more accurately to the second half of the twelfth century. The new chronological ordering that will be suggested for the manuscript sections will enable this study to trace the evolution within the missal of a localised notation from its earlier post-neumatic type to a more sophisticated square form. In addition, tables representing the

two types of Anglo-Norman notations in EXcl 3515 will be available for future research, providing a model for tracing notational developments in a single scriptorium.

Script

Overall, twelfth-century scripts represent a transitional stage between Caroline miniscule and the later clearly defined Gothic script. Roberts (2005), Derolez (2003) and Brown (1990, 1999) observe the dramatic changes in scripts in insular and continental sources. EXcl 3515 falls into this intermediate category. It contains not merely two hands, as implied by previous scholars, but rather a plethora of hands, each bearing witness to the evolution of a scribal practice prior to the adoption of the standard Gothic script of the thirteenth century.

In her study of the development of western scripts Brown claims that ‘Protogothic script encompasses the transition from Caroline Minuscule to Gothic Minuscule’, spanning the period from the late eleventh to the mid-thirteenth century (Brown, 1990, p. 72). Problems with palaeography include the recognition of changes in scribal practices, which can herald new adoptions of writing techniques. Tracing the changes that evolved in script and in book layout is central to Ker’s studies on post-Conquest sources (Ker, 1960). Ker argues that the introduction of new writing implements, combined with novel methods of ruling, altered the production of manuscripts during this period. Both Parkes and Ker discuss the significant innovations in scripts of the twelfth century and, by incorporating evidence from datable manuscripts, their observations can lead to the more accurate dating of other manuscripts.

Thus, by building on palaeographical studies of previous scholars such as Ker and Parkes, questions of dating and provenance can be addressed with some closeness of focus. The text scribes of EXcl 3515 are representative of English Protogothic script of this interim period. The conclusions of the present study should benefit from the identification of new hands not previously noticed. Palaeographical methods will be applied here for the first time, illustrating the graphic characteristics of letters,

punctuation and abbreviation markings present in EXcl 3515, and relating them to scribal practices as revealed in contemporary sources.

In particular, the criteria for distinguishing an insular source from a continental book have been addressed mainly by Brown (1990) and Gullick (2003). Very little attention has been given to the existence of English scriptoria in the twelfth century. Ker (1960a) and Gameson (1999) emphasise the reliance of Exeter Cathedral on continental sources for acquiring liturgical books, in particular in the early twelfth century. The acquisition of theological books is estimated by Ker to have sprung from the demand for manuscripts in many of the main ecclesiastical centres such as Bury, Canterbury, Durham, Exeter, Rochester, Salisbury and Worcester directly after the Conquest, the production of which had apparently ceased by the first half of the twelfth century (Ker, 1960a, p. 7).² Furthermore, Maxted (2007) and Gameson (1999) argue that the surviving books from Exeter were most likely gifts given by successive bishops to their chapter. Yet no comparative study of these manuscripts is available. In the current study, the scripts of a group of theological manuscripts among these gifts will be compared for the first time, based on the summaries of scribal characteristics in EXcl 3515.

Drage (1978) argues that there was a scriptorium at Exeter during Bishop Leofric's episcopate but doubts that it continued to exist after the completion of the required books. There is a noticeable lack of attention given by scholars to the question of whether there was an active scriptorium following the mid twelfth century at Exeter. The current study intends to address this question, confirming the existence of a scriptorium and suggesting a house style both for script and notation based on comparative analysis of extant sources.

Liturgical and Melodic Tradition in EXcl 3515

The diversity of English liturgies is widely acknowledged by medieval scholars including Hiley (1981), Underwood (1982) and Frere (1903). Hiley asserts that 'liturgies are composed of layers of material, each with its own history' (Hiley, 1993,

² Books were acquired in many of these ecclesiastical centres due to the reforms of the English church imposed by the Normans.

p. 148). Comparative methods of investigation, both in the melodic readings and in the choice of repertory within manuscripts, allow relationships between centres to be established (Hiley, 1986, p. 60).

The subject of melodic variants is central to the seminal work undertaken by the monks of Solesmes (Solesmes, GR, 1960, 1962). Using representative manuscripts from both East and West, medieval chant sources were grouped in accordance to the degree of similarity between their melodic variants, and from this, connections between various ecclesiastical centres were inferred (ibid., 1960). The work of Solesmes still plays an important part in the identification of melodic chant traditions. However, some insular sources of crucial importance were not included in the Solesmes ‘points of variance’ (Hiley, 1986, p. 65). Scholars including Hiley (1980, 1986) Underwood (1982) and Hartzell (1975) have addressed these omissions, shedding light on the musical traditions of pre-and post-Conquest England through examination of chant transmission in pertinent insular sources. Nevertheless, EXcl 3515 remains excluded to date from previous scholarship. The current study intends to address this noteworthy omission by drawing on the methods of investigation outlined by the Solesmes monks and more recently by Hiley, in order to provide a framework within which to identify the liturgy of EXcl 3515.

Frere alone among scholars postulates a Use of Exeter (Frere, 1940). By contrast, in his summary of liturgical observance at Exeter, extending from the Anglo-Saxon period to the era of liturgical reform initiated by Bishop Grandisson (1327–69) at Exeter, Pfaff postulates that ‘there is little, if any, discernible continuity between his [Bishop Leofric’s] liturgical program and that of Grandisson’ (Pfaff, 2010, p. 388). To date, our understanding of the Exeter liturgical tradition is based on the tenth-eleventh century missal Oxford Bodley 579 (henceforth, Leofric Missal, EXT 1) and the Sarum missal, Manchester, John Rylands U. L. Lat. 24 (EXT 2). The current study responds to the previous neglect of the question of liturgical continuity at Exeter in the period between Leofric and the adoption of the Sarum rite. In order to establish the degree of stability between the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515, research here will be based on comparison of the texts of a selection of chants and prayers.

The importance of alleluia repertoires, including both the post-Pentecostal and Paschal alleluias, has been emphasised by chant scholars as compelling evidence in determining the provenance of a source, and of connections between ecclesiastical institutions (Schlager, 1965; Hiley, 1980-81, 1986, 1993; Karp, 1998; Hughes, 2005). In particular, extensive studies of the post-Pentecostal alleluias continue to provide valuable resources for tracing relationships. Hiley warns, however, that the alleluia repertory of the source can differ to its inherent melodic tradition (Hiley, 1980-81). EXcl 3515 gives the unusual Fleury series of post-Pentecostal alleluias, setting it apart from alleluia series recorded in extant insular sources. The implications of the presence of this continental series will be a key issue in the current study.

Hiley includes a body of insular manuscripts for the examination of Easter Week alleluias (Hiley, 1981). While he argues that the Easter Week alleluia series can provide important information about the correspondences between sources, he adds that they are not as reliable as post-Pentecost chants (Hiley, *ibid.*). This remains a scarcely exploited chant repertory for this kind of investigation; as yet, very little literature is available on this topic (see Hiley, 1981). Yet a study of this series may well indicate possible connections between centres. There is an obvious scarcity of research among English sources in tracing relationships through this Paschal alleluia repertory. Hughes (2005) limits his investigation to French sources, but in general, corroborative examination of the Paschal alleluia repertoires requires further research among a broader corpus of manuscripts representing East Frankish and Western regions, in order to create a more comprehensive framework for comparative enquiries.

Continental links

Knowles (1966), Parsons (1975) and Pfaff (2010) confirm that continental centres played a very significant role in the shaping of the English monastic revival initiated by Osmund, Dunstan and Ethelwold. Monks from Fleury and Ghent were instrumental in defining the liturgy of the earlier tenth century as far as we can discern it in the *Regularis Concordia* (Symons, 1953; Knowles, 1966). Hartzell asserts that ‘despite Fleury’s importance as a centre of liturgical observance and intellectual achievement for the development of English culture beginning in the tenth century,

the influence of its notation on England's written musical culture appears to have been negligible' (Hartzell, 2006, p. xxiv). In a broader context, this assertion could equally apply not only to notation, but also to liturgy and melody. There is no known evidence that these early continental influences continued to penetrate musical and liturgical practices in England in the twelfth century. Chant scholars have highlighted networks of liaisons connecting English liturgy, chant and notation to Norman centres following the Conquest (Hiley, 1981, 1980-81, 1986, 1993; Hughes, 2005; Hartzell, 1975; Frere, 1940); however, there is a noticeable lack of evidence for the continuity of influences and traditions from the Anglo-Saxon period.

This is an important theme of the present work. Anomalies within EXcl 3515 relating to notation, melodic variants, melodic mode and the selection of chants link the missal, perhaps surprisingly, with ecclesiastic centres in the Loire Valley. This is an area of research apparently totally unexplored until now. The current study uses comparative analyses of a select group of manuscripts from Fleury and the Loire Valley to corroborate evidence of correspondences between EXcl 3515 and service books from central France. These observations represent new areas of research and have a significant implication for the future investigation of foreign influences in post-Conquest England.

Historical context

Oliver identifies significant figures and historical events in his comprehensive study of Exeter Cathedral (Oliver, 1861). Despite its age and some inaccuracies, this classic interpretation of the history of the Cathedral and its bishops remains an invaluable source of information (Barlow, 1996). Hiley warns that 'historical context does not help provide answers to the questions of the derivation of all our sources', but equally acknowledges the value of a historical perspective to our understanding of the place where a book is created (Hiley, 1981, p. 98).

Barlow argues that Exeter Cathedral remained impervious to the more modern post-Conquest Norman influences, stating that 'perhaps even more than Worcester, it passed through the Norman Conquest little changed, and it remained institutionally archaic until the second decade of the thirteenth century' (Barlow 1996 p. xxxii). The

impact of Bishop's Leofric's adoption of the Rule of Chrodegang appears to have had long-lasting consequences on the Cathedral's history, affecting the organisation and shaping of its chapter throughout the medieval period (Barlow, 1972; Blake, 1982). Exhaustive studies explore the history of Exeter Cathedral, illuminating the development of the church and chapter at this time (Oliver, 1861; Barlow, 1996; Orme, 1980-83, 1986; Blake, 1972). In particular, Blake alone highlights change and growth in the system of administration during the twelfth century (Blake, 1982). Barlow's summary of the charters reveals links with foreign institutions in relation to grants and land approbations (Barlow, 1996). New information is added to the current literature on Exeter through identification of the diverse influences on the liturgical observation as witnessed in EXcl 3515.

Format of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In the present chapter, the aims and the objectives of the study have been outlined and the structure of the thesis explained. The main research problems have been defined, justifying the potential contribution of EXcl 3515 to chant research. Within the literature review, previous writings are re-assessed in light of the themes relevant to the present study, outlining theories and methods used by chant scholars and palaeographers, their success and failures, while highlighting the areas of research that require further examination. It is necessary to draw on both quantitative and qualitative research methods to shed light on many of the topics throughout the current work.

Chapter Two addresses the problematic issues surrounding provenance and dating in the manuscript. It summarises the palaeographical and codicological elements of the noted missal, thus preparing a framework within which to analyse the various sections of the book. New data here has significant bearing on locating the manuscript and determining more accurately a *terminus post quem* for EXcl 3515. Having established an Exeter origin for the missal, Chapter Three examines the script hands in more detail. In this chapter new text hands are identified for the first time and relationships established between them. Through this analysis, it will be possible to specify features suggesting evidence of an Exeter 'house style'. Characteristics of these hands are

summarised, and made available for future chant research, thus adding a new corpus of hands to present scholarship.

In a similar way, Chapter Four examines the notations within the missal. This chapter proposes that EXcl 3515 provides a microcosm of the evolutionary stages of this type of Anglo-Norman notation, made possible by the new codicological rearrangement of the sections in the missal, identified in this project. An earlier archaic form, witnessed in the Common of Saints in EXcl 3515, evolves into a more mature square form to be seen in the Temporale. Detailed tables of notational elements will be provided in this chapter illustrating the graphic characteristics of the neumes in EXcl 3515. The chapter also focuses on the problems of defining Anglo-Norman notation and in particular highlights the difficulties surrounding regional classification in insular manuscripts. These findings have huge implications for the examination of notation development in England prior to the fully developed square form of the thirteenth century.

These earlier chapters are rooted in the palaeographical details of the manuscript, proposing an Exeter provenance for the book, consequently placing it more definitely in the Protogothic period of the late twelfth century through criteria based on analysis of the script and notational hands.

The final chapters discuss the liturgical content of EXcl 3515. Chapter Five, in particular, establishes the melodic tradition for the first time, while confirming the non-Sarum liturgy of the main text. Having presented a strong case for an Exeter provenance, this fifth chapter looks back to the earlier Anglo-Saxon liturgy at Exeter and forward to the Sarum rite, in order to establish the degree of continuity with EXcl 3515. For this purpose, a tripartite comparative study of prayers, chants and readings from the three primary sources is included. Non-standard items will be the focus of Chapter Six, setting up crossroads indicating various lines of transmission, and in particular, establishing compelling links with continental centres in the Loire region of France. Finally, Chapter Seven summarises the findings of the thesis, pointing to new areas of research and significant contributions to chant scholarship as a result of the findings of this work.

CHAPTER TWO

Codicology, Dating and Provenance of EXcl 3515

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to address the questions concerning the problematic provenance and dating of EXcl 3515. Extensive detailed catalogues of medieval English manuscripts have been supplied by scholars such as Frere (1894), Gneuss (1981, 2001), Ker (1964, 1977) and more recently, Hartzell (2006), which provide critical information, where possible, on the location, provenance and dating of insular sources. EXcl 3515 is listed in three catalogues: Ker (MLOGB, 1964), Ker (MMBL, 1977) and Hartzell (2006). Neither author specifies an Exeter provenance for the manuscript, but both agree on the use of the missal in a medieval Exeter diocese (Ker, 1977, p. 826; Hartzell, 2006, p. 184). Ker dates the main sections of the manuscript to the first half of the thirteenth century; in contrast, Hartzell posits an earlier date, favouring the late twelfth to early thirteenth century. The present thesis proposes the mid-to-late twelfth century as a more likely dating, based on new evidence, which will be discussed in this chapter.

Although EXcl 3515 is preserved as a complete notated missal, it is apparently the conscious result of the amalgamation of various sections to create a continuous whole. In fact, Hartzell recognises ‘four sections of disparate format which, despite overlaps, form a single book’ (Hartzell, 2006, p.184). The current study recognises anomalies in the dating of three of these sections, and therefore proposes a re-assessment of the chronological order of the book, the significance of which will be clarified below.³ Moreover, the present thesis refutes Hartzell’s claim of there being ‘disparate’ divisions in EXcl 3515. This new analysis reveals a close connection between sections that were previously considered unrelated. Moreover, recent information has come to light, in a series of unpublished letters between a number of scholars, which strengthens the arguments proposed here in relation to these contentious issues of provenance and chronology.⁴ For this purpose, a detailed codicological examination

³ It should be noted here that the fourth section comprises two added quires written by a fifteenth-century scribe. The focus of this study is the core sections of the manuscript, which belong to the earlier medieval period.

⁴ I am indebted to Peter Thomas, librarian at Exeter Cathedral, for bringing a box of materials relating to EXcl 3515 to my attention, just recently. Of particular interest are the series of correspondences between Christopher Hohler and Audrey Erskine (dated 1970), and an earlier correspondence between Frank Edward Brightman and John Dalton (dated 1928). A commentary by Chanter is also included.

of the manuscript will be provided, in an attempt to illustrate more clearly the chronological layering of this complicated book.

Decisive evidence for elucidating the origin and date of a manuscript can often be found in the Kalendar of a service book or through the inclusion of local saints in its Sanctorale. Although both of these important clues are missing from EXcl 3515, the current study shows that by drawing on comparative methods, based first on a collation of English Kalendars (pre- and post-Conquest) with a reconstructed Kalendar of EXcl 3515 (proposed here), and second, on a comparison of the liturgical content within the sections (especially where doubling of feasts occurs), it is possible to isolate those saints whose presence indicates local preference and/or local use.

Not only does an examination of the Sanctorale yield illuminating information about these central questions, but also an analysis of the liturgical observance in the Temporale reveals crucial information for positive identification of a Norman use. Unpublished remarks in letters written by Hohler in 1970, combined with the findings emerging from the current study, help to resolve these thorny issues. These topics will be addressed in the discussion below.

Of particular significance to the discussion is the inclusion of St Thomas of Canterbury in the late twelfth-century Exeter Kalendar (BL Harley 863), creating a *terminus post quem* of c.1173 for this Kalendar. The absence of this saint in EXcl 3515's liturgy is crucial evidence for suggesting this earlier dating for EXcl 3515. Several writers, including Oliver (1861), Lancefield (1913), and Duggan (2009), have made a strong case for a close connection between Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (1161–84) and the former Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1170); thus the inclusion of his feast is not surprising in BL Harley 863.⁵ Recent information has come to light in which Christopher Hohler asserts an Exeter origin for the Sanctorale based on the comparison he made between it and Harley 863. If the Sanctorale of EXcl 3515 does indeed represent the Exeter Cathedral tradition, the omission of Thomas Beckett could

⁵ Notes from a recent correspondence (29/10//09) with Beckett scholar and Emeritus Professor Anne J. Duggan, History Department, King's College London, Strand, London.

indicate a more precise pre-1173 dating for the manuscript, confirming its place among the twelfth-century corpus of liturgical manuscripts.⁶

Although the usual mainstream saints are listed in the Sanctorale, closer examination reveals some anomalies in comparison with pre- and shortly post-Conquest sources outlined below, suggesting a variety of influences and a possible upgrading of certain feasts days to reflect local custom. In particular, it should be noted here that the section designated below as the Main Sanctorale contains a curious mixture of Temporale feasts interpolated among the customary Sanctorale items. The evidence implies retention of archaic practices, and this will be explored further in later chapters on script and notation (Chapters Three and Four). Moreover, an irregular dating of a saint's feast day in EXcl 3515 points to an unexpected link with an earlier Anglo-Saxon Kalendar of Exeter origin (or association), London, BL Cotton MS. Vit. A xii (Wormald, vol. 1, 1934).⁷ For this purpose, a comparative study incorporating Wormald's summary of Anglo-Saxon Kalendars will be incorporated into the investigation in order to shed more light on the feasts included in EXcl 3515 (Wormald, 1934, 1939).

Historical documentation contributes valuable insights into locating and dating the missal at different periods in time; for example, a bishop's register provides a *terminus ante quem* for dating the donor inscription added to the missal by an Exeter Annuellar, and a late twelfth-century charter sheds illuminating light on the insertion of householders' names at the end of a quire. In addition, further significant evidence comes to light through a perusal of two of the three inventories that survive from Exeter Cathedral, dated 1327 and 1506, respectively. The implications of these results are significant to the main discussion concerning the provenance and dating of EXcl 3515. But first we will examine the structure and format of the manuscript EXcl 3515.

⁶ It should be noted that both prayers and chants for the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury appear as marginal additions on folio 13, inserted by two different scribes in the Temporale. Ker posits a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date for the entries (see Ker, 1977, p. 825).

⁷ Although Wormald attributes an Exeter origin to BL Cotton MS. Vit. A xii, it should be noted that the origin of the Kalendar has been refuted by Webber (see Orchard, I, 2002). The current study, however, recognises an anomaly that strengthens the links between EXcl 3515 and the earlier Kalendar.

Structure of EXcl 3515

Table 2.1 below provides an outline of the liturgical contents of the missal, based on the catalogue summaries given by Ker (1977) and Hartzell (2006). The missal opens directly with the First Sunday of Advent and continues sequentially through the liturgical year, providing masses as customary for the feasts of the Temporale, Sanctorale, Common of Saints, and including further items such as prayers, blessings and Votive masses.

TABLE 2.1
Summary of Liturgical Contents in EXcl 3515

1.	1-133 ^v	Temporale from the First Sunday of Advent to the end of the liturgical year. Several Masses in the post-Pentecostal section are without notation (f.119-122; 123v-133v)
2.	133 ^v -134	Mass for ' <i>De Sancta Maria</i> ' (notated)
3.	134 ^{IV}	Blessing of salt and water
4.	135-137	<i>In purificatione Sancta Marie</i> . Prayers used on Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and Easter Saturday. Includes offices or set of prayers for eight saints (no musical notation throughout). ' <i>Carta de Welesford</i> ' added list of names.
5.	138-151	Sanctorale from 2 February to 21 December starting with the Purification and ending with the feast of St Thomas the Apostle. Feasts of the Temporale are interspersed throughout, including Ash Wednesday (partial), Easter, Rogation, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity (all sections are notated).
6	151 ^v -159 ^v	Common of Saints (notated)
7.	159 ^v -160	Dedication of Church (notated)
8.	160-161	<i>De Sancta Cruce</i> (notated)
9.	161-163	<i>Missa de Sancta Maria</i> (with notation to the Gradual)
10.	163-166 ^v	<i>Missa de Sancta Maria</i> /Votive masses (There is no notation from this point on).
11.	166 ^v -169	Prefaces

12.	169 ^v -173	Canon of Mass (donor inscription inserted at end of page)
13.	173-174 ^v	<i>Missa pro defunctis</i>
14.	174 ^v -177	Masses for the dead
15.	177 ^v	Gloria 'added'
16.	178	Credo 'added'
17.	178 ^v	Blank

Codicological Outline of EXcl 3515

As previously noted, Hartzell recognises four disparate sections in EXcl 3515: the Temporale (Section I, ff. 1-134); a fragment containing prayers, blessings and offices or sets of prayers for eight saints (Section II, ff. 135-7); the Sanctorale (Section III, ff. 138-61), and finally, an addition of two fifteenth-century quires, containing various votive masses, prefaces and the Canon of the Mass (Section IV, ff. 163-77). Each of these sections starts at the beginning of a new folio, which could imply that these sections represent repairs to an incomplete book. None of these sections, however, has received substantial attention by chant scholars; the question as to whether they are chronologically and liturgically connected or not is addressed below.

Parts of the book, which at first sight seem disconnected, may be more united than previously supposed. Table 2.2 (see Appendix, p. 201) summarises the codicological format of EXcl 3515. The eight columns of this table summarise the structure of the book, including the manuscript's foliation and quire arrangement, main liturgical divisions, collation of folios, and marginal pricking, where visible. The modern quire numbering in the second column (based on Ker, 1977) does not follow the old referencing used in the manuscript (see final column). We find the designation for quire two (II) inserted at the end of the first gathering (of eight folios) instead of the expected reference to quire one (I); this implies that a Kalendar opened the missal, as was the customary procedure with service books (Hughes, 1982).

There is further evidence of contentious areas, highlighted by divisions in Table 2.2 in the following areas: quires 14, 18, 19 and 22. An analysis of the format of these sections reveals information on the chronological relationship of the sections to one

another. Although each of these sections constitutes an interruption to the original core manuscript, not only in the gatherings, but also in the number of lines per folio and at times, in the column presentation (double or horizontal format) there is also evidence of an underlying continuity throughout. For example, in the first part of the Temporale (henceforth T.1), at folio 110v there is an abrupt disruption to the almost continuous regular eight-quire system of the previous section;⁸ however, a new scribe (Scribe C) takes over the text (from Scribe B) in the middle of the Epistle, continuing the liturgy in a seamless manner to the end of the Temporale (hereafter T.2).⁹ This hand appears to be writing in a later style, yet the smooth continuity of the text points to a contemporary of the main scribes of T.1 (Scribes A and B): see the detailed comparison of the scribal hands in Chapter Three. Here it suffices to note that although the characteristics of Scribe C's hand might date this hand to the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century, other evidence suggests the scribe was a contemporary of Hand A and B.¹⁰ This assertion is further corroborated by a single brief appearance of Scribe C in T.1; here, we find an Alleluia (*Laudate Dominum*), with both notation and text supplied by this scribe. Moreover, it should be observed that the item occurs in the original core of the manuscript; therefore, it should not be considered a later addition or emendation (Alleluia, f. 107). This evidence confirms the contemporary dating of the three scribes (A, B and C).

Added Fragment (Section II)

As mentioned above, the second and third controversial codicological areas in EXcl 3515 can be located at the end of the Temporale (fols. 134-135) and the opening of the Sanctorale respectively (f. 138). One could argue that this section gives the impression of being a fragment from another manuscript inserted here in order to provide a quick but imperfect solution to omissions in the Main Sanctorale. In fact, Ker (1977) proposes that this added quire (18) might act as a type of supplement to the ensuing Sanctorale (see both Tables 2.1 and 2.2). The hand, the gathering and the lines per folio all indicate a distinct origin from the rest of the manuscript. In this

⁸ It should be noted that at fols. 81-90v a series of ten quires occurs, but there is no evidence of a disruption to the flow of the text here.

⁹ The Epistle is part of the Mass for the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost

¹⁰ The evidence of the following chapters points to the second half of the twelfth century in dating the main sections of the manuscript.

added fragment of three folios, we find prayers and blessings suitable for special liturgies, including the Purification, Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday. What is very significant however, is the inclusion of prayers or offices for eight saints.¹¹

In addition, Ker (1977) observes that the script is a much earlier hand (identified here as Scribe D). However, the evidence here will show how this scribe also contributed to T.1, briefly emending three Gospel texts. Consequently, Scribe D must post-date the main scribes of the Temporale (T.1).¹² I would argue therefore, that this fragment (fols 135-137) acts as a Supplementary Sanctorale (henceforth SS).

Main Sanctorale (Section III)

At the opening of the Sanctorale (hereafter, Main Sanctorale or [MainS], to distinguish it from the Supplementary Sanctorale), the third disruption to the continuity of the manuscript is evident. There are no rubrics at the opening; horizontal lines replace the previous pattern of double columns; the script is poor in comparison to that of the preceding sections; and the number of lines per folio varies (see Appendix, quire 19, Table 2.2). The section (MainS) opens directly with the Feast of the Purification (Feb 2), consequently omitting January items. Other peculiarities are also evident: six feasts of the Temporale are interpolated among those of the MainS (in addition to the Christmas period) and these are listed in their correct liturgical chronology from Ash Wednesday to Trinity Sunday. It should be noted that with the exception of the Trinity feast the remaining five Temporale dates are located in the main Temporale (T.1).¹³ Consequently, we have the unusual occurrence of repeated feasts. Moreover, two rubrics, referring to two different feasts, indicate that the [missing] chants for the feast of the Trinity and a liturgy for St Clement should be found elsewhere in the ‘book’, thus providing significant evidence of an incomplete

¹¹ The prayers include the collect, secret and postcommunion; ‘office’ refers to the inclusion of the chant items, introit, gradual, alleluia or tract, offertory and communion in addition to the three mass prayers.

¹² In each case Scribe C revises one line of text in each Gospel.

¹³ The feast of the Trinity was not officially introduced into the Church Calendar until 1334 by Pope John XXII. The feast was observed, however, in many places in Anglo-Saxon England on the Sunday after Pentecost Sunday (see Raw, 1997).

manuscript.¹⁴ As a result, both the external and internal evidence suggests that the MainS was very likely intended for use as an independent book with a specific liturgical function.

Later Additions (Section IV)

The final insertion of two quires occurs at the end of the Sanctorale during the middle of the final Mass for the BVM (see Appendix, Table 2.2 quires 22-23). Once again the liturgy is completed without interruption to the flow of the text, this time added by a fifteenth-century hand. This final section, of course, does not belong to the original core manuscript, but it does complement it. There is an obvious conscious effort in EXcl 3515 to include all the material necessary for the completion of a full and comprehensive Mass liturgy for the full year. Liturgical material such as votive Masses, prefaces and the Canon of the Mass is included in this addendum.

Summary

EXcl 3515 is thus built from at least four separate manuscript sources. This conclusion is confirmed by both external evidence, based on the gatherings and layout of the book, and internal evidence, based on the degree of continuity or disruption of the text at particular points. We can more firmly establish, through the codicological information given here, that both sections of the Temporale (T.1 and T.2) were written by contemporary scribes, and that the added Supplement post-dates both the Temporale (T.1) and the Main Sanctorale (MainS), although the script has some apparently older characteristics. Moreover, the evidence, and such features as the use of horizontal lines and the intermingling of Temporale with Sanctorale feasts, corroborates the findings of later chapters, identifying the MainS as the oldest section of the missal. In fact, the MainS can be recognised as a separate book independent of the other parts, although still successfully fulfilling its function as a Sanctorale for EXcl 3515. In the following section, a closer examination of the feast days in both the Main and Supplementary Sanctorales will be discussed, particularly in relation to their

¹⁴ Scribe E (in the MainS, f. 143) refers to the location of the Trinity chants in the marriage service; the second rubric is inserted by a later scribe as a marginal addition stating: *festum sancti clementis epistola rogo...*(f. 150v).

contribution towards resolving the questionable issues that arise in relation to the provenance and dating of the various parts of EXcl 3515.

Reconstructed Kalendar for EXcl 3515

As previously noted, the Kalendar of a liturgical book often gives crucial evidence of its provenance. Unfortunately, EXcl 3515 lacks this vital clue. Since the presence of local saints in a Sanctorale can also be strongly indicative of the provenance of a liturgical source, in the absence of this key evidence in EXcl 3515, the present study will attempt to recreate a Kalendar for EXcl 3515, based on the distribution of feasts in the Main Sanctorale and the Supplementary Sanctorale.

This reconstructed Kalendar (see Table 2.3 in the Appendix, p. 203) can be used as a reference chart for comparing dates and for the grading of feasts in both Sanctorales. In Table 2.3 feasts from both the MainS and SS are inserted in the order in which they appear in the missal, and are placed in separate columns. Italics are used to differentiate between the entries of both Sanctorales. As customary, more important feasts (referred to as ‘offices’ in the text) have full sets of prayers, chants and readings; by contrast, lesser feasts receive three prayers, namely, the collect, secret and postcommunion. For clarification, fully properised feasts (offices) are underlined in the reconstructed Kalendar and the Temporale feasts are highlighted in bold font.

In all, apart from the Temporale feasts, the MainS gives eight full offices (including John Baptist, Peter and Paul, Exaltation of the Cross, Michael, All Saints, and Andrew). Of course, feasts for the BVM are provided with chants and prayers, but the Annunciation is curiously omitted. By contrast, the added fragment (SS) provides merely four offices: St Paul, Chair of Peter, St Mark, and the Invention of the Cross.

Of particular interest are the inclusion of less universal saints such as St Blaise and St Leonard and the controversial feast of the Conception. Furthermore, of equal interest is the exclusion of St George and (possibly) St Thomas of Canterbury in the MainS. In the Kalendar, we find also the location of the Temporale feasts interpolated among the Sanctorale dates (between the months of March and May). An examination of

these feasts will be included in a comparative analysis based on a broader survey of Kalendars representing medieval English liturgies.

Saints venerated in the SS

Two feasts listed in the SS deserve closer attention: St George and St Blaise. As noted earlier, the omission of St George in the MainS is surprising. A survey of Wormald's Anglo-Saxon Kalendars reveals full provision for St George in all nineteen sources (Wormald, 1934). It should be noted here that Wormald's collection includes two earlier Kalendars of Exeter origin, namely, the tenth-century Oxford Bodley 579 (the Leofric Missal, or LM hereafter), and an eleventh-century Kalendar, London British Library, Cotton Vitellius, A. XII (henceforth Vit A below).¹⁵ St George is present in both of these sources. Moreover, Whatley and others assert that St George held great importance in the medieval liturgy, graded only just below the Temporale and Sanctorale feast days of the highest rank (Whatley, Thompson and Upchurch, 2004). Whatley (ibid.) also notes the presence of St George's relics in Anglo-Saxon Exeter. Further confirmation of St George at Exeter is found in LM, where he is referred to in a list of relics '*De capite et Reliquiis Sancti georgi martyris*' (Orchard, 2002, II, p.10). For that reason, the exclusion of St George from the MainS suggests a different exemplar for this book. This piece of evidence points away from Exeter and suggests perhaps a continental source. The SS apparently rectifies this omission in bringing the source into line with local Use.

St Blaise

The feast of St Blaise does not occur in the MainS but is once again supplied by the SS. In contrast to St George, St Blaise is less often present in Anglo-Saxon calendars with no more than four representatives in Wormald's collection, associated with Canterbury, Wells, Sherborne and Exeter (Wormald, 1934).

¹⁵ Orchard draws our attention to the questionable Exeter provenance of the manuscript BL Cotton MS A Vit. A xii. He refers to Webber's identification of Salisbury's scribes (scribes 11 and viii) to this manuscript (Orchard, 2002, I, p. 54).

Curiously, however, the sequence of feasts is not in the usual order in the SS. The feast of Blaise is customarily celebrated on the 3 February. According to the sequence of entries in the SS, St Blaise is located after St George (23 April) but before Mark (25 April), thereby, implying the 24 April as the alternative date for the celebration of this saint. It should be noted that previous feasts listed in the SS follow the usual pattern of Kalendar dates and are not inserted in a random manner. Wormald's survey of English Kalendars from the Anglo-Saxon period to the later Middle Ages confirms the 3rd of February as the official date for Blaise, except in one eleventh-century source, Vit. A, which coincidentally is associated with Exeter (Wormald, 1934; 1939; 1946). Here, St. Blaise is assigned to the 17 June.

This curious dating for St Blaise in EXcl 3515 may reflect a local tradition. Historical documentation records the veneration of St Blaise in England as the patron saint of Woolcombers, with churches dedicated to the saint (thirteenth century) in both Devon and Cornwall, for example, in the village of Haccombe, Newton Abbot in Devon (diocese of Exeter; see Stabb, 1908-16) and St Austell (Bartlett, 1856).

Supplementary Sanctorale?

Full offices are assigned to four of the eight feasts in the SS, including the Conversion of St Paul, Chair of Peter, St Mark and the Invention of the Cross, all of which, with the exception of St Paul (in January), are quoted in the MainS. The script and general appearance of the fragment set it apart from the Temporale and the following Sanctorale. At first sight, it would appear that this fragment was originally from a different source, affixed later to the MainS as a hasty and temporary solution, due to its dearth of January saints.

Within the SS, the non-January feasts with offices (Chair of Peter, St Mark, and Invention of the Cross) may include the three Mass prayer sets as incipits or exclude them completely, giving only the chant items. The corresponding feasts in the MainS are classified as lower-grade feasts; each is supplied with the customary three prayers (collect, secret and postcommunion) and unaccompanied by chants and readings. This pattern is evident for the feast of the Chair of Peter (22 February), where the opening prayer (collect) is given as an incipit, and both the secret and postcommunion are

totally absent, but the ‘missing’ prayers are located in full in the MainS. Scribe C must have had MainS to hand and knew the prayers were supplied therein, hence their omission in the SS. By contrast, the sole January feast classified as an office, namely, that of St Paul, is not duplicated in MainS. It is represented in the SS by a complete set of prayers with the complementary chants and readings. This suggests that the scribe of this added fragment wrote the quire specifically to supply not only the missing January saints, but to upgrade the lower ranking feast of St Paul, possibly to bring it into line with more modern practices.

Hohler (unpublished, 1970) asserts that the SS is part of an incomplete book, probably copied incompetently from a defective exemplar with missing feasts, and should most likely be placed after the Main Sanctorale. He points to the incorrect dating for St Blaise and an unusual introit verse for St Paul. These contentious comments will be considered here and later in Chapter Five. Examples of similar apparent liturgical anomalies can be found in other insular sources (see Chapter Five). However, Hohler also suggests that the SS must represent an archdeacon’s book for use in a village church; he stresses the extreme rarity of this type of service book and the significance therefore of EXcl 3515. Moreover, he asserts that this unique fragment must represent the Norman Use of Exeter before the adoption of Sarum Use at a later period (Hohler, *ibid.*)

The current study concurs partially with Hohler’s observations. Through the information provided here it is now possible for the first time to assign the MainS to an earlier period in the chronological restructuring of the various sections of EXcl 3515. Because of my identification of Scribe D in both the SS and the T.1, we can safely assert that not only the MainS but also T.1 pre-date the Supplementary Sanctorale. In my opinion, the results of the current study establish more clearly the relationship of the SS both to the MainS and the Temporale. Hohler did not recognise this relationship between the sections. The findings here indicate that the added fragment was consciously written not only to bring the liturgy in the Sanctorale into line with Exeter Use in the twelfth century but also to supply missing material.

Anomalies in the Main Sanctore

In the previous section, the link between the SS and the MainS of EXcl 3515 was addressed. The unusual intermingling of Temporale and Sanctore feasts, a possible indicator of archaic practice, affirms that the MainS was a type of independent book. At some stage in its history, the January section of the MainS was damaged or lost. In fact, if we follow the pattern of the book, we could speculate that earlier Temporale feasts (post St Thomas the Apostle) such as Christmas, St Stephen, and St John the Evangelist and Holy Innocents were originally part of this core Sanctore. However, as these important high-graded feasts appear in their correct position in the Temporale (T.1), Scribe C did not need to replace them. In the previous section, the peculiar positioning of Blaise's feast day was addressed in the SS. Further anomalies exist in the MainS and will be examined in the following section.

Reference was made in the examination of the reconstructed Kalendar for EXcl 3515 above to the inclusion of mainstream saints in the MainS. Although lacking in obvious clues for establishing provenance, peculiarities in the MainS provide essential material for undertaking a fruitful investigation. Key consideration here is the grading of feasts, as is the omission of certain feasts. Both issues will be part of the comparison of three Kalendars of Exeter origin or association referred to above, the two earliest dating from the Anglo-Saxon period (LM and Vit A) and the latest, a witness from the later twelfth century (HAR), (see Appendix, Table 2.4, p. 204).

In Table 2.4 the saints listed in the MainS and SS are compared with the corresponding feasts in other Kalendars: bold print highlights the peculiar presence of the Temporale items in EXcl 3515; an asterisk (*) indicates a feast of lesser grading; 'Office' is inserted where relevant to confirm the higher grading of the feast in the respective Kalendar; 'X' indicates the omission of the feast in the manuscript; and ellipses (...) are used to show omissions in the SS, which is fragmentary by nature, and as shown, provides liturgy for only a limited number of saints.

Ker gives thirty-seven feasts for the MainS, but excludes the Vigil of All Saints, hence, thirty-eight items is the correct total (Ker, 1977, p. 825). Six of these items, however, belong to the Temporale, and will not be included in the comparative

investigation here. If we add the eight feasts of the SS to the remaining thirty-two feasts in the MainS (of which three are duplicated), the total number for examination remains at thirty-seven altogether (see Table 2.4).

Comparison of Twelfth-Century Kalendars

EXcl 3515 and HAR generally agree in the grading of feasts (31/37). EXcl 3515 and the eleventh-century Exeter Kalendar Vit A, are less closely aligned (27/37); while a concordance of c.60% is evident with LM (21/37). Six differences occur between EXcl 3515 and HAR, either in grading of feast or in the exclusion of items: in particular, the Chains of Peter and St Katherine are classified as Offices only in HAR; on the other hand, EXcl 3515 designates the Conversion of Paul and feast of St Mark as Offices; and finally, EXcl 3515 lacks the feast of the Annunciation, while HAR omits the feast of the Conception. The SS brings the EXcl 3515 liturgy more closely in line with HAR, since it includes offices for both the Chair of Peter and the Invention of the Cross, and inserts St Blaise and St George also. The findings establish a close connection between the two twelfth-century sources (EXcl 3515 and HAR).

Of particular interest is the inclusion of the Feast of the Conception in the MainS. Historical evidence points to a rather controversial development of this feast in England during the early stages of the twelfth century. That the feast was widely observed in Anglo-Saxon times has been illustrated by Clayton (1990) and confirmed by Orchard (2002) and Knowles (1966); it is found in sources from Winchester, as well as Worcester, Canterbury and Exeter. Yet, with the arrival of the Normans and Lanfranc, the feast was rejected in many centres due to theological debate, and was not reintroduced until possibly the early 1120s by Anselm, nephew to St. Anselm at Bury (Clayton, 1990). The acceptance of the feast was not widespread. Strong opposition to the feast of the Conception was still asserted by some clerics, until the debate was finally resolved by a council held in London in 1129, in which the feast was 'solemnly confirmed' (Knowles, 1966, p. 512). Knowles points to centres such as St Albans, Gloucester and Winchcombe, where this feast was observed during this period of time. There is no conclusive evidence that the feast of the Conception was

re-instated in all centres. In fact, it was not until the early fourteenth century that the feast was re-established officially at Canterbury (Reames, 2003).

The Leofric Missal gives evidence of the observation of the Conception at Exeter in the eleventh century (see Table 2.4). Both Clayton (*ibid*) and Orchard (2002) point to the Winchester Missal, Le Havre 330, as the most likely source for the collect, secret and postcommunion assigned to the Conception in the LM. All three prayers agree with those of EXcl 3515, except for the final line of the postcommunion.¹⁶ Although LM is a strong candidate for continued support of the feast at Exeter in pre-Conquest England, there is no further witness to confirm the re-establishment of the feast at Exeter in the post-Conquest era, except perhaps EXcl 3515.

The absence of the feast in HAR suggests that observance of the feast was not sustained at Exeter in the later twelfth century, but the omission may also mirror the views of the bishop in office at this time. Because of the inclusion of main Temporale feasts in the MainS, we can perhaps speculate that the celebrant used this type of book for times when he was officiating at different places during festal periods only. Alternatively, it is possible that the exemplar behind the Sanctorale reflects earlier practices, in which Temporale and Sanctorale feasts were very often intermingled (Hiley, 1993) or as a reflection of Parisian practice, which Hohler argues, can be found in missals up to the thirteenth century (Hohler, *ibid.*).

Feast of the Annunciation

One explanation for the omission of an important feast such as the Annunciation may be found in the retention of an older tradition. The interpolation of the Temporale feasts within the Sanctorale items has already been noted. Lapidge asserts that the omission of certain feasts in Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon Sanctorale can only be explained by the interpolation of the Temporale items (Lapidge, 1996). He refers in particular to two sets of dates, highlighting first the dates between 22 March and 18 April, and secondly those between May and the end of June, both of which are sparsely represented by feast days (Lapidge, 1996). The thin representation of feast days in the

¹⁶ Folio 151v: Exeter scribe adds '*a peccatis evuamur ...*'; see corresponding prayer in Orchard, II, 2002 (item: 2917).

reconstructed Kalendar for EXcl 3515 (see Appendix, Table 2.3) is strikingly similar. In the MainS, there is no feast listed between that of St Gregory (12 March) and the feast of St Mark located towards the end of April (25 April); similarly, there is a gap between the Invention of the Cross (3 May) and St John the Baptist (24 June). Both these contentious areas are filled with Temporale dates instead. Therefore, the explanation for the missing Annunciation feast may well lie in this retention of outdated customs and as such may add to the accumulated data to date, which proposes an earlier dating for this section of the manuscript. On the other hand, it could be argued that the Annunciation may have been omitted simply because it was included in the Temporale of an ancestor-manuscript.

St Thomas of Canterbury

The late twelfth-century Exeter Kalendar (HAR) may also provide a vital clue to the dating of EXcl 3515. The provision for St Thomas of Canterbury in HAR testifies to the high esteem and early veneration of St Thomas of Canterbury at Exeter. The entry provides a persuasive *terminus post quem* of c.1173 as the earliest date for the manuscript. In the light of this information, it may be possible to ascribe a pre-1173 date consequently for EXcl 3515. Exeter held a special connection to the Canterbury archbishop and reports indicate that on the 29 December 1173, his friend, Bishop Bartholomew, gave the sermon at the canonisation ceremony at Canterbury, just three years after his murder (Oliver, 1861). It should be noted that Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter, although an earlier adversary, became a staunch advocate and supporter to the exiled archbishop in later years (Oliver, 1861).

Slocum argues that the pope introduced the feast day of St Thomas of Canterbury as early as 1173 (Slocum 2004, p. 137). It is widely accepted that St Thomas was venerated not only throughout England, but also on the continent very soon after his canonisation. Hughes asserts that the 'texts and chants of the main rhymed Office for the feast of St Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, were composed by Abbot Benedict of Peterborough between 1170 and 1177 (or perhaps 1193)' (Hughes, 1988, p.185). We can only speculate that the early presence of St Thomas Beckett in HAR and simultaneously the omission of his feast day in the Main Sanctorale, imply a pre-1173 dating for EXcl 3515, especially in the light of the high esteem given to the

archbishop at Exeter. On the other hand, it is possible that the feast could have been in the missing portion of the Temporale.

Ember Days

Further vital clues of an Exeter provenance are found in an examination of the liturgical contents of the Temporale. Brightman (unpublished, 1928) observed the unusual position of the September Ember Days in both EXcl 3515 and the Leofric Missal. Liturgically these three penitential days, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday are observed between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Sundays after Pentecost. The arrangement in the sources varies. Brightman (unpublished, 1928) conducted a comparative survey of several main insular sources, based on the Uses of Sarum, Westminster, York and Exeter with the liturgies of the Gregorian and Gelasian sacramentaries. All of the English sources, except for the two Exeter missals, follow the Gregorian procedure, which gives the post-Pentecostal series of Sundays from the First Sunday of Pentecost (or Trinity) to the Twenty-third (or up to Twenty-fifth) Sunday without interruption (Wilson, 1915; Deshusses, 1971). The liturgy of the September Ember days is provided therefore after the post-Pentecostal Sundays in these sources (Frere, 1894). In contrast, the corresponding series of post-Pentecostal Sundays is broken in the Gelasian tradition (which represents an earlier period in the development of the Mass liturgy) between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays, by the inclusion of Masses for the three Ember days at this point in the sacramentary (Wilson, 1894).¹⁷ Similarly, both EXcl 3515 and the Leofric Missal apparently adhere to the Gelasian tradition of breaking the post-Pentecostal dominical series by inserting the Ember Days' liturgy. No other known secular use retains this older practice. Thus, Brightman concludes that the retention of the Gelasian prayers in EXcl 3515 points to a direct link with the Leofric Missal and provides evidence of an Exeter Use in the later missal.

¹⁷ Of course, it should be noted that liturgically the Ember Days take place between the two Sundays specified above but their location in the manuscript source may not reflect this (as noted in the Gregorian tradition).

Marginal Additions

Donation Inscription

A donor inscription inserted by a chantry priest in the fifteenth century gives us helpful information in tracing the later history of EXcl 3515. According to an entry at the bottom of f. 169:

Dominus Iohannes Hyotte Annuellarius in Ecclesia Cath' Exon' contulit hunc librum
Missale deo et capelle sancta Anne in paroch' sancta Satiuole situat' ob honore sancta
anne et beati Iohannis Euang' ibidem pro celebrant' quamdiu durauerit remansurum.

An examination of this inscription reveals that the Annuellar, Johannes Hyotte, is donating this missal to St Anne's chapel, which is located in the parish of St Sidwell, in honour of St Anne and St John the Evangelist, for as long as it may be required (Ker, 1977, p. 826). Fortunately, Orme's exhaustive study of the medieval clerics of Exeter Cathedral has traced Hyotte in the medieval registers (Orme, 1980). Confirmation of Hyotte's chantry duties can be found in Bishop Lacy's (1420–55) register (Orme, *ibid.*).¹⁸ Inspecting his attachments to the various chantries at the cathedral allows us to trace his activities at the Cathedral over a period of some fifty years, dating from 1445 to 1499 (Orme, 1980). As a result, we can confirm the location of EXcl 3515 at Exeter in the fifteenth century. At some stage, during this period, Hyotte bestowed EXcl 3515 as a gift to St Anne's Church, relocating the missal to this new establishment, where it apparently remained for some unknown period before it was returned to the Cathedral library.

¹⁸ Orme (1981) includes the following information on Hyotte, based on the bishops' registers' of Exeter Cathedral: John Yott (Hiott, Hyott, Iott, Yeot, Yot, Yotte) 13 March 1445, Grandisson chantry (Bishop Lacy's register, i, 299), 8 April 1449 (*ibid.*, i, 338); Occupied E term 1450 **Branescombe** and Brewer **chantry** (2596/10). Vac. E term 1456 (2596/11). Adm. J term 1456 Courtenay chantry (*ibid.*). Vac. J term 1457 (2596/12). Adm. J term 1347, Stafford chantry (*ibid.*). Vac. C term 1498-9 (2598/10).

Worthy asserts that St Anne's Chapel was built in 1418 and 'from a very early, but uncertain, period belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter' (Worthy, 1892, p. 51). Cresswell informs us that an older building existed before the erection of St Anne's, but the original date remains unknown (Cresswell, 1908). Orme gives 1417 for the founding of St Anne's Chapel, identifying the founder as one John Wygwar, who was also an Annuellar at Exeter Cathedral (Orme, 1996). Historical evidence points to a somewhat turbulent history for this chapel. The building was transformed into an almshouse (1561 and 1617) during the Reformation, after becoming the property of the Mainwaring family (Cresswell, 1908). There are reports of damage to the building during the Civil War in 1641, but restoration activity is dated to both 1848 and 1907, the latter accredited to the dean and chapter of Exeter Cathedral.¹⁹

The removal of EXcl 3515 to St Anne's Church helps to explain not only its survival through the Reformation period, but also its non-appearance among the many books donated to the Bodleian Library by the cathedral's dean and chapter in 1602 (Lloyd, 1967).

The book has been preserved in a soft chemise over wooden boards, wrapped in a white leather, dating to the fifteenth century. The cathedral accounts record expenditures on the building of a new library and the restoration and binding of books in the early fifteenth century (Clarke, 1902). Clarke argues that the work on the library books began in 1412, persisting for some forty weeks, ending in 1413 (Clarke, *ibid.*). Therefore, it seems likely that the present binding of EXcl 3515 dates from this period and that the quires at the end of the book were added at this time (1412 or 1413).

Missale Vetus: 1327 Inventory

Oliver (1861) identifies three inventories that have survived from Exeter Cathedral, dating from the eleventh century to the turn of the sixteenth century (dating from

¹⁹ Information noted by Worthy (1892) in his summary of the suburbs of Exeter. Very little information is available on the history of St Anne's Chapel. The notes here are available online from the following website:

http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_churches/stannes.php (accessed 4 May 2011)

1072, 1327 and 1501 respectively). Many liturgical and service books are listed in these inventories, only a few of which are still identifiable with manuscripts still in the cathedral library today. Nevertheless, the reference to fourteen missals, ‘quatuordecim missalia’, in the 1327 inventory has led scholars such as Maxted (2001) and Erskine (1972) to identify two present-day *in situ* missals, notably EXcl 3515 and EXcl 3510 as being among the sources quoted therein.²⁰ On the other hand, Erskine points to the difficulty of identifying catalogue entries with accuracy (Erskine, 1972, p. 46). Moreover, the recognition of a manuscript does not necessarily reveal its original provenance, although it does confirm its location (Erskine, 1972). Of special interest, therefore, are Chanter’s observations. Chanter (unpublished, [1885-1931]) asserts that EXcl 3515 is clearly identifiable among the missal entries in the 1327 inventory.²¹ He directs our attention to the title ‘*Missale vetus*’ inserted at the opening of the manuscript and argues that EXcl 3515 has always been referred to by this name at Exeter and that it can be safely identified in Subdean Brailegh’s 1327 Inventory under the fifth heading, ‘*Vetus notatum*’. It should be noted that Erskine observes that the early fourteenth-century inventory is most likely to be a copy of an original exemplar dating back to the end of the twelfth century, with more recent items added later (Erskine, 1972, p. 49). Therefore, many of the items mentioned in it could date from at least 150 years earlier. Finally, the findings suggest that a positive identification of EXcl 3515 in the 1327 inventory is possible, particularly in the light of Chanter’s observations noted above. If we concur with Chanter, then the missal is identifiable at Exeter in the early fourteenth century.

²⁰ Ker dates EXcl 3510 to the second half of the thirteenth century; it should be noted here that the missal is based on the Use of Sarum and is not notated (Ker, MMBL, 1977).

²¹ I am indebted to Peter Thomas, librarian at Exeter Cathedral for access to Chanter’s notes on EXcl 3515.

Wesford: List of Names

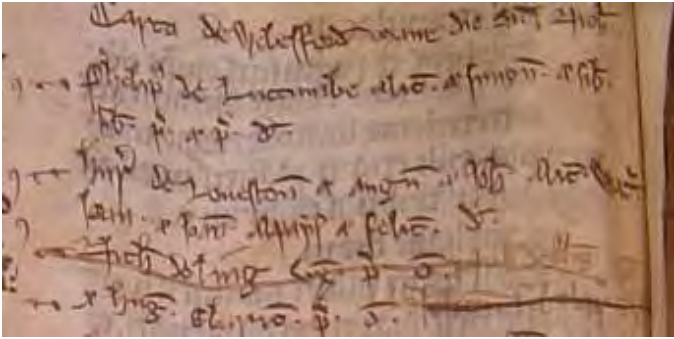


Plate 2.1: EXcl 3515 (f. 137v)

A marginal list of names inserted on the outside gathering of a quire (at the end of the SS, f. 137v) provides a very important clue in tracing the manuscript back some hundred years earlier to a parish, possibly in the Exeter diocese. The inscription refers to a place named ‘Wesford’ (see Plate 2.1). This additional material led both Hartzell (2006) and Ker (1977) to agree on the use of the missal in a Devon parish, but its identity remains unexplored to date.

In all, twenty-seven names are itemised, each accompanied by a certain sum of money and many of the entries are crossed out, giving the appearance of a list. Ker maintains that this record refers most likely to householders’ names (Ker, 1977, p. 826). In addition, he dates the list to the early thirteenth century (Ker, *ibid.*). Surnames such as *de Luccombe*, *Doling*, *de Louseston*, are found among the various entries. The amounts of money vary from a penny (p), to a farthing (o) (Ker, *ibid.* p. 826; see also Plate 2.1 above). Among the medieval charters from Exeter Cathedral, edited by Barlow, one deed may be relevant to the present discussion; the charter is attributed to Bishop Marshall (1194-1206), and may shed light on the Wesford list (Barlow, 1996). Barlow gives the following summary, dating the deed to the end of the twelfth or very early thirteenth century (1198 x 1206):

...mandate to archdeacons and officials to enforce the custom of Pentecostal processions and oblations to the cathedral church. Every chaplain is to maintain a nominal roll of parishioners, according to manors, and be responsible on behalf of all

who have a hearth and the means to pay for at least one halfpenny a head. The names of defaulters are to be reported and the guilty excluded from communion.

(Barlow, p. 170, 1996, Acta XII)²²

The money attached to the list of names could reflect the sums of payment or non-payment by parishioners towards the Pentecostal processions, outlined in the charter above. Geographically, Welesford is located in the Hartland region of North Devon, in the parish of Hartland.²³ Here we find reference to a monastery of secular canons, founded by Githa, wife of Earl Godwin, which changed to regular canons in the twelfth century, through permission granted by Geoffrey de Dinant, who was Lord of Hartland manor at this time (MB, pp. 250-72). To date, there are no surviving records to prove that Hartland belonged to Exeter Cathedral, although the dean and chapter owned vast areas of property both in Devon and Cornwall (Oliver, 1861). Yet, there is information, although scarce, confirming both communication and contact between Hartland and Exeter Cathedral during the Middle Ages.²⁴

One medieval deed dated to 1335 and sent by the Abbot of Hartland to Exeter survives, agreeing to celebrate the anniversary of Bishop Stapleton's death (d. 1326), whom they regarded as a generous benefactor.²⁵ In addition, there is evidence to suggest that during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, two Exeter bishops visited Hartland Abbey. The first occasion was the consecration of the Abbey by Bishop Bartholomew in 1160, while the second reference alluded to Bishop Stapledon's (1308-26) visit in 1319 (MG, 1822). Stapledon directs attention to the ruinous condition of the Abbey, and speaks of a new church then about to be erected (MG, *ibid.*).

²² Source for the charter is given by Barlow as: Exeter: DRO, Bishops' registers 4 (Grandisson) f. 191r, including the latin text which reads as follows '*H, dei gratia Exoniensis episcopus dilectis in Cristo filiis univrsis archidiaconis et eorum officialigus per episcopatu Exoniensem constitutes.*' (Barlow, Acta XII, pp. 170-71).

²³ Welesford farm can be located today, in the Northwest tip of Devon (Place Names of Devon, <http://genuki.cs.ncl.ac.uk/DEV/Hartland>): accessed 25 February 2011; see also, Parishes: Haccombe-Hittesleigh in *Magna Britannia* (vol.6): Devonshire, 1822.

²⁴ In a recent correspondence, Ms. Angela Doughty, archivist at Exeter Cathedral, states that there is no known charter to confirm that Hartland belonged to Exeter Cathedral; she emphasises, however, that although documentary proof is lacking, it is still possible that Hartland was one of the many parishes belonging to Exeter, which had vast properties extending throughout Devon and Cornwall during the medieval period.

²⁵ I am indebted to Ms. Doughty for this information.

The inclusion of the list of names at the end of the SS points to Hartland Parish as the place of location for EXcl 3515 in the early thirteenth century. This suggests that the SS and MainS were prepared at Exeter first, prior to export. In fact, the lack of local saints in the Sanctoralia may be a good indication of a book prepared for use outside the institution to which the scriptorium was attached. Nevertheless, it could also be argued that EXcl 3515 was merely patched together from bits of old service books lying around in the cathedral in order to serve for the time being in a remote parish church.

Conclusions

The absence of a Kalendar in EXcl 3515, combined with the lack of local saints in the Sanctoralia lends a neutral quality to the missal and renders the task of establishing provenance and dating more difficult. Assessment of the evidence, however, indicates that EXcl 3515 is a composite book but not as disparate as previously held. A comparison of the feasts in EXcl 3515 with the twelfth-century Exeter Kalendar (HAR) shows EXcl 3515 to be the earlier of these two representatives of an Exeter liturgy. The exclusion of St Thomas of Canterbury in EXcl 3515 indicates a pre-1173 dating for the book. The findings point to twelfth-century components (T.1; T.2; MS and SS). In particular, we may conjecture that the Main Sanctoralia was originally a separate book, perhaps written at Exeter, not for local use, but for export. At a slightly later stage, an Exeter scribe (here identified as Scribe C), added the Supplementary Sanctoralia, in order to restore the missing January saints and revise the grading of feasts, thereby bringing the missal into line with Exeter Use (as witnessed in HAR). As the later hand, Scribe C provides the key to unlocking the chronological layers of the missal. That the remaining hands within the sections are close contemporaries of one another, confirms the continuity of the liturgical observance and the dating of the manuscript suggested above.

Further observations by Hohler (*ibid.*) and Brightman (unpublished, 1928) underpin the arguments presented in this study. By comparison with secular sources (Sarum, York, Westminster and Exeter [based on the Leofric Missal]), the unique prayers in the SS and the inclusion of St Leonard led Hohler and Brightman to identify a distinct

Use, the Use of Exeter. In particular, crucial evidence of an Exeter provenance was provided by the identification of liturgical links between EXcl 3515 with the Leofric Missal, based on the placement of the Ember days in these two sources. No other secular source, apart from EXcl 3515 and the Leofric Missal, breaks the Gregorian continuity between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays after Pentecost. It is apparently unique to Exeter.

Historical documentation permits one to trace the location of EXcl 3515 either at Exeter or in a Devon parish between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Therefore, in this chapter, the evidence suggests that EXcl 3515 provides a full liturgy despite the disparate format of the sections. In sum, the findings point clearly to an Exeter provenance and a mid-twelfth century dating. It is the sole surviving witness of a secular Use that pre-dates Sarum and on this account its value cannot be underestimated.

CHAPTER THREE

Protogothic Script of EXcl 3515

Introduction

This chapter examines the script hands in EXcl 3515. Both Ker (1977) and Hartzell (2006) recognise two hands, which they classify as poor and better. Apart from this general observation, no further research into the scripts has been published. It is the intention here to address this lacuna. By drawing on established palaeographical evidence it may be possible not only to establish relative and absolute chronologies for the scripts but also to provide a classification by which their characteristics can be recognised.

As shown in Chapter Two, EXcl 3515 comprises four main sections. The current study breaks new ground by identifying ten scribes in the various sections of the missal. The characteristics of these scribal hands root the manuscript in the ‘Protogothic’ style prevalent in England during the twelfth century, with some sections dating from as early as c.1160. The characteristics of the various hands are traced below, while comparative studies of the main hands enable us to make new assessments of questions of provenance and chronology in the manuscript and to explore anew the question of scriptorium activities in the South West of medieval England. The various scripts within the manuscript are ideal material on which to base the study of a scribally transitional era. In addition, although few in number, datable Exeter sources will be used for script comparison, and the collection of contemporary manuscripts of known Exeter provenance or connection housed in the Bodleian Library will form the material for an attempt to identify a possible house style.

Protogothic Script

Manuscripts exhibit constant change not only in script and decoration, but [also] in all the processes which go to make a book. The number of sheets in a quire is not the same at all times and places, nor the manner in which the sheets are ruled, nor the instrument with which they are ruled, nor the pattern of ruled lines. There are, continuously, new inventions and new fashions, which have to be taken into account when we try to decide when and where manuscripts were written.

(Ker, 1960b, p.13)

Ker (1960b) asserts that c.1170 marks the end of scribal changes introduced into England after the Norman Conquest. Derolez remarks on the heterogeneity of Protogothic script, but also recognises common characteristics such as ‘verticality, compactness [and] angularity’ (Derolez, 2003, p. 70). Key features that determine pre-Gothic script dating will be incorporated in the discussion below, based on the invaluable summaries of Parkes (2008), Ker (1960), Brown (1990, 1999), and Derolez (2003). They provide the starting point in distinguishing the complex plethora of hands within EXcl 3515. Table 3.1 below (pp. 64–65) presents a review of the eight main hands in EXcl 3515, noting the characteristic features of each hand.

In the recent *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Parkes (2008) describes various letter and contraction forms that are significant in tracing the evolution of twelfth-century scripts. He also points out that

Twelfth century scribes also inherited three sizes of script: large for Bibles and Psalters, medium for most texts and small for ‘school’ texts. During the course of the century the proportions of the letters in the large and medium sizes of handwriting changed. In the first half of the century the ascenders of **b**, **d**, **j**, **l a m d** were twice the height of the minim strokes, but during the second half of the century the height was reduced to one and a half times the minim height.

(Parkes, 2008, p.113)

Similarly, Roberts (2005) informs us that the caudate **e** or tagged **e** representing **ae** has disappeared from manuscripts by 1160. Parkes further directs our attention to specific scribal practices that can assist in calculating the dating of a manuscript. Based on the summaries of Parkes (2008), Ker (1960) and Brown (1990), the following discussion provides details of the more important features relevant to our discussion, particularly, the change from upright **d** to round-backed **d** (see Table 3.2 below). Both forms are found in the twelfth century but gradually the round-backed becomes the dominant form. The Tironian *nota* for ‘*et*’ appears in the shape of a seven figuration ‘7’ and gradually becomes the dominating ligature replacing the ampersand ‘&’ during the course of the twelfth century. Moreover, the Tironian sign with a cross through the middle of the stem dates from c.1173 onwards (Parkes, *ibid.*).

The start of ‘biting’ (where two letters coalesce) occurs in the middle of the twelfth century with the joining of round-backed ‘d’ with ‘e’ or ‘o’, but from 1175 onwards we find more evidence of ‘biting’, including the combinations of **po**, **bo**, **oc**. In addition, from 1170 on the capital letter **s** is found more frequently at the end of words replacing the tall **s** of the earlier script, and by the end of the century the capital forms of both **R** and **S** appear in minim size in manuscripts. Abbreviation markings, generally represented by curved figurations, also undergo a change in appearance throughout the twelfth century, being gradually replaced by a horizontal stroke towards the end of the century (although some scribes would have adhered to older practices). Examples of these significant changes will be illustrated, where relevant, in the plates below.

In her *Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, Brown separates English from continental hands by the formal application of feet and serifs in manuscripts written in England compared to the acquisition of feet to minims in continental sources, marked by the ‘upwards turn of the pen’, as will be discussed below (Brown, 1999, p. 73). Thus, details in abbreviation and punctuation markings, inclusion of particular letterings and evidence of biting may all be hallmarks of a particular type of script and its evolution during the twelfth century and later. A close examination of the Protogothic scripts in EXcl 3515 enables one to distinguish between earlier and later scripts, thus providing clear evidence of dating, both of the manuscript and of the liturgy it preserves.

Protogothic Style of EXcl 3515

Table 3.2 (below) summarises the particular letters, abbreviation and punctuation markings, and other signs most pertinent to the current study. Details concerning each letter and sign are given and, where possible, letters are dated. Each of the four sections that form EXcl 3515 displays features corresponding to those outlined below, and the composite manuscript as a whole illustrates the evolution of Protogothic script during the course of the later twelfth century.

TABLE 3.2

**Characteristics of Protogothic Script Forms in the Twelfth Century
(based on Parkes [2008], Brown [1990] and Ker [1960])**

- ‘d’ The upright ‘**d**’ was in use in the early part of the century. The round-backed ‘**d**’ form begins to appear c.1150. The round-backed ‘**d**’ became the more dominant of the two in time and was used continually from the second half of the century.
- ‘7’ The ‘Tironian’ *nota* stands for the word ‘*et*’. It was found in association with the ‘*et*’ ligature in the early part of the twelfth century and gradually became predominant in time. Parkes states that during the last part of the century it appears with a cross bar.
- ‘de/do’ ‘Biting’ (joining together) of the round-backed ‘**d**’ with ‘**e**’ or ‘**o**’ together, begins to occur in the middle of the twelfth century.
- ‘po’ ‘oc’ ‘bo’
‘Biting’ with other letters begins to appear during the last quarter of the century.
- ‘f’ ‘s’ The letters ‘**f**’ and ‘**s**’ sometimes appear as small capitals in names; however, the capital ‘**s**’ form became more frequently used at the ending of words by 1170.
- The curly contraction mark begins to be replaced by an horizontal line towards the end of the century.
- ‘b’ ‘d’ ‘j’ ‘l’ ‘a’ ‘m’
In the early part of the twelfth century the ascenders of these letters were double the height of the minims. However, in the second half of the century, their height became just one and a half times that of the minims.

‘x’ In English manuscripts the ‘x’ was frequently found ‘with long left-hand lower stroke curling neatly round the base of a preceding letter’ (Ker, 1960, p.35).

‘e’ The caudate or tagged ‘e’ disappears c.1160.

Analyses of the Main Hands in EXcl 3515

A brief introduction to each hand is given here; there is a comparative summary of details presented in Table 3.1 (see end of chapter, pp. 64-65). In Table 3.1, each hand is introduced and its characteristics are described in relation to those script features which highlight the transition from older to more modern practices, as witnessed in many insular manuscripts during this period (see Ker, 1960).

In all, eleven features are observed, including those referred to in the summary of Table 3.2 (above). Overlapping elements, including the use of the round **d** or upright **d**, are graded by commentary. Where a feature is more consistently employed, then it is labelled ‘dominant’ in the table. The analysis of the scripts becomes more problematic where both older and more recent characteristics apparently exist side by side. In such cases, qualifying words such as ‘in use’ or ‘infrequent’ attempt to give as accurate an estimation of a feature as possible.

Hand A

As mentioned earlier, both Ker and Hartzell refer only to one hand in the Temporale 1, which is replaced by the more ‘fastidious’ hand at folio 111 (Ker, 1977; Hartzell, 2006, p.192). However, closer examination reveals the presence of two hands rather than one (Hands A and B) before folio 111, where Hand C appears for the first time (Hand C). Hand A exhibits many of the typical features of Protogothic script, including compression of minims and the typical Gothic oval character of the letters. We find that although round **d** is used, it is not the dominant form. Also, the ampersand ‘&’ is the main form for representing the ligature ‘et’ in the main text, although the tironian *nota* is found in chant items. Round **s** is the most usual shape found at the end of words. The script has features characteristic of the 1160s. The

more modern scribal forms are not consistently in place, although they are used sporadically (see Plate 3.1 below).

Hand A

Note the oval shape of letterforms and the compressed minims

Lines 1 and 11:

Two forms of 'd' represented in 'ad': upright and round respectively

Line 3:

A downward sloping ampersand '&' which recurs throughout the manuscript

Lines 6-8:

Note the type of cupped abbreviation marking 'xpm'; 'dm'; 'xpe'

Line 6

Straight 's' form used at end of words 'unanimis'

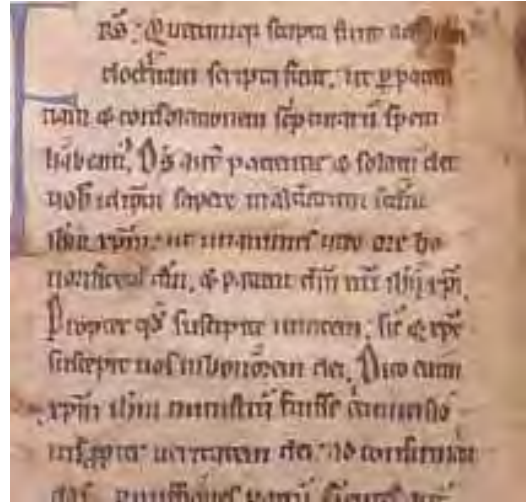


Plate 3.1: Hand A (f. 1v)

Hand B

While there is a strong resemblance between the hands in the formation of letters, Hand B includes the round **d** much more frequently and often abandons the traditional ampersand for the tironian symbol (see Plate 3.2 below). Horizontal strokes (rather than the wavy lines of Hand A) are used for abbreviation signs. In his examination of datable manuscripts, Ker (1960) observes that these abbreviation practices were often found together in a scriptorium up to 1186. It could be argued that the older and newer forms existed side by side as witnessed here in the first part of the Temporale of EXcl 3515, perhaps with an older scribe partially introducing the newer style or a younger scribe introducing a practice that he has learned elsewhere. This might suggest a dating for Temporale 1 of c.1160–1186.

Hand B.

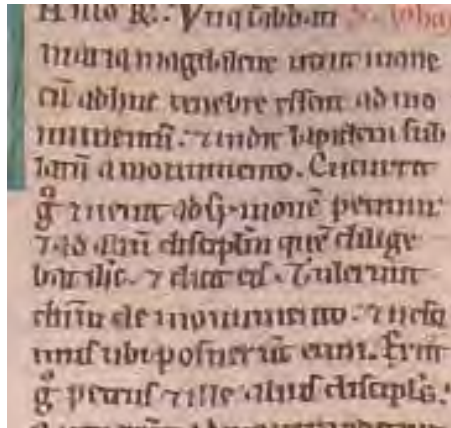
Note the uneven poor script
More frequent use of round 'd' form

Lines 4, 7-11

Tironian nota 'et' figured as '7'
in an uncrossed form replacing '&'

Line 3, 5

Note the descending serif on the horizontal
stroke of the tironian '7'



P

Plate 3.2: Hand B (f. 91v)

Hand C

A much better script follows in *Temporale 2* at folio 111 (starting from the middle of the Epistle for the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost). This is a good clear hand embodying many of the characteristics of up-to-date script of the latter half of the twelfth century (see Plate 3.3). Clarity of writing and legibility sets Hand C apart from all other hands in EXcl 3515 with the exception of Scribes D, F and J (see Table 3.1 below for a comparative summary of the scripts). Unlike Hands A and B, Hand C uses 'biting' for the first time, where the round backed **d** is joined to either **e** or **o**. The most curious feature relates to the absence of the tironian 7 and persistence of the more old-fashioned upright 'd'.

The script is reminiscent also of twelfth-century examples presented by Gullick in his study of English fragments in Sweden (Gullick, 2005). The main feature separating it from that of Hands A and B is the use of 'biting'. Reference has already been made to the mid-century date marking the onset of this practice, but a later date is proposed for the introduction of biting with letters **po**, **oc** and **bo** (see Plate 3.3). Other characteristics of this script include the more frequent use of capital **s** (instead of straight **s**) at the end of words, as well horizontal (not curved) abbreviation markings, all of which are hallmarks of a later hand.

Hand C

Good Script

Line 1, 5-7

'Biting' on 'oc'; 'po' 'de'

Line 3, 9

Note the use of capital 's' more frequently at end of words: 'pedes' 'inventus'

Line 5, 6-8

Horizontal markings for abbreviation 'No'



Plate 3.3: Hand C

Hand D

Four further scribes contributed to the Sanctorale, divided here into Supplementary Sanctorale (f. 135-7) and Main Sanctorale (f. 138-146). Hand D was responsible for this added fragment (SS) as discussed in the Chapter Two (see also Plate 3.4 below).

Lines 1-3

Note the high ascenders for 'f' 's' 'd' and 'l'
Horizontal abbreviation markings throughout

Lines 3-4

Bifurcation on 'b' and 'd'

Lines 3-5

Left-hand slope of ascender 'l' in
Supplicationibus and 'b' of *manibus*

Line 6

Note the unusual form of the lower bow of 'g' in
gaudeat with left-hand slope and protruding serif



Plate 3.4: Hand D (f. 135)

Here we find a smaller size script than in Hands A, B and C, with the use of longer ascenders for **s** and **l** and a slightly backward-leaning slope to the hand. In general, the letter forms are not as angular or compressed as those found in Hands A and B. There is no evidence of the tironian sign and the round 'd' occurs only sporadically. Such

features are characteristic of the pre-1170 period. As noted above, however, horizontal abbreviation signs point alternatively to the later part of the twelfth century (see Table 3.2).

The distinctive character of Hand D sets it apart from the previous hands (A, B and C) and the evidence suggests that the scribe trained either in a different scriptorium or perhaps on the continent. Of particular interest to the present discussion is the re-appearance of this hand as a reviser in parts of the *Temporale* (T.1). As noted in Chapter Two, this scribe was working after the completion of T.1. His unique style is identifiable in four marginal additions in the *Temporale*. Note the identical ductus and letter formation of Hand D in the following two plates (Plates: 3.4 a and b):²⁶

Long ascenders on 'l'

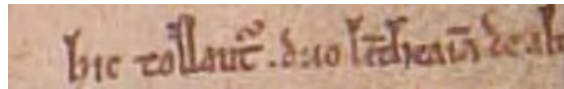


Plate: 3.4 (a) f. 79

Line 1

Forked tops of 'd' in *corde*
Curious shaped 'g' in *magno*

Line 2

Horizontal abbreviations

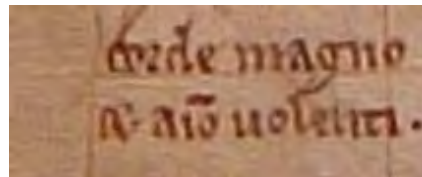


Plate: 3.4 (b) f. 32v

Hands E and F

²⁶ Hand D emends texts of readings only. Four examples can be found in the *Temporale*: fols: 79, 61v, 76, 32v.

The main Sanctorale, comprising feasts from February to December, is laid out in a single column of long lines in contrast to the double-column format of all the other sections of the manuscript (see Plate 3.5 overleaf). That this section of the missal does not belong to the original core manuscript has been observed in Chapter Two. Once again, the script is untidy and poor. In the comparative summary of script hands (Table 3.1) similarities in handwriting are noticeable between this hand and those of Temporale 1 (Hands A and B). Common threads can be traced in the formation of the ampersand in all three hands, with a noticeable extending descending stem on the base of the lower part. Similarly, letters such as **d**, **h** and **b** share a ‘lozenge’ effect at the top with slight slanting of descenders. The horizontal format, however, combined with the absence of the tironian ‘et’ in the main text and the predominance of the upright ‘d’, strongly suggests that the Sanctorale was copied before the Temporale (T.1 and T.2). This evidence confirms the conclusion of Chapter Two, in which the analysis of the missal structure separated this section from the previous parts both in its dating and use.

As demonstrated in Table 3.1, not all abbreviation markings here correspond to the type witnessed in T.1; curved signs are represented in this section by circular forms. In general a comparison of Hand E with other hands in the missal reveals close links with those that utilise older forms of abbreviation. It is curious, therefore, when a sudden change of hand (Hand F), bearing the hallmarks of a more modern style, continues the text within the Main Sanctorale.

One explanation for this ‘interpolation’ could be the replacement (editing) of original texts. For example, the opening of the Main Sanctorale is missing at least four lines of text (see Plate 3.5b). This blank space, or possible erasure, was never filled in. Of course, as mentioned previously, the original feast days for January are lacking in this section. Rather than being contemporary with the main scribe (E), the better hand (F), seems to be a later reviser (see Plate 3.6); in fact, the layout of the chant items, which are seemingly squeezed in clumsily at times, suggests that perhaps they too are later additions.

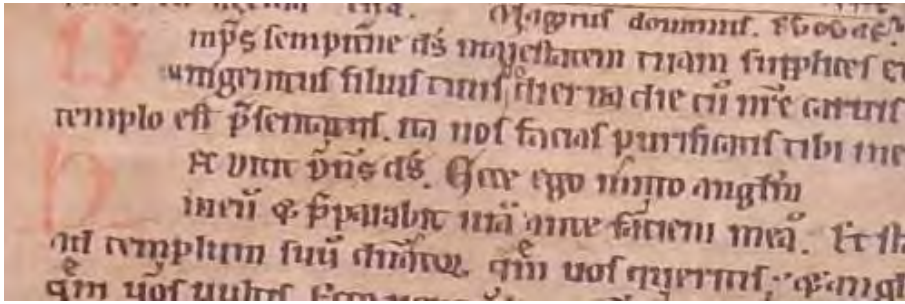


Plate 3.5: Hand E

Note the poor script hand and poor legibility and the very bowl-shaped contraction sign:

Line 5

Ampersand '&'; no use of tironian '7' form

Line 6

Older form of upright 'd'; no round 'd' used
No fusion of letters

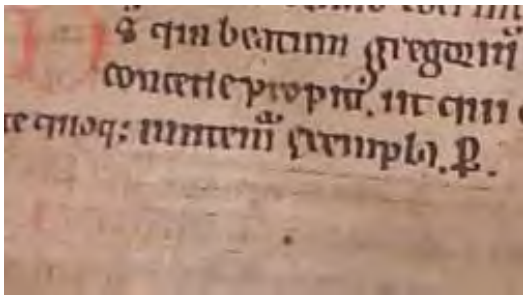


Plate 3.5 (a): Hand E (f. 139): Erasure

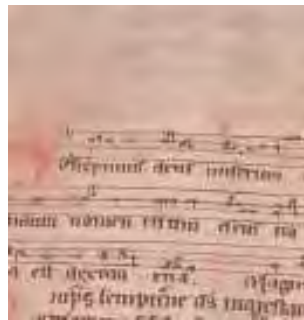


Plate 3.5 (b): Hand E (f. 138): Blank space or erasure in top margin

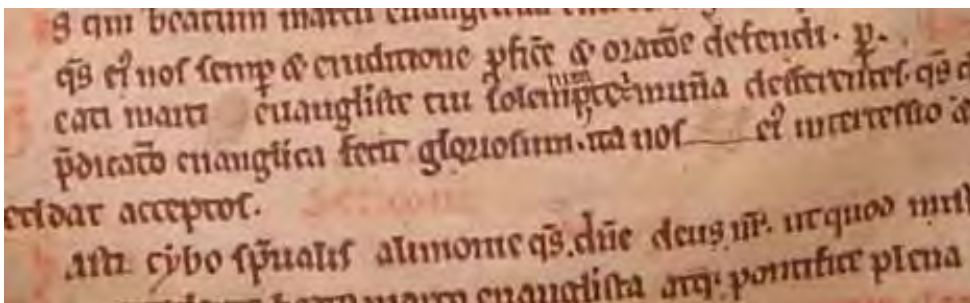


Plate 3.6: Hand F (Brief appearance of good hand f. 140v)

Hands G, H and J

Finally, three further scribes (G, H and J) are responsible for the continuation of the Main Sanctorale (at the return to the double-column format) and Common of Saints (Plates 5.7-9). Two hands (G and H) share familiar features common with hands A, B and E from the Temporale 1 and Main Sanctorale (see Table 3.1). Most striking is the clumsy formation of the letters, the use of the ampersand with the downward descending stroke, avoidance of the round 'd' and little or no fusion of letters. All these scribal hallmarks indicate a pre-Gothic style. By contrast, Hand J, the final scribe identified in this section, represents a more formal hand closer to the 'better' scribe in T.2 (Hand C). Both Hands J and C are two calligraphic witnesses to the evolution of insular script, which would eventually transform into the fully developed 'Gothic' style of the thirteenth century.

Line 2

Ampersand with downward ductus

Letter forms very close to Hand E in general

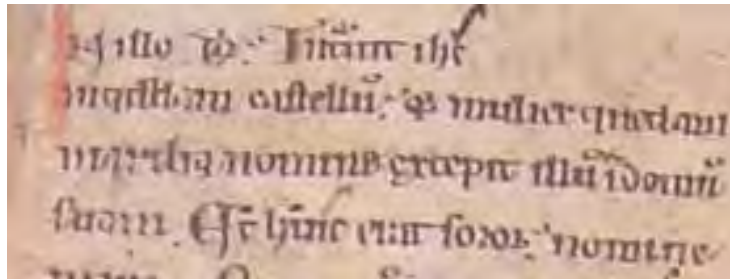


Plate 3.7: Hand G (f. 146)

Line 1/4

Note serif on **J** of *Joachim*; serif on **g** of *genuit*
Long stroke through 's'

End of words lengthened (upward turned feet)

Elongation of right shaft of 'h'

In general, frequent addition of feet and serifs to letters

Feet on 't' especially at the end of words

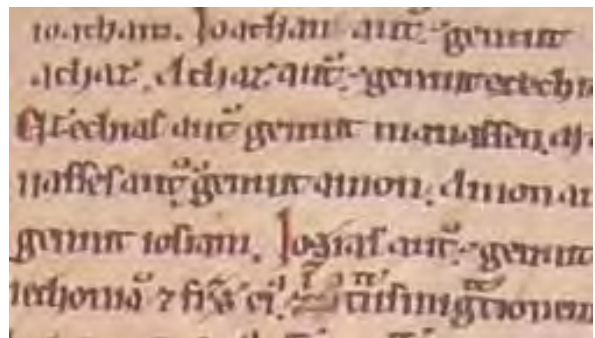


Plate 3.8: Hand H (f. 147) 'Serif' Hand

Line 1

'Biting' on 'do' of
Longitudo

Good clarity and
legibility
In general

Line 3

Tironian '7'

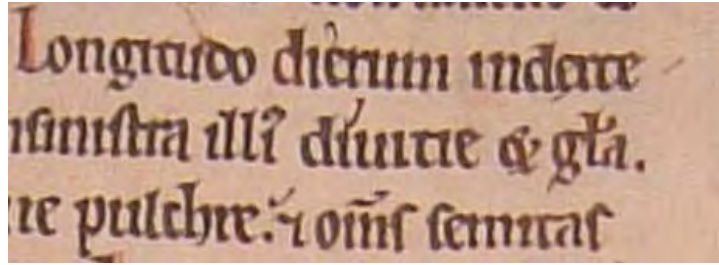


Plate 3.9: Hand J (f. 152v)

Twelfth-Century Manuscripts of Exeter Provenance or Connection

The discussion above has focused on the script hands in the missal. In the following section the comparative survey will be extended to include manuscripts of Exeter origin or association in order to shed light on the relationship of the script hands (in EXcl 3515) to these sources. The question as to whether or not similar scribal characteristics can be identified among datable manuscripts of Exeter provenance will be addressed below. But first it is necessary to divert briefly to examine the existing information on the production of books at Exeter in the pre- and post-Conquest period up to the end of the twelfth century. The evidence suggests that an active scriptorium did exist at Exeter during Bishop Leofric's time (1050–1072), but very little is known about whether any formal activity continued into the twelfth century.

Rankin enumerates a total of twenty-five extant books as 'having been prepared and/or used at Exeter Cathedral during the third quarter of the eleventh century' referring to some seventeen scribes at work in these sources (Rankin, 1984, p. 99). Previous scholarship suggests that in the years immediately following Bishop Leofric's death, the influence of the succeeding Norman bishops is reflected through the importation of books from the continent. Gameson distinguishes between those books that are of Exeter origin or those that are imported (Gameson, 1999). In fact, the majority of the books, including noteworthy theological and patristic writings (in keeping with post-Conquest trends), date from the first part of the twelfth century, most likely ordered by Exeter Bishops Osbern (1072-1103) and Warelwast (1107-1137) direct from Norman scriptoria (Gameson, 1999; Ker, 1960; Maxted, 2001).

Some forty-five books are allocated to the twelfth century in general, of which the majority are now located in the Bodleian library (Maxted, 2001). However, catalogue entries provide very little palaeographical evidence for these manuscripts and they remain a neglected corpus of sources. In fact, no comprehensive catalogue supplies information on all the surviving manuscripts with an Exeter provenance or connection. It should be noted that Gameson limits his survey to the eleventh and early twelfth century (Gameson, 1996).

Fortunately, Ker's monumental *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (1964) provides an extensive list of surviving sources relating to Exeter. In the Bodleian library alone, some ninety-seven sources (extending from the tenth to the fifteenth century) are located, representing the largest collection from this secular cathedral.²⁷ Surprisingly, according to Ker's dating, only eight books in the Bodleian collection can be dated to the second half of the twelfth or early thirteenth century (see Ker, 1964). There is no documentary or historical evidence, however, of an active scriptorium for the latter half of the twelfth century. What types of books were ordered or required can only be surmised. The surviving inventories, however, of the early fourteenth and sixteenth centuries shed some light on the types of liturgical and theological books that were in use in Exeter throughout the medieval period (Oliver, 1861; Erskine, 1972; Maxted, 2001). Parkes (2008) maintains that post-Conquest reforms saw an increase in requests for patristic writings as well as new texts. Ecclesiastical centres such as St. Albans or Abingdon hired scribes for their scriptoria at this time. However, Parkes asserts that

Organized copying by members of a community usually lasted only for short periods: once a community had built up its collection of texts, organized copying was abandoned, and with it some of the distinctive features in local handwriting.

(M.B. Parkes, 2008, p. 111)

²⁷ It should be noted that a large corpus of manuscripts from Exeter were donated to the Bodleian Library at the beginning of the seventeenth century (see Erskine, 1972).

Datable Exeter Sources

Yet a small selection of books dated by Ker to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries do provide some evidence of the type of books that Exeter possessed at this period. Two of them are of particular importance to the current study: the Kalendar from Harley 863 (HAR) and British Library, Auct D.2.8 (hereafter D.2.8; see Table 3.4 below). They are invaluable witnesses of known Exeter origin, which may be contemporaries of EXcl 3515. As datable examples of ‘Protogothic’ script from Exeter Cathedral, they will be included here as part of the comparative examination of script hands with EXcl 3515.

Comparison of Harley 863 with EXcl 3515

The eleventh-century psalter, BL Harley 863, includes an added quire of six folios (1-6) inserted at the opening, containing a Kalendar from Exeter Cathedral, dated to post 1173. As noted in Chapter Two, it is an invaluable witness to the liturgy observed in a secular cathedral from the end of the twelfth century. Moreover, it provides palaeographical evidence of an Exeter hand, which may be contemporaneous with those of EXcl 3515. It is written in a clear legible hand, not unlike three of the better (added) hands in EXcl 3515 (see Hands F, J and S). It should be noted that the latter scribes are not main scribes but rather the more formal hands that make incidental contributions to the text of both the Temporale (1) and Main Sanctorale.

Hand S makes one brief appearance at f. 45v of EXcl 3515, replacing a prayer in the main text (secret), and displays in both ductus and morphology of letter forms a close agreement with Harley 863 (referred to as Hand S below, see Plate 3.11). It should be noted that the prayer is very obviously inserted over an erasure, and as the text does not conform to the Sarum prayer of the day (*Fac nos domine*), we can assert that the addition is not part of the Sarum revisions, which gave rise to many of the emendations and additions to the missal over the years. As HAR includes Thomas of Canterbury, it is no earlier than 1173 and since Hand S resembles the main script hand in HAR, we can assume a similar date. Although shared features with HAR point to a post-1173 dating for the script, that is not to say that Hand S may possibly date from an earlier period. The similarity, therefore, between the two scripts allows us to date

Hand S (and EXcl 3515) to the second half of the twelfth century and to add further support to an Exeter provenance for the missal.

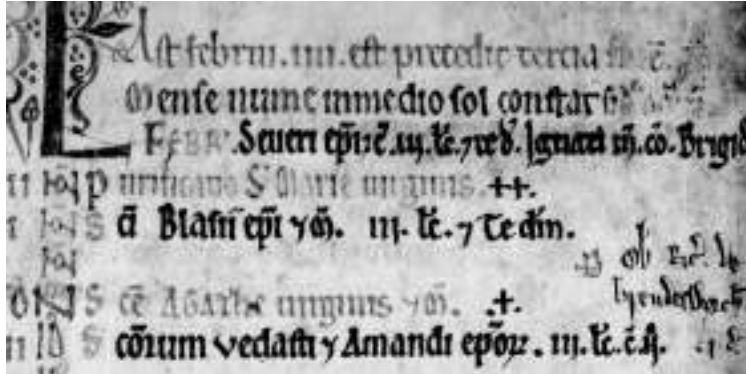


Plate 3.10: BL Harley 863 (f. 1v)

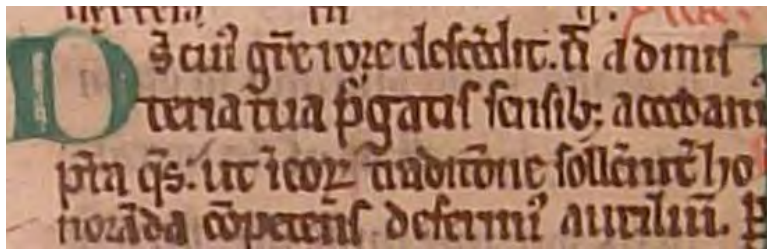


Plate 3.11: Hand S (Temporale 1, f. 45v): Secret

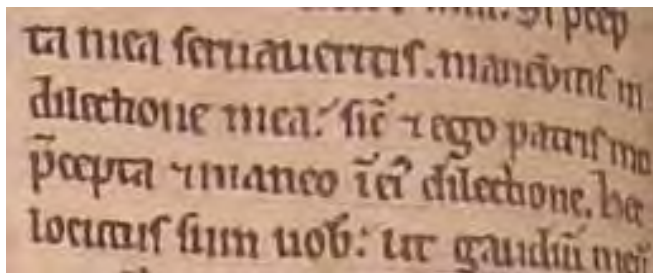


Plate 3.12: Hand J (f. 152)

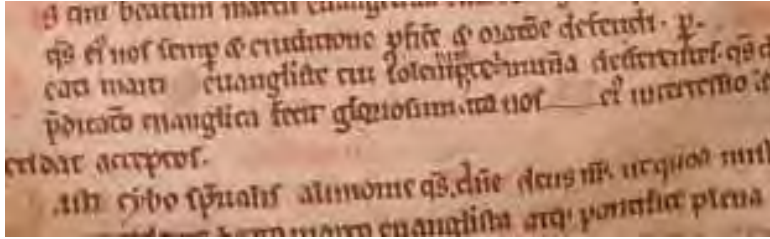


Plate 3.13: Hand F (f. 140v)

Small s: Note the similar ductus of small **s** in all examples:
A downward slant at the top of the **s** with a slight upwards turn at the end of the descenders

Line 2 (HAR) **s** of *mense*
Line 2 (F) **s** of *defferentes*
Line 1 (J) **s** of *manebitis*

Small a: This is still open and not yet closed

Line 1 (HAR) **a** of *tercia*
Line 2 (S) **a** of *teria*
Line 2 (J) **a** of *mea*

Straight d: Forked top of ascender similar in all examples, although the ascender is sometimes shorter in HAR than in other sources

Line 1 (HAR) **d** of *precedit*
Line 1 (S) **d** of *descendit*
Line 5 (F) **d** of *dne*
Line 4 (J) **d** of *dilectione*

Small g: The lower lobe of **g** in the four sources remains open

Line 3 (HAR) **g** of *Ignate*
Line 2 (S) **g** of *(p)gatis*
Line 3 (F) **g** of *gloriosum*
Line 2 (J) **g** of *ego*

Round d: There is a slight flourish on the top of the round **d**, but it is more exaggerated in Har.

Line 3 (HAR) **d** (before *Ignate*)
Line 4 (S) **d** of *traditione*
Line 3 (F) **d** (*p*)*dicato*

Biting: No biting is evident in the two Exeter hands (S and F) here nor does it occur throughout the Harley Kalendar; however, some biting does occur with Hand J.

Summary

The formation of the minims agrees in shape with the main hands of EXcl 3515. As outlined in the examples above, the results of the comparative examination, based on the analysis of the script hands S, F and J with HAR points to shared palaeographical details; for example, the ductus of the straight ‘s’ and non-capital ‘a’; the open lower-lobe of ‘g’, which is quite similar to all hands and finally, the extension of the top ascender of round ‘d’. The absence of biting in all hands except for ‘J’ hints at a date prior to the last quarter of the twelfth century (see Table 3.2 above). The findings indicate that this select group of hands in EXcl 3515 is not unlike the main hand of HAR. Moreover, this sharing of scribal features could imply the existence of a ‘house-style’. As noted in Chapter Two, the inclusion of St Thomas of Canterbury in HAR provides a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript (1173). The comparison of the hands of EXcl 3515 with HAR points to possible contemporary scribes from a common scriptorium. As they are the added (occasional) hands to EXcl 3515 they most likely postdate the main sections. In fact, Hand S is the key witness; the insertion of the prayer (over an erasure) to the main text implies that T.1 was written before the alteration (i.e. T.1 cannot be later than Hand S), thus giving us a more likely pre-1173 dating for main sections of EXcl 3515. In the following section eight manuscripts dating to the end of the twelfth century (or early thirteenth) will be included in order to broaden the comparative survey outlined above.

Analysis of Script Hands in Bodleian Manuscripts of Exeter Provenance or Connection

Two tables are presented: Table 3.3 below represents eight ‘Exeter’ sources, located for the most part in the Bodleian Library, and dated by Ker and Hartzell to the end of the twelfth (or early thirteenth) century; Table 3.4 presents a palaeographical summary of their respective scripts supported by images of the available sources. Gospels, writings of Augustine, Bede and sermons by Bishop Bartholomew appear on

the list. The main question here centres on the possibility of identifying a group of scribes or a local script in a group of sources with Exeter provenance or association that may be contemporaneous with EXcl 3515. The discussion continues the method outlined above drawing on palaeographical analysis: examination of the scribal characteristics of this late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century group; analysis of the ductus and morphology of the letter forms, and investigation of the relationships or correspondences with the script hands of EXcl 3515.

TABLE 3.3

Late Twelfth-Century Manuscripts from Exeter Cathedral²⁸

Manuscript	Type	Provenance	Date
BL, Lambeth Palace 203 ²⁹	Augustinus, etc	(Cat. p.368) ³⁰	s.xii-xiv
BL Harley 863	Kalendar	Exeter	s.xii ex
Bodley Auct D.1.7	Lucas et Joh. Glo.	(Cat. 307,368)	s.xii ex
Bodley Auct D.2.8	Psalterium	Exeter	s.xii ex
Bodley 93	Augustinus	(Cat.302, 373)	s.xii ex
Bodley 482	Barth. Exoniensis	(Cat. 305, 367; Leland) ³¹	s.xiii
Bodley 291	Decreta	(Cat. 304,369)	s.xii ex
Bodley 732	Beda etc	(Cat. p.370)	s.xii ex
Excl 3515	Noted Missal	Exeter	s.xii ex / s.xiii ¹

²⁸ The manuscripts included in the table are found in Ker's *MMBL* (1964) and Hartzell's *Catalogue of Manuscripts* (2006).

²⁹ I have been unable to acquire an image of this manuscript for inclusion in the present study.

³⁰ Cath. (Catalogue) refers to the I327 Inventory (EXcl 3671) which is printed by Oliver in his *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (1861); (see Ker, 1964, p. 81).

³¹ Leland refers to Ker's entry: 'J. Lelandi de rebus Britannicis Collectanea, ed. T. Hearne (1715; 2nd edn, 1774)' (Ker, 1964, p. xxx).

Sources within the group that are dated to the end of the twelfth century fall into the ‘Protogothic’ category of script in general. However, two of the group, Bodley 291 and 482, display more cursive elements, not associated with formal book-hands and therefore are not relevant to the discussion (see Plates 3.18 and 3.19 below).

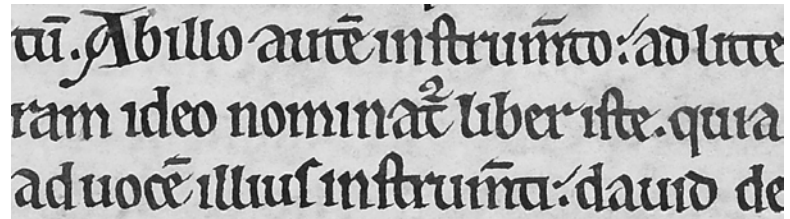
Summary of the Comparative Analysis of Script Hands in the Bodleian Manuscripts with EXcl 3515

TABLE 3.4

Palaeographical Summary of Bodleian Collection of Exeter Manuscripts (12-13th Century)

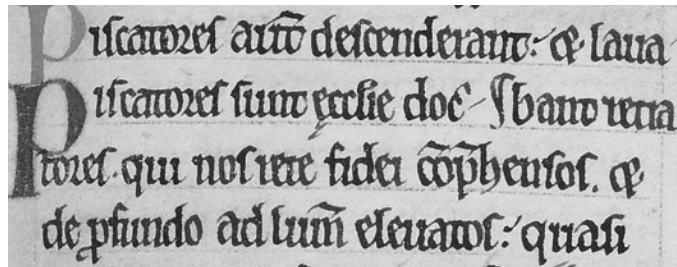
- Bodley Auct D. 2. 8.:** Similarity in style to the better hand, Scribe C, in EXcl 3515. Peculiar characteristics include the exaggerated descender on the top stem of **a**; the lozenge shape of the round **d** and in particular the separating of some of the minims from one another. We find a similar forked ascender on **b** and straight **d** as in other main hands of EXcl 3515 (A, C and E).
- Bodley 732 f. 40r** This is the closest hand in style (among the twelfth-century sources included here), to the main hands in EXcl 3515.
- Bodley Auct D.1.7:** Forked d; cursive 7; open g on lower bow; sideways ampersand.
- Bodley 93:** Tironian 7 like hands B and H; in general compression of minims similar to main hands A and B in Temporale 1 and 2 and also Hand E of the Main Sanctorale.
- Bodley 482** Different style of writing (more cursive).
- Bodley 291:** Different type to Exeter hands.

Bodleian Plates 3.14-19



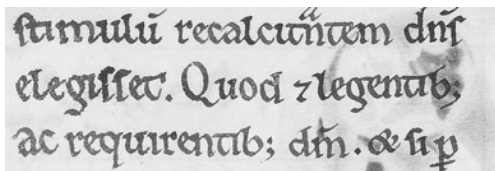
tū. Ab illo autē instrumēto: ad litte-
ram ideo nominat² liber iste. quia
ad uocē illius instrumēti: dauid de

Plate 3. 14: Bodley Auct. D.2.8 (Exeter Psalter, f.1v)



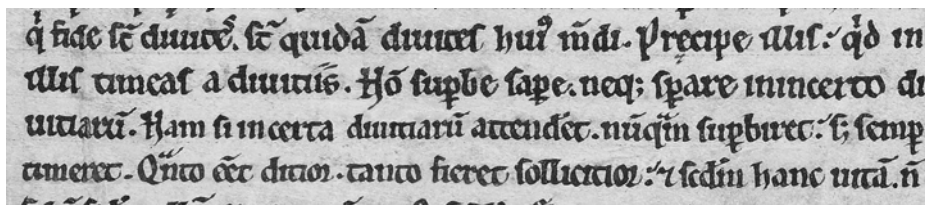
Piscatores autē descenderant: & laua-
Piscatores sunt ecclesie doctores. Ibanō uerba
tores. qui nos uite fidei cōphensos. &
de pfundo ad lumē eleuatos: quasi

Plate 3. 15: Bodley 732 (Bede, f. 40r)



stimulū recalcitrātem dñs
elegisset. Quod ⁊ legentib;
ac requirentib; dñm. & si p

Plate 3.16: Bodley D.1.7 (Gospel, f. 3r)



q̄ fide se diuicē. se quidā diuicet hui⁹ m̄di. p̄cipe illis: q̄d in
illis tuncat a diuiciis. Hō supbe sape. neq; sp̄are in incerto di-
uitiarū. Nam si incerta diuitiarū attendet. nūq̄m supbiret: s; semp
tameret. Q̄nto eēt ditior. tanto fieret sollicitior: ⁊ scdm̄ hanc uitā. n̄

Plate 3.17: Bodley 93 (Augustine, f. 6r)

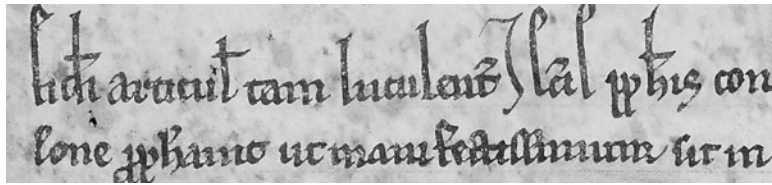


Plate 3.18: Bodley 482 (Bartholomew's sermon) f. 77r

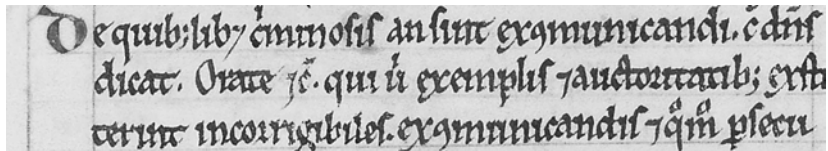


Plate 3.19: Bodley 291 (Decreta) f. 5

Table 3.4 (above) highlights the scribal points of agreement or differentiation between the Bodleian group and the script hands of EXcl 3515. In particular, the Psalter (OB Auct. D.2.8) and the writings of Bede (OB 732) support the argument in favour of a link between known Exeter manuscripts and EXcl 3515. Although not identical, common scribal characteristics can be recognised between the Exeter Psalter and both Hand C (in T.2) and J (good hand in the MainS). However, the most striking parallel between the Bodleian group and EXcl 3515 occurs in the Bede manuscript (OB 732): not only do we find many scribal features common to many of the Exeter hands here, but also the distinctive ampersand with its downward slope, characterised by the initial stem resting vertically on the base line. This ampersand is common to the main hands of the Temporale (T.1: A and B) and of the Main Sanctorale (E and G); in fact, we have a unique 'Exeter Ampersand'.

Conclusions

The current study identified eight new scribes throughout the various section of the notated missal, EXcl 3515. This brings the total of script hands to ten rather than two ('poor' and 'better') as proposed by Ker (1977) and Hartzell (2006). The scribal characteristics of all the hands firmly place EXcl 3515 in the 'Protogothic' style in England during the mid to late twelfth century. Individual hands can be dated between about 1160 and 1200. We find that old and new forms co-exist at times together in many of the sections: some hands display older forms such as the upright 'd', the

ampersand, curved abbreviation marks and round forms of ‘s’, while newer forms emerge with scribal traits that replace the ampersand with the tironian ‘7’, utilise horizontal lines for abbreviations, or place small capital ‘s’ at the end of words. This confirms Ker’s argument that ‘up-to-date scribes were using some and perhaps all of the new forms before 1170. Old and new, round and angular, can be seen together’ (Ker, 1960, p. 38).

Only in the later post-Pentecostal section (T.2) do we witness a hand (C), which stands apart from the other sections of the missal with its leanings towards a more fully formed Gothic hand reminiscent of the thirteenth century and later. Here we witness a hand employing the ‘biting’ effect, but not only on the ‘**de**’ which was introduced by 1160’s, but also with those forms of ligatures such as ‘*do*’, ‘*oc*’ and ‘*po*’, all of which point to the last quarter of the twelfth century. We can glimpse the evolutionary stages of the Proto Gothic script in sections that retain older forms when compared to sections that embrace new procedures.

Of greater interest, too, are the elements that reveal a close correspondence in style between individual hands; for example, the four scribes (A, B E and G), share not only a very similar ampersand in design and execution but also present noticeable similarities in letter formations. Further examples of common script forms include the English practice of extending the stem of ‘x’ to curl around the foot of the previous letter (Parkes, 2008). In addition, these hands have a common layout of page presentation adhering to the ‘above top line’ format identified by Ker as indicative of twelfth-century practice (Ker, 1960). The close correspondence between many of the hands outlined in this discussion gives compelling evidence of a common scriptorium. This observation is further corroborated by the significant contribution of the many hands to the production of the missal.

In particular, as a rare datable source from Exeter Cathedral, the Harley Kalendar (HAR) can provide a *terminus post quem* of c.1173. Despite the limitations, comparison of this Kalendar hand with those of the missal scribes proved fruitful; thus, three hands in EXcl 3515 (S, F and J) showed close similarity with HAR. The evidence suggests that Hand S (in T.1—based on the insertion of the prayer over the original text) is most likely a contemporary of HAR, thus enabling us to date EXcl

3515 more definitely to this latter part of the twelfth century. Among the remainder of the Bodleian collection, both the Psalter (British Library, Auct. D.2.8) and the Bede manuscript (Bodley 732) suggest further scribal links with EXcl 3515. Most striking and significant to chant research is the identification of the unique ampersand (noted above) shared by the main scribes of the Temporale, Sanctorale (Hands A, B, E and G) and Bodley 732. This evidence is further corroborated in this study by the lack of a similar shaped ampersand in contemporary English manuscripts from main centres such as St Albans, Downpatrick, Salisbury and Canterbury.³² Not only does the recognition of this ‘Exeter ampersand’ point to a ‘house style’ but it also confirms the existence of an Exeter scriptorium.

The analysis undertaken in this chapter enables the script hands in EXcl 3515 to be incorporated into the greater network of insular scripts dating to the latter half of the twelfth century. Demarcation lines proposed by authorities such as Ker (1960), Parkes (2008), Derolez (2003) and Brown (1990) provide criteria for observing more accurately chronological changes in calligraphic styles of writing. For example, watershed dates such as 1170 and 1186 provide *termini post quem* for new scribal practices. In this way, the current chapter isolated those forms (Table 3.1) that reflected more accurately changes of practice or represented recognised insular forms.

It may be possible in the future to compare the collections of books donated by Exeter bishops such as Bartholomew and Grandisson and now located in the Bodleian Library with those hallmarks of the Proto Gothic Exeter hand outlined in the discussion here with the object of re-addressing questions of origins and provenance to relevant manuscripts. With regard to EXcl 3515, it is now possible, through the new identification of scribes and suggested dating of sections, to peel back layers and assess the chronological order of the manuscript in a new light, confirming the results of the previous chapter, that the sequence of sections in the missal are not in the chronological order of their creation. Finally, it may be possible to add this information to the knowledge base concerning Proto Gothic scripts in South West England.

³² See List of Manuscripts in the Appendix, p. 276. Only the manuscripts that were relevant to this study were examined; therefore, the study is, by its nature, limited. The scripts of all insular and continental manuscripts (included here) were examined throughout the research, in order to determine whether similarities existed or not between these sources and EXcl 3515.

TABLE 3.1
Script Hands in EXcl 3515³³

Hands	Upright/ 'd'	Round 'd'	Ampersand &	Tironian 7 or 7 crossed	Ligatures and 'biting'
Hand A (T.1: f. 1-90)	Dominant	present	dominant	found in chant items sporadically in both forms	none
Hand B (T.1: f. 91-110)	Present	more dominant	less frequent	dominant	none
Hand C (T.2: f. 111-134)	Dominant	frequent use	dominant	none	very frequent 'de' 'do' 'oc' 'po'
Hand D (SS: f. 135-137)	Dominant	infrequent	only used	none	none
Hand E (MS Horizontal: f. 138-145)	Main	not in main text (in chant items only)	main	in chant items only (at times crossed)	none
Hand F (MS f.140v)	Main	in use	main	crossed in chant items	none
Hand G (MS: Double Column: f. 146)	Dominant	present in text (in chant items also)	always in main text	text/chant items (mostly uncrossed)	none
Hand H (f. 153)	Dominant	Not in main text used		both forms in use frequently	none

³³ The following abbreviation terms used for different sections of EXcl 3515. As noted in chapter two, T.1 and T.2 refers to Temporale 1 and 2 respectively; SS denotes Supplementary Sanctorale and MS refers to Main Sanctorale.

TABLE OF SCRIPTS IN EXcl 3515 (continued)

	Abbreviation	Punctuation (Punctus elevatus)	Feet/Serifs	'x'	Capital/Round S at end of words	'y'
Hand A (T.1)	Curves predominant	tick and dot	present	extends	round 's'	bar
Hand B (f. 91-110)	Horizontal	dot and open tick	dominant	extends	round 's'	bar
Hand C (T.2; Good Hand)	Straight	tick and dot	both	extends	capital 's' frequently	dot
Hand D (SS)	Horizontal	tick and dot	not present	slight	round 's'	dot
Hand E (MS Horizontal: f. 138-145)	Curves	dot and square C	not noticeable	extends	round 's'	bar
Hand F (MS Horizontal: f. 140v)	Horizontal	tick and dot	feet	extends	capital 's'	dot
Hand G (MS Double C: f. 146)	Curves	dot and square C	dominant	extends	round 's'	bar
Hand H (f. 153)	Curves	tick and dot	dominant	extends	round's'	bar

CHAPTER 4

Examination of the Notation in EXcl 3515

Introduction

The main purpose of the present chapter is to identify the music scribes within the various sections of EXcl 3515 and to present an analysis of the features of their notation.

Ideally one would have repertoires of signs specific to every MS transcribed, and for every distinct hand within a MS. Facsimile editions are nowadays often supplied with just such a repertory, but there is a long way to go before every MS is described in this way. In many ways it is one of the most important tasks facing chant scholarship.

(Caldwell, 2004, pp. 6-7)

Caldwell alerts us to the possibility of various influences on a scriptorium that may have ‘more than one line of transmission’ (Caldwell, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7). In Chapter Three, examination of the scribal features in EXcl 3515 rooted the manuscript in the Protogothic script style of the mid-to-late twelfth century. Haines argues that if Gothic script is the ‘textual counterpart’ to square notation from the thirteenth century, it follows that Protogothic script bears relation to the earlier pre-square forms of notation of the twelfth century (Haines, 2004, p.60). The present chapter looks at the musical notation of the missal, tentatively introducing a new category of notation labelled ‘Protogothic Notation’ under the broader umbrella of ‘Anglo-Norman’, in an attempt to classify more accurately a particular type of music script that pre-dates full blown square notation. Textual dating of the script hands in EXcl 3515 indicated a time-span from c.1160–1200. The present discussion will seek to establish whether an analysis of the music hands in EXcl 3515 confirms a similar dating. In this examination, additionally, I will discuss possible lines of transmission by identifying similar notations elsewhere.

Two distinct types of notation can be distinguished in the manuscript according to their strong resemblance to notations described by chant authorities such as Bannister (1913), Corbin (1957), Bernard (1965, 1966, 1974), Hartzell (2006), and Hiley (1980, 2001). In particular, Hand A exemplifies a ‘point-liés’ neume style, while Hand B bears all the hallmarks of the Anglo-Norman notation prevalent in many English

manuscripts of the twelfth century.³⁴ The recognition of two distinct styles in the manuscript suggests varying influences on scribal practice. An examination of the notational hands can thus reveal significant information on the styles and regions that may affect the notation in EXcl 3515. These are some of the key issues that need to be addressed in relation to the notation in EXcl 3515.

The most recent description of the notation in EXcl 3515 can be found in Hartzell's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* (Hartzell, 2006). Hartzell describes the notation in general as 'legible Anglo-Norman point-neum notation on four red lines entered erratically' (Hartzell, pp.192-193). Although he refers to the appearance of a more 'fastidious notator' after folio 103, he fails to comment on the difference in style of notation at that point. I have separated the two types of notation into the two main categories of Anglo-Norman point-neume notation, referring to Type A or Type B. As noted in Chapter Three, both Ker (1977) and Hartzell (2006) recognise only two main hands in the missal. By contrast, I have identified five music scribes; the notators will be referred to as Music Hands (MH) in the text below.

The distinguishing features of Type A notation are detectable mainly in Temporale 1 (f. 1-110v) and also sporadically in the Main Sanctorale and the Common of Saints. They contrast markedly with Type B features exhibited by the notation of one music scribe (MH 3) in Temporale 2 (111-134v). Most striking are the extension lines (referred to in the text below as 'finials' or 'spikes') that occur in Type A notation on three of the neume figures (virga, pes and torculus). The similarity in style among the Type A hands is clearly visible, in particular in their retention of finials on these particular neumes. These distinctive features are also found in central France, for instance in manuscripts from Tours and Fleury, as will be shown below.

In his article on the *Graphic Change in Medieval Music Script*, Haines (2008) has traced the evolution of music notation as it developed from point to a square form. Using datable manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he observes the graphic development of notation as represented in these sources. Haines's approach

³⁴ The characteristics of the different types of notation will be outlined below.

has particular relevance for the current study; by application of his methods it may be possible to observe a chronological sequence of notations in EXcl 3515.

The composite nature of EXcl 3515 means that one can analyse and compare notational styles dating, perhaps, from a period of over forty years within the single manuscript. Earlier neumatic features include the round-type punctum (in the Common of Saints), developing into a more ‘Gothic’ square form as exhibited by the notator in *Temporale 2* (MH 3). Subtle changes with regard to the thickening of note heads, changes in shading, angles of drawn neumes on the staff, and the square or roundness of the neume figure contribute to the identification of the various hands (see Table 4.1 below [p. 74] for a comparison of the five main hands in EXcl 3515). A newly discovered fragment of a missal (EXcl 3548B), located in Exeter Cathedral, provides compelling evidence of the existence of a local notational style hitherto unknown or recognised.³⁵ The significance of this discovery will be discussed below.

A select corpus of twelfth-century insular and continental manuscripts will also be included here as part of a comparative investigation. In particular, the current study will consider those sources, classified as ‘point-neume’ representatives, by musical palaeographers such as Corbin (1977), Bannister (1913), Bernard (1965), Hourlier (1991), Parrish (1957), and Hartzell (2006).

The Type-A notation of *Temporale 1*, *Main Sanctorale* and *Common of Saints* in EXcl 3515 is distinctive, particularly with regard to the retention of spikes on the virga, pes and torculus forms. Moreover, although the graphic outline of the virga (with an extension line running past the head) is a common feature in many sources, it rarely appears elsewhere in the exaggerated form found in sections of EXcl 3515. In addition, both the pes and torculus forms used in the missal are difficult to find in other insular and continental sources (see below). By contrast, Type B shares many similarities with manuscripts, representing the more usual ‘Anglo-Norman’ notation.

³⁵ The Exeter fragment 3548B contains eight leaves of a notated missal dated to the first part of the thirteenth century by Ker (1977). The entry, however, does not refer to the fragment as a noted missal, which may explain the complete lack of attention it has received to date.

It should be noted that the scope of survey undertaken here is limited by its place within the study as a whole. It is adequate, however, for the purposes of identifying distinctive and probably local notational features in the manuscript and of tracing similarities with other notations from elsewhere.

Once again, the recurring theme of links between the Exeter Missal and the Loire Valley is present, emphasising the need to reconsider the conventional opinion that notational and liturgical influences from this region came to an end after the monastic reform of the tenth century (Hartzell, 2006; Knowles, 1966).

Identification of the Types of Notation in EXcl 3515

Of the 364 catalogue entries in Hartzell's survey, some fifty are assigned to the Anglo-Norman category of notation, of which five (including EXcl 3515) are classified more specifically as 'point-neume'. A summary of these five manuscripts is provided in Table 4.3 below as part of a comparative examination with EXcl 3515. Hartzell's notational classification of extant English manuscripts in the post-Conquest era, however, succumbs at times to seemingly generalised phrases such as 'flexible Anglo-Norman neumes', 'flexible neumatic notation indebted to Norman models', 'Anglo-Norman neumes tending towards square' or 'well drawn Anglo-Norman neumes' to choose but a few (see Appendix, Table 4.6, p. 208). In fact, Gullick and Rankin (2009) highlighted the problems surrounding this inconsistent terminology in a recent review of Hartzell's book. Thus, the initial task is to clarify the type of Anglo-Norman notations present in EXcl 3515 and to find words with which to describe them accurately.³⁶

As noted earlier, two distinct types of 'Anglo-Norman' notation are recognised in this project, dividing into two categories (referred to as Type A and B), of which four notators can be associated with Type A and one with Type B. In an attempt to clarify this distinction, summaries of chant scholars relating to classifications of Anglo-Norman notation are introduced below. It will be useful here to recall the small but

³⁶ In a recent email correspondence (June 2010), Hartzell explained that his use of the term 'point-neume' served to isolate those five sources from the main 'Anglo-Norman' entries, and that it essentially recognised the minimal amount of pen movement used by the notator.

significant differences between Hourlier's and Parrish's descriptions' of Norman notation. For example, Hourlier bases his introduction to Norman notation on the English twelfth-century gradual/troper from St Albans (London, BL Royal 2 B IV), dated to 1140, stating that 'this notation could be counted among the examples, on lines, of "Tied-Dot" or Tied-Square" notation (*'a point -liés'* or *'a carres- liés'*)' (Hourlier 1991, pp. 45-6, Plate 25).

Parrish observes that: 'Norman notation belongs to the general group of accent neumes, but has a special character of its own in that the two-and three-note neumes consist essentially of thickened dots connected by thin strokes (whence the French "*notation a point lies*")' (Parrish, 1957, p. 23). In addition, Hiley directs our attention to the notational grouping of 'Normandy, Paris and other French centres, England and Sicily' in the twelfth century, referring to the introduction of the 'punctum' as a 'square' which in turn became a 'small square head' attached to particular neume shapes such as the virga and clivis (NG, 2001, p. 103). Overall, very little information is available on the classification of notation in insular sources with little or no data on regional classification or characteristics.

Thus, in my opinion, Type-A notation in EXcl 3515 fits closely to Parrish's description of thickened dots joined together by thin strokes; by contrast, Type B could be representative of Hourlier's 'tied-square' notation, but it should be noted that the notation is not a fully developed square but is more cursive in form. Hartzell's description of 'point-neum' will be tentatively interpreted here as 'tied-dot' in relation to Type A (representing an earlier development of the neume); conversely, Hourlier's description of 'Anglo-Norman tied-square' corresponds more accurately to the Type B notation.

Identification of the Music Hands in EXcl 3515

Haines (2008) distinguishes between the twelfth-century notation and that of the early thirteenth by drawing attention to particular features such as the more frequent use of 'spikes' in the earlier period. Moreover, he observes the 'increase in shading or differentiation between thick and thin lines' that is associated with the early thirteenth century (Haines, 2008, pp.48-9). Particular attention will be given to some of these

notational characteristics in the following discussion of the work of the Exeter music scribes. The present chapter will attempt to trace the development of notation at Exeter through an examination of the graphic unfolding of the notation as witnessed in the various disparate sections of the book, thus allowing a possible chronological layering to be assessed as in the previous chapter on script hands.

Table 4.1 (below) gives a summary representation of the music hands within the missal. The table is divided into five sections identifying the music notators as MUS 1-5 (Music Hands 1-5). The left-hand column lists the characteristic note symbols and neumes, including liquescent and pressus forms, and the next five columns show typical versions of these in the five main hands. Note the presence of the pes stratus and the more controversial ‘English liquescent’ neume, both of which are present in many of the chant items in EXcl 3515.³⁷ Following this Table (4.1), each notation and its place in the manuscript are discussed in more detail, adhering to the codicological layout of the book as set out and discussed in Chapter Two. While one cannot discount the possibility that in at least some cases the same scribe may have written both text and music, the investigation here is confined to the musical notation.

³⁷ Both Droste and Hartzell give details on the presence of Bergsagel’s ‘English liquescent’; Droste explores this neume form in the Sarum sources, confirming its English origin. By contrast, Hartzell is somewhat sceptical as to its identification as a purely English neume (Bergsagel, 1966; Droste, 1983; Hartzell, 2006).

TABLE 4.1

TABLE OF MUSIC SCRIBES IN EXCL 3515

SCRIBE	MUS 1	MUS 2	MUS 3	MUS 4	MUS 5
Section of manuscript	Temporale 1 (fols. 1-39/41-110)	Temporale 1 (fols.40)	Temporale 2 (fols. 111-134)	Main Sanctorale (fols. 138-145)	Common to end (fols. 145-161)
Punctum	—	—	—	•	• •
Virga	┌┌	┌┌	┌	┌	┌
Pes	└└	└	└	└└	└
Clivis	┌	┌┌	┌	┌	┌┌
Porrectus	┌		┌	┌	┌
Torculus	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌
Scandicus	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌
Climacus	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌
Epiphonus	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌	┌┌
Cephalicus	┌┌		┌	┌	┌
English Liquescent?	┌		┌	┌	┌
Pressus	┌┌		┌┌	┌	┌
Pes Stratus	┌┌		┌	┌	┌

In the following section, the four music scribes under Type A (MUS 1, 2, 4, 5) and the individual contributor of Type B notation (MUS 3) are examined separately, in order to highlight their idiosyncrasies. A summary comparison then prepares for a broader discussion, introducing notations from elsewhere at the end of the chapter.

TYPE A Notation:

Music Hand 1 (Temporale 1)

One of the main characteristics of Type A notation is the presence of ‘spikes’ or ‘finals’ associated with the virga, pes, and torculus. In general, the ductus for the virga leans slightly to the left with the right-hand stem extending past the head, thus

producing what Haines calls a spike. At times, this spike is quite long, although it can be short or at times omitted altogether (see Plate 4.1, Line 1). Similarly, the pes and torculus share these features, with the right stem of the pes extending below the lower note-head; the left stem of the torculus also protrudes below the initial note (see Plate 4.2, Line 1a). Once again, there is inconsistency in appearance with varying degrees of length and occasionally with omissions of finials as well (see Plate 4.1, Lines 1-3). These extensions of stems, however, are often exaggerated, and are the distinguishing hallmark of this hand (see Table 4.1 above, column 1). Hartzell draws attention to the ‘occasionally well drawn clivis and porrectus’, but adds that the pes, torculus and climacus are ‘not so well’ drawn (Hartzell, 2006, p. 192). Finally, he observes that the ‘join of punctum and virga [is] inelegant’, (Hartzell, 2006, p. 192 and Plate 4.2, Line 1b). Thus, the musical-palaeographical details of Hand A are often inconsistent in quality of representation.

Line 1:

Note the various representations of the virga: ‘*te*’, *vi* of *levavi*; ‘*ni*’ of ‘*animam*’; ductus slightly to the right



Plate 4.1: *Ad te levavi* (f. 1r)

Lines 1-3:

Stems of virgae are inconsistent in length throughout

Line 1a

Note the spikes on the torculus and pes for setting of ‘*tus*’ of ‘*Letatus*’

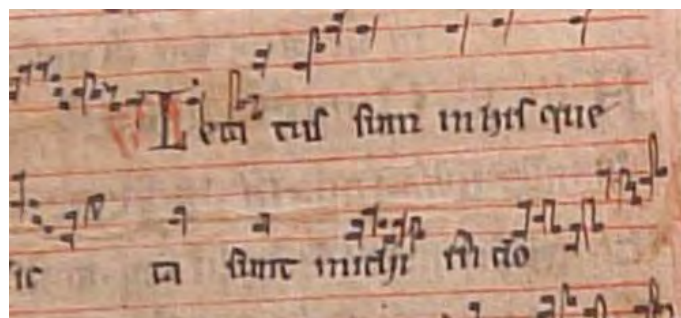


Plate 4.2: (f. 2r)

Line 1b

Join of punctum with virga (inelegant or without join) can be seen on the three consecutive virgae for ‘*sum in his*’

Music Hand 2 (Temporale 1)

In Music Hand 2 we find similar characteristics to those described above for the first notator. This hand makes a brief appearance for the Offertory and Communion *Illumina oculos* and *Oportet te* respectively (see Plate 4.3a-b). What sets it apart from the main hand is the lengthening of ascenders and descenders of the neumes; in particular, there are more pronounced graphic shapes in general combined with a rather untidy and clumsy formation of the neumes. There is an apparent lack of spacing between the notes, giving an overall impression of congestion or crowding. This implies that the text was written first and the chant inserted later.³⁸ The clivis, in particular, displays longer initial stroke extending over two lines of staff, as is also noticeable with the virga. The punctum is more elongated than that of Hand 1 (see Plate 4.3 and Column 2 in Table 4.1 above). Later, we shall discuss the significance of the communion *Oportet te* (see Chapter Six on unique items in EXcl 3515).

Line 1

Note the length of the stem on the clivis at *oc* of *oculos*

Crowding of neume shapes on '*me*' of *meos*

Line 4

Note the exaggerated length of the penultimate virga

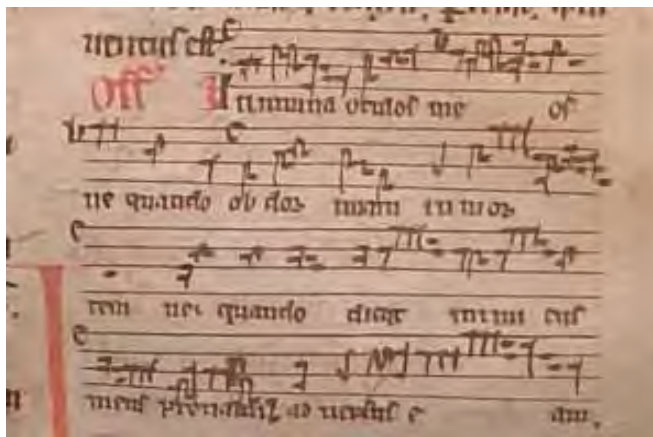


Plate 4.3a: Offertory *Illumina oculos* (f. 40)

³⁸ We find many examples that confirm this procedure, most noticeably in Temporale 2 (see Plate 4.6c below and Table 2.1 in Chapter Two).

Line 1

Further examples of exaggerated extensions on *fi* of *fili*

Line 2

Observe the crowding of neumes at the end of the chant

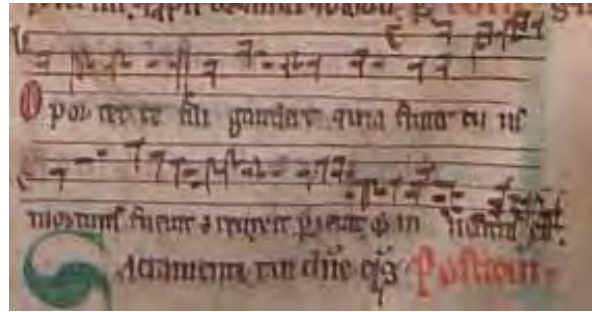


Plate 4.3b: Communion *Oportet te* (f. 40)

Music Hand 4 (Main Sanctoriale)³⁹

This section of the missal is copied in a single-column rather than a double-column layout (see Plate 4.4 overleaf). We find a parallel with all previous forms discussed above, but with the difference of the added oriscus-type figure, which occurs frequently on the end of various neumes (Plate 4.4, Line 1). In fact, the oriscus shape is most likely a type of liquescent, but it is found attached to the clivis in particular. The ‘spikes’ are less evident and less frequent, although they are present at times and occur on the same three forms: virga, pes and torculus. By contrast to the preceding sections, the staff itself is quite compressed, with narrow spacing affecting the presentation of the music. Shortened stems replace the longer stems of the previous two hands and we find more neumes in combination forms.

³⁹ Music Hand 3 will be discussed below. The numbering here follows the sequence of the notators as they occur in the missal

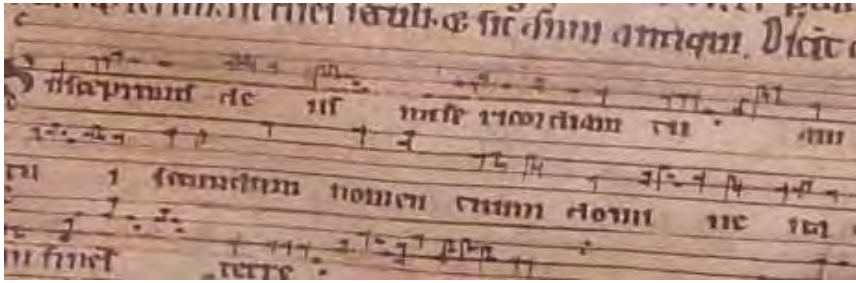


Plate 4. 4: Main Sanctorale: Gradual *Suscepimus deus* (f. 138)

Line 1

Note the introduction of the oriscus figure on the end of the torculi combination introduced on 'de' of 'deus'; note also the use of shortened stems with fewer 'finials'.

Line 2

'Oriscus' shape attached to end of clivis at 'um' of 'tuum' and 'ne' of 'domine'.

Music Hand 5 (Common of Saints)

The many similarities between this hand and those so far described make it difficult to distinguish it from them, and yet there are differences of detail that set it apart from them. The main difference lies in the formation of the punctum. Each of the previous Type-A hands, except for Music Hand 2, use a shortened square form of punctum. Music Hand 2 presents a longer and thicker form. By contrast, this final hand (MUS 5) shapes the punctum not in the expected square or rectangular figure but as a round punctum. Haines (2008) would assign this feature to an earlier pre-1100 period. In addition, we find the initial stroke of the clivis is frequently drawn very lightly, sometimes no more than a 'hairline' (see Plate 4.5 below). The pes stratus has a particular twisted appearance (see Table 4.1, p. 74 and Plate 4.5)



Plate 4.5: Common of Saints, Music Hand 5 (f. 146r)

Line 1

Note the roundness of the punctum on the final figure of the climacus on ‘vir’

Lines 2-3

Pes stratus has wide loop at start on ‘ma’ of ‘maria’ and on ‘ta’ of ‘portasti’

Line 4:

Round punctum also on ‘qui’; observe the hairline of the initial stroke of clivis on ‘gen’ of ‘genuisti’

Type B Notation

Music Hand 3 (Temporale 2)

Lines 1-3:

Note the thickness and square form of the punctum: *nes* of *omnes*

More distinct rectangular shape of all the note-heads

Pes Stratus is a particularly well-formed neume displaying a cursive top with upturned tick for second note: opening ‘*Qui*’ and on ‘*ti*’ of ‘*exultatio*’

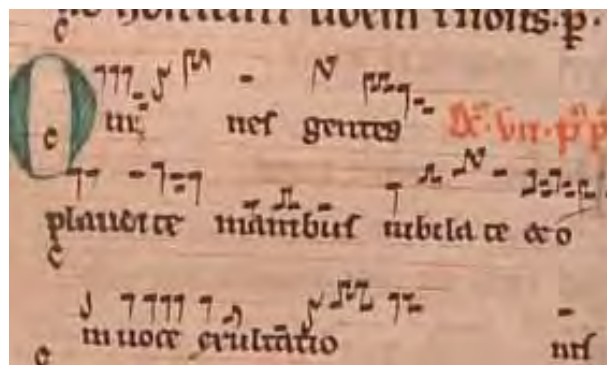


Plate 4.6a: Introit *Omnes gentes*

Line 3

Compound neumes
more prevalent in MH 3:
See 'o' of 'exultatio'

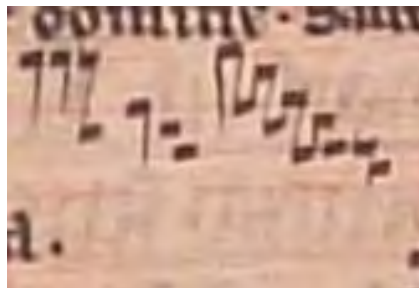


Plate 4.6b: compound neumes (f.113)

Music Hand 3 is found at the start of a new quire at folio 111. As observed in the previous chapter on script (Chapter Three), the new scribe continues the epistle text without any noticeable interruption, creating a seamless continuation. It has also been pointed out that the texts for many of the chants in this section are without notation (see Plate 4.6c below and Table 2.1 in Chapter Two).

This notator exhibits a clear and well-disciplined hand, which sets him apart from Music Hands 1, 2, 4 and 5. Here we find well-drawn neumes set on staves ruled in red. Music Hand 3 bears all the hallmarks of the standard Anglo-Norman notation prevalent in many English manuscripts of the twelfth century (see Plates 4.7–8 below).⁴⁰ For this reason, I have separated this hand and this type of notation from the others, classifying the notation it represents as Type B, or 'Anglo-Norman tied square'.

⁴⁰ For examples of Anglo-Norman notation similar to MH 3 in EXcl 3515, see Hourlier's *Musical Notation of Latin Liturgical Manuscript* (Solesmes, 1991); also Plate X (p.425) in Hiley's *Western Plainchant* (1993); and various plates in Gullick's 'Preliminary observations on Romanesque manuscript fragments of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet' (Stockholm) in *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden* (2003).

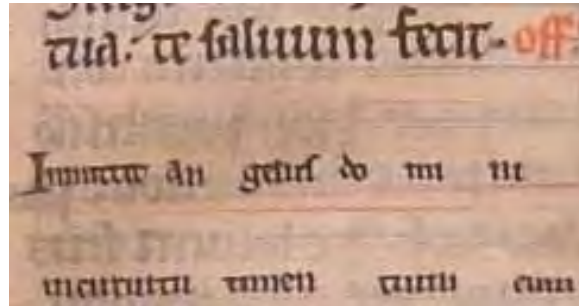


Plate 4.6c: MH 3 Offertory *Immittet angelus* (f. 120r)
(Blank staves without notation)

In general, the note-heads drawn by Music Hand 3 are more ‘square’ in shape than those associated with the scribes of Type-A notation, yet the neume forms do sometimes retain a slightly cursive outline, therefore less uniformly square than the notation of the thirteenth-century Gothic period. In the third column of Table 4.1 (p. 74) the neume forms relating to Music Hand 3 are summarised. The right stem of the virga often gives the impression of retaining a perpendicular angle to the note-head, but at times there is a noticeable leaning to the right. The lower note of the pes tilts slightly downwards, and this is also evident in both noteheads for the torculus. Here we find a consistently clear and neat production of each form, with attention noticeably given to spacing and presentation. All the neume forms and liquescents are present, and perhaps particular attention should be given to the rather florid ‘*pes stratus*’ and to the clusters of compound forms that arise at times with this particular music scribe (see Plate 4.6a-c). Two figures stand apart in their graphic outline; the *porrectus* lacks the initial stroke common to all hands in Type A, and the ‘English liquescent’ omits the final stroke, a feature that occurs in the other hands (see Table 4.1).

Examples of Music Hand 3 with other English Sources:

Lines 1-2

Note the rather square form of the noteheads for this early date
not unlike MH 3 in EXcl 3515



Plate 4. 7: BL Royal 2 B. IV (fol. 55)

Line 2

More cursive form of notation: see the torculus and porrectus on *de* of *ascende* and *lo* of *loquar* respectively

Observe the slant downwards of the puncta on *lum* of *celum*

Notation has a distinct leaning to the right

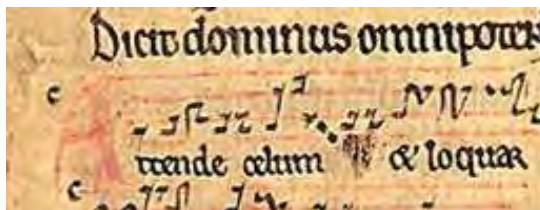


Plate 4.8: MS 2509 Schoyen Collection (12th)

EXcl 3548B

EXcl 3548B is a fragment of a notated missal consisting of eight leaves. It contains Masses for the Epiphany and Easter Eve.⁴¹ In his survey of manuscripts located at Exeter Cathedral, Ker (1977) curiously omits any reference to the musical content of this fragment. Moreover, Ker's observations seem to rely on Brightman's notes (unpublished, 1927) that accompany the fragment at Exeter Cathedral, which also disregard the notation in the manuscript. The notation of this fragment has not been analysed or catalogued prior to this study. Therefore, it is an invaluable source for comparison with EXcl 3515 (see Plate 4.9a-b below). It is significant that the music hand of EXcl 3548B shows idiosyncrasies in style comparable to those of the main hands in EXcl 3515, and draws similar finials on the virga and pes neumes.

These features suggest that Ker's dating of the fragment to the early thirteenth century is somewhat too late. In contrast, I am proposing a late twelfth-century date as more probable, based on the evidence brought to light here concerning the palaeographical details on EXcl 3515. Although a detailed study of the fragment is outside the scope of the present study, one's immediate impression is of a strong connection to the 'house-style' exemplified in the main hands of EXcl 3515 (see also Plates 4.1-5 above).

⁴¹ A short description of the fragment is available in Ker's MLGB (1977). Brightman (1927), however, provides a more detailed summary of the contents in his unpublished notes, which accompany the manuscript in the Library.

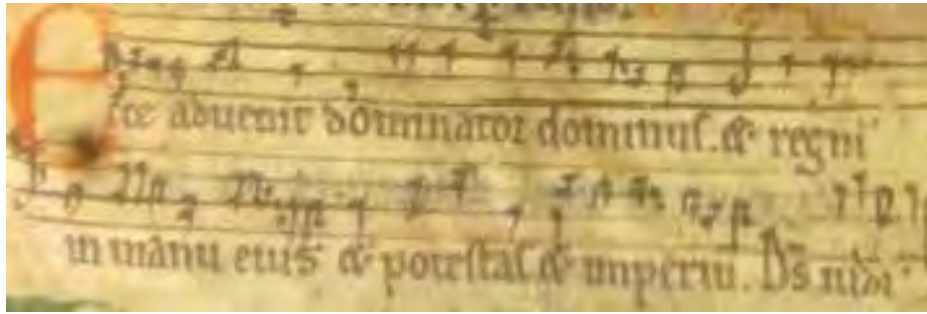


Plate 4.9a: EXcl 3548B (*Ecce Aduenit* f. 1)

Notation similar to MH (1-2; 4-5) in EXcl 3515:

Line 1

Note the spikes on both pes forms at the opening: *Ec-ce*

Line 1/2

Observe the extensions on many of the virgae similar to EXcl 3515

A spike is noticeable on the torculus *um* of *imperium*

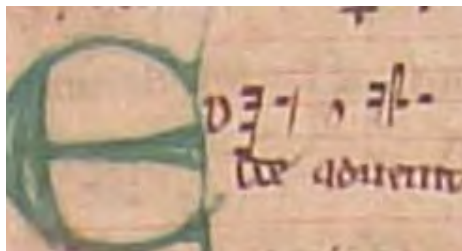


Plate 4.9b: EXcl 3515 (*Ecce Aduenit* f. 14)

Summary of the Music Hands in EXcl 3515

The similarity in notational style between Music Hand 1 (in T.1) with the music scribe of the Main Sanctorable and Common of Saints suggests the existence of a 'house-style'. All music Hands, excluding Hand 3 (in T.2), incorporate the use of extensions on three of the neume figures: virga, pes and torculus. Yet graphic changes in many of the neume shapes are perceptible in each of the main divisions of the manuscript. Subtle modifications with regard to the thickening of note heads, changes in shading from light to dark, the angles of drawn neumes on the staff, and the square

or roundness of the neume figure in question all contribute to the isolating of the various hands within Type-A notation (Anglo-Norman point-neume), pointing to their respective individual mannerisms. Strong resemblances in particular between Music Hand 1 in *Temporale 1* and the notator of the *Main Sanctorale* (Music Hand 4) are observable, but the oriscus figure at the end of the clivis and torculus in the *Sanctorale* confirm that they are separate scribes. The oriscus was a rare occurrence in the *Temporale 1*; here it becomes almost the norm.

Music Hand 3 is strikingly different, suggesting that a scribe trained in the more modern Anglo-Norman style of notation common to such places as St Albans and observable in many English manuscripts of the twelfth century (see Plates 4.7–8 above). This is, in many ways, a later style. Parallels between script forms and musical palaeography can be established. Thus Music Hand 3, in both script and notation, adheres closer to the Gothic script with which it appears, embodying its more modern style. By contrast, Music Hands 1, 2, 4 and 5 represent a ‘Protogothic notation’, corresponding to the pre-Gothic script of the mid-to-late twelfth century that appears in some sections of the manuscript.

The recent discovery of the Exeter fragment EXcl 3548B, containing notation similar to that of the main notators in EXcl 3515, is of major significance to the present study. It clearly confirms the existence of a particular style of notation emanating from the South West of England. In the following section, comparative methods will be drawn on to examine sources from other insular institutions in order to place the current results in context, and to consider the possibility of links with other centres.

Comparative Study with English ‘Anglo-Norman point-neume’ manuscripts

In his catalogue, Hartzell (2006) classifies fifty-four manuscripts as Anglo-Norman (see Table 4.6 in the Appendix).⁴² As mentioned earlier, he specifically applies the modifying term ‘point-neume’ to five books, including EXcl 3515. Included in this sub-group is the leaf of a missal (Oxford Bodleian Auct, F. 2. 14), a fragment from a breviary (Bodley 120), and a section of a missal (Oxford New College MS 159). All

⁴² The entries were isolated here from the Anglo-Saxon period in order to group twelfth-century sources together with similar classification of notation.

three have an English provenance but are not associated with a particular institution; Table 4.2 (below) contains a summary of their notation. In addition, plates and tables are provided in the following section in order to assess the relationship of these manuscripts to EXcl 3515. With EXcl 3515 allocated to this sub-group by Hartzell, I will use my notational analysis and comparison in order to assess the value of Hartzell's grouping.

Each entry is preceded by the relevant catalogue number and includes Hartzell's suggested dating and commentary. Initially, there is a brief introduction to each source highlighting its specific notational characteristics, and in particular, how it relates to EXcl 3515. I decided to include an example of related gradual chants from the two missals and compare them with the chant in the Exeter Missal.

TABLE 4.2

**Table of Anglo-Norman Point-Neume Manuscript
(Based on Hartzell's Catalogue (2006) and Commentary)**

101⁴³

Exeter 3515

s.xii/siii, s.siii, s.xv

Missal

‘Legible Anglo-Norman point-neume notation on four red lines entered erratically. Punctum wide...’ (p. 192)

114

Lincoln, Cathedral 15

s.xii/xiii

Offices for the Virgin (f. 33-43)

‘Elegant point neume notation by the text scribe on staves of four red lines... puncta inclinata are diamonds...’ (pp. 212-213)

Probably from Lincoln

247

Bodleian Auct F. 2. 14 (f. 130)

s.xii²

Missal

‘Anglo-Norman point neums carefully drawn on staves of four red lines: puncta made, then interconnecting stems:...’ (p. 392)

England

251

Bodleian, Bodley 120 (f. 96-99)

s.xii

Breviary

‘Point neums on staves of four red lines. Occasionally the noteheads have been forgotten...’ (p. 394)

England

305

Oxford, New College 159 (f. 1-8; f. 296-301)

s.xii²

Missal

‘Compact, well-executed Anglo-Norman point neums almost square sensitively entered on four line staves in red’ (p. 516)

England

⁴³ Number of item in Hartzell's catalogue (2006).

Bodleian, Auct. F.2.14 (f. 130)

In this late twelfth-century missal we find a clear, legible, notational hand with obvious cursive features (see Plate 4.10). The head of the virga slopes slightly downward and the stem is almost perpendicular. It should be noted that the stem of the virga runs past the note head, as in EXcl 3515, although not so obvious at times (see Plate 4.11a, *mi* of *domini*). The lower note of the pes also inclines downwards and is generally longer than the higher note. Both the clivis and torculus are cursive and the porrectus has a rounded form, tending towards a ‘U’ shape rather than ‘V’ (see Plate 4.10 line 2, *minus* of *dominus*). Hartzell observes that the neumes are ‘carefully drawn’, pointing to the formation of the puncta initially followed by an ‘interconnecting stem’ (Hartzell, p. 392). There are no liquescent forms such as epiphonus or cephalicus; these frequently occur in the Exeter manuscript.



Plate 4.10

Bodleian, Auct. F.2.14 (2657), f. 130

Note the clear formation of the neumes

Initial note-head of torculus and pes tilt downwards

The note-heads are quite thick

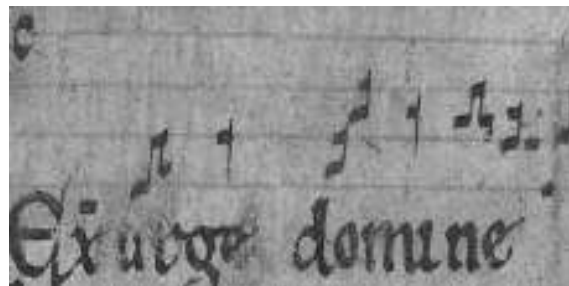


Plate 4.11a: Bod. Auct. F.2.14 (2657), f. 130; Gradual ‘*Exurge domine*’

The neumes not as well drawn as demonstrated in Bodley Auct. F.2.14. The virga gives the stem running past the note-head similar to EXcl 3515. See 'ge' of 'Exsurge' in Plate 4.11b also

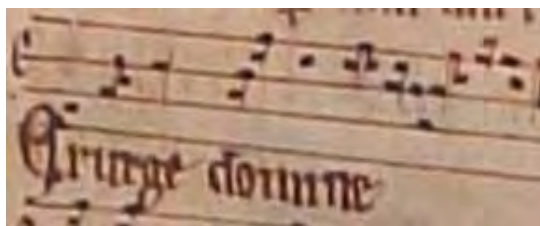


Plate 4.11b: EXcl 3515 (f. 68)
Gradual 'Exsurge domine'

In Plates 4.11a-b above, the notation for the opening of the gradual *Exsurge domine* is given for both Bodley Auct. F. 2. 14 and EXcl 3515. A comparison of the two settings of *Exsurge domine* highlights the differences in the style of 'point-neume' notation between the two sources. Apart from the better quality in notation (both in its consistent uniformity and legibility) in the Bodleian manuscript, the connecting lines and the note heads in EXcl 3515 are much thinner than those of Bodley Auct. F.2. 14. One's impression is that EXcl 3515 is an earlier form of notation.

Oxford New College 159

The second example, Oxford New College 159 (referred to as Oxford 159 below), consists of fourteen folios of a missal in which Hartzell describes the notation as 'compact, well-executed Anglo-Norman point neums-almost square' (Hartzell p. 516). The contrast of thickened note-heads with rather thin connecting stem lines is quite evident here (see Plate 4.12a). There is also a predominant right-angled axis in particular with the formation of the pes. The opening of the gradual *Tibi domine* is used below to compare the notation in both Oxford 159 and EXcl 3515. In general, the similarity is the thinness of the connecting stems at times (see Plates 4.12a – b for commentary).

Note the quite square formation of noteheads on pes and virga.
Observe the strong slope to right on pes.
Note the faint hairline on virgae 'bi' of 'Tibi' and 'mi' of 'domine'. No 'spikes' on neumes.

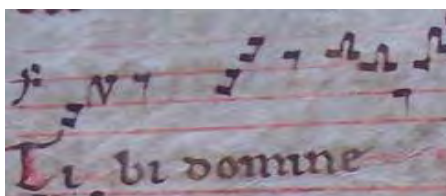


Plate 4.12a: Oxford New College 159 (f. 4)

The two manuscripts share the thin connecting lines between noteheads.

Less inter-syllable spacing is observable in the text underlay

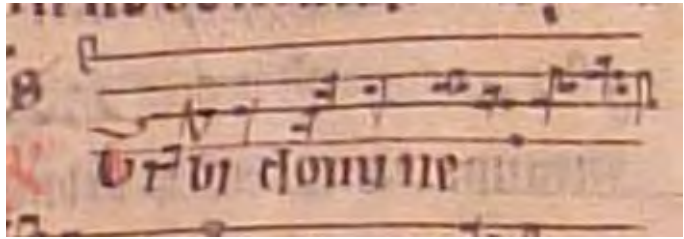


Plate 4.12b: EXcl 3515 '*Tibi domine*' (f. 56v)

Oxford Bodley 120

In the third and final example of the 'point-neume' sources, Oxford Bodley 120 (referred to as Bodley 120 below), we find a shorter punctum not unlike EXcl 3515 (see Plate 6.13a). There are no rigid square features evident but a more cursive rounded aspect is apparent in the formation of the neumes, in particular with the torculus and clivis. There are similar thin connecting lines as found in Exeter, Oxford 159 and Oxford F. 14. We find combined neumes and the presence of tails not unlike the oriscus type figure located primarily in the Main Sanctoale (Music Hand 4) of EXcl 3515 (see Plate 4.13b). In addition, there is much more frequent use of liquescent forms in this manuscript unlike the previous examples. Hartzell states that the noteheads can be omitted at times (Hartzell, p. 394).

Finally, Table 4.3 (p. 91) summarises the notational characteristics of the four sources relevant to the present study. The rather cursive nature of the music hand in general leads me to argue for an earlier date for Bodley 120 in comparison to the other examples listed by Hartzell, particularly if we compare it to the thickness of the script and note-heads of Oxford 159.

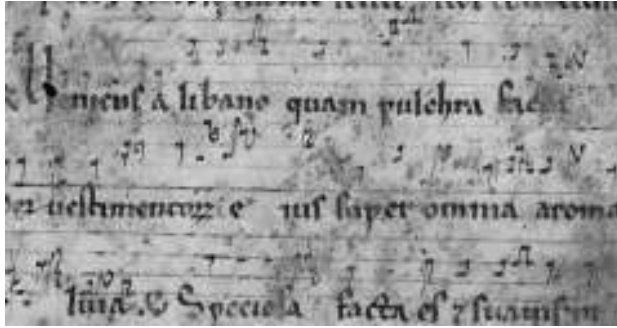


Plate 4.13a Oxford Bodley 120: Responsory '*Veniens a libano*' (f. 96)

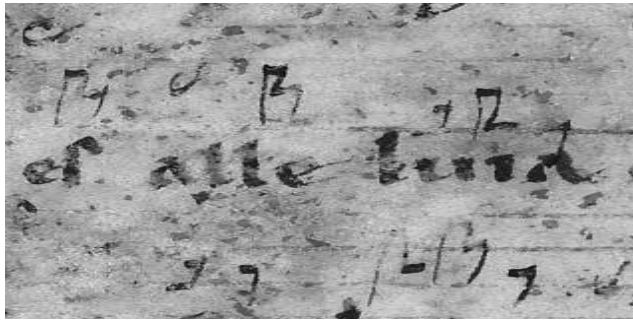


Plate 4.13b Oxford Bodley 120: Responsory '*Veniens a libano*' (f. 96)

Line 1

Note the 'tail' on both clivis for setting of 'es' and 'le' of '*alleluia*'

TABLE 4.3

'Point-Neume' Notation in English Sources

SCRIBE	EXcel 3515	Bodleian Auct. P.2.14	Bodleian, Bodley 120	Oxford New College 159
Punctum	•	•	•	•
Virga	∟	∟	∟ ∟	∟
Pes	∟	∟	∟	∟
Clivis	∟	∟	∟	∟
Torculus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Porrectus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Scandicus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Climacus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Pressus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Pes Stratus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Epiphonus	∟	∟	∟	∟
Cephalicus	∟	∟	∟	∟

Summary of Comparative Analysis of Point-Neume Notation in English Sources

The results of the comparative investigation do not suggest that these ‘point-neume’ sources are particularly closely connected. Table 4.3 above suggests a closer connection perhaps between Bodley 120 and EXcl 3515 than with the remaining two fragments. Yet Hartzell isolated them by designating the notation as ‘point-neume’. There is an implication here that the notators differ from the more usual scribes in reducing the amount of pen activity, and yet in a recent correspondence Hartzell specifies that the Exeter Missal remains ‘distinct from the other four’ in its notation, but does not indicate his reasons.⁴⁴ They all share the same dating to the second half of the twelfth century. I conclude that Hartzell has isolated a group of manuscripts that could be representational of a ‘transitional style’ that I designate as ‘Protogothic’ notation. They lie rooted in the second half of the twelfth century but are not ‘square’ enough to belong to the thirteenth-century notation. Each source above shares the regular linking stems, which can be very thin and sometimes almost faint. EXcl 3515 and Oxford Bodley 120 would seem to be the oldest of the group with retention of many liquescent forms not present in the other sources. Conversely, Oxford 159 could be regarded as the latest of the group with its very square forms.

Our main conclusion here is that the Exeter notators of Type A remain ‘distinct’. There is no direct similarity between the notation here and that of the other ‘point-neume’ group, except perhaps in the formation of the notes, in which the puncta is first formed and then joined by a stem. None of the other music scribes retain finials on any neume form except the virga (Bodley F 14 and Bodley 120). Therefore, if there are no distinct points of contact to be found in this group of English sources, we turn our attention to the continent in the following section to broaden the comparative investigation.

⁴⁴ Correspondence dates to 20 June 2010.

Continental Notation Similar to EXcl 3515

Extensive studies of continental notations have been undertaken by leading chant scholars such as Bannister (1913), Sunol (1935), Corbin (1977), and Bernard (1965, 1966, 1974), and their work still has to be taken into account. In particular, Corbin and Bernard provide exhaustive information on French manuscripts, including invaluable plates to exemplify the notation in question. Moreover, Corbin's review of notations from central France provides critical data pertinent to the present study. Examination of her summaries reveals a notation not unlike that of Type A in EXcl 3515 in the 'Fleury Playbook' (Orleans 201); the similarity between this notation and the Type A category of EXcl 3515 will be the subject matter of the following section.

Both Huglo (2005) and Corbin (1953) identify a type of decadent notation entrenched in the central and western regions of France, including the ecclesiastical regions of Tours, Rouen, Sens, and Lyons. Corbin argues that this type of notation was widespread in the 'French-English' region, stating further that:

[L]e 201 contient une notation neumatique décadente, plus répandue dans le domaine franco-anglais (en particulier le centre et l'ouest de la France) et que j'appellerai, faute de mieux, la notation cursive.

(Corbin, 1953, p.14)⁴⁵

Huglo agrees with Corbin in this portrayal of the notation as a '*notation cursive*' observing that 'Les notes tracées sur portées ne sont pas les notes carrées usuelles en France depuis le milieu du XIIIe siècle...' (Huglo 2005, p. 67).⁴⁶

The resemblances between the type of neumes in the Fleury Playbook and the Type A notation in the Exeter manuscript apply in particular to the virga. Here we find multiple representations of the virga in the notation of these liturgical dramas with 'finals' similar to Type A in EXcl 3515, frequently written untidily and irregularly (see Plates 4.14a-14b below and Table 4.6 p. 208). In particular, she refers to

⁴⁵ The translation indicates that Orleans 201 contains a decadent neumatic notation which was more widespread in the Anglo-French territory (in particular the centre and west of France), which I will call in the absence of anything better, cursive notation.

⁴⁶ The notes on the staves are not the square notes usual in France since the mid-twelfth century.

Bannister's *'punctum caudee'* found among four sources with this form of 'tailed punctum' (Bannister, 1913, p. xxxv, vol.2): in Plates 4.14a-b we find examples of this neume similar to the virga of EXcl 3515. Furthermore, the rather untidy drawing of the neumes in Orleans 201, combined with both the erratic length of their stems and note heads, finds a correspondence at times with the Exeter virgae (see Plate 4.14b).

Representations of the virga
in Orleans 201

Note also the variation in the axis
of the stems

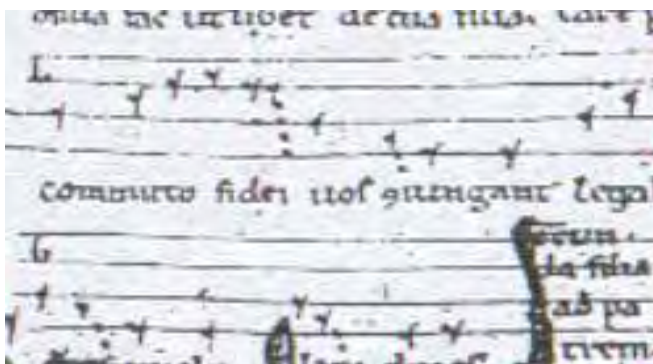


Plate 4.14a: Orleans 201 (f. 179)

Virgae with stems of
varying lengths in EXcl
3515

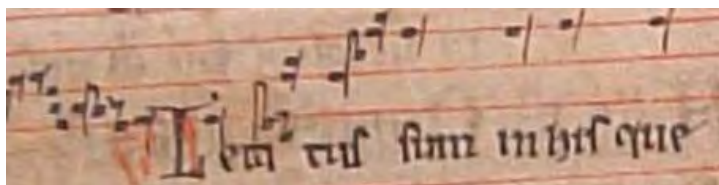


Plate 4.14b: EXcl 3515 (f.2)

Corbin extends her research to include a corpus of sources with notation similar to Orleans 201. The following table (Table 4.4) gives details of eleven sources with notational links to Orleans 201, based on the evidence of Corbin's collations (Corbin, 1953). Examples from Laon, Sens and Auxerre are found among the liturgical books, of which Provins 11 and Vatican 3324 display close links to the notation of Orleans 201.

TABLE 4.4

Manuscripts with Notation Comparable to Orleans 201⁴⁷
(Based on Corbin ‘*Le manuscript 201 d ‘Orleans’*’)

Manuscript	Provenance	Date
Lyons 249	Laon (punctum caudee)	s.xii
Provins 11	Sens (close to Orl 201)	s.xiii
Paris Bibl. Nat lat. 9425	Auxerre	s.xii-xiii
Paris Bibl. Nat lat. 10511	Langres	s.xii ex
(Bannister):		
Vatican 651	Autun	s.xi
Reginense 288	?	s.xii-xiii
Vatican 3324	Massey (Cher)	s.xiii
	(very close to 201)	
Reginense 581	St. Denis	s.xii
(Woolridge)		
British Museum, Burney 357	England	s.xiii
Cousse-maker		
Tours 927	England?	s.xiii
Dolan		
Oxford Bodleian, Ms. Laud lat. 95	England	s.xiii?

Moreover, in Table 4.4, we find three liturgical sources with English provenance or association: the Tours Liturgical drama (Tours 927), the polyphonic sequence *Amor*

⁴⁷The table outlines manuscript sources which portray the punctum as ‘*punctum caudee*’ or bear resemblance to the notation of Orleans 201 as compiled by Corbin (1953), including her summaries of Bannister ‘*Monumenti Vaticana*’ (Bannister, 2 vols, 1913) and Woolridge: ‘*Early English Harmony from the 10th to the 15th century*’ (1897).

Patris et Filii (Burney 357) and a Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Laud lat. 9).⁴⁸ However, since it is not possible here to pursue a detailed comparative study of the notation in the Fleury group of manuscripts, suffice it to say here that a relationship, in particular between the tailed virga of Orleans 201 and the spiked virga of Type A notation in EXcl 3515, can be established, suggesting a possible link with the musical-palaeographical features present in the Exeter Missal. In conclusion we can speculate whether a type of notation originating in central France in the mid-twelfth century may have spread beyond its French birthplace to some regions of England at least.

Note the type of virga with 'spike' similar to EXcl 3515 and Orl 129



Plate 4.15 Burney 357: Polyphonic sequence
'Amor patris et Filii'

Finally, although not included in the main catalogues or inventories by the chant scholars mentioned earlier, a fragment of a noted missal from Tours deserves particular consideration. It is included in a comprehensive appraisal of the manuscripts from Tours undertaken by Rand (1929).⁴⁹ An examination of Rand's photographic images permits one to observe extensions not only on the virga, pes and torculus similar to those used by MH 1, 2, 4 and 5 in EXcl 3515, but also the oriscus sign on the torculus, which occurs in the Main Sanctorale Hand (Music Hand 4) in

⁴⁸ It should be noted that Burney 357 has been assigned to the thirteenth century by Corbin/Woolridge; however, recently, Rankin and Gullick (2009) have advocated its inclusion in Hartzell's Catalogue of English manuscripts up to 1200.

⁴⁹ See plate CXC in volume 2 of Rand's *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (1929).

EXcl 3515 (see plate 4.16a). Consequently, the Tours fragment is the only known source to date to share these notational features with EXcl 3515.

Line 1

Extensions occur on the virga (*quod*), pes (*in* of *interfratres*) and torculus (*fra* of *interfratres*) similar to EXcl 3515

Line 1

Note the oriscus type form on the final torculus: '*tur*' of '*moritur*'

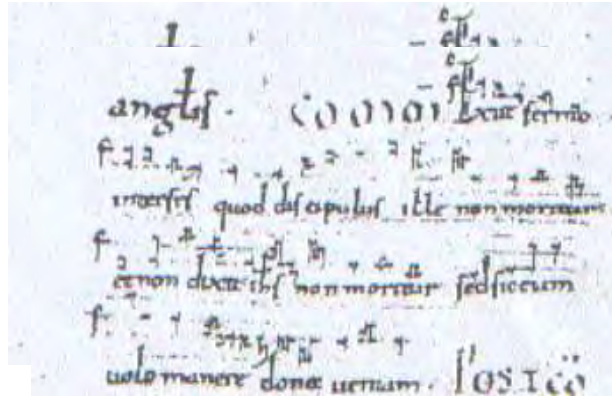


Plate 4.16a: Communion chant: *Exiit sermo*
(Rand 1928 CXC Plate 1: volume 2)

A comparative analysis of the notation in the three sources is summarised in Table 4.5 below. EXcl 3515 has similarities with the two Loire manuscripts; in particular, the Exeter Type A virga is closest to that of Orleans 201. Furthermore, the extension forms on the pes and torculus in the Tours fragment reflect similar features in the Exeter Missal. It should be noted here that in Chapter Five possible links between EXcl 3515 and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (in Fleury) are explored in more depth through an examination of the post-Pentecostal alleluia series.

TABLE 4.5

Comparison of Type A Notation in EXcl 3515 with Continental Sources

SCRIBE	EXcl 3515	Orleans 201 (Fleury)	Tours Fragment (Rand)
Punctum	•	•	•
Virga	┆	┆	┆
Pes	ꝑ	ꝑ	ꝑ
Clivis	Ꝓ ꝓ	Ꝓ ꝓ	Ꝓ
Torculus	Ꝕ ꝕ	Ꝕ	Ꝕ ꝕ
Porrectus	Ꝗ	Ꝗ	Ꝗ
Scandicus	ꝗ	ꝗ	ꝗ
Climacus	Ꝙ	Ꝙ	Ꝙ
Pressus	ꝙ	ꝙ	ꝙ
Pes Stratus	Ꝛ	-	-
Epiphonus	ꝛ	ꝛ	-
Cephalicus	Ꝝ ꝝ	Ꝝ ꝝ	-

Conclusions

EXcl 3515 represents a transitional stage in the development of notation before the full-scale adoption of square notation in the thirteenth century. Although Droste took up the task of establishing ‘guidelines for the palaeographical analysis of square notation by describing the graphic characteristics and distinctions in the notation of the Sarum musical manuscripts’ (Droste, 1983, pp.1-2), no comparable study of the emergence of point-neume insular notation in the twelfth century exists.

The findings here suggest that Exeter was very likely a centre both for an earlier type of ‘Protogothic’ (Anglo-Norman point-neume) school of notation and for an emerging ‘Gothic’ style. Perhaps Hartzell’s critical assessment of the clumsy nature of Type A should not deter chant scholars from assessing the invaluable information it offers and acknowledging simultaneously the well-formed notation of Type B hand, thus placing it deservedly among the better-known insular manuscripts of this period. Moreover, the format of the miscellaneous sections of EXcl 3515 allows us to trace these evolving stages from cursive point-neume notation located in the Commons and T.1 to the more sophisticated and developed graphic forms displayed in T.2 by Music Hand 3. We are witnessing an evolving tradition rooted in the ‘Protogothic’ era of the mid-to-late twelfth century as summarised in the foregoing discussion on scripts, gradually reaching out to the more modern influences of the emerging ‘Gothic’ era. The evidence suggests that there is a parallel between the cursive square forms of the Type A notation (found in EXcl 3515) with the angular forms of the Protogothic script, and that by identifying the musical counterpart to Protogothic script, greater precision in the dating of chant sources may be possible. EXcl 3515 is therefore, a valuable source for chant research in tracing the development of insular notation in the process of change from ‘Point to Square’ (Haines, 2008).

Although both Ker (1960a) and Gameson (1999) suggest that Exeter imported its books from Normandy in the early twelfth century, there is little or no discussion by both authors on the manner of acquiring or producing books there in the latter half of the century. That the fragment EXcl 3548B represents a notation very similar to that of EXcl 3515 not only sheds new light on the notation in the missal but also supports the theory that a local scriptorium probably existed. Until now, no insular witness

incorporating notational idiosyncrasies comparable to EXcl 3515 was recognised. Furthermore, the location of 3548B in Exeter Cathedral also serves to strengthen the argument in favour of there having been an active Exeter scriptorium in the latter half of the twelfth century.

Our present study revealed closer links of the main music hands to notation affiliated to continental centres such as Fleury and Tours. In particular, representation of the virga bears a strong similarity to that portrayed in the Fleury liturgical drama Orleans 201. This type of virga can be traced to the Loire region as demonstrated by Corbin (1953). Finally, the Tours fragment remains the sole continental source known to me displaying extensions on virga, pes and torculus not unlike the EXcl 3515 outline. Continental links with Fleury and the Loire district will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six. The unexpected presence at Exeter of notational features associated with Central France suggests that the larger question of the transmission of notational influences across France and England should be re-examined.

CHAPTER FIVE

Identification of the Liturgical and Melodic Tradition in EXcl 3515

Section I: The Sacramentary

Introduction

Because of the scarcity of insular service books from before 1200, EXcl 3515 is an invaluable witness to a medieval Use of this period. The question as to whether EXcl 3515 can be linked to a known and recognised Use will be the focus of the current chapter, which seeks to elucidate both the liturgical observance and melodic tradition inherent in the various sections of EXcl 3515. After examining the sacramentary underlying the Temporale and Sanctorale in EXcl 3515, the musical tradition of its chant repertory will be explored. Not only does EXcl 3515 provide prayers, chants and readings for the full liturgical year, but it also supplies additional prayers inserted during a period of at least 200 years by various scribes as marginal entries or replacements in the body of the text. These marginalia are evidence of a book in constant use, reflecting changing fashions in liturgy and place. Furthermore, the liturgical and historical evidence suggests that the noted missal EXcl 3515 represents the liturgical practice at Exeter at the time of its creation in the later twelfth century. This chapter will explore this hypothesis.

The evidence presented in the previous chapters suggests an Exeter provenance for EXcl 3515. It is now necessary to seek either confirmation or rejection of this possibility through comparison with liturgical sources of known provenance, in particular the pre-Conquest Exeter book known as the Leofric Missal (Oxford Bodley 579); the predominant and early source of southern English liturgy, the Salisbury or Sarum Use represented by the *Graduale Sarsiburiense* (Frere, 1894) and *The Sarum Missal* (Legg, 1916)⁵⁰. These sources are chosen here as representative of secular liturgies from pre- and post- Conquest England. Comparison with the Leofric Missal (LM henceforth) may help determine the extent to which EXcl 3515 represents, at Exeter, continuity in liturgical observance from the Anglo-Saxon period. Conversely, it is important to assess the extent to which EXcl 3515 is independent of the liturgical models that gave rise to the Use of Salisbury.

⁵⁰ Further Sarum sources include the comprehensive editions of *The Use of Salisbury* (Sandon, 6 vols. 1984–99) and the *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis* (Legg, 1893,1897). A more detailed description of the main representatives is given in the section ‘Sarum Sources’ below.

The second section of the chapter (Section II: Gradual) examines the chant repertory in the Temporale and Sanctorale of EXcl 3515. In particular, the unusual presence in the missal of a continental series of post-Pentecostal alleluias from Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury), noted first by Hiley (1993), but as yet unexplained, will be discussed.

In addition, as indicated by Hiley (1980, 1993) and Hughes (2005), examination of further alleluia repertories (in particular during Easter Week and the Paschal season) in a chant book can often prove invaluable for tracing relationships between sources. For example, Hiley's exhaustive studies on post-Pentecostal and Easter Week alleluias provide essential tools for identifying correspondences between ecclesiastical institutions (1981). Consequently, the results of previous research on alleluia repertories by Hiley and Hughes will be applied to the present investigation.

Two lines of investigation will be pursued in an attempt to elucidate the melodic tradition behind EXcl 3515. The first will compare the notated chants in LM with the corresponding items in EXcl 3515, but it should be noted that this comparative examination is beset with problems from the outset, not least because of the limitations imposed by the scarcity and brevity of the melodic incipits in LM and their unheighted notation. Despite these problems, it may be possible to examine the select group of chants that are notated in both Exeter missals and base tentative conclusions on the degree of correspondence between the neumes in LM with the pitched notes of EXcl 3515. The intention is to assess for the first time the likelihood of continuity in the melodic tradition at Exeter from the eleventh to the later twelfth century.

The second line of investigation will involve the application of the Solesmes scholars' method of isolating points of melodic variance between manuscripts, in order to identify groups of related sources, and thereby establish the dominant chant tradition in a source (Solesmes, *Le Graduel Romain*, iv, 1962). Some fifty sources will be included in this survey in an attempt to identify the main melodic tradition in EXcl 3515.

There are several implications arising from the comparative analysis presented below: first that EXcl 3515 may be more representative of Exeter Use than the Leofric Missal, and secondly, that residues of earlier influences from the Anglo-Saxon period may still be evident over two hundred years later in EXcl 3515.

Introduction to the Sources

Hiley notes that ‘while the derivation of the monastic uses in England is reasonably clear, the use of the secular cathedrals survives in a frustratingly incomplete state’ (Hiley, 1993, p. 583). Although Harrison identifies nine secular cathedrals in post-Conquest England—Salisbury, York, Wells, St. Paul’s, Lincoln, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, and Chichester (Harrison, 1958, p. 3)—very few complete service books survive from before c.1200. In fact, apart from EXcl 3515, no fully notated missal survives in England from the late twelfth century.⁵¹ This lack of contemporary service books makes it difficult to assess relationships between ecclesiastical centres for this period. As noted above, neither the sacramentary nor gradual of EXcl 3515 has been analysed to date.⁵²

Vogel draws our attention to the variety of sacramentaries that existed already in the ninth century, referring to some thirty-five in total (Vogel, 1986). Of course, this makes the task of identifying any one archetype impossible, but Vogel isolates four of the most significant of the Gregorian sacramentaries: the Hadrianum (late eighth century), the early ninth-century Hadrianum with supplement (St Benedict of Aniane), the Sacramentary of Padua (c. 670–680), and the Sacramentary of Trent (687–701) (Vogel, 1986, p. 80). Vogel argues that the ancestor behind the extant Gelasian sacramentary (*Codex Vaticanus Reginensis* lat. 316) can be dated to 628–715 (Vogel, 1986, pp. 68-69). It seems reasonable to expect elements of these sacramentaries to survive in later medieval liturgical sources. The editions of the Gregorian and Gelasian sacramentaries by Deshusses (1971) and Mohlberg (1960) will be referred to here in order to elucidate the earlier history of the prayers. In addition, unpublished studies by Hohler and Brightman, based on collated texts from the liturgies of York

⁵¹ A perusal of Hartzell’s catalogue (2006) demonstrates this obvious lacuna in chant resources. Many missals are dated to the twelfth century, but all (excluding EXcl 3515) survive in incomplete or fragmentary state.

⁵² A sacramentary in general contains the texts that are required by the celebrant for the Mass liturgy, including the Canon of the Mass, the three main prayers, collects, secret and postcommunion, various benedictions and votive Masses.

and Westminster as well as Sarum, will also be drawn on to highlight liturgical idiosyncrasies in EXcl 3515.⁵³

Oxford Bodley 579 (Leofric Missal)

Nicholas Orchard depicts Oxford Bodley 579 as a complex book, describing it as a ‘combined sacramentary, pontifical and ritual’ (Orchard, 2002, I, p.1). He accepts the division of the manuscript into three sections proposed in the late nineteenth century by Warren (1883): Leofric A (the main Sacramentary), Leofric B (three quires, comprising a calendar and computus tables), and Leofric C (containing many additions and emendations of a later period).

This sectional division reflects the chronology of the creation of the manuscript. Leofric A contains the core material of the missal, including the Temporale and Sanctorale, and forms the basis of the comparative analysis here. It is believed that this part of the manuscript was produced in Lotharingia in North-Eastern France towards the end of the ninth century (Orchard, 2002; Drage 1978). The second layer, Leofric B, has long been thought to have possible connections to Glastonbury, but recent studies suggest that many of the added items were introduced at Canterbury during the tenth and early eleventh centuries (Orchard, 2002). Finally, the manuscript arrived in eleventh-century Exeter as Bishop Leofric’s (1050-1072) personal missal. During his episcopate, further additions were made (Leofric C), with additional changes introduced up to the end of the eleventh century (Drage 1978).

Orchard (2002) argues that the sacramentary behind the missal was essentially of English origin. Moreover, his findings (Orchard, I, 2002, p. 8) suggest that the missal was prepared for Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury (890-923). The implications of this have great significance for the current study. It is possible that correspondences between the two missals would suggest a preservation of an insular liturgy dating back to perhaps the eighth century.

⁵³ Access to the unpublished research undertaken by Hohler (1970) and Brightman (1928) is available by consulting the box of materials that accompany EXcl 3515 at Exeter Cathedral library.

Sarum Sources

For the second principal witness in this discussion we turn to the Use of Sarum. This renowned secular liturgy gradually became widespread throughout England in the later medieval period, replacing many local Uses. As Sandon cogently states: ‘like virtually every other Use of medieval Europe, that of Salisbury was liturgically and musically a dialect of the Romano-Frankish *lingua franca*’ (Sandon, NG, 2001, p.161). The origins and development of the Sarum rite have been addressed by many scholars such as Frere (1898, 1901), Droste (1993), Sandon (2001) and Hiley (1993). It is not the intention of the current study to re-address this matter, but rather to point to the characteristic features that represent its liturgy.

The earliest extant notated sources of Sarum chant date from the first part of the thirteenth century: two graduals, London, British Library, Add. 12194; Oxford Bodleian Library, Rawl. lit. d. 3 and the Office Antiphoner, Cambridge University Library, Mm. 2. 9 (Hiley, 1993). For this study, Frere’s facsimile, *Gradual Sarisiburiense* (based on BL Add. 12194) will be the main representative for the chant items of Sarum Use (Frere, 1894). For texts of the Mass, Legg (1916) based his edition of the Sarum missal on three manuscripts from a slightly later period, dating from the mid thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries: Paris, Arsenal MS 135, Bologna University, MS 2565 and Manchester Rylands, Crawford MS Latin 24 of which the latter is probably the earliest, dated by Hiley (1993) to c. 1260.⁵⁴ Legg’s edition, therefore, forms the basis of the non-musical material in the present study.⁵⁵

Sarum Characteristics

Among the Mass texts, Legg (1916) points to specific prayers that help distinguish a Sarum book. In particular, he refers to a group of secrets and postcommunions that are unrelated to other secular Uses; for example, the secrets for Ember Friday in Advent

⁵⁴ The Crawford Missal (Manchester Rylands, 24) was written at Salisbury for a canon at Exeter, namely, Henry Chichester.

⁵⁵ It should be noted here that Sandon’s invaluable editions of the Use of Salisbury (based on collation of many Sarum representatives) are also included here and are indispensable in a study of this nature: these volumes provide us with clear legible texts and notation of prayers and chants (Sandon, 1984–1999).

(*Sacrificiis quesumus*) or the Second Sunday after the Epiphany (*Ubi tibi gratia*) are hallmarks of Sarum books. The liturgical assignment of the Feast of Relics to 15 September is often used to classify a Sarum source. Other peculiarities include the numbering of the summer and autumn Sundays from Trinity rather than from Pentecost. A cursory examination of EXcl 3515 shows no direct affinity to Sarum Use; the decisive hallmarks such as the Feast of Relics, the Trinity substitution for the Pentecost Sundays and the characteristic secrets are not present in the missal. This suggests that EXcl 3515 is not a Sarum missal, but this assertion will be explored further in the comparative analysis.

On the other hand, we cannot ignore the numerous additions and emendations that are inserted by various scribes to the original texts of EXcl 3515. Many of these marginalia replace the original prayer or chant text with the Sarum substitute, suggesting a conscious ‘updating’ of the missal to Sarum Use over many centuries. Very few of the additions, however, have been specifically dated. Ker (1977) dates a few of the added offices (St Thomas of Canterbury and St Hilary) from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth century. But the majority of the insertions have not been the subject of any scholarly report. The earliest documentation of Sarum Use at Exeter dates to the period of Bishop Grandisson’s reforms in the early fourteenth century (Oliver, 1861; Frere 1940). The implications of these marginal additions will be discussed in the following chapter.

Frere asserts that books classified in the 1327 Exeter inventory as ‘*non de usu*’ or ‘*de veteri usu*’ indicates that some type of liturgical reform had taken place prior to Grandisson’s episcopacy: he notes that ‘this slender information is all that can be gleaned so far as to the Use of the Cathedral’ (Frere, 1940. p. 56). Indeed, several of the Sarum insertions in EXcl 3515 are clearly pre-fourteenth century. In the following section, collation of the sacramentary items in the three sources will be presented; prayers ‘updated’ to Sarum will also be noted and the significance of these alterations will be assessed in the final conclusions.

The Sacramentary of EXcl 3515: Temporale

In the Appendix, Table 5.1 (a-k) presents the full liturgy in EXcl 3515. The table opens with the First Sunday of Advent and proceeds through the liturgical year to the end of the Pentecost season (Twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost). The continuity of the liturgical year is most noticeably interrupted by the inclusion of the Ember Days between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays after Pentecost in both the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515. The significance of this distribution of days will be assessed later. The items of the Mass liturgy are given in the left hand column in their liturgical order, which is also the order in which they appear in EXcl 3515 (EX hereafter for the present chapter). The Temporale is presented first and is followed by the Sanctorale.

The following section compares the texts of the three main Mass prayers (collect, secret and postcommunion) within the selected sources. The collect follows the Introit of the day; the secret is placed after the Offertory and the postcommunion is placed after the Communion. During Lent an extra prayer, the *oratio super populum*, is recited. Each prayer will be examined separately and the degree of correspondences will be summarised in percentages.

Important conventions of presentation should be noted here at the outset: blank spaces indicate complete agreement between the three liturgies; any other entry signals a divergence, or a lacuna. The frequent statement 'EX/LM agree' should be taken to indicate that they agree in differing from Sarum.

Collect for St Stephen

In Table 5.1a (Advent-Christmas period), agreement in the sacramentary items is very evident, most noticeably among the collects. The fact that only one collect, for the Feast of St Stephen, disrupts the otherwise unbroken continuity between the three sources, makes it worthy of attention. LM and SAR agree but the prayer in EX (f.11r) opens with

*Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui primitias
martyrum in beati levite stephani*

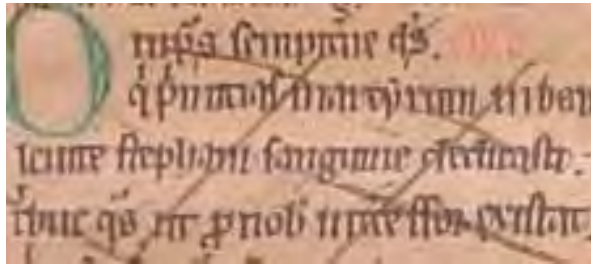


Plate 5.1: EXcl 3515 (f. 11) Collect for St Stephen

The prayer is cancelled in EX (see plate 5.1) and the Sarum replacement is noted in the margin (*Da nobis domine quesumus imitari quod colimus...*). Although LM agrees with Sarum, it should be noted that the rejected collect in EX is also given as an alternative collect (listed after the postcommunion) in the Exeter Anglo-Saxon missal (f. 158v).⁵⁶ Further confirmation of its use at Exeter can be traced to the Leofric Collectar, BL Harley 2961; thus EX apparently preserves a prayer used at Exeter in the Anglo-Saxon period.

A similar pattern is observable in Table 5.1b (see Appendix, p. 215), which represents the liturgical year from the feast of Holy Innocents to the final Sunday after Epiphany. Collects display an undisrupted agreement between the three sources with the exception of two prayers located in LM. These collects occur on the two feast days following Holy Innocents: In *Octavas Domini* and *Dominica 1 Natale Domini*; these feasts have conflicting titles in the three sources (Table 5.3 (a-d) below).

The order of Masses seems confused in EX; it is customary for the *Dominica 1 Post Natale Domini* (*Dum medium* referred to as *Sexta die* mass in Sarum sources) to precede the Circumcision of Our Lord (*Puer natus* Mass for Jan 1). Here in EX, we find that the roles are curiously reversed (see Table 5.3a below). Moreover, the original title in EX (f.13) is illegible, whereas the rubric *Sexta die* is clearly an addition by a reviser inserted over the original rubric at a later date. An additional marginal entry for the Feast of the Circumcision (*In die Circumcisionis*, f. 13v) is located at the end of the page in EX, with cues inserted for the introit (*Puer natus*),

⁵⁶Images of the Leofric Missal are available online at: <http://www.image.ox.ac.uk/pages/bodleian/Bodl579/main.htm> (see Orchard, 2002, vol. 1, p.1), [accessed 12 March 2012].

collect, lesson, gradual and alleluia. Therefore, the redactor noticed the unusual arrangement and attempted to bring it into line with Sarum.

As Table 5.3(a-d) shows, there is no concordance with either LM or SAR. It would appear that EX has a different practice. However, an explanation for the unusual ordering of the Masses can be found in the Gelasian sacramentary. Hartzell also notes the problematic sequence of Masses after Christmas in his article on the eleventh-century missal fragment: BL Royal 5 A. XII (henceforth Roy; Hartzell, 1989). He outlines the following Masses: *Commemoracione Sancta Maria, In Octavas Domini* and *Dom.1 post Natale Domini* (see Table 5.3d below) pointing to the Sacramentary of Giso for a provision of feasts similar to Roy, (Hartzell, 1989 p. 53). Here we have not only an explanation for the pattern of Masses observed in EX but also for the original rubrics in the two corresponding Masses in EXcl 3515 (*In Octavas Domini* and *Dom.1 post Natale Domini*) (see Table 5.3a). It seems likely that the original rubric beneath the Sarum heading of ‘*Sexta die*’ stated *Dominica 1 Post Natale Domini*. If we compare Table 5.3d with 5.3a, we find the *Puer Natus* Mass positioned before that of *Dum medium*, as in EXcl 3515. The evidence suggests, therefore, that the twelfth-century Exeter missal retains vestiges of an older tradition similar to that reflected in Hartzell’s Anglo-Saxon fragment.

TABLE 5.3 (a-d)

Order of Feasts after Holy Innocents

Sequence of Masses in EXcl 3515 after Mass of Innocents

(a)

Holy Innocents	<i>Ex ore</i>
[Illegible rubric f. 13]:	<i>Puer natus mass</i>
<i>Sexta die a nativitate</i> [rubric in a later hand]	<i>Dum medium</i>
Feast of Circumcision [marginal addition in a later hand]	<i>Puer natus</i>

Sequence of Masses in Leofric Missal after the Mass of Innocents:

(b)

[In Sanctorale]⁵⁷

Holy Innocents (f.160r)	<i>Ex ore</i>
St Silvester	<i>Sacerdotes tui</i>

[In Temporale]

<i>Dominica I Post Natale Domini</i>	<i>Dum medium</i>
<i>Octabas Domini ad Sanctam Mariam</i>	<i>Puer natus</i> (added by Exeter scribe)
<i>Dominica II Post Natale Domini</i>	Prayers

Sequence of Masses in Sarum after Mass of Innocents:

(c)

St Thomas of Canterbury	<i>Gaudemus</i>
<i>Sexta die a nativitate domini</i>	<i>Dum medium</i>
St Silvester	<i>Sacerdotus</i>
Circumcision	<i>Puer natus</i>

⁵⁷ The feasts of Holy Innocents and Silvester are not located in the Temporale as customary but rather in the Sanctorale.

Sequence of Masses in Hartzell's Fragment after the Mass of Innocents:

(d)

Commoratio de Sancta Maria in Nativitate Prayers only

In Octavas Domini *Puer natus*

(Identical to the mass following Holy Innocents
in EXcl 3515)

Dominica Prima Post Natale Domini *Dum medium*

Summary of Results

Phases of remarkable stability among the collects can be seen in Table 5.1 (f, g, h, j) (pp. 219-222). During the period from Palm Sunday to the Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost, there is almost complete agreement among the collects in EX, LM and SAR with just one discrepancy arising (Table 5.1h). This divergence is located in LM for Thursday after Pentecost. Here LM draws on the Gellone Sacramentary for its choice of prayer (*Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sollemnitatem*, f.134v) not reflected in either EX or SAR (Orchard, I, item 1049, p. 284)⁵⁸.

Only the Lenten period shows some differences, which occur most frequently on Thursdays and Saturdays in Lent (see Table 5.1 [c, d, e]). This may not be surprising considering the general instability of Thursdays, due to their late entry to the liturgy (McKinnon, 2000).

Therefore, a summary of the collects points to a general high level of concordance among the three sources, with a particularly close connection between LM and EX. Table 5.4a below, summarises the differences. As the table shows, just five collects from a total of 125 are unique to LM and EX, with a total of ten prayers exclusive to Sarum; therefore, overall, LM and EX have a 92% agreement with one another. On the other hand, collation of the other prayers (secrets and postcommunions) in the Temporale reveals less agreement with Sarum Use, as will be shown below.

⁵⁸ The Gellone Sacramentary (PBN lat. 12048) represents a 'primitive recension of the Sacramentary of Flavigny', possibly copied at Cambrai and donated to the Abbey of Gellone. It is dated to end of the eight century (see Vogel, 1986, p. 71)

TABLE 5.4a

Summary of the Collects in the Temporale

Prayer	Number of items	Agreement
Collects:	115/125 agree between LM, EX and SAR:	92%
	120/125 are shared between LM and SAR:	96%
	120/125 are shared between EX and SAR:	96%

Secrets

It is among the secrets that LM and EX show clear agreement with one another. By contrast, we find some forty-one examples of disagreement when compared with the Use of Sarum (see Table 5.4b below). The frequency of these divergences points to the close connection between the two Exeter missals, with 92% agreement. The days most noticeable include: Ember days in Advent, Sundays after Epiphany (2nd, 3rd, 5th) and the Lenten period up to Easter Sunday, of which some nineteen examples of concordance are found. Similarly, as noted with the collects, the period between the Sixth and Sixteenth Sundays after Pentecost displays full agreement between EX, LM and SAR in the choice of secret for the day (see Appendix, Table 5.1j). The close correspondence between EX and LM is quite striking, however, during the final Sundays after Pentecost (Table 5.1k), with almost full concordance (Eighteenth to the Twenty-Fourth Sundays). In sum, among the secrets in Sarum Use, we have evidence of a sacramentary different to LM and EX (67% agreement); by contrast, the evidence suggests that EX and LM share a common source, or perhaps more correctly, that EX is for the most part based on LM (92% agreement).

TABLE 5.4b

Summary of the Secrets in the Temporale

Prayer	Number of items	Agreement
Secrets:	41/125 are different in SAR from EX and L	67% (agreement)
	115/125 are shared by L and EX	92% (agreement)

Postcommunion

In the Advent to Epiphany period (Appendix, Table 5.1 a, b) the postcommunions are different in Sarum to LM and EX (Octave of Epiphany, First and Fifth Sunday of Epiphany). Of course, the two problematic days after Holy Innocents reflect the differences among the three sources as noted above (Table 5.1 b). Slightly higher incidences of divergence are noticeable in the Lenten season in EX, but as usual they occur on specific Lenten Thursdays and Saturdays (Table 5.1 c, d, e). In general, the postcommunions are less unstable than the secrets but slightly more than the collects, with 92% concordance between the Exeter sources and 77% with Sarum (summarised in Table 5.4c below). From Pentecost Sunday to the Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost, there is full agreement evident among the three sources; this recurring stability is reflected (as with the secrets) in both EX and LM between the Eighteenth and Twenty-fourth Sundays after Pentecost (see Table 5.1 k).

TABLE 5.4c

Summary of Postcommunion in the Temporale

Prayer	Number of items	Agreement
Postcommunions	28/125 are different in SAR from EX and L	77.6%
	114/125 are shared between L and EX	92%

TABLE 5.4d

Summary of the Prayers in the Temporale

Prayer	Number of items	Agreement
Three prayers	79/375 are different in SAR from EX and L 343/375 are shared between L and EX	78.9% 92%

The final table (5.4d above) notes the number of differences that occur between the select group of sources (LM, EX, SAR). It is very clear that the two Exeter manuscripts are closely connected. In fact, if we interpret the summaries from a different angle there are only fourteen prayers from a combined total of 375 that separate EX from LM and SAR. It is among the secrets in Sarum Use that the main differences occur. The findings in general point to a similar sacramentary connecting LM and EX with c. 92% agreement. There is a strong link between the prayers of the two Exeter missals that gives clear evidence of a common ancestor. Hence, the evidence from the tripartite comparative examination suggests a continuation of liturgical observance from the Anglo-Saxon period (at Exeter) to the later twelfth-century era. A direct connection between the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515 can be confirmed. This link is further strengthened by the inclusion of the September Ember days placed between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays in both liturgies, thereby interrupting the series (see Table 5.1 k, columns 3-5). Before we consider the prayers of the Sanctorale, it is necessary to divert briefly to assess the significance of these Ember Days to the present study.

Ember Days in EXcl 3515

In Table 5.1 (h, j, k) the series of post-Pentecostal Sundays is listed in numerical order (1-25). As previously noted in Chapter Two, there is a disruption in EX, however, in the continuity of the dominical series between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays of Pentecost (Table 5.1 k, cols. 3-5) by the inclusion of the September Ember Days (Wednesday, Friday and Saturday). In the Gregorian Sacramentary the liturgy for the Ember Days is not positioned at this point in the text, but at a later stage

(Deshusses, 1971). By contrast, the Gelasian sacramentary breaks the dominical sequence and incorporates the prayers for these three days (Mohlberg, 1960). Brightman's survey of English Uses (Sarum, York, Westminster) shows adherence to the Gregorian tradition (Brightman, 1928). For example, in the Sarum sources, the Ember Days are placed after the Twenty-fourth Sunday of Pentecost.⁵⁹ Therefore, the inclusion of the Ember Days in EX at this point in the manuscript is somewhat surprising. Similarly, the Leofric Missal incorporates the Gelasian prayers for the Ember days between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays (Mohlberg, 1960; Orchard, 2002, II, pp. 219-212); hence, EX apparently continues a tradition already in practice in eleventh-century Exeter. It remains an isolated example of a post-Conquest secular Use preserving an older tradition; thus creating another link in the chain that connects it closely to the Anglo-Saxon past. It should be noted that Brightman (unpublished, 1928) first observed this liturgical link between the two Exeter missals. He asserted that this connection strengthened the argument in favour of EX as a representative of a secular Use, the Use of Exeter (Brightman, *ibid.*).

The Sacramentary of EXcl 3515: Sanctoriale

In the discussion below, the comparative analysis will continue with an examination of the prayers in the main and supplementary Sanctoriales of EXcl 3515 (SS and MS). As noted in Chapter Two, it has previously been suggested that the fragment (SS) originally formed part of a different book and thus was not at first intended for the present missal (Brightman, 1920; Hohler, 1970). I will continue to propose, however, that this Supplementary Sanctoriale was written specifically to supplement the Main Sanctoriale. If the SS and MS were based on different exemplars, then we should expect a disruption to the continuity of the pattern established in the previous section between LM and EX.

Table 5.6 a-d (pp. 224-227) summarises the gradual, lectionary and sacramentary of the Sanctoriale. Our interest in this section here concerns the prayers alone. The format is similar to that of the Temporale. The prayers, chants and readings are listed in the left-hand column in the order of the items in the liturgy and manuscript. The feasts of the SS are separated from those of the MS by means of two columns where doubling

⁵⁹ Gradual Sarisburiense (see Frere, 1894, f.160) and Sarum Missal (see Legg, 1916, pp.197-201).

of the same feast occurs (Table 5.6a, column 5; Table 5.6b cols. 1 and 4). SS is noted over the relevant column in the table (see Table 5.6 a-b) highlighting the eight feasts that it provides.⁶⁰ Blank denotes agreement and the order of feasts follows the series as they are presented in the implied chronological order of the manuscript (hence the dislocation of St Blaise to April; see Table 5.6a, final column). Grey shading is used to separate chants from the prayer items. Italics are used for prayers only.

There are thirty-seven feasts in all. Closer examination reveals once again a similar trend in alliance, albeit somewhat lower, between the two Exeter missals with c. 86% conformity. This is not surprising when we consider the continual expansion of the Sanctorale in the later Middle Ages. For example, new feasts such as St Leonard, St Katherine, St Blaise and St Nicholas are twelfth-century entries to the Kalendar and thus the liturgical material for them would need to be procured from different sources. As one would expect, these later feasts are not in the Leofric Missal.

As previously observed in the Temporale, there is a high level of agreement among the collects in the three sources (86%). In a similar way, disparity is more evident among the secrets and postcommunions than among the collects (see Table 5.5 below). Comparison of the secrets and postcommunions in EX, LM and SAR shows a distinctly lower percentage of agreement in the Sarum sources, with just 65% for secrets and 60% for postcommunions (Table 5.5).

However, both LM and EX remain quite high in concordance, with 85% for all three prayers. Thus, as previously noted in the Temporale, the pattern of continuity seems to be sustained with minor differences arising due to the adoption of new feast days. The evidence suggests that the Sanctorale of EX takes LM as its basic model or if not the model at first hand, perhaps a now lost book that was itself derived from it. Consequently, the SS and MS are part of the same tradition as exemplified in the Temporale.

Tables (5.8 and 5.9 below) summarise the results from the main comparative examination (Table 5. 6 a-d, p. 214) in order to elucidate the concordance of the feast days. An asterisk (*) highlights the feasts unique to EXcl 3515. It should be noted that

⁶⁰ There are three doubled feasts: Chair of Peter, St. Mark and the Invention of the Cross.

it is with the Gelasian group of feasts (fourteen in all) that the greatest level of conformity between the three liturgies is most apparent (summarised in Table 5.8, p. 120). If we compare these results with the Gregorian feasts (see Table 5.9, p. 121) it is obvious that there is less stability in choice of prayers here than with the Gelasian formulae.

TABLE 5.5

Summary of the Prayers in the Sanctorale

Collects:	30/35 agree between L EX and SAR: 31/35 agree between L and EX: (5 collects unique to EX)	c.85.7% c.88.5%
Secrets:	30/35 agree between L and EX 12/35 different in SAR (23/35 agree) (5 secrets unique to EX)	c.85.7% 65.7%
Postcommunions:	30/35 agree between L and EX 14/35 different in SAR (thus 21/35 agree) (5 secrets unique to EX)	85.7% 60%

Table 5.7 below summarises the four feast days that highlight the differences in the Sanctorale of EX from that of LM and SAR (two of which do not occur in LM: St. Blaise and St. Leonard). These unique items provide a lens into the type of liturgical reform that was initiated in the post-Conquest era at Exeter. In fact, it is possible that EX provides the earliest recorded set of Mass prayers for the feast of St. Blaise. A comparison of these unique prayer sets with English and continental sacramentaries and missals will be the subject matter of the following section.

TABLE 5.7

Prayers Unique to EXcl 3515

Feast Days	Collects	Secrets	Postcommunions
St Blaise	*	*	*
St Mary Magdalene	*	*	*
St Matthew	*	*	*
St Leonard	*	*	*

TABLE 5.8**Table of Gelasian Feasts in the Sanctorale of EXcl 3515⁶¹**

Conversion of St Paul	Collect and Secret agree in L EX and S Postcommunion agrees in L and EX ⁶² .
Chair of Peter	L S and EX agree
St Matthias	L S and EX agree.
St Mark	L S and EX agree
St Bartholomew	L S and EX agree except for Postcommunion in S
Invention of the Cross	L S and EX agree
St Jacob	L S and EX agree
Decollation of John the Baptist	L S and EX agree on Secret EX and S agree on Collect and Postcommunion
*Exaltation of the Cross	L S and EX agree on Secret L and EX agree on Collect Postcommunion differs in EX
*St. Matthew	EX differs from L and S for all prayers L and S agree for Collect and Secret All differ for Postcommunion
St Luke	L EX and S agree
Simon and Jude	L EX and S agree except for Postcommunion in S
Vigil of all Saints	L EX and S agree
All Saints	L EX and S agree
St Thomas the Apostle	L EX and S agree

* Indicates where prayer (or prayers) in EXcl 3515 differ(s) from Leofric and Sarum.

⁶¹ The following table compares the prayers in EXcl 3515 with the Leofric Missal and Sarum (based on Legg's edition (1916) of the Sarum Missal)

⁶² L = Leofric Missal; EX = EXcl 3515; S = Sarum.

TABLE 5.9**Table of Gregorian Feasts in the Sanctorale of EXcl 3515⁶³**

St Agnes	L EX and S agree on collect L and EX agree on Secret and Postcommunion
St Vincent	L EX and S agree on Collect only L and EX agree on Secret and Postcommunion
St Gregory	L EX and S agree on Collect L and EX agree on Secret and Postcommunion
St George	L EX and S agree on Collect only L and EX agree on Secret and Postcommunion
*St Blaise	No agreement between EX and S (not in L)
St Philip and Jacob:	L EX and S agree on Collect L and EX agree on Secret and Postcommunion
Feast of Trinity⁶⁴	L EX and S agree on Secret and Postcommunion EX and S agree on Collect
Nativity of John the Baptist	L S and EX agree
St Paul	L S and EX agree
St Peter's Chains	L EX and S agree on Collect L and EX agree on Secret and Postcommunion
St Laurence	L EX and S agree on Collect and Postcommunion L and EX agree on Secret
*Assumption of BVM	L S and EX agree on Collect and Postcommunion Secret differs in all

⁶³ The following table compares the prayers in EXcl 3515 with the Leofric Missal and Sarum (based on Legg's edition [1916] of the Sarum Missal)

⁶⁴ There is no provision for the feast of Trinity in the Temporale. The rubric indicates that the Introit, *Benedicta sit*, can be located in a source containing the marriage service or alternatively at the end of this book. This chant, however, does not appear again and the evidence suggests that the book is incomplete.

TABLE 5.9 (continued)

Table of Gregorian Feasts in the Sanctorale of EXcl 3515

*St Margaret	L and EX and S agree on Collect and Secret Postcommunion differs in all
*Mary Magdalene	EX differs to L and S in all (Although EX agrees with the added Postcommunion in L) ⁶⁵
Nativity of the BVM	L and EX and S agree on Collect and Secret Postcommunion differs in S
St Michael the Archangel	L EX and S agree on Collect and Postcommunion EX and S agree on Secret
*St Leonard	EX differs to S (not in L)
St Martin	L EX and S agree on Collect and Secret L EX agree on Postcommunion
*St Katherine	EX and S only agree in Collect (not in L) EX has different Secret and Postcommunion
St Andrew	L EX and S agree
St Nicholas	EX and S agree (not in L)

⁶⁵ On f. 340r in the Leofric Missal an alternate postcommunion is given as a marginal addition.

Unique Feasts in Sanctorale

The Exeter prayers for St Blaise are not located in English secular sources (including Sarum, Westminster, York) nor are they given in the Gregorian or Gelasian sacramentaries (Brightman, 1928):

Collect: *[D]eus qui hanc diem nobis beati blasii martiris tui...*

Secret: *[Sacrific]ia qs dne ut beatie blasii ...*

Postcomm: *..ci nos dne martiro tui atque pont. blasii*⁶⁶

(EXcl 3515, f. 137)

In fact, St Blaise appears to be a rare figure in insular sources during the twelfth century. Hartzell's catalogue records just two missals, namely, EX and the fragment, Riksarkivet, MI, 4 (see Hartzell, 2006, p. 600) that include the feast. Although, Hohler's research locates the collect in Augustinian sources (with a reference to Cirencester), he fails to specify the manuscripts (Hohler, 1970). In the present study, concordances for the prayers were located among continental sources incorporated by Hiley in his study of the liturgy of Norman Sicilian manuscripts (Hiley, 1980). Hiley records different mass sets for St Blaise among which the Exeter formulae for the collect and secret can be recognised (Hiley *ibid*). It should be noted that very few concordances for the Exeter prayers are noted in Hiley's collation tables. The collect, however, can be traced to two printed missals from Angers (1489) and Coutances (1557), both of which are quite late sources ((Hiley, 1980, (II, 2/i) p.480).

The secret from EX is found elsewhere, in a sacramentary possibly of Rouen provenance, namely, BL Add 10048 (Hiley, *ibid*.). Although Hiley does not give the Exeter postcommunion, Hohler's research traces its location to the 1557 Coutances missal also (Hohler, 1970). Therefore, it is among Norman (Coutances) and Angevin books (Angers) that we find the secret and postcommunion similar to EX, both very late sources. It is most likely that EX remains the earliest English witness for St. Blaise to date. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the evidence suggests that there was

⁶⁶ The first part of the opening word is omitted in the original; brackets are editorial and are used here to insert the implied text.

local veneration to St Blaise throughout Devon and Cornwall; therefore, it is possible that his presence in the Exeter missal reflects a local tradition.

Concordances for the feasts of St Mary Magdalene, St Leonard and St Matthew are not so sparsely supplied. Once again, we find agreement for the collect and secret of St Mary Magdalene in the Westminster Missal (Legg, 1891-1897). Although not previously noted by Hohler (unpublished, 1970) the postcommunion for St Mary Magdalene is found as an alternative prayer in Leofric C (see Orchard, II, no. 2713). With the exception therefore of LM, collation of the postcommunion text is found only in non-Norman sources in Hiley's survey, including Le Mans, Paris and a later Chartres source.⁶⁷ The current study located all three prayers in the early thirteenth-century Chartres Missal (Chartres, Bibliotheque Municipale 520), confirming evidence of continental influence in EX and possibly the original source of the prayers.

The feasts of St Matthew and St Leonard give texts similar to those in Westminster Use (Legg, 1891-1897). The feast of St Leonard, however, has special significance here. Not only are all three prayers found in the Westminster Use but also in the Chartres Missal 520 giving confirmation once again of a non-Norman influence. In addition, Hohler draws attention to the recurrence of this feast day in the later twelfth-century Kalendar, BL Harley 863 (of Exeter origin). St. Leonard is celebrated in Harley 863 as a double feast similar in grading to that of St. Peter (Hohler, 1970). Therefore, its presence in EX confirms the veneration of the saint at Exeter at an earlier period.

Summary

The single most important conclusion here is the recognition of the close relationship between Leofric's Missal and EXcl 3515 in the Sanctorale. It confirms not only the continuity of liturgical observation in the sacramentary items from the Anglo-Saxon

⁶⁷ Postcommunion for St. Mary Magdalene based on Hiley's collation: Le Mans 437, non-Norman; Le Mans 353; Ou Can. 1.v. 344 (late date) from Chartres, but my collation finds it corresponds to the earlier Chartres missal 520; Paris: printed missal (1543); Paris 1105: Bec tradition (Hiley, 1980, II, 2/i) p.480).

period to the pre-Conquest era, but also identifies EXcl 3515 as a significant witness to a secular liturgy that pre-dates Sarum. The inclusion of saints such as Blaise and Leonard provide a glimpse of the liturgical developments at a secular cathedral following the Conquest and provide us with information on the possible variety of continental influences, emanating from centres such as Normandy and the Loire Valley. In particular, it may be that EXcl 3515 provides the earliest Mass set for St Blaise in twelfth-century secular sources of English origin.

SECTION II: GRADUAL

Introduction

One of the principal aims of the following section is to compare the liturgical assignment of the chant repertoires in EXcl 3515 (EX), the Leofric Missal (LM) and Sarum sources (SAR).⁶⁸ In Section One, the strong affiliation between EX and LM was firmly established, based on the examination of the prayers in the Mass liturgy. By comparing the three chant repertoires in question, it is the intention here to elucidate further the extent of the relationship between EX and the two witnesses, representing insular traditions from pre- and post-Conquest England. Investigation of the graduals may corroborate the findings of the previous section and confirm a continuation of liturgical observance between the two Exeter missals. Initially, the focus of the first section below is repertorial. Liturgical assignments that are of particular interest in EX will be isolated and subjected to further investigation. For this purpose, previous comparative research instigated by such scholars as Frere (1894), McKinnon (2000), and Hartzell (1971, 2006) will be drawn on in order to shed light on questions of transmission and chronology for unusual items.

I will also focus on the alleluia repertoires from the post-Pentecostal, Easter Week and Paschal periods. Comparative examinations of this chant genre, based on numerical series (related to post-Pentecostal and Easter Week) have proven successful in establishing definitive relationships between ecclesiastical centres, as demonstrated by

⁶⁸ In this section, the Use of Sarum will be represented by Frere's facsimile of the *Graduale Sarisburiense* (1894).

extensive studies and catalogues compiled by Schlager (1965), Hiley (1980, 1981, 1986, 1993), and Hughes (2005). I will explore whether EX shares an alleluia series (post-Pentecostal and/or Easter Week) with other insular or continental sources.

Finally, a collation of the melodic variants in EX will be undertaken, first by comparing the notated chants of EX with LM (notated items), and ultimately by collating the points of variance (based on the Solesmes method) with a select group of manuscript sources, in order to identify the predominant musical tradition of EX. The former may show evidence of melodic affinity to LM; equally, we might expect a gradual of the twelfth century to ally itself with chant traditions identified in British sources for this period, which point invariably to the widespread influence of Norman/French traditions (Hiley (1980-81; 1986).

Liturgical Assignment of Chants in EXcl 3515, Oxford Bodley 579 and Sarum

Temporale

As noted in Section One, Table 5.1 (a–k) summarises the results of the comparative examination of the liturgical assignment of the prayers and chants in the Temporale (in LM, EX and SAR). The five chants of the Mass—introit, gradual, alleluia (replaced by the tract in Lent) offertory and communion—are given in the left-hand column. Table 5.10 (a–k) contains the chants only (see Appendix, p. 228-233).

Some of the four main seasons of the year (Advent–Christmas, Lenten period, Eastertide and post-Pentecostal) are more stable than others in their liturgical assignments of chants. A high level of uniformity is noticeable throughout Lent with the exception of two days: the Second Sunday of Lent and Saturday in the Fifth Week of Lent (see Table 5.10 c, d, e). This is not surprising when we consider that both of these days are not provided with liturgies in the earliest unnotated Mass books compared by Hesbert (*Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, 1935). Because of this, liturgical assignments for these days will be addressed separately. Moreover, if we omit the alleluia repertory from Easter to the end of the post-Pentecostal period, close concordance among all three sources for introit, gradual and communion manifests itself very clearly (Appendix, Table 5.10 g, h, j, k). Overall, in contrast to the survey

of Section One (Sacramentary), which confirmed a closer relationship between the two Exeter missals than with Sarum use, the liturgical assignment of the chant repertoires reveals a high degree of stability between the three sources. Differences do occur, however, and are significant in the context of repertorial continuity between the EX, LM and SAR. For this reason, a brief examination of deviations in assignment for each genre will be presented below.

Introits and Communions

McKinnon remarks on the uniformity of the introit repertory in his monumental study on the creation of the Mass Proper, *The Advent Project*, observing the uniqueness of this chant genre (McKinnon, 2000). He refers to a core group of some 145 introits. Consequently, in examining the introits of a medieval source, we would expect little or no discrepancy in assignment. This level of consistency is reflected among these three sources. In particular, between Easter Sunday and the final Sunday of Pentecost, there is full agreement on the liturgical assignment of introits (Appendix, Table 5.10 g–k). In fact, this standardisation is reflected throughout each season, but differences arise among the psalm verses. In addition, it should be noted that it is in the Anglo-Saxon Leofric Missal that the main divergences occur, in particular during the seasons of Advent and Pentecost, with a total of seven psalm verses and two introit antiphons at variance with both EX and SAR (Table 5.10 a, j, k). Similarly, among the communions, a perusal of the tables demonstrates almost full agreement between the sources in the Temporale. As usual, differences occur for the assignment of chants on the unstable days noted above.

The earliest unnotated sources collected in Hesbert's *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (AMS henceforth) show that many of the conflicting choices of psalm verses between our sources reflect the alternative antiphons or psalms supplied in these early graduals (Hesbert, 1935).⁶⁹ For example, there are three introits assigned to the Fourth Sunday

⁶⁹ The six unnotated earliest sources include: Blandiniensis (B) St. Peter in Ghent, late eighth century; Rhenaugiensis (R), Nivelles, c.790s; Corbiensis (K) abbey of Corbie, 850s; Modoetiensis (M), NE France, second part of the ninth century; Compendiensis (C) St. Medard of Soissons, second half of ninth century; Silvanectensis (S) for Senlis, 877–82 (Hiley, 1993, p. 298). For sigla of manuscripts, see Appendix: List of Manuscripts.

in Advent in the AMS; LM follows Senlis (*Rorate*) but EX and SAR both agree with Compendiensis (*Memento noster*). LM gives *Rorate* for the previous Ember Day (Wednesday in Advent), thereby re-using the antiphon on the following Sunday (fourth in Advent). Frere's index points to a similar Sunday assignment in manuscripts of both Italian (Rome, Bibl. Angelica, B.3.18) and English origin (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, OB 775 hereafter), dating to the eleventh and tenth centuries respectively; on the other hand, the allocation of *Memento* to the Fourth Sunday in Advent (as in EX) is found in twelfth-century English sources from Haughmond (Shrewsbury XXX) and St Albans (BL Royal 2. B. IV; see Frere, 1894; Hartzell, 2006). Therefore, not infrequently, the chant liturgy in EX hints at modernisation in the post-Conquest period.

Similar examples of discontinuity between the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515 occur: for example, in the choice of the psalm verse for the introit *Miserere mihi*, (Appendix, Table 5.10e; Monday in the Fifth Week of Lent), LM gives *Ab Altitudine* (as in S) but EX and SAR assign *Conculcaverunt* (as in C and K). Equally, on Passion Sunday, the psalm *Quare me* is given in EX (Ant. *Iudica me/K*), although both LM and SAR give *Emitte lucem* (C, S). Concordances with EX can be found among some English representatives such as OB 775 and OB Rawlinson C.892 (Hartzell, 2006). Thus, Winchester, Downpatrick and Exeter corroborate the Corbie reading (K).

It is not always evident, however, that the three sources reproduce the repertory recorded in these pre-notated sources. For example, on Ember Wednesday in September, the psalm *Buccinate in eo* in EX (Ant. *Exsultate deo*; Table 5.10 k) has no concordances in the AMS, nor does it agree with LM, which in this example follows Corbie (*Ego enim*). Moreover, the psalm verse seems to be quite rare, and is not noted in any other insular source (Hartzell, 2006; Frere, 1894). In the current study, the only concordance known to me is with the Tours Missal (Orleans 117), which I have not found noted anywhere else. It is, therefore, among the select items that deviate from the normal core repertory that we find chants that suggest new influences and liturgical change.

As observed earlier, there is a striking level of continuity in the assignment of the communions between the Exeter missals and Sarum Use. Further eleventh-century

Winchester influence, however, is found in the later Exeter liturgy when it differs from the other sources. For example, EX alone supplies *Acceptabis* for Saturday in Lent, thereby deviating from the communion selection in both LM and SAR (*Servite*). *Acceptabis* (based on psalm 50) is usually assigned to the Lenten Thursday (after Ash Wednesday). As McKinnon (2000) observes, the added liturgies for the Lenten Thursdays disrupt the otherwise numerical order of the weekday Lenten communions (Psalms 1-26, excluding Thursdays in Lent). In both LM and SAR the Friday liturgy and communion (*Servite*, Ps. 2) is repeated for the following day (Saturday after Ash Wednesday), which was originally a vacant day in the early unnotated sources (AMS). Curiously, EX reuses the communion and gradual from the Thursday liturgy, disrupting the series once again, a practice not commonly recorded in medieval sources; in fact, Hartzell (2006) presents a total of twenty-four entries for *Acceptabis* among English witnesses, but only OB 775 shares the same assignment as EX for Saturday after Ash Wednesday. Outside of this particular liturgical allocation, *Acceptabis* is found very frequently assigned to other calendar days (including the post-Pentecostal season).

Although the repertory of chants in EX often shows a distinct Winchester influence, mixed traditions are apparent in the choice of chants in EX and LM for the Second Sunday of Lent: a partial Breton influence with the communion (*Custodi me*) and offertory (*Domine deus meus*, discussed below) and continued in LM with *Confitemini dominus* (tract), but through the inclusion of the tract (*Dixit dominus*) we witness a partial Winchester influence in EX. Thus, there is a survival of Breton influence in LM, which is continued in the later liturgy of EX superimposed by the Winchester tradition.

Hornby has already drawn our attention to the Breton influence at Canterbury in the tenth century, noting the presence of Breton notation in sources from South West England including Horton and Sherborne (Hornby, 2010). The results of Hornby's examination of the Linenthal fragment (London, MR. R. A. Linenthal) suggest that not only was notational influence introduced from Brittany, but repertorial and melodic influences also, albeit briefly (Hornby, *ibid.*). Equally striking, therefore, is the liturgy for Saturday in the Fifth Week of Lent in twelfth-century Exeter: not only do the prayers testify to Breton influence (see Section One) but also the chants, which

include the communion *Ne tradideris*, which is assigned to this day in EXcl 3515. Consequently, the influence of this continental tradition is not so remarkable when we consider its brief but significant presence at Canterbury.

Offertory

It is among the offertories that we find the higher incidence of discontinuity between the earlier and later Exeter Missals. Four offertories in EX point to the break in tradition between LM and EX: one in Lent (Thursday in fourth week) and three in the Paschal season (Vigil of Ascension, Ascension and Saturday after Pentecost).

The allocation of *Ascendit Deus* to the Vigil of Ascension and of *Viri Galilee* to the Ascension in EX contradicts the usual order of assignment recorded in the majority of service books. The customary liturgical assignment, found in the later sources of the AMS and in English sources emanating from Winchester, Canterbury, St. Albans, Haughmond, confirm the designation of *Viri Galilee* to the Vigil of Ascension and *Ascendit Deus* on the day. Only two manuscripts (from a total of fourteen) in Hartzell's catalogue agree with EX, namely, Oxford, All Soul's College *et al.*, Miscellaneous Leaves (a fragment of a missal, early twelfth century) and OB Miscellaneous b.18, f. A.7, (a fragment of a gradual) (Hartzell, 2006). That this arrangement is highly unusual is confirmed by the scarcity in concordances among English sources.

However, a peculiarity should be noted here: the feast of the Ascension occurs twice in the missal (EX) both in the Temporale (1) and the Main Sanctorale. The unusual doubling of Temporale feasts was addressed in Chapter Two; in the Sanctorale, the liturgical assignment of *Ascendit deus* to the feast of the Ascension concurs with the majority of sources but disagrees with Temporale 1. An explanation for this curious conflict of assignment from the same centre may lie in the fact that this section of the book (MS) was probably not originally written for EXcl 3515, but intended for use in a parish church (possibly at Welesford).⁷⁰ Therefore, with the very limited Temporale feasts (see Chapter Two) within the Sanctorale, the more traditional mainstream

⁷⁰ The structure of EXcl 3515 has been addressed in Chapter Two with a discussion on the various fragments of the missal.

offertory (*Ascendit deus*) would be the usual choice. We could argue, conversely, that the MS continues the liturgical assignment of LM (*Ascendit Deus*) and may reflect an earlier phase in the liturgical development at Exeter Cathedral. It should also be noted that further concordance with EX is once again to be found in the Tours Missal (Orl 117) for both assignments. In addition, it is among the older unnotated sources that *Viri Galilee* is allocated to the feast of the Ascension also (B and R), but this is not reflected in later manuscripts as shown above.⁷¹

Partial Breton influence in EX was noted earlier in the communion for the Second Sunday of Lent; further evidence is suggested here by the offertory chants, *Benedictus es domine* (Saturday in the Fifth Week of Lent) and *Domine deus meus* (Second Sunday of Lent). Finally, the third unique assignment in EX occurs on the Saturday in Pentecost. A text incipit gives *Benedictus qui venit* (Leofric and Sarum concur with AMS with *Domine deus salutis*). Frere notes that this particular allocation is found in an Italian source Vallicellian C. 52. However, similar liturgical assignments can be found in insular codices, among them the Winchester troper, OB 775, OB Rawlinson C 892, Cambridge University Library Add 4435 (fragment of a twelfth-century missal) and the Oslo fragments (Riksarkivet, M1 4 and Codex 932). Consequently, links with Winchester are confirmed once again in the offertory repertory.

Gradual and Alleluia

There are very few repertorial differences among the three sources in the liturgical allocation of the gradual chant. Where EX diverges from LM and SAR we find links with two English uses. LM and SAR give *Unum petiit a domine* for Friday in Lent (after Ash Wednesday) agreeing with the majority of the early sources (BCKS); in contrast EX concords with the alternative choice in Compendiensiis (*Domine Refugiam*). The latter gradual is also assigned to this day in both the Hereford (Henderson, 1874) and Westminster Missals (Legg, 1893,1897). In fact, further agreement between these two insular sources and EX recurs with the allocation of the graduals, *Venite filii* and *Propitius esto* to the Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost and Ember Wednesday (in September) respectively. Therefore, considering the late date

⁷¹ Blandiniensis (B) St. Peter in Ghent, late eighth century; Rhenaugiensis (R), Nivelles, c. 790s.

of the Hereford and Westminster Missals, EX is possibly the earliest English witness to testify to the assignment of both these graduals (Friday in Lent) as noted above.

Evidence of mixed traditions (Winchester and Breton) was noted above in the examination of the chants for the Second Sunday of Lent. Although EX and LM agree on the offertory (*Domine deus meus*) and communion (*Custodi me*) of the day, they differ in the selection of the gradual. The selection of *De necessitatis*, given in EX, suggests liturgical influence from Winchester (OB 775) again and establishes connections with other British secular uses such as Hereford (Leeds 1874) and York (Frere, 1894, p.liv).

Finally, each table (outside of the Lenten season) shows a very unstable alleluia repertory between EX, LM and SAR. Characteristically, the late addition of the alleluia to the Mass Proper explains the numerous variations between sources in their choice of alleluias. As noted earlier, the alleluia repertory in EX will be investigated below. Before we consider this irregular chant item, however, we will examine the liturgical assignment of the chants in the Sanctorale.

Sanctorale

EX provides only fifteen feasts with full offices in the Sanctorale (see Table 5.11 a-b below). The chant repertory of the Sanctorale displays much less conformity between the three sources than that of the Temporale. In fact, it is in this section that we find the compelling hallmarks of change and revision in the later Exeter Missal. Furthermore, the inclusion of some unusual chants in EX may be crucial to the identification of a local use.

In the charts below (Table 5.11 a-b) each entry for a feast shows some indication of disagreement in one or more sources (EX, LM or SAR).⁷² There is no full concordance among the three liturgies for any one feast day. Specific days are unstable, most noticeably the Nativity, Assumption and Conception of the BVM (Table 5.11b).

⁷² It should be noted that in comparative tables only, a shorter form of LM and SAR will be used for referring to these two sources: L and S

Table 5.11a								
Liturgical Assignment of Chants in Sanctorale								
	SS		SS	SS		SS		
	<i>Conversion of Paul</i>	<i>Purification</i>	<i>Chair of Peter</i>	<i>St Mark</i>	<i>St Philip St Jacob</i>	<i>Invention of Cross</i>	<i>St John Baptist</i>	<i>St Paul</i>
Introit	Ps differs L			L differs				Ps differs L
Gradual			L differs					
Alleluia	L differs	EX/L agree		EX has 4	L differs	L differs	L differs	EX/L agree
Tract		EX/L agree	L differs					
Offertory		L differs		L differs		L differs		
Communion								L differs

Table 5.11b							
Liturgical Assignment of Chants in Sanctorale							
	<i>Assumption of BVM</i>	<i>Nat of BVM</i>	<i>EXaltation of Cross</i>	<i>Vigil All Saints</i>	<i>All Saints</i>	<i>St Andrew</i>	<i>Conception of BVM</i>
Introit							
Gradual		EX/L/S differ					EX differs
Alleluia			EX/L/S differ		L differs		EX/L/S differ
Tract							
Offertory	EX/L/S differ	EX/L/S differ	L differs			EX differs	EX/L agree
Communion	EX/L/S differ	EX/L/S differ	L differs	L differs		L differs	
	unique comm						

If we accept McKinnon's theories, however, the lack of uniformity in a Sanctorale is not unexpected; he asserts that there is no real evidence of an Advent Project in the liturgical planning of the Sanctorale on the scale used for the Temporale. He argues that the plan:

...is of an entirely different sort—festivals are allotted unique chants more or less according to their importance. Not one date is given a full complement of five, that is, an introit, gradual, alleluia, offertory and communion.

(McKinnon, p. 180, 2000)

Hiley (1993), too, notes the areas of least stability in the earliest graduals, highlighting in particular, the repertory of chants for Saints' days. My findings in this small area support McKinnon's in his larger field of coverage. In striking contrast to the results of the Temporale comparative survey, no one feast in the Sanctorale shares an identical set of chants in all three sources (see Tables 5.11 a-b above)

In both the feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity, different liturgical influences can be detected in the three sources. Although the offertory *Felix Namque* is assigned in the majority of English sources to the feast of the Assumption (or Vigil), EX uses the less widespread *Beata es Virgo* (LM gives *Ave Maria*; see Hartzell, 2006). There are no concordances among the earliest unnotated sources for *Beata es Virgo* as an offertory chant for the feast of the Assumption; in fact, only two twelfth-century English graduals agree with EX: Haughmond (Shrewsbury XXX) and Downpatrick (OB Rawlinson C 892). The three Marian feasts show clearly the break in liturgical continuity between LM and EX. The Leofric Missal re-uses the chant material from the Assumption for the feast of the Nativity. The later missal however, provides a different gradual (*Benedicta et venerabilis*), offertory (*Felix namque*) and communion (*Beata viscera*). Both the gradual and offertory are used in the Chartres source (Chartres 520); the communion however, is unique in its assignment to the Nativity. OB Rawlinson, C 892, Haughmond (Shrewsbury XXX) and an Oslo fragment (codex 892) are among the few English sources to use this communion, although differently assigned; both allocate *Beata viscera* to the Assumption (see Hartzell, 2006). In sum, two continental books dating to the eleventh century find agreement with EX; the Aquitanian gradual (BL Harley 4951) and an Italian troper, OB Douce Ms 222. It is most likely that we are witnessing a preference by the local precentor.

It is, however, the communion chant *Benedicta filia tua* that isolates EX from all sources. Here we find a very rare, if not unique, chant. So far, no concordances among English or continental sources have been located for this chant. The text is clearly borrowed from the Vespers office of the day, but the melody has not been found elsewhere (Plate 5.1 below). Perhaps this type of Responsory-communion (term used by McKinnon [2000] in differentiating between types of communion chants) reflects local preference or the creation of a unique chant at Exeter in the twelfth century.

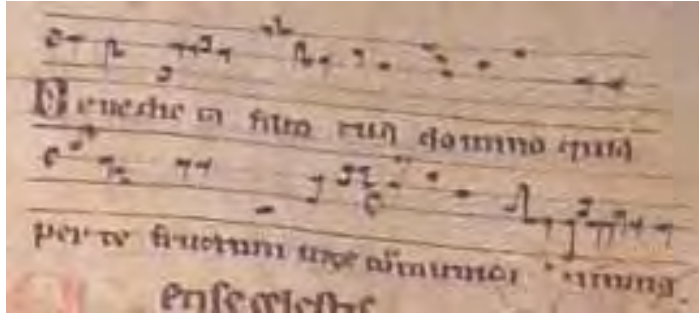


Plate 5.1: EXcl 3515 (f. 146) Communion *Benedicta filia tua*

Summary

In the Temporale, there is clearly a general agreement between the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest liturgies. If we consider that some 625 Mass chants are required for the full year, then the small degree of difference that arises between the three traditions is very small. In total, EX has some twenty-five items not agreeing with either the chant repertory in the Leofric Missal or Sarum sources; thus, merely a 4% difference. LM has the greater number of disagreements both in liturgical assignment of the chants and in repertory, with a total of thirty-nine chants (not in agreement with EX or SAR, thus a 6% difference). On the other hand, SAR has merely twelve items at variance either with EX or LM (2% difference). The liturgical pendulum swings slightly more in favour of agreement between EX and SAR. The evidence suggests that the Leofric Missal was never intended as a chant source for EX, therefore, the gradual for EX was probably based either on a different exemplar emanating possibly from Winchester or Canterbury; alternatively, perhaps, the ‘out-of-date’ chants at Exeter were replaced by new items based on ‘modern’ service books of Norman origin that were permeating England after the Conquest. The evidence suggested in the Sanctorale points to change and reform. In this recognised unstable part of the liturgy, continuity of liturgical observance between EX and LM is obviously not maintained. The very limited repertory in EX, however, does not allow a conclusive assessment to be formed; for the present, we can merely highlight possible Breton and Aquitanian influences in this section (i.e. of the Sanctorale) of the liturgy and point to the introduction of new chants that hint at local taste and preference during this later period.

Alleluia Repertories

In the following section I will consider the alleluia repertories in EX. Once again comparative methods will be used not only to evaluate the relationship of the alleluias between the three main sources outlined above, but also to assess their relationship to other relevant insular and continental books. The enquiry will be divided into two sections; the first will consider the repertory of post-Pentecostal alleluias in EX, and the second will examine the Easter Week series. These investigations should help to elucidate the interrelationships between centres of chant activity and in particular, to shed light on the traditions that shaped the chants in EXcl 3515.

Post-Pentecostal Alleluias

Most medieval missals and graduals assign twenty-three alleluias to the series of Sundays following the feast of Pentecost, although many give more than twenty-three (Hiley, 1980-81, p. 2). The alleluias for the Sundays after Pentecost usually appear in a particular sequence. By identifying the series of alleluias in a particular source, it is possible to discern relationships with centres whose sources provide an identical or nearly identical series. It is now accepted that the post-Pentecostal series can give compelling evidence about the provenance of the source (Hiley, 1980; 1993; Hartzell, 1975).

Hiley draws attention to the rather unusual presence of the 'Fleury' series of post-Pentecostal alleluias in EX (Hiley, 1993). English service books usually share affinity with alleluia series predominantly of Norman origin; therefore, the presence of the Fleury series of post-Pentecostal alleluias in EX appears to be quite remarkable. There is no obvious affinity with the Benedictine house in St Benoît-sur-Loire. Moreover, it may be of great significance to chant research that this Exeter source contains a post-Pentecostal series from the tenth century, perhaps introduced to England from the renowned centre of St Benoît-sur-Loire that played such an important role in shaping the monastic reforms of England during the time of St Dunstan, St Ethelwold and St Oswald. The strength of this hypothesis will be tested further below. But first we will consider the relationship of the post-Pentecostal alleluia series in EX to LM and SAR.

Comparison of the Post-Pentecostal Alleluias in EXcl 3515, Leofric Missal and Sarum Sources

Table 5.12 below lists the post-Pentecostal alleluia series in the Leofric Missal, EXcl 3515 and Sarum Use. The twenty-three Sundays are set out in the left hand column (1-23) and the psalm verses of the alleluias in LM, EX and SAR are shown in their respective columns. A comparison of the post-Pentecostal alleluias shows considerable variance in the three liturgies. It is quite apparent that the series in EX differs significantly from LM and SAR. Furthermore, it should be noted that although no English book gives a sequence of alleluias identical to that of the Leofric Missal, Orchard traces similar series to missals from St. Vaast, Arras, Douai, Thierry, and Anchin (see Orchard, I, 2002, pp.127-128).⁷³ Again, this is not surprising when one considers the Lotharingian provenance of the book. On the other hand, although the origins of the Sarum series have not been conclusively established, Hiley points to Rouen and other Norman centres such as Evreux as strong contenders in influencing Sarum alleluias (Hiley, 1986).

As noted earlier, it is in continental books from the Loire Valley that we find post-Pentecostal alleluias similar to EX. Fleury gives an identical series to that of EX with the exception of the final Sunday, in which the psalm verse *Lauda Jerusalem* (147¹²) is found (in Fleury) but *Qui posuit* (147¹⁴) is given in the Exeter missal (see Appendix, Table 5.13, 'Fleury Series'). Both series of alleluias are located in two Fleury manuscripts: Trier, Bistumarchive H 187 (s.xii) and the Fleury Ordinal, Orleans 129 (s. xiii).⁷⁴ The uniqueness of this series in EX will be assessed below through the broader examination of liturgical influences on post-Pentecostal alleluia series in British sources.

⁷³ Orchard includes missals such as: Arras, Bibliotheque municipale, 339, 601, 606 (s.xiv); Lille, Bibliotheque municipale, 23 (s.xiii); Reims, Bibliotheque municipale, 225, 226, 229 (s.xii); and Reims Bibliotheque municipale, 231, 232 (s.xiii).

⁷⁴ A third source from St Père de Chartres reveals a similar series to EX and H 187 (see Appendix, Table 5.13a). St Père, however, is a daughter house of Fleury and therefore represents the same tradition.

TABLE 5.12

Post-Pentecostal Alleluias in EXcl 3515, Leofric Missal and Sarum

Sunday	Leofric Missal	EXcl 3515	Sarum
I	7 ¹²	5	5
II	17	7 ²	7 ¹²
III	20	7 ¹²	17
IV	30	17	20
V	46	20	30
VI	64	30	58
VII	77	46	64
VIII	80	58	77
IX	87	64	80
X	89	77	87
XI	94	80	89
XII	94 ³	87	94 ¹
XIII	104	89	94 ³
XIV	107	94 ¹	104
XV	113 ^{B11}	94 ³	107
XVI	116 ¹	104	113 ^{B11}
XVII	117	107	117
XVIII	124	113 ^{B11}	121
XIX	129	117	124
XX	145	129	129
XXI	146 ¹	145	145
XXII	147 ¹²	146 ³	146 ³
XXIII	147 ¹⁴	147 ¹⁴	147 ¹⁴

Post-Pentecostal Alleluias in British Sources

The presence of the Fleury series of post-Pentecostal alleluias within a twelfth-century English missal raises many questions. Absence of concordances among contemporary insular sources demands a reassessment of continental influences on English liturgical traditions in the post-Conquest period. Hiley's contribution to this field of analysis has provided chant researchers with detailed summaries of insular and continental alleluia series, which are invaluable as sources of information or as tools for further investigation. In fact, Hiley argues that 'identical series means that the sources in question are from the same church or from one whose tradition is

dependant upon the other or upon a common ancestor’; he adds that ‘closely similar series may be studied as possible evidence of related liturgical traditions,’ (Hiley, 1981, p. 183).

Table 5.13a (in Appendix, p. 234) represents different alleluia traditions identified in English service books. The categories are based on summaries provided by Hiley, which point to five distinct liturgical influences on insular post-Pentecostal alleluias. The introduction of reforms at Canterbury by Lanfranc of Bec and his successor, Anselm, can be seen in the widespread adoption of the Bec alleluia series in manuscripts not only from Christchurch, Canterbury, but also from St Albans, Worcester, Durham, York and Whitby (Hiley, 1986; Table 5.13a). Hiley (1980–81) observes, further, that the Dijon alleluia tradition makes a very limited appearance, most noticeably in the OB Rawlinson C.892, as does the Amiens series, which, as noted earlier, is closely linked to LM (Orchard, 2002). Pre-conquest books from Winchester, such as Le Havre 330 and OB 775, are strongly connected to the St. Denis/Corbie tradition (Hiley, 1981). In these earlier sources, the numerical series is not ordered, therefore not included in the comparative tables here. With the gradual spread of Sarum throughout England, Hiley (1993) observes that sources seem to display an affinity with Norman Uses, predominantly from Rouen and Evreux. This is reflected in books from Haughmond and Hereford. In fact, Norman sources generally are not very different from one another, and borrowings from other traditions can be seen at times in the selection of alleluias. It is not the intention here to assess these differences or to re-interpret relationships between sources. Hiley has provided extensive research on this topic (Hiley, 1981, Rankin and Hiley, 1993). Rather, the table serves to highlight the dominant continental influences in insular manuscripts, which point to Bec, Rouen, Amiens and Dijon.

Overall, the Bec family is the predominant influence. Yet, there is very little information concerning the derivation of post-Pentecostal alleluias in secular insular sources (although York adheres to the Bec series). The presence of the Fleury series in EX is surprising. One possibility is that Exeter followed established patterns for secular cathedrals predating the Bec tradition, but unfortunately there are no surviving witnesses to bear testimony to this hypothesis. The period from the end of the eleventh century to the thirteenth century is, however, relatively unexplored with

regard to the development of liturgy in insular secular institutions. No complete secular service books from this period survive apart from EX. Consequently, the presence of a Fleury alleluia series in EX opens new liturgical doors to areas of influences considered closed; for example, in the introduction to his *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Hartzell argues that all contact with Fleury ceased in the tenth century, following the contribution of the Fleury monks to the monastic reform in tenth-century England (Hartzell, introduction, p. xxiv, 2006). One could argue that the evidence here suggests a preservation of a series (in EX) from the Anglo-Saxon past, pointing to continental influences, which may have been imported at the time of the liturgical revival. This would strengthen the hypothesis proposed earlier that the gradual in LM does not represent the authentic Use of Exeter (in its singing tradition). This proposal will be explored in more depth in the following section, which focuses on the Easter Alleluia repertoires.

Easter Week Alleluias

The Easter week ferial alleluias are the second repertory of alleluias to be considered in this study. On each day of the week following Easter Sunday (Monday to Saturday), a particular alleluia is selected. Like the post-Pentecost alleluias, however, these seem to appear in distinct series, and by identifying these it is possible to establish relationships between sources. The Easter Week alleluias in EX seem not to have been studied heretofore, and little attention has been given to this particular repertory in service books in general. Hiley (1981) warns us about the possible unreliability of the information that it yields, but suggests that an examination could nevertheless prove worthwhile. Furthermore, Hiley (*ibid.*) recommends counting concordances of ferial assignments rather than of alleluia repertoires for more successful identification of relationships between manuscripts. This method of recognising correspondences will be drawn on in the present survey.

A review of the post-Pentecostal alleluia series in EX (in the previous section) pointed conclusively to liturgical influences emanating from the Loire Valley. An examination of the Easter Week alleluias series may confirm the connection to the Fleury tradition or not.

TABLE 5.14

Easter Week Alleluias in EXcl 3515 Leofric Missal and Sarum Sources

	EXcl 3515		Leofric	Sarum
Feria ii	Nonne cor nostrum	NT	Nonne cor nostrum	Nonne cor nostrum
Feria iii	Surgens Jesus	NT	Surrexit dominus	Surgens Jesus
Feria iv	Surrexit dominus et	NT	In die Resurrexiones	Surrexit dominus
Feria v	Christus resurgens	NT	Redemptionem	In die Resurrexiones
Feria vi	Surrexit pastor bonus	NT	Crucifixus	Dicite in gentibus
[Sabbato	Laudate pueri	PS	Laudate pueri	Laudate pueri]

Table 5.14 (above) summarises alleluias from Monday to Friday of Easter Week in EXcl 3515, Leofric Missal and Sarum. The discussion here is concerned solely with the alleluias of the weekdays (feria ii-vi) excluding Saturday (Sabbato). It is entered in the table above to complete the weekly series, but the assignment of *Laudate pueri* for this day had widespread usage throughout the earlier and later sources, thus not included in the survey (Hughes, 2005). *Feria* refers to the day of the week; NT or PS refers to the source of the texts as either New Testament or Psalmic.

Feria ii -iv in Easter Week

Nonne cor nostrum remains the sole alleluia common to all three sources for the Monday liturgy and not unexpectedly, as it displays general stability in assignment to Mondays in the vast majority of manuscripts, as demonstrated in surveys by Hiley and Hughes (see Hiley, 1981, pp.522–527; Hughes, 2005). EXcl 3515 and Sarum share the same alleluias (and assignments) for the first three days of the week: *Nonne cor nostrum* (Monday) *Surgens Jesus* (Tuesday), and *Surrexit dominus* (Wednesday); Leofric also uses *Surrexit dominus*, but allocates it to Tuesday. Leofric and Sarum

also include *In die Resurrexionis*, but with different ferial assignment. In sum, there is a lack of full conformity between the select sources, although there is a core group of alleluia repertoires common to all three.

Feria v-vi

Nonetheless, feria v and vi in each tradition differs in their alleluia selection for these two days. Our interest here concerns the two alleluias presented in EXcl 3515 for feria v and vi: *Christus resurgens*, and *Surrexit pastor bonus*. With only 60% agreement, however, between EX, LM and SAR for this repertory, it is the intention here to draw on the surveys, undertaken by Hiley (1981) and Hughes (2005), in order to shed light on relationships between centres.

In his research on Sicilian manuscripts, Hiley draws on insular and continental sources in an attempt to identify sources affiliated to one another. For this purpose, he summarises the full repertory of alleluias contained in some 92 manuscripts. By counting concordances of weekday assignments, he proposes connections between different codices. Similarly, by comparing the Exeter series with that of continental and insular sources, it is possible to find a higher percentage (80% or 4/5 alleluias) of affiliation between EX and other traditions.

Easter Week Alleluias in British Sources

Table 5.15 (see Appendix) represents thirteen sources of English provenance (with the exception of H 187 from Fleury). It should be noted here that eight are quoted in Hiley's survey and four sources are added here to complete the comparative investigation, including representatives from Winchester (OB 775), Exeter (EXcl 3515, Leofric Missal) and Fleury (H 187). The latter source is included here due to its strong affiliation with EX through the post-Pentecostal alleluia repertory. In the right-hand section, alleluias most often used in English sources are grouped together according to ferial allocation: *Nonne cor* (feria 2), *Surgens Jesus* (feria 3) and *Surrexit dominus et occurrens* (feria 4).

Although *In die resurrectionis* and *Surrexit altissimus* are popular choices for days five and six, the table shows the relative instability of feria vi throughout the various traditions. An analysis of the alleluia repertory in the comparative table indicates that EX allies itself more closely to the three representatives from Hereford, which give similar assignments of alleluias for ferias ii-v. Therefore, the three Hereford missals (BL Add 39675, BL Harley 3965 and OB 78A) have 100% agreement among themselves and 80% with EX. As noted, BL Add 39675 and BL Harley 3965 both have connections to Hereford Use; the former is a missal, the earliest of three that are associated with the Use of Hereford, dated by Tilner to the mid fourteenth century (Tilner, 2000); the latter is a much later incomplete gradual dating to the fifteenth century, containing the largest collection of chant items also reflecting Hereford Use. Despite the unique presence of the Fleury post-Pentecostal alleluias, the Easter week series indicates connections with an English secular tradition.

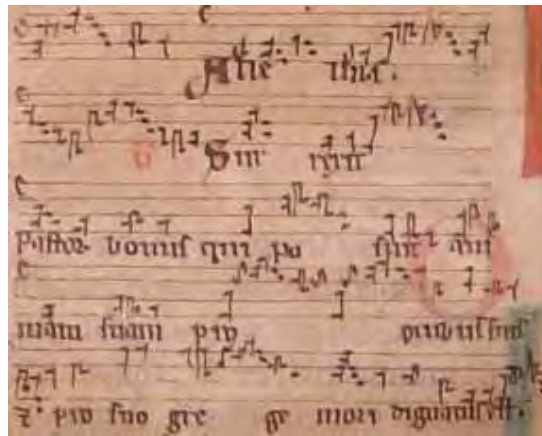


Plate 5.2 EXcl 3515 Alleluia: *Surrexit pastor bonus*

Alleluia: *Surrexit Pastor Bonus*

The Alleluia *Surrexit pastor bonus*, assigned to Friday in EX, has no concordances with any English source nor is it included as part of the Easter Week alleluia repertory by Hiley (Hiley, 1981). Hartzell identifies the melody as ThK 169*; the use of the asterisk implies that the alleluia in EX is a variant of the core melody recorded by Schlager (Hartzell, 2006). Not only is it a variant but it is also a unicum in Hartzell’s catalogue of English sources. In Schlager’s catalogue of alleluias (1965), sources for this melody point mainly to Germany (including Munich, Bayer, Staatsbibliothek Clm

9921). Only two French manuscripts are noted: a gradual from Stavelot, Brussels 2031-32, and an eleventh-century gradual from St. Vaast, Cambrai 75.

Hughes notes textual variants for this alleluia, observing that a lesser-known version contains a longer text than the more frequently used version, earmarked by the word *ovibus*. The shorter text reads as follows and is associated with a different melody (ThK 287): *Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit animam suam **pro grege suo***; the longer version continues after ‘*suam*’ with *pro ovibus suis et pro suo grege mori dignatus est* (ThK 169*). The textual variant provides the crucial clue to identifying this melody in the Exeter missal (Plate 5.2 above). What makes it interesting is the rarity of this alleluia; in fact, Hughes gives only two sources of this melody, a gradual from Auberive (Chaumont 44, late 13th) and a cantatorium from Lille (14th century). Therefore, melodic and textual variants highlight the uniqueness of this alleluia melody in the Exeter missal evidently imported from the Lorraine or Dijon areas of France. The former may be a more plausible place of origin, considering the contact of Leofric with this area in the eleventh century. The twelfth-century missal, EX, contains a very rare alleluia not located in English sources and seldom used in French books. As such, EX is the only known insular witness featuring this Easter Week alleluia. However, chant items such as *Surrexit pastor bonus* are not confined to the Easter Week period; indeed, particular alleluias from the Paschal season also reveal unusual paths of transmission, and this will be discussed in the final chapter on unique items (Chapter Six). I will now turn my attention to an examination of the melodic variants in the chant repertory of EXcl 3515.

Comparison of the Noted Chants in Oxford Bodley 579 and EXcl 3515

A comparative examination of the chant incipits in the Leofric Missal with the corresponding items in EXcl 3515 may clarify the closeness or remoteness of the relationship between their respective melodic traditions. As far as I know, such an enquiry has not been previously undertaken. I believe that EX represents the liturgical and musical Mass repertory in use at Exeter in the later twelfth century, as asserted by Christopher Hohler (1970). I have established close relations between the LM and EX following the comparative analysis of the prayers. By contrast, although both LM and EX reveal similar liturgical influences in their chant repertory at times, the findings of

the comparative survey here implies that, in general, they have two distinct chant traditions.

Leofric Missal: Musical Repertory

Orchard argues that the gradual of the Leofric Missal most likely originated at St Vaast. He states that:

‘A’s sacramentary was brought into line with a sacramentary from Saint-Vaast, it should perhaps come as no surprise that a gradual from the house was adopted too, allowing of course for later modifications and adjustment.

(Orchard, p. 129, I, 2002)

In LM the original scribe wrote the chant items of particular masses as incipits in the margins of what Orchard categorises as ‘Leofric A’ section of the manuscript (Orchard, 2002, I). The majority of the marginal incipits are unnotated. Plate 5.3 shows the typical format of a marginal entry: ‘A’ refers to *antiphona* or introit, while ‘Ps’ indicates the psalm verse; ‘R’ refers to the responsory or gradual chant, and ‘Al’ and ‘Tr’ stand for alleluia and tract respectively. Finally, ‘Of’ and ‘Co’ designate the offertory and communion chants.

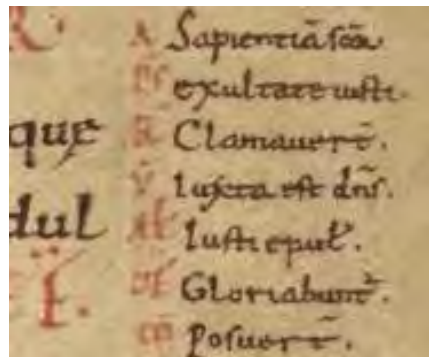


Plate 5.3: Oxford Bodley 579, f.194r

Unfortunately, the number of chant items with notation is very small in LM and is further restricted because no more than an incipit is given. Undoubtedly, this was a major factor in its omission from the survey of melodic variants conducted by the monks of Solesmes (Solesmes, 1960). Yet, it remains to date the unique

acknowledged representative of Exeter Use (EXT 2). In referring to the few notated items in LM, Orchard observes:

They give us only a tantalising glimpse of the sort of full, completely noted gradual that must have accompanied A. A, unfortunately, cannot therefore give us the definitive use of Canterbury or Saint-Vaast, even though, as has already been said, the cues were probably excerpted in the main from a book from the latter house.

(Orchard, 2002, I, p. 131)

For this study, nineteen items with notation were selected from the Temporale of Leofric's Missal, and a further eight from the Sanctorale. This represents almost the total number of noted marginal incipits in LM. Despite the frustratingly small corpus of examples they allow us a glimpse into a musical tradition. For this purpose, the matching items in EX were compared to those of LM in order to elucidate the relationship. The majority of neumed items are found in the Lenten and Easter seasons. The feast of the Purification, St Peter, St Michael the Archangel and the Feast of the BVM are the four main feasts of the Sanctorale that supply notated incipits or chants. In fact, for the feast of the BVM we find rare examples of fully notated chants for the day: introit (*Salve sancte parens*), a partially notated gradual (*Benedicta et venerabilis*), and a fully neumed offertory and communion. Although not mentioned by Orchard, they open the window more widely into the Anglo-Saxon musical tradition. Note that the offertory (*Felix namque*) and the communion (*Alma dei*) are not in the later missal EXcl 3515 because of differences in chant assignment, so they are not included in the following examination.

Comparative Table of Chants in the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515

All the relevant feasts are summarised in Table 5.16 (see Appendix, p. 237). Each entry in the table gives the genre of chant, title, and the respective folio page in both the LM and EX. Digital images of the selected chants are included in the table. The capital letter 'A' refers to the reading in the LM and simultaneously cites the chant text (positioned beneath the neumes); 'B' gives the pitched letter-names of the melodic reading in EX. The latter are aligned as closely as possible to the image of LM in order to show the degree of correspondence between the readings in the two

sources. Of course, it is not possible to identify the melodic pitch of the earlier missal, but neumatic groupings can give an indication of the intended melody. For this purpose, pitch markers, suggested by Hiley in his examination of the notational signs in H. 159, such as ‘H’ (higher note) ‘M’ (middle note) and ‘L’ (lower note) will be used here to clarify melodic contours in LM (Hiley, 1993, pp. 342-343). Bold letters highlight the variant being considered in the text. Each example is accompanied by a short summary noting the points of variance within the readings of the two missals.

Analysis of the Notated Chants in LM and EX

Even within this small and limited group of chants there is apparently a large amount of disagreement in detail. Points of variance may only refer to the omission of a repeated note or a pitch variance, for example: in the first entry (see Appendix, Table 5.16) the neumatic reading of the gradual (*Bonum est confiteor*) in LM suggests L-H-H (pes stratus) on *num* of *Bonum*, which is alternatively represented by a pes (L-H) and two virgae (same pitch) in EX. It is not the intention here to argue the distinction between minor or significant variants, but rather to indicate any points of deviation that occur between the two readings. It is remarkable how many differences arise, despite the limitations imposed by the incipit. Among the openings of several of the chants (see Examples 2, 8, 9 and 19) we find noticeable melodic dissimilarities. At the beginning of the gradual, *Exsurge domine* (see Example 2, Table 5.16), a lower-pitched note precedes the tristrophe (three repeated pitches) in LM, which is not present in EX; the latter starts directly with three repeated Fs on the setting of the opening syllable, ‘Ex’ of *Exsurge*. Similarly, LM and EX give different opening melodic gestures for the setting of ‘Her’ of *Herusalem* in the Communion for the Fourth Sunday of Lent (Example 8); the LM reading opens with a salicus (L-M-H) but EX gives a porrectus (F E F). A striking example of melodic differentiation occurs in the opening of the introit: *Miserere mihi* (Example 9): EX gives a rather syllabic setting of ‘Mise’ of *Miserere*, with two virgae (F F) followed by a pes (D G) and virga (G). The corresponding setting in LM opens with two pes (L-H, L-H) followed by a virga. Dissimilarities also arise between the earlier and later melodic readings of the melismas: for example, in LM, the neumatic outline for the start of the melisma on ‘ma’ of *clamavi* (see Example 3: introit, *Ego clamavi*) suggests a punctum (single pitch); conversely, EX opens with a pes subbipunctus (GbaG).

As noted earlier, we have some examples of fully neumed chants from the Mass in honour of the Virgin (In FESTIS B.V.M, fol. 267v) of which the introit (*Salve sancte parens*) and gradual (*Benedicta et venerabilis*) are included in this survey. This allows a brief but important opportunity to view a full chant in both sources (see Examples 28 and 29). In EX, we find a virga (D) and a clivis (DC) for ‘san’ of *sancte* (second word in text); alternatively, LM presents a clivis (H-L) with a pes (L-H) for the same syllable. In general, the differences are slight as is evident in the setting of *celum* in both sources: EX gives the two-note pes (DF), which receives the single virga in LM (‘ce’ of *celum*) before both sources cite the similar three repeated Fs (or tristophe in LM) for the final syllable.

Finally, contrasting melodic outlines are noticeable in both missals for the two opening syllables of *Benedicta* (see gradual, Example 29): LM presents a puncta (single pitch) and clivis (H-L) but EX gives the descending two-note neume (clivis, FE) followed by the two-note rising figure (pes FG).

Summary of the Comparative Investigation

In all, there are sixteen examples of differences in the melodic readings of LM and EX; thus the percentage of agreement between the readings is a mere 45%. It seems reasonable therefore to recognise two different traditions in the Exeter missals. However, the results are not surprising, when we consider that Orchard classifies LM as a pontifical book rather than a missal: ‘it is primarily a bishop’s book integrating a sacramentary, pontifical and ritual’ (Orchard, I, p. 1). The premise here is based on the theory that LM does not represent the Use of Exeter, that the melodic tradition at Exeter in the eleventh century resembles that of other secular institutions in England of the same period. That the sacramentary and gradual within the same book reflect different traditions is not unusual. Such is the case with EX. We find continuity in the liturgical observation of the prayers between LM and EX which is not reflected, however, in the musical material; hence in EXcl 3515 we recognise a break with pre-Norman practices. The evidence, resulting from a comparison of their respective musical material, points clearly to two distinct traditions. This hypothesis will be examined in more detail in the following section.

Melodic Variants

Identification of the melodic tradition in EXcl 3515 may establish it as a witness to a practice similar to other secular institutions in the post-Conquest era. It is assumed here that the Leofric Missal did not represent the melodic tradition of Exeter Cathedral. Furthermore, the conjecture is based on the assumption that the chant tradition in EXcl 3515 should reflect practices witnessed in contemporary insular sources, which, as Hiley observes, show distinct influences from Norman and other French traditions (Hiley, 1980-81, 1981, 1986).

As summarised above, a comparison of the noted chant items in LM and EX revealed the disparity in their respective traditions. They are clearly not closely related. The second method for successfully identifying chant traditions in a manuscript is based on the *modus operandi* created by the monks of Solesmes. Following the publication of the critical edition of the Roman Gradual (1957) they issued *Le Texte Neumatique*, a volume comparing the musical variants in a wide spectrum of manuscripts. Through these collations, it was possible to group sources into families (representing different regions) with similar and/or identical musical traditions. These comprehensive collations of chant variants, published by the Solesmes monks, remain to date an invaluable starting point in a similar investigation. Thus the selected points of variance (as outlined in *Text Neumatique*, 1–55) are incorporated here as part of our comparative examination. But first we will outline the main traditions that are prevalent in English sources.

Identifying Musical traditions in English Sources

Scholars such as Hiley (1980, 1986), Underwood (1982), Hartzell (1975), and Halmo (2002) have identified musical traditions in English sources, and this has given us a very clear idea of the various melodic influences that permeated insular books in pre- and post-Conquest times. Hiley, in particular, has presented the findings of extensive research on representative manuscripts from significant English institutions. It is worth noting the three distinct groupings that he proposes: St Denis/Corbie, Bec, and Dijon/Fécamp: the first group comprises books from Winchester, Worcester,

Crowland, Ely, and Downpatrick; the Bec tradition is most noticeably located in service books from St. Albans; the Haughmond gradual shows affinity to the Dijon tradition (Hiley, 1980; 1986). The question as to whether EX is connected to one of these musical traditions now needs to be examined.

What is of particular interest here is the allocation of the Exeter book, BL Harley 2961 (the Leofric Collectar and Hymnal) to the St Denis/Corbie family by Hiley (1986).⁷⁵ Through his comparison of the musical variants in the Collectar with witnesses from various traditions, he concluded that the Exeter book adheres to the St. Denis/Corbie grouping. No extant chant source from Exeter had been subjected to melodic scrutiny prior to Hiley's research on BL Harley 2961 and to that of my work in EXcl 3515. If the St Denis/Corbie tradition is evident in an eleventh-century book of Exeter provenance (Harley 2961, written at Exeter and not imported) one would expect that the Mass tradition also followed the same tradition.

Twenty-six liturgical books from England, Ireland and France are included in the comparative investigation here. As noted earlier, Hiley draws our attention to the omission of significant English sources in the Solesmes survey, including the two English tropers, OB 775 and CC 473 (Hiley, 1986). To compensate for the lack of insular representatives, the Winchester missal, Le Havre 330, is included here (although there are many lacunae) as is the York gradual, an important witness, although later, to a secular tradition (it was not included in the *Graduel Romain*). Furthermore, the comparative survey also incorporates service books from the Loire region, in particular, the twelfth-century Fleury Missal, H 187 and the Tours Missal, Orleans 117, since both traditions bear witness to possible liturgical influence in EXcl 3515, as observed in the post-Pentecostal alleluia series and the liturgical assignment of chants. The Tours Missal will be part of a separate study on musical variants in the following chapter (Chapter Six).

⁷⁵ Hartzell (2006) dates BL Harley 2961, of Exeter origin, to the third quarter of the eleventh century. It is essentially an office book containing collects and both noted antiphons and hymns.

Graduel Romain and EXcl 3515

Table 5.17 (see Appendix) summarises the variant readings of the respective sources as given in the *Graduel Romain (Le Text Neumatique, 1960)*. The points of variance are indicated and numbered in the left-hand column (1-55). Due to the closeness in readings from Paris books, they are grouped under one heading (column 6) and references to deviance are noted in the text. Sigla and data on each manuscript are outlined in the section ‘Manuscripts Cited in Text’ (see Bibliography). The variant reading (A or B) is recorded for each source: ‘X’ implies that the manuscript in question is not in agreement with the Exeter reading (in column 1). In this way, the comparative table indicates where agreement or difference occurs. LAC (lacuna) refers to missing chants in the source in question.

Summary of the Melodic Variants

The results reveal a close link with the Worcester gradual F.160 (86% agreement with variants in EX) and two other English graduals: the Downpatrick Gradual, OB Rawlinson C.892 (76% and the York gradual (81%). All three sources are linked to the St Denis/Corbie melodic tradition. In contrast, Sarum representatives such as the Salisbury gradual (London, BL add 12194) and the Exeter Missal (Manchester Rylands 24) indicate a much lower percentage (71% agreement). Therefore we can conclude that the readings in EXcl are related to the St Denis/Corbie tradition.

But how do we explain the ‘foreign’ post-Pentecostal alleluia series in EX? It is not unusual to find different traditions within the same book. For example, the Durham/Canterbury manuscript Cosin v.v.6 contains the Bec series of post-Pentecostal alleluias, although the musical readings are related to those of St Denis (Hartzell, 1975; Hiley, 1986). A similar example is found in books from Worcester and Christ Church, Canterbury (see Hiley, 1986, pp. 64-5). The profusion of Bec alleluias in post-Conquest sources is not difficult to understand when we consider the widespread influence of Lanfranc at Canterbury in the eleventh century. Yet, it is obvious that he did not replace the melodic traditions. Only in books from St Albans do we witness the full implantation of Bec Use (Hiley, 1980, 1986). The question as to whether the musical tradition of EXcl 3515 is closely related to one of the

established traditions can now be resolved. As noted earlier, the chant tradition of the Leofric Collectar corresponds with the St Denis/Corbie readings. Therefore, it becomes more likely that during Bishop Leofric's episcopate, the Winchester tradition was observed in the Office liturgy; EXcl 3515 confirms the retention of this practice in the chants for the Mass. We can probably conclude that the sacramentary in the Leofric Missal represents the liturgy at Exeter in the eleventh century, which is preserved into the following century (via EXcl 3515); on the other hand, the melodic tradition in LM was probably never adopted at the Cathedral. The exemplar for EXcl 3515 was most likely based on a source or chain of sources from Winchester or Worcester possibly dating from the time of Leofric. The St Denis/Corbie tradition was retained in Exeter, as witnessed in the major representatives of English sources, dating to the pre- and post-Conquest eras.

Conclusions

Although the sacramentaries of EXcl 3515, Oxford Bodley 579 and Sarum are fundamentally the standard combination of Gregorian-cum-Gelasian sacramentaries, the results of the comparative examination of the collects, secrets and postcommunions (Section One) show a distinct connection between LM and EX. Further evidence of their relationship is strengthened by the placement of the Ember Day liturgies (September) in both sources between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sundays after Pentecost, thus disrupting the continuity of the dominical series. Therefore, the question as to whether the sacramentary in EX continues the liturgical observation of LM can be addressed. The high concordance of liturgical assignment among the prayers of the Mass (in EX and LM) confirms the retention of this liturgy into the later twelfth century.

The continuity, however, between the LM and EX is not reflected in the chant tradition. Two comparative methods have been combined here to examine the musical content of the gradual in each source: first, a comparison of the chant repertoires and their liturgical assignment and secondly, an analysis of their melodic variants. The results pointed to innovation and reform in EXcl 3515.

As would be expected, the introits and communions display almost total uniformity in liturgical assignment between EX, LM and SAR. In fact, with the exception of the alleluia, uniformity is evident among the remaining chant items (offertory and gradual) although to a lesser degree. The differences between the three sources are most noticeable on days already noted as ‘unstable’ (Second Sunday of Lent, Saturday of the Fifth week of Lent). Yet, it is among the psalm verses (for the introits) and offertory chants that LM and EX appear to diverge. EX often shows a distinct alliance with the Winchester tradition. In addition, integration of both Breton and Winchester influences is noticeable among the chants for the Second Sunday of Lent and the Nativity of the BVM. Yet links with the Loire Valley are also apparent both in the chant repertory and liturgical assignment, as exemplified in the unique psalm verse for Ember Wednesday (*Buccinate in eo*). Only one source concurs with EX to date, namely, the Tours Missal (Orleans 117). The evidence suggests that EXcl 3515, while adhering to the Gregorian/Gelasian tradition, draws not only on established insular liturgies emanating from Winchester, but looks also in the direction of Chartres and the Loire Valley for new chants.

Two alleluia repertories, Easter Week and post-Pentecostal, were examined. Although little research by chant scholars has been undertaken with regard to the former, a comparison of the Easter Week series in EX proves worthwhile. Relationships between sources can be established where correspondences are noted. Although a series identical to that of EX was not located, concordance with a missal of Hereford Use was confirmed for four of the five alleluias. The remaining isolated alleluia, *Surrexit pastor bonus* (assigned to feria vi), presents a very rare text and melody found elsewhere only in manuscripts from Lotharingia and Auberive. No other English service book includes this alleluia. The Exeter scribe, who could possibly have been precentor himself, chooses a non-standard version of a melody and text, which remains the sole known English example of this chant.

Further confirmation of continental links is present in the post-Pentecostal alleluia series. No other English source gives the Fleury series of post-Pentecostal alleluias. Norman influences in British sources mainly emanate from St Denis, Bec, Dijon and Amiens. That a series from Fleury is presented in an English manuscript has great significance for our understanding of English chant traditions. It is well known that

there was much contact between England and Fleury during the monastic reform in the tenth century. However, no evidence has survived in liturgical sources reflecting this relationship. Perhaps the Exeter Missal preserves an alleluia series that may have been introduced to Exeter (via Worcester) in the eleventh century. Historical records relate that St. Oswald spent some time at Fleury. On his return he became Bishop of Worcester for ten years before becoming archbishop of York in 972 (Knowles, 1966).

Information on the development of secular liturgy after the Conquest, however, is very scarce. Exeter may have used exemplars from Worcester containing a Fleury alleluia series. On the other hand, one could argue that secular institutions used this continental series before the effect of Lanfranc (and Bec practices) was felt on extant liturgies in the later eleventh century. EXcl 3515 may be the sole surviving insular witness preserving an alleluia series dating back to the tenth century.

The liturgical marker points to diverse influences for the two alleluia repertoires noted above. We must bear in mind that an alleluia series in a service book may not reflect the melodic tradition of the musical material; sources from Worcester and Christchurch, Canterbury with Bec alleluia series and Corbie melodic traditions are witnesses to dual traditions co-existing within the same book (Hiley, 1986). Therefore, the Fleury series of post-Pentecostal alleluias in EX does not necessarily imply the adoption of a singing tradition from the Loire region.

Before now, the musical tradition of EXcl 3515 has not been identified. The Solesmes monks omitted the Leofric Missal from their survey on melodic variants because of the scarcity of examples; in consequence the chant tradition of both missals has remained unidentified. In this study, a comparison of the incipits (in LM) with the corresponding items in EX points clearly to two different traditions. Furthermore, the findings of the present analysis, based on a comparison of the melodic variants in EX with the survey compiled by the monks of Solesmes (GR, *Le Texte Neumatique*, 1960), give compelling evidence of a strong relationship with Worcester F.160 (86% agreement) and two graduals from York and Downpatrick. Each source preserves the St Denis/Corbie tradition in their chant traditions. I think that it is fair to claim that the source of the musical material in EX has now been identified, and that the manuscript

can be assigned to the core group of English sources that form part of the St Denis/Corbie group.

Finally, the evidence drawn from the various comparative surveys, both repertorial and musical, conducted here, shows that liturgical continuity was maintained in the later Exeter Missal through the retention of the sacramentary items in the Leofric Missal. However, the musical tradition in EXcl 3515 differs, showing a clear affiliation to the St Denis tradition that was evident in many insular sources prior to the introduction of Sarum in the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER SIX

Distinctive Items in EXcl 3515

INTRODUCTION

Departures from Tradition

Although, in general, EXcl 3515 is closely related to the St Denis/Corbie melodic tradition, some of its contents deviate significantly. These divergences are the focus of the present chapter. Steiner refers to the benefits of utilizing the Solesmes method for grouping manuscripts, but warns that it ‘is less useful in identifying salient features of a chant tradition—the features by which it would be remembered as distinctive. For this, more conspicuous musical features need to be focused upon: unusual melodies, or melodies in which unexpected turns of phrase appear’ (Steiner, 1999, XVIII, p. 5). Analysis of ‘unusual melodies’ may help define more sharply the ‘salient’ characteristics of the musical tradition in EXcl 3515; they act as beacons shedding light on the possible provenance of chants, which in turn can tell us about contacts with centres, whether continental or insular, that may have been influential in shaping this secular liturgy. Moreover, they may inform us about local preference and selection— in short, about the Use of Exeter Cathedral in the twelfth century.

A group of alleluias, an introit and a communion will be the focus of the first section below. These chants have already been identified as potentially interesting because of their departure, either melodically or modally, from their Sarum counterparts in this study. Perhaps it is not surprising to find that some of the designated items, including the introit, *Accipite Jocunditatem*, and alleluia, *Dies Sanctificatus*, have been the fodder of previous comparative research by chant scholars such as Bohm (1929) and Karp (1998) respectively. The opportunity to investigate chant transmission in a single, complete, twelfth-century insular manuscript is very important in the context of the study of twelfth-century English liturgy as a whole. Analysing the workings and behaviour of this pertinent group of chants should help to emphasise the ‘distinctiveness’ of the liturgy in EXcl 3515.

Both internal and external evidence, however, can be informative about the affiliations of a liturgical manuscript. The numerous marginal additions and emendations to the text of the missal are evidence of a conscious ‘updating’ of the liturgy to Sarum Use over many centuries. These revisions have hitherto received very

little attention; Ker only notes three additions, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century (Ker, 1977). In the second section of the current chapter, the theme of ‘Exeter distinctiveness’ (to borrow the phrase from Pfaff, 2010, p. 395) will be continued in an attempt to illuminate the Use of Exeter, as witnessed not only in the unusual or unique items mentioned above, but also through an investigation of the items that were revised and—perhaps even more significantly—those that were not. This should help us to estimate how far Exeter retained its independence.

Modal Ambiguities

Modal ambiguities have concerned scholars in their exploration of these problematic areas among the various chant genres. Studies by Karp (1998), Hiley (1993), Bomm (1929), and more recently, Atkinson (2009) have made us aware of the complexity of the issues involved. In general, the majority of chants conform to the musical characteristics assembled by theorists as means of identifying modality: final together with the range, thus, allocating the melody to the authentic or plagal classification. This arrangement would appear to remove any uncertainty as to the identification of the mode of a chant item. Yet particular chants are given different modal assignments—perhaps several different assignments—in different sources (Apel, 1958).

As early as the mid ninth century, the Frankish theorist Aurelian of Réôme recognised and addressed the problem of modal ambiguities in his treatise *Musica Disciplina*:

It should well be noticed that in the Offertories, Responsories and Invitatories the mode (tonus) should be sought only at the point where the verses are inserted...In the Introits, however, as well as in the Antiphons and Communions the mode should always be looked for at the beginning.

(Apel, 1958, p. 174)

It appears that a shift away from an emphasis solely on the beginning occurred a short time later, however, at the beginning of the tenth century, as can be seen in this remark by Regino of Prüm in his more substantial tonary (‘Tonarius’ of Regino):

The wise singer should observe most diligently to pay attention to the beginning of Antiphons, Introits, and Communions rather than to their end, in respect to their mode. In the Responsories, on the contrary, he should consider the end and close rather than the beginning.

(Apel, 1958, p. 174)

And yet, again a relatively short time later, priority was evidently transferred exclusively to the end of any chant. The convention of classifying a chant by its final was predominant among the late tenth-, eleventh- and twelfth-century theorists such as Abbot Odo, Guido d'Arezzo and John Cotton. Odo's commentary dispels any doubt about the importance of the final: 'when he is about to begin the Antiphon, he should not look at its opening, but quickly run to its end, and whichever tone he finds there, in that he should begin the psalm' (Apel, pp. 174-175). However, this disagreement between the early and later theorists continues into the later centuries where irregular modal chants seem to adhere to the principles of the former rather than the latter. From the modern perspective, our preconceived opinions about the classification of modes are determined for the greater part by the later medieval theorists, in which the final (and range) designate the mode.

Introit: *Accipite jocunditatem*

The following remarks about *Accipite jocunditatem* and other anomalous chants in EXcl 3515 supplement the extensive research of Bomm (1928) and Karp (1998). In EXcl 3515 we find an introit, *Accipite jocunditatem*, notorious for its modal anomalies, in a melodic version that seems to deviate significantly from the norm. This gives us a unique opportunity to assess the solution of the modal problem proposed in a unique English source.

Accipite jocunditatem is classed by the late ninth-to-tenth-century theorist, Regino of Prüm, as belonging to a group of modally unstable melodies (Karp, 1998). Curiously, EXcl 3515 agrees with Regino of Prüm in assigning it to mode eight, in contrast to the assignment to mode four in the majority of sources.

Karp alone considers some 50-100 sources, while Bomm's analysis is confined to a much more restricted group.⁷⁶ In EXcl 3515, we are provided with a rare glimpse of a 'chant in progress'. An analysis of *Accipite jocunditatem*, with its seemingly radical deviations from the more 'normal' transmission, presents us with musical solutions, reflecting a different insular melodic tradition.

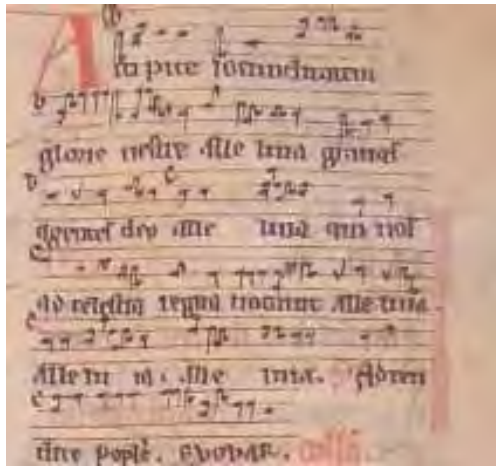


Plate 6.1 EXcl 3515 (f. 103) Introit: *Accipite jocunditatem*

Plate 6.1 represents the introit *Accipite jocunditatem* in EXcl 3515, where it is assigned to the Tuesday after Pentecost Sunday (f. 103r). As mentioned above, an initial comparison of the melody with the Sarum source revealed significant differences in the choice of mode, the psalm tone, and in the setting of the text at particular places; most significantly, the final alleluia ends on G in EXcl 3515 and not on E, as in Sarum. Consequently, this change in modality gives rise to different psalm tones, in each source, at the beginning of the Psalm verse (*Attendite*; see Mus. Ex. 6.1a below).

⁷⁶ Karp (1998) includes the following manuscripts as the 'minimum basis' in his discussion: Bamberg 6; Benevento VI. 33; Chartres 47; Darmstadt 1946; Einsiedeln 121; Laon 239; Milan D 84; L 77; Noyon. Paris Mazarine 384; Rome Angelica 123; St. Gall Vadiana 295; St. Gall 339; St. Omer 252; Vatican lat. 4770; Arras 444; Avignon 181; Benevento V.19–20, VI. 34, VI. 35, VI. 38, VI. 40; Berlin Fol. 319; Q^o664, 40078; Bratislava 3; Brussels II 3823; Cambridge Kk. 2. 6; Graz 807; Karlsruhe 15; 16; Kremsmunster 588; Leipzig 391; London 12194, Harley 4951; Madrid 18, 45, 51; Manchester 24; Melk 109; Modena O.1. 13; Montpellier 159; Munich 2541-2, 17013, 17014, 17025; Naples VI.E.11; Nimes 4; Orleans 117, 119, 121; Oxford C892; Padua Cap. A47, Sem. 697; Paris 776, 780, 903, 904, 1121, 1132, na. 1235, 1169; Provins 12; Rheims 224; Rome Casanatense 1695, Vallicelliana C52; St Petersburg O v 1 6; Salzburg a.IV.14; Turin F.IV.18; Vatican 6082; Ottoboni 576; Rossi 76, 231; Vercelli 56, 162; Wolfenbuttel 45; Worcester F160; printed Gradual, Passau 1151.

Bomm lists the following sources: Laon 239; Einsiedeln 121; Sarum Gradual; printed gradual Cist 387; printed, gradual Preaem 258; printed gradual, Praed; Reg. Ton 69a; Printed gradual, Rouen, 1912 (St Petersburg O v 1 6); Printed gradual Vatican (1908); Bern (Berno Augiensis, Tonary); Frut (Frutolf von Michelsberg, Tonary). For details of each source see Appendix.

Mus. Ex. 6.1a Comparison of the opening and closing of the Psalm verse *Attendite* in EXcl 3515 and the *Graduale Sarisburiense*

Psalm tone

EXcl 3515
Ps. Ad ten di te popule se cu lo rum amen

Sarum
Ps. Ad ten di te lo rum amen

Modal Classification of *Accipite jocunditatem* in Sources

Table 6.1 (overleaf) summarizes the modal representation of *Accipite jocunditatem* in manuscript sources from the main traditions, incorporating the findings of Karp and Bomm, where relevant. Liturgical books bearing some relationship (however tenuous) to EXcl 3515 that have achieved some prominence in earlier chapters are also included in the table; manuscripts from the Loire Valley are represented by the missals: H 187 (Fleury), Orleans 117 (Tours), Orleans 121 (St Mesmin), and Orleans 119 (Fleury). Further English sources from Winchester (Le Havre 330), Worcester (F.160), and York (Oxford, Lat. lit b. 5) are added (none of which are referred to by Karp) in order to broaden the comparative survey.⁷⁷

Bomm includes a Cistercian source based on a very late edition; the present study, however, located a thirteenth-century manuscript (Dixon Gradual, SAFE/Q3/1), which agrees melodically with Bomm's nineteenth-century edition of the *Graduale Cisterciense* (see Bomm, 1929, p.16, hereafter 'Cist'). In Table 6.1 below, the final column gives the classification of the mode in each source. Of course, it is not

⁷⁷ St. Gall 339; Laon 239; Mont-Renaud (PalMus 16); Chartres 47; Montpellier H 159; Graz 807; Beneventan B.Cap.VI 34; Trier H 187); Orleans 117 (Tours, St Venant); Orleans 121 (St Mesmin); Orleans 721 (St Micy) Orleans 119 (Fleury, Leperosie); Rouen 305; Angers 92; Le Havre 330 (Winchester); Sarum (GS; facsimile, ed. Frere); Worcester F 160; York gradual Oxford Bodley MS Lat. liturg. b.5 ; Dixon Gradual, SAFE/Q3/1 (Cistercian).

possible to identify clearly a mode in non-pitched sources unless the information is provided by the scribe, as for example in Laon 239.

As demonstrated in the table, all English pre- and post-Conquest sources, except EXcl 3515, explicitly or implicitly assign *Accipite jocunditatem* to mode four. Norman and other French sources mainly agree with the mode four designation. Although Bomm has already pointed to the different designation in Laon 239, neither the Fleury nor Exeter missals were included in his study. Surprisingly, the results show concordance with EXcl 3515 among the adiastematic sources representing three different traditions, including Laon 239, H 187 and Angers 91 (both from the Loire region) and one pitched source from the Cistercian tradition. The significance of this is explained below.

TABLE 6.1
Modal Classification of *Accipite jocunditatem* in Sources

Sources	Folio	Mode
St. Gall 339	67r	No notation
Laon 239	127r	Mode 8
Mont Renaud	27r	No notation
Chartres 47	71r	No notation
Einsiedeln 121	258	Mode 4
Dijon H 159	32r	Mode 4
St. Yrieix 903	185r	Mode 4
Graz 807	129r	Mode 4
Trier H 187(Fleury)	97v	Mode 8
Orl 117	182r/v	Mode 4
Orl 121		lacuna
Orl 721		No chants
Orl 119	132r	Mode 4

Rouen 305	159v	Mode 4
Le Havre 330	18v	Mode 4
Sarum (GS)	138r	Mode 4
F 160	326	Mode 4
York	51r	Mode 4
Regino	...	Mode 8
Angers 91	...	Mode 8
Dixon Gradual (Cistercian)	104v	Mode 8

Psalm tones

It is through the neumatic representation of the psalm tones in these earlier adiastematic readings of the Laon 239 and Fleury H 187 manuscripts that we can identify more closely the modal classification. Fortunately, Laon 239 provides psalm tones for *Accipite jocunditatem*, which not all early sources do (see St Gall 339, Chartres 47 and Mont Renaud in Table 6.1). We find a virga, clivis (H-L) and pes (L-H) provided for the opening word of the psalm tone in both Laon 239 and H 187; these neumes correspond in melodic outline to the mode eight psalm tone found in the pitched neumes of EXcl 3515 (G-aG-ac c) and Cist (see Mus. Ex. 6.1b). Thus, Exeter stands alone among English and French representatives as the earliest source with precise pitch notation, reflecting the unstable modality of *Accipite jocunditatem*.

Mus. Ex. 6.1b Comparison of melodic openings of *Attendite*

The image shows a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The staff is labeled 'Psalm tone' and 'EXcl 3515'. Below the staff, the text 'Ps. Ad ten di te popule' is written. Below the staff, there are three examples of melodic openings, each with a label and a number: 'Laon 239', 'H 187', and another example with a checkmark and three dots. The first example shows a melodic opening with a checkmark and three dots. The second example shows a melodic opening with a checkmark and three dots. The third example shows a melodic opening with a checkmark and three dots.

Musical Analysis of *Accipite Jocunditatem*

What is of particular interest in the melodic reading of *Accipite Jocunditatem* in EXcl 3515, is the extent to which the standard mode four melody is altered at cadence points, in order to accommodate it better within mode eight. In many ways this reshaping of the chant illustrates Karp's theory of changing concepts of modality:

In terms of classification, mode is determined through the interaction between final and range, but here is now the expectation that the nature of the opening and the succession of the major internal cadences will fully support a sense of tonal unity based on the supremacy of the final degree. If a chant does not already possess the latter characteristics, it is to be reworked to be in accordance with them.

(Karp, 1998, p. 268)

Residues of Regino's preference for classifying chants according to their opening melodic gestures echo in twelfth-century Exeter. The 'reworking', however, of internal cadences is apparent in EXcl 3515.

In Mus. Ex. 6.1 (see Appendix, pp. 254-257) six readings of *Accipite jocunditatem* are given as part of a comparative examination of the cadential solutions proffered by

EXcl 3515. Once again, the study will draw on sources from England and France, but will also include the main Cistercian source noted above (see Mus. Ex. 6.1 end section)

I have divided the melody into six sections (numbered 1-6) to make the analysis easier to follow. The modal flavour of the opening G-D leap of a fourth on *Ac* of *Accipite* is shared by the majority of sources (except for Worcester and Fleury G-E), and there is unanimous agreement on the initial cadence on G on *tem* of *Jocunditatem*. This uniformity is broken in the setting of *glorie vestre alleluia*, demonstrated by the cadential formula on alleluia (ending on G); except for Cist and EXcl 3515, all readings provide a clivis or FE (see Mus. Ex. 6.1 numeral 2). At this point, EXcl 3515 alone clearly avoids the lower deuterus mode by initiating the *Al* of *Alleluia* with a-c and not with E or F, as do most sources. All sources agree melodically on the third section (*gracias gentes...*).

Observation of the two final alleluias highlights further the musical process. On the penultimate alleluia, apart from EXcl 3515, there is concordance among all manuscripts in the choice of the two Fs for the setting of *Al-le* of *Alleluia*, (see numeral 5a); only the Exeter reading departs from the usual transmission and insists once more on the opening tone G, evidently in order to avoid the mode four plagal register. On the other hand, the Cistercian source compensates by introducing a seemingly abrupt leap to G (see end of numeral 5a) in anticipation of the final cadence, at which point both EXcl 3515 and Cist insert a mode eight cadential formula. This shorter formula leads to a smooth ending on the final G, preparing for the psalmic recitation on the G mode psalm tone.

Summary

It was apparently unacceptable for the Exeter scribe to consent to the modal incongruities thrown up by *Accipite jocunditatem* with its mode eight opening and conflicting mode four ending. The evidence suggests that some of the earliest traditions (Laon 239 and Angers 91) adhere to Regino's principle, which looks to the opening melodic gesture for determining the mode, thereby selecting mode eight for

the chant (see Table 6.2 below). Although the Fleury example is adiaSTEMatic, Huglo dates it to the twelfth century (Huglo, 1966).

Thus, the two Loire manuscripts H 187 and Angers 91 indicate a preference for the mode eight designation. As noted in the previous chapters, links to the Loire valley are apparent at times in the liturgical tradition of EXcl 3515. We could argue that a Loire influence is present here, and that the representation on staff lines of the imported melody prompted a musical solution by reworking inner cadences to conform to the implied mode eight opening. On the other hand, it is not impossible that a Cistercian influence may be visible here; historical evidence states that Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter (1161–84) had contact with Baldwin, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Ford (Moray, 1937). In addition, we are told that Bartholomew maintained a lifelong friendship with Baldwin, who had been previously a canon of Exeter and would in time become archbishop of Canterbury (Moray, *ibid*). For the present, we can only speculate on the origins of the Exeter version of the melody.

TABLE 6.2

Summary of Sources in Modal Agreement with EXcl 3515

Regino	Tonary	10th	Mode 8
Laon 239	127r	9 th -10th	Mode 8
Angers 91	...	10th	Mode 8
Trier H 187(Fleury)	97v	12th	Mode 8
Cistercian (Dixson Gradual, SAFE/Q3/1)	104v	13th	Mode 8

Communion: *Oportet te*

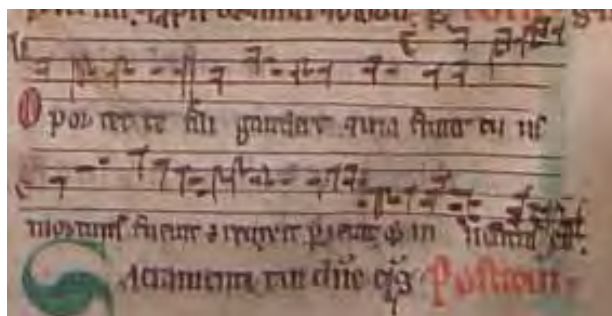


Plate 6.2 EXcl 3515 (f.40) Communion: *Oportet te*

Oportet te fili gaudere, ‘Son, you ought to rejoice’, assigned to the Second Saturday of Lent, is based on the Gospel of the day (Steiner, p. 332, 1999). The melody in EXcl 3515 for the communion chant *Oportet te* deviates considerably from the Sarum version (which I take from Frere’s *Graduale Sarisburiense*). That the melody is different is not an unusual occurrence in service books, but the rendition in EXcl 3515 appears to be rare among insular and continental sources. *Oportet te* belongs to a group of communions that are found in the Lenten season, referred to as Gospel Communions because their texts come from the Gospel of the day. A peculiarity of these communions is that they appear in both simple syllabic and ornate melismatic styles. McKinnon (2000) argues that their origins can be traced to Office antiphons. In addition, Hiley (1993) asserts that they are indicative of the various chronological layerings of the communion chant repertory with syllabic versions, pointing to early roots. If an ornate style signals a more recent melody, then EXcl 3515 is possibly unique among the secular sources, not only in presenting a modern chant, but also in providing an unusual variant of the melody. By its inclusion in the missal it strengthens the case for distinguishing a local melodic tradition in Exeter in the twelfth century. This distinctive melody will, therefore, be the focus of the following section.

Variant Melodies

We need first to clarify the distinction between significant and insignificant variants. Hughes differentiates between variants that are ‘trivial’ or ‘substantive’ (Hughes, 1987, p. 381). In fact, most variants belong to the former category, in that they do not radically alter the melody. Hughes (*ibid.*) distinguishes between ornamental notes, rhythmic notes, and variants, arising from the filling in of thirds. Significant variants, on the other hand, alter the melody, creating ‘a perceptibly new version’ (Hughes, 1987, *ibid.*, p. 381). I will draw on Hughes criteria for the classification of variants where relevant.

Identification of a New Melody

The most frequently used melody is the widely-known syllabic setting of *Oportet te*, (see Mus. Ex. 6.2 below), labelled as melody A-4 by Steiner, located in at least sixty manuscript sources of East and West Frankish provenance, and outlined in her Table 14.1 (Steiner, 2000, pp. 334–35). Among English sources, we find representatives from Downpatrick and Salisbury. Within the A melody category there are seven variants (A 1-7).

By contrast, two versions of the B melody are extant: B-1 survives in three early adiastematic North Italian sources (Vercelli, BC 146, 161, and 162); B-2, however, is located in only one pitch-readable Norman source (Rouen 305). Steiner outlines the neumatic reading for B-1 (based on Vercelli 162), which shows some differences in its implied melodic contour with both EXcl 3515 and Rouen (Steiner, 2000, pp. 345–346). A comparison, however, of Rouen 305 with EXcl 3515 reveals a close correspondence at times between these two sources, but with significant differences (see Appendix: Mus. Ex. 6.3, p. 258). The version of this melody in EXcl 3515 provides us, therefore, with a new B-3 variant. The differences between the two melodies justify the identification of a new variant, details of which will be outlined below.

Mus. Ex. 6. 2 Communion *Oportet te*: syllabic version (A-4)⁷⁸



Musical Analysis of *Oportet te*

A comparison of the two communion melodies is presented in Mus.Ex.6.3 (see Appendix and Plate 6.2 above, p. 168). Variants are indicated in the notation by the symbol mark above the note. Although we can easily see the similarities between the Exeter and Rouen version of *Oportet te*, they differ from each other in some twenty details. In general, these points of variance are minor, relating, for example, to an extension of a melisma or the addition of a note. In general, the Exeter melody is more ornate, most noticeably at cadential points (see setting of *us* on *tuus*, second line). One significant variant occurs on *fra* (of *frater*, second line), however, where Rouen gives an F in preference to G in the Exeter manuscript, thus changing the tonal centre momentarily.⁷⁹ A final variant noteworthy of mention is located on the setting of the concluding word *inventus*. The Exeter version is more fluid and interesting than the Norman source, accentuated by the rise in the melody to the high *d* (*bcdcba*); by contrast, Rouen 305 oscillates less interestingly around the figure *bc*.

In sum, observation of the frequency of variants (including two significant variants) leads to the identification in the present study of a new variant in the B-2 category. So far, no English concordances for EXcl 3515's B-3 variant of this melody exist; the closest relation is the Rouen manuscript, which represents the Use of St Ouen in

⁷⁸ From *Graduale Triplex*, which includes the St. Gall and Laon neumes (Solesmes, 1979; p. 95)

⁷⁹ Significant variants here imply a distinct change to the melody. Insignificant variants relate to the filling-in of thirds or intervals that do not affect the melody or tonal centre.

Rouen. Both *Accipite jocunditatem* and *Oportet te* are evidence of departures from normal chant transmissions, and perhaps indicate the ‘progressiveness’ of Exeter in the twelfth century in preferring more modern and tonally sensitive versions of some chants.

Alleluia: *Dies sanctificatus*

In a similar way to *Accipite jocunditatem* and *Oportet te*, the Christmas alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* has been selected here due to its apparent departure in melodic transmission from standard sources. Although not as radical in its deviations as *Accipite jocunditatem* or *Oportet te*, the frequency of variants (both significant and insignificant) make it worthy of note. The question as to whether the variants are regional or local is crucial to the investigation. As will be demonstrated, an analysis of the variants throws up unexpected affiliations with a service book from the Loire Valley, thus re-opening contact with an area that has already left a strong imprint on the liturgy in EXcl 3515, through the imposing presence therein of the Fleury post-Pentecostal alleluia. *Dies sanctificatus* provides a second important piece of evidence, confirming an affiliation to this region.

Studies undertaken by Karp (1998) and Hughes (1999) have drawn attention to this alleluia. Both scholars have analysed the melody and its verse in great detail and the results of their collations will be incorporated here where relevant. An examination of the significant variants here may shed more light on the transmission of the melody in EXcl 3515.

Variants in the Alleluia: *Dies sanctificatus*

In particular, the variants in the jubilus and the final cadence in EXcl 3515 signal a divergence from the reading of the standard sources (Plate 6.3 below). Karp’s detailed analysis demonstrates the relative stability of the chant throughout the earliest diastematic as well as the later pitch-readable manuscripts (Karp, 1998). Where does the Exeter version stand in relation to Karp’s (1998) and Hughes’ (1999) work in this chant?

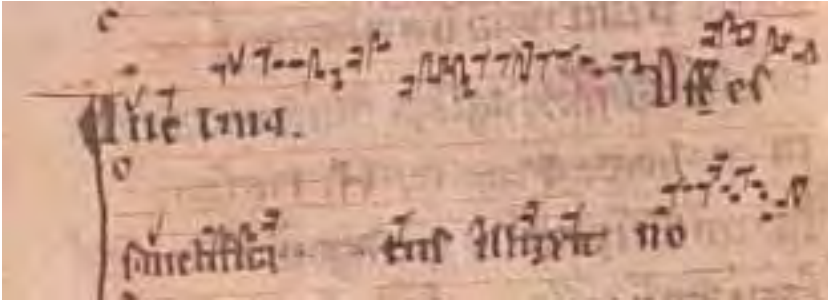


Plate 6.3 EXcl 3515 (f. 10r): Alleluia *Dies Sanctificatus*

Karp presents ‘a synoptic overview of a group of representative readings from each of the principal regions and the most important monastic orders’ (Karp, 1999, p. 149). In all, over 130 diastematic sources are included. Twelve versions of the melody are quoted from representative regions and variant readings are quoted from continental and insular codices (see Karp, *ibid.*).⁸⁰ Following Karp’s method of analysis, the alleluia melody here is divided first into eight segments (see Mus.Ex.6.4a: 1–8 overleaf), based on three representative sources (Paris, Bibl. nat. 776; Orleans 117 and EXcl 3515), in order to compare the variants on the jubilus; this is followed by the main division of the verse (in EXcl 3515) into twenty-six segments (Mus. Ex 6.4b: 1–26 below) in accordance with the general grouping of the neumes. In addition, each separate note is further identified with a number allowing minute comparison within the sources cited.

⁸⁰ Karp (1999) includes the following twelve representatives in his survey: Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 776; Beneventan, Bibl. Cap. MS VI 34; Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana MS VI. 34; Vatican, Bibl. Apost. MS Rossi 231; Cambrai, Bibl. mun. MS 61; Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibl. MS 40078; Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS Rawlinson C 892; Avignon, Bibl. mun. MS 181; Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl. MS clm 2541; London, Brit. Lib. MS Add. 23935; Naples, Bibl. naz. MS VI. G. 38; Vienna, Ost. Bibl. MS 12865.

Mus. Ex. 6.4a Comparison of melodic variants in the Alleluia *Dies Sanctificatus*

Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat.776

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Al - le - lu - ia

Orleans 117 (Tours Missal)

2 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Al - le - lu - ia

EXel 3515

3 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Al - le - lu - ia

Mus. Ex. 6.4b *Dies sanctificatus*: verse

The image displays a musical score for the verse of the *Dies sanctificatus*. It consists of four staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes, and measure numbers are indicated above the staves. The lyrics are: "Di - es sanc - ti - fi - ca - tus il - lux - it no - bis ve - ni - te gen - tes et adora - te do - mi - ni quia ho - di - e de - scen - dit lux mag - na sem - per ter - ram."

A textual summary of the list of variants that agree with EXcl 3515 (among insular and continental sources) is presented simultaneously in Table 6.3 (Appendix, p. 261). This table is also divided into two main sections following the format of the ‘Alleluia’ and ‘Verse’. The siglum for each source is given in the left-hand column of the table, followed by the number assigned by Karp (1998) to each segment of the alleluia or verse; I have used the same numbering in my transcription of the Exeter version. Elipses (...) imply agreement. The pitched letter(s) of the variant is/are also included in Table 6.3, but are supported by the corresponding music examples (see Mus. Ex. 6.4 a-b above).

The Jubilus in *Dies sanctificatus*

A comparison of the Exeter readings with Karp’s summary discloses a close relationship with the French sources, as would be expected. Among the French manuscripts there is a higher degree of variance than in any of the other continental regions (Karp, *ibid.*).

The most significant variant occurs at the end of the jubilus in the first section (segment 8) on notes 1–13; here, the Exeter version concords with a missal from St Venant in Tours, Orleans 117, (Mus. Ex. 6.4a above). At the same point in the Italian sources, there is a wide degree of conformity with the presence of 6/7 notes: F-F-E-D-F-D; however, the French manuscripts often introduce the G before the F, omitting also the final F-D, thus giving G-F-F-E-D. The general representation of the cadence is based around this group of five or six notes. By contrast, both the Exeter and Tours missals give an identical extended cadence, based on twelve/thirteen notes—F-F-F-D-G-F-F-E-D-E-E-D—with just the one difference of a repeated note (on D) in EXcl 3515 (F-F-F-D-G-F-F-E-D-**D**-E-E-D, see Mus. Ex. 6.4a). In this study, no other known source concurs with the melodic reading of Orleans 117 and EXcl 3515. The identification of this variant strengthens the argument in favour of a possible melodic affiliation between these two ecclesiastical centres.

The second most significant variant occurs at the final cadence in the verse (segment 26: notes 7–10; see Mus. Ex. 6.4b above and Appendix, Table 6.3). In this case, eight more concordances with EXcl 3515 are found. The melisma in the majority of sources is represented by D-E-F-D, but in EXcl 3515 with D-F-E-D. As Table 6.3 (Appendix) shows, centres such as Micy, St Etienne and Chartres rank among the sources in agreement with Exeter, and link the melodic tradition once more to the Loire region and non-Norman regions of France. It should be noted here that in the discussion of the musical reading for the communion *Oportet te*, the Vercelli manuscript V 162 was assigned by Steiner to the B-1 melody category. Perhaps it is not surprising to find this manuscript resurface here, as one of the few sources agreeing with Exeter at segment 26 (1-3), and as one of four other sources at segment 2: 1-4 (at the opening of the verse); the other sources include a further manuscript from Vercelli (Vercelli BC 146), which appears among the three Vercelli books quoted by Steiner for this category (Steiner, 1999).

As noted earlier, although insignificant variants can hardly be decisive in determining relationships, it is impossible to ignore the high frequency of this type of variant among the Loire representatives that agree with EXcl 3515 (see Table 6.3: segment 10, note 3). The standard version omits E between the rising minor third D-F. Five out of the total of ten sources are found in this Fleury-Loire area of France, however, or in

the general region that corroborate with variants arising in the Exeter missal, including books from Angers, Tours, Micy, Fleury, and St Laurent de Longre, all of which are either directly on the river or in the nearby vicinity. All have identical variants to EXcl 3515 at particular points in the melody, outlined in Table 6.3 (Appendix, p. 261).

In addition, the survey reveals several instances of variants absolutely unique to EXcl 3515. These unique variants could perhaps imply a local chant style. Among them is the setting of the first syllable of *nobis*, in which all sources usually give two Fs, whereas three occur in Exeter; this repeated F figure occurs once more at segment 21 on *ma* of *magnum*, and again there is no known parallel. At segment eight within this same melisma, no manuscript except EXcl 3515 gives E between F and D. In addition, EXcl 3515 gives C on the opening syllable of *descendit* (segment 20 of the verse), which once again has no known concordances. Such variants could be categorised as ‘sub-local’ elements, to quote from Hughes’s article on *The Alleluias Dies sanctificatus and Vidimus stellam*, as they do not affect the character of the melody (Hughes, 1998, p. 108). They are generally repeated notes at the same pitch or a passing note filling in a third. However, until further evidence emerges, we can only speculate about the significance of these types of variants; they may represent a local style.

Summary

This discussion of the alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* should perhaps lead us to consider the possibility of a connection with Tours; it offers substantial evidence for an affiliation between Exeter and this region of central France, as we have already suspected on account of the post-Pentecostal alleluia series. This may be the single most important result of the foregoing analysis of the alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*. EXcl 3515 may also imply that the singing style at Exeter in the later twelfth century favoured the repetition of notes and the filling in of intervals.

In the following section, however, we will examine in more detail a repertory of alleluias that points to other more diverse melodic influences, while at the same time, confirming the Loire connections that seem to permeate the musical material in the

missal. This will continue the exploration of the manuscript's distinctiveness and the attempt to identify those chants, which may be most indicative of a hypothetical 'Use of Exeter'. But first we will introduce the sources on which this investigation is based.

Alleluia Repertories

Due to the continuing expansion of the alleluia repertory over the centuries, there is a remarkable diversity among manuscripts in their selection of alleluias. Hiley asserts that 'the alleluia repertory is a prime resource for identifying the liturgical use of a manuscript and its nearest relatives' (Hiley, 1993, p. 131). We have already looked at the Easter week and post-Pentecostal alleluia series in EXcl 3515; the former implies links with insular secular practice (Hereford), while the latter points to influence from Fleury. The earliest texted alleluia sources had a limited repertoire of some sixty melodies, which increased to c.410 by the end of the eleventh century (Hiley, 1993). The replacement of psalmatic alleluias with New Testament-based alleluias in the tenth century has been observed by Hughes (2005). This transitional period (between the tenth and twelfth centuries) is marked by a huge increase in the number of new alleluia melodies and texts (Hiley, 1993).

Schlager's catalogue (1965) helps to identify a melody and/or its variants. It is the starting point of any research on alleluia repertories. Through this invaluable resource we can trace alleluias (and those with multiple melodies/texts) to specific sources and regions. In addition, the current study will draw on the findings presented by Hughes in his comprehensive survey of the Paschal alleluia repertory in France, incorporating some 300 alleluias into his investigation (Hughes, 2005). Although a very old source, Frere's index to *Graduale Sarisburiense* can often be helpful in tracing a source and/or its liturgical assignment, as well as distinguishing a Sarum from a non-Sarum chant (Frere, 1896). Finally, Hartzell's catalogue is very helpful in tracing alleluia repertories in English sources up to 1200 (Hartzell, 2006).

Rare Alleluias in EXcl 3515

Ten alleluias will be considered. These alleluias have been chosen first because of their deviation from both the repertories in the Leofric Missal and Sarum sources, and secondly, because a select few in EXcl 3515 have already been investigated by other people (Hiley, 1980; Hughes, 2005; Frere, 1896). In examining an English manuscript, we would expect to find alleluias perhaps of English origin or usage; on the other hand, following the strong presence of Norman influence on post-Conquest insular liturgy, we might anticipate influences possibly from Bec, through the reforms of Lanfranc at Canterbury later in the eleventh century (see Hiley, 1981). Similarly, the inclusion of alleluias from Norman centres such as Jumièges, Fécamp or Mont St Michel is very likely in a post-Conquest manuscript, especially in view of the reforms of William of Volpiano in Normandy. Likewise, an examination of these ten alleluias may shed light on chronological questions; not only is it possible, in general, to distinguish an early from a later alleluia, but also relationships between sources may be established by tracing a rare or unusual alleluia to a particular centre. In addition, questions concerning the widespread or limited usage of a chant will be considered in an attempt to evaluate the relationship of EXcl 3515 to other secular and continental sources. In the following section, an English alleluia will be the focus of our attention in addressing some of the proposals outlined above.

English Alleluias

Hodie sancti innocentes/Rex noster

EXcl 3515 is one of the very few manuscripts to present *Hodie sancti innocentes*, an alleluia for the feast of the Holy Innocents. In the early manuscripts in Hesbert's *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplet* (1935) no alleluia is assigned to this day. In the earliest notated sources, however, from the tenth or even late ninth century, the alleluia *Te martyr* is a common choice; it is found, for example, in the early English Tropers Bodley 775 and Cambridge Corpus Christi 473, as well as in later books such as Rawlinson C892 and virtually all Sarum books (Hartzell, 1989). Therefore, *Te martyr* enjoyed popular and widespread usage in English sources, a tradition that was evident in the pre-Conquest period and maintained after the

Conquest and into the later Middle Ages. The Sarum choice, *Te martyrum*, is inserted into the text (by the Sarum reviser) as part of the revision of the missal to Sarum use (see Plate 6.4)

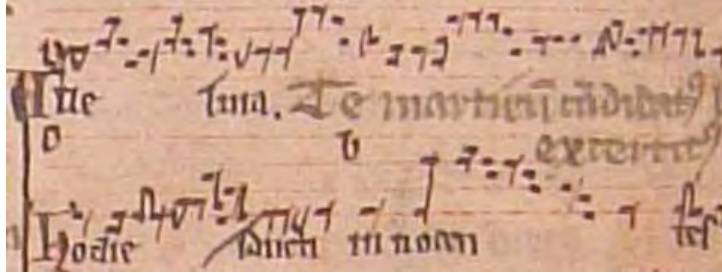


Plate 6.4: EXcl 3515 (f. 12) Alleluia: *Hodie sancti innocentes*

On the other hand, a small proportion of manuscripts include this lesser-known alleluia, *Hodie sancti innocentes* for this feast day (see Table 6.4 in Appendix, p. 264). Apart from EXcl 3515, Hartzell cites two other English sources prior to 1200: Cosin V.v.6 (11th century) and Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 128 (11th century). For both these sources, however, Hartzell quotes Schlager's catalogue number ThK 97, which distinguishes it from the Exeter melody, cited as ThK 97* (a variant). This difference will be examined in more detail later. As to when and how it was adopted at Exeter, we may presume that *Hodie sancti innocentes* was in circulation at Canterbury in the latter part of the eleventh century, and in use at Exeter in the later twelfth. No other contemporary manuscript includes this chant; not until the later thirteenth century does it reappear in books from Worcester Cathedral (F 160 and Cambridge University Library KK. ii. 6). EXcl 3515 thus contains an alleluia that is found only in English sources, and preserves its melody in a variant form not recorded elsewhere.

Not only does the selection of *Hodie sancti innocentes* in EXcl 3515 point clearly to an English provenance, but also the inclusion of *Rex noster* (ThK 7) indicates an insular preference (Table 6.4, p. 264). *Veni domine et noli* is the alleluia assigned to the Fourth Sunday of Advent in the early sources (AMS, Hesbert, 1935). By contrast, the alleluia *Rex noster*, is assigned to Fourth Sunday of Advent in both Winchester and Canterbury sources of the eleventh century and in two twelfth-century insular

sources, EXcl 3515 and Downpatrick (Table 6.4 *ibid.*). Therefore, Exeter apparently retains a pre-Conquest tradition in its liturgical assignment of this alleluia.

Melodic Variants in *Hodie sancti innocentes*

Music Example 6.5 (see Appendix, p. 259) gives the alleluia melody of EXcl 3515 and compares it to both Cosin V.v 6 and F 160 (thirteenth-century Worcester antiphoner and gradual). The verse, *Hodie sancti innocentes*, is presented separately (Mus. Ex. 6.5a). A symbol over a staff indicates some doubt about the pitches of the original notation (see bar 2 in Cosin V. v. 6).

In comparing the three sources we might expect to find full agreement between Exeter and Worcester (see Chapter Five, p. 147). There appears to be a closer similarity, however, between Cosin V.v. 6 and F 160. In segments one and two of the alleluia, variants occur, setting Exeter apart from Cosin V.v. 6 (Cosin hereafter) and F 160. These could be considered trivial variants, including lower or higher ornamental notes. A more substantial variant occurs, however, in segment three, where the nine-note melisma in Cosin and F 160 is reduced to only five in EXcl 3515. The use of repeated notes occurs twice in segment four, with a further four repeated Fs finishing the jubilus in EXcl 3515, contrasting with the pairs of Fs in the other examples. Once again, the use of repeated notes does not substantially change the main melody, but it does suggest evidence of local performance practice.

If we examine the opening of the verse (Mus. Ex. 6.5a), we find greater concordance among the sources, but these are still slight variants (see the torculus on 'Ho' in EXcl 3515). Two readings are noteworthy, however: at segment eight we find a triadic G-E-C in EXcl 3515 instead of three successive descending notes G-F-E in Cosin and a clivis (E-D) in F 160; and at segment nine, for the setting of *Christe*, Exeter once again stands apart from the other two sources with a shortened melisma of six notes, in contrast to the longer ten-note figuration of Cosin and F 160. In sum, Hartzell's classification as ThK97" reflects the mostly trivial variants present in EXcl 3515. Whether the variants point to a different exemplar or are the result of local preference remains to be answered; until more sources can be included in the comparison it is not possible to come to conclusions.

Dijon/ Fécamp Alleluias

In contrast to the alleluias that have concordances in English sources, four alleluias in EXcl 3515 (see Appendix, Table 6.4, p. 264) are rarely or infrequently included in insular books: *Ego sum pastor bonus* (ThK 263), *Surrexit Christus iam* (ThK 218), *Crucifixus surrexit tertia* (ThK 29?), and *Spiritus paraclitus* (ThK 47b?). Because of the absence of notation for the latter two alleluias, it is not possible to identify the melodies conclusively; the texts, however, identify the alleluia verse. Hughes (2005) notes that *Crucifixus surrexit tertia*, *Surrexit Christus iam* (ThK 218) and *Spiritus paraclitus* are quite rare alleluias in French sources also (only 6, 10 and 15 appearances respectively); all three are to be found in the Dijon tonary (Montpellier, H 159, DIJ 1) and in a few Norman sources from Jumieges, Fécamp and Rouen. Apart from EXcl 3515, the Downpatrick gradual is the only English liturgical book to include three of these alleluias. Hiley has already drawn attention to the numerous alleluias in the Downpatrick source that confirm links with the Dijon tradition (Hiley 1981). That we find Dijon alleluias in Norman sources is, however, not surprising considering the reforms of William of Volpiano in Normandy during the eleventh century (Hughes, 2005; Hiley, 1980). Not until the thirteenth century is the remaining alleluia (*Surrexit Christus iam*) incorporated into the Sarum liturgy. Thus EXcl 3515 remains the sole surviving English source of this melody from the twelfth century.

The fourth alleluia under investigation here is the Easter alleluia *Ego sum pastor bonus*. This alleluia is also allocated to the Dijon/Fécamp family in this discussion. Although much more widespread (41 appearances in French sources; Hughes, 2005) in comparison to *Crucifixus* and *Spiritus paraclitus*, it occurs in England with two different melodies (ThK 263 and ThK 128). In fact, Hiley identified ThK 263 as a rare alleluia, pointing to just one English concordance in the Downpatrick gradual; EXcl 3515 can be now added to the list of English concordances. In addition, through Hartzell's catalogue (Hartzell, 2006), the alleluia ThK 263 is now known in an English book from Haughmond (c.1175) and an English fragment at Stockholm.

Curiously, the two streams of melodies for *Ego sum pastor bonus* existed simultaneously in English traditions, and both are to be found predominantly in sources from Aquitaine (see Table 6.4). On the one hand, there are concordances for

the Exeter reading in books from Albi and Auriillac; on the other hand, books from St Martial (PBN 909, 1132, 1134) provide the Sarum choice of alleluia, ThK 128 (see Table 6.4). It should be noted that Gautier traces the origin of one of the Aquitanian sources preserving the Exeter melody to Fleury (see PBN n.a. 1177).⁸¹ However tenuous the link, this may be one more example of a Fleury chant in EXcl 3515.

One final alleluia deserves attention in this group: *Surrexit Christus iam* (ThK 218). Like *Surrexit pastor bonus* (see Chapter Five), it is unique in England to EXcl 3515. Hughes (2005) identifies *Surrexit Christus iam* as one of the more unusual alleluias found in French sources, with just ten occurrences, particularly among sources from Dijon, Fécamp, Jumièges and Rouen. That books from Rouen are among this group allows us to find a direct line possibly from Rouen to Exeter. It is known that there was contact between Rouen and Exeter during Bishop Warelwast's episcopacy (1107–37); see Barlow, 1996, Acta xi). Moreover, Pfaff observes that Warelwast came from an area 35 km northwest of Rouen, and he draws attention to books of Rouen Use among some of the items donated by Bishop Warelwast to the Cathedral library (Pfaff, 2010). It would seem that Rouen was also anxious to modernise in the eleventh century, and although not a monastic institution, it was willing to accept many of the liturgical reforms of William of Dijon (Hughes, 2005). Perhaps Exeter in turn drew on Rouen in adopting some of its new alleluia repertoires.

Bec Alleluias

Further influences from Aquitaine are noticeable in the last three alleluias cited in Table 6.4: *Verbo domini* (ThK 26), *Salve nos Christi* (ThK 41b) and *Justum deduxit* (ThK 329). This group of alleluias is also found, nevertheless, in books from St Albans, which implies a Bec influence, particularly in the case of *Salve nos Christi*.⁸² This is apparently a very rare alleluia, with one reference from the St Yrieix gradual (PBN 903) cited in Schlager's catalogue (1965). No other Aquitanian or French source preserves this alleluia; evidently it simply did not travel. Yet despite this apparently very local nature, in the twelfth century it was used in England for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in manuscripts from St Albans, Downpatrick (nn) and

⁸¹ The observation is noted by the monks of Solesmes in the GR, 1957.

⁸² In addition, the Downpatrick gradual includes an incipit (nn) for *Salve nos*,

Exeter (see Table 6.4). As St Yrieix is the earliest source, the origin of the melody points possibly to the southwest of France; on the other hand, the evidence suggests that *Salve nos Christi* enjoyed more popularity (despite its rarity) among twelfth-century English sources than in Aquitaine.

With regard to the remaining two ‘Bec’ alleluias, the work of Lanfranc makes their presence in English books less surprising. For example, *Verbo domino* appears also in books from Winchester and *Justum deduxit* is found in Downpatrick. Both alleluias appear in many Roman books (see Table 6.4) and the melody had an obviously wider diffusion than that of *Salve nos Christi*.

Summary of Alleluias

We have examined the unusual alleluia repertory in EXcl 3515. The non-standard items provide nuggets of information that would not necessarily be evident from other chant repertoires, in particular concerning the extent of continental influences in the manuscript. An analysis of these rare alleluias has revealed links not only to Norman centres, but also to southwest and northeast France. Some melodies are unique to Exeter and Downpatrick among insular sources. Other alleluias apparently had very little dissemination, perhaps taking on the role of a local chant. The English chants *Hodie sancti* and *Rex noster* confirm the English origins of the manuscript. Finally, if we consider the alleluia *Surrexit pastor bonus* (Chapter Five, and Appendix, Table 6.4) and include it here among the unique items, its Lotharingian origins point to an imported alleluia adopted at Exeter (perhaps via Leofric’s influence), for which it preserves a melody unique among all insular sources. Finally, Rouen emerges as a possible intermediary for some of the Norman alleluias (themselves imported from Dijon) that were introduced to the Exeter liturgy early in the twelfth century.

A Use of Exeter?

Marginal Additions

Proceeding from the observations above on unique items in EXcl 3515, attention now will be given to external evidence, based on the additions and emendations inserted by

various scribes to the missal over a number of centuries. In view of the great scarcity of medieval liturgical sources from Exeter, it is important to glean as much information as is possible from the main witness EXcl 3515.

During a period of about 250 years, between the late twelfth and the early fifteenth century, the missal was altered and added to in various ways. Most of these involved replacement of original items with their Sarum counterparts, evidently as part of a conscious process of updating and harmonising that must have amounted to a reform of Exeter's own Use. The large number and stylistic diversity of the hands involved in these alterations makes a detailed palaeographical study of them impracticable here, and in any case would not be germane to my purpose in examining them. Ker (1977) postulates a late thirteenth- to fourteenth- century date for two additions (see Ker, 1977, p. 825). Furthermore, he dates the collect for St Stephen (see Plate 6.6b below) and an added office for St Hilary to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively. Whatever the details, Ker's evaluation points to a book in continual use.

While perusal of the alterations and additions to EXcl 3515 shows how the Mass liturgy at Exeter was changing, it is among the items that would have been susceptible to change, but were not changed, that we find signs of a continuation of local customs. But first it is necessary to divert briefly to introduce the main figures known to have been associated with liturgical change and development at Exeter in the medieval period.

Liturgical Reform

Two bishops, Leofric (1040–1072) and Grandisson (1327–1369) are known to have been responsible for introducing significant liturgical reform at Exeter during the eleventh and fourteenth centuries respectively, and their activity presumably had a significant impact on Exeter's liturgy. The strong correlation between the sacramentary in EXcl 3515 and the prayers in the Leofric Missal implies substantial continuity between the late Anglo-Saxon period and the late twelfth century. To what extent are liturgical innovations attributable to Grandisson also manifest in EXcl 3515?

The official acts of Grandisson's episcopate are recorded in a complete series of bishops' registers (Frere, 1940).⁸³ In addition, Grandisson's ordinal of 1337, completed ten years after his investiture is remarkable for its attention to detail, concerning liturgical matters such as grading of feasts, colours of vestments, singing of chants, and the conduct of the clergy (Pfaff, 2010; Dalton, 1907). We know that Grandisson expressed dissatisfaction with the service books in the Cathedral; both Pfaff and Frere (1940) refer to his programme of 'correcting, revising and emending' of liturgical books (Pfaff, 2010, p. 399). His efforts seem mainly to have been aimed at bringing Exeter into line with the Use of Sarum.

The inventory of 1327 already alludes to books '*non de uso*' (Erskine, 1972; Pfaff, 2010). We cannot ignore the possibility that the marginal additions in EXcl 3515 may date to this period (early fourteenth century). We can tentatively propose a *terminus post quem* for the Sarum revising of the missal. On the other hand, we must also bear in mind that there are references to an ordinal at Exeter prior to Grandisson's book. Perhaps attempts at upgrading to Sarum practice had already begun in the thirteenth century (Pfaff, 2010). The extent of the Sarum revisions imposed on EXcl 3515 will be the focus of the following section and the significance this may have on identifying a liturgical Use dependant or independent of Sarum practice.

Tables 6.5 (A-J: Appendix, p. 267) list the prayers, chants and readings in EXcl 3515 that were found to be different from the Sarum equivalent in the comparison above (see Chapter Five; Tables 5.1a-k; 5.6a-d in Appendix). There are seven columns within the table; each respective column indicates the folio number (1), liturgical assignment (2), the prayer/chant/reading that differs to Sarum Use (3), the type of correction or alteration inserted by the Sarum redactors (4), items that are marked (5) but not emended (marked by X in text; see Plate 6.5a-b below) and finally, the repertory that remained unaltered or edited (noted here by asterisk [*] in the final column).

⁸³ *Register of John de Grandisson*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 3 vols (London, 1894-99).

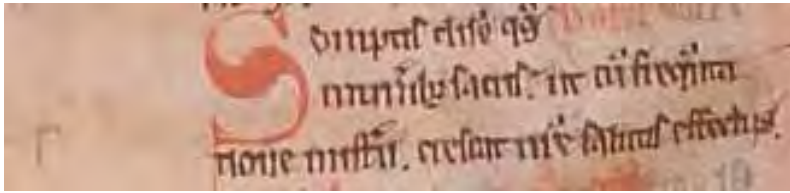


Plate 6.5a EXcl 3515 (f. 7v): Secret ‘earmarked’ for revision

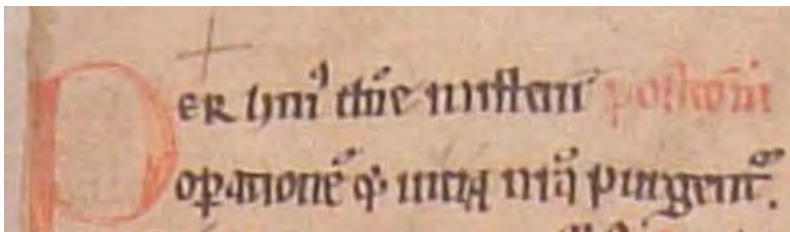


Plate 6.5b EXcl 3515 (f. 14): Postcommunion ‘earmarked’ for revision

An overall summary of the marginal additions and corrections in EXcl 3515 reveals on the one hand, signs of an incomplete project on the part of the Sarum revisers but, on the other hand, internal evidence suggests completion. These contradictions will be made clear in the analysis below. It should be noted that lack of corroborating evidence permits only very speculative conclusions here. A closer examination of the methods used may shed light on the work of the Sarum editors, while simultaneously highlighting elements of local use.

If we examine the earlier part of the liturgy, a vigorous attempt at upgrading the missal is apparent (Appendix, Table 6.5 A-C, pp. 267-69). During this period from Advent to the beginning of Lent, alleluias, addition of offertory verses, lessons and one collect were revised or supplemented. Many items, notably only secrets and postcommunions, were earmarked for revision during this period, but surprisingly remained unaltered (column 6, and Plate 6.5a-b above). At Septuagesima, the intense corrections come to a seemingly abrupt halt. This marks the cut off point for further revisions on such a dynamic scale (Table 6.5C). There is a continuous evidence of revision, however, carried through to the end of the liturgical year.

Tables 6.5 D-F represent the Lenten period up to the end of Holy Week. Very few additions and modifications are evident throughout this season. Potential items are inserted in the final column to indicate disagreement with EXcl 3515 (*). As noted

earlier, these items were not emended. We should bear in mind that the results of the comparison of chant repertory (between EXcl 3515 and Sarum sources) revealed a close relationship, with differences arising predominantly among alleluias (see Chapter Five: Section Two). Therefore, since the alleluia was not sung in Lent, it is not surprising perhaps to find the hands of the revisers less visible here. With the reintroduction of alleluias during the Paschal season, the ‘upgrading’ project is resumed; six Sarum alleluias and one offertory replace the Exeter choice.

Summary

What is particularly noteworthy is the lack of revision of prayers throughout the missal. One noticeable exception is the Feast of St Stephen; here we find a dramatic crossing through of the Exeter collect (see Plate 6.6a) and the text of the Sarum collect inserted in the margin by the redactor (Plate 6.6b). For the most part, the collects, secrets and postcommunions are left unaltered, which suggests that the sacramentary within the missal is retained. As demonstrated above, addition of offertory verses was the main focus of the Advent to Septuagesima period; the attention turned thereafter to alleluia chants, of which eleven in total were emended.



Plate 6.6a: EXcl 3515 (f. 11): Collect for St Stephen

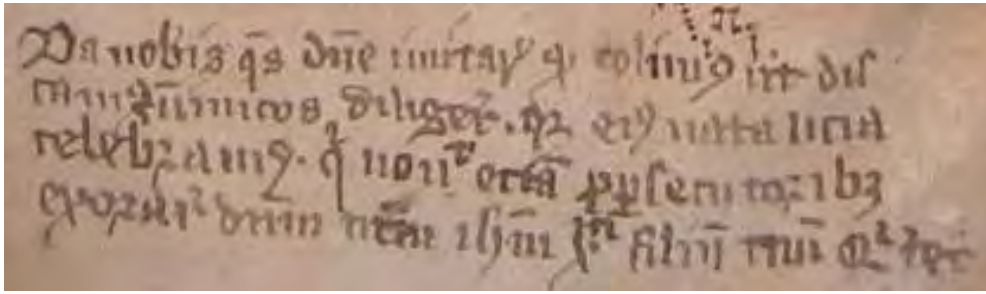


Plate 6.6b EXcl 3515 (f.11): Collect for St Stephen inserted by Sarum Scribe

Conclusions

The principal goal of the present chapter was to highlight those areas of distinctiveness that were opened up to us in the guise of departure points, revealed in chant items not conforming to the ‘norm’. An introit, communion and a select group of alleluias were earmarked to depict the individuality of EXcl 3515. This was expressed in different ways, either through a modally altered melody or the introduction of a new version (of a melody) or as witnessed in the alleluia repertory, through the preservation at times of a rarely used alleluia, either textually or melodically.

In the case of the Introit *Accipite jocunditatem* we found a rare example of this chant presented in Mode G, contrasting with the customary E Mode classification of mainstream sources. Yet in the ninth century, Regino of Prüm had already recognized the ambivalent character of the melody, and suggested assigning it to mode eight. Surprisingly, it is among adiaستمatic sources from the regions of Laon and the Loire Valley that agreement with the Exeter choice of text is evident. Furthermore, only one pitched source, from a Cistercian representative (Dixson Gradual) concords with EXcl 3515. Thus EXcl 3515 provides us with a rare opportunity to assess the methods of reworking and remoulding a melody (especially among the inner cadences) in order to produce a compatible final with mode eight. No other known English source does this.

Throughout this chapter, the discussion addressed the possibility of recognising a local Use. Whether the distinctive characteristics of the selected items would confirm a Use of Exeter was the main question. The results of the findings here suggest that

there is strong evidence of local practice. Both *Accipite jocunditatem* and *Oportet te* preserve melodies not located in customary sources. Among the alleluias considered in this chapter, we found evidence of a chant located only in English books, namely *Hodie sancti innocentes*, which places EXcl 3515 firmly among insular sources. Inclusion of alleluias such as *Crucifixus* and *Spiritus paraclitus* indicate that Exeter looked to Norman centres such as Fécamp/Jumièges for unusual choices of repertoire not known or widely disseminated in English sources generally. Conversely, other chants signal influences from non-Norman sources located in the southwestern region of France (*Ego pastor bonus/Salve nos Christi*). In fact, Exeter shares many of the unusual alleluias with the Downpatrick gradual. In addition, the Loire tradition manifests itself among the variants of the alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*. The significance of this identification consolidates further the contact between the two regions, already evident in the post-Pentecostal alleluia series from Fleury (see Chapter Five, Section Two).

Finally, tentative conclusions can be drawn from an examination of the marginal additions and emendations carried out by Sarum revisers to EXcl 3515. Problems of dating hinder final results; however, we do know that the missal was subject to ongoing revisions over a number of centuries, which in itself, acknowledges the usefulness of the book. Despite the intensive alterations to the opening section of the missal (Advent–Septuagesima), there is continual evidence of Sarum upgrading to the end of the liturgical year. The single most important result from this examination is that the Sarum editors rarely altered the sacramentary items. Very few prayers or readings are emended. Of course, it could be argued that the sacramentary items were left unaltered because they were no longer required for the Mass service due to the fact that the book itself had become ‘out-of-date’. Perhaps we can conclude that at Exeter, the prayers and readings, already established in the eleventh century and carried through to the twelfth (via EXcl 3515) were continued into later centuries and after, if they weren’t altered, at least up to the time of Grandisson’s episcopacy. The evidence suggests to me that EXcl 3515 had possibly considerable status for quite an extended period prior to the adoption of Sarum at Exeter. EXcl 3515 therefore is an invaluable witness to Exeter Use over many centuries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

CONCLUSIONS

Overview

Although chant scholarship has contributed invaluable data to our knowledge and understanding of liturgical manuscripts from both England and the continent, an in-depth investigation of the notated missal EXcl 3515 is surprisingly lacking. The present study highlighted the importance of EXcl 3515 and sought to address this serious lacuna in chant research. The results show that an examination of EXcl 3515 reveals the significance of this service book not only in providing chants, prayers, and readings for the liturgical year, but also in contributing new information about a secular tradition from England, of which very little is known. In the first section, the implication of the research undertaken here will be discussed and to what extent the results have achieved their aim.

In addition, the purpose of this chapter is to consider the significance of the research by re-examining the key questions proposed in Chapter One. In this way it is the intention to determine the extent to which each question has been answered in relation to the proposed objectives. Other considerations will include a reassessment of the research methods used here and their effectiveness in producing the necessary results. The second aim of this chapter is to assess the significant contribution to chant scholarship made possible by the present study and to outline new directions for chant research, recommending specific areas that require further attention based on the limitations that became evident in this investigation.

Aims of the Research

The study set out to examine the liturgical and musical material of EXcl 3515—in other words, to determine what gradual, sacramentary, and lectionary lay beneath the layers of additions and alterations inserted over many centuries to the manuscript; it aimed, in fact, to peel back the chronological layers in order to expose the original core repertory. In addition, the objective of the current study was to address crucial questions, concerning the format, provenance, and dating of the manuscript, questions

not previously discussed. Returning to the core questions proposed at the outset of the project, it is now possible to review them and assess the results.

Overview of Research Questions

Main Research Questions Revisited

1. What is the present format of the manuscript EXcl 3515?
2. How does it affect our understanding of the chronology of the book?
3. Can we justifiably claim an Exeter provenance for the missal?
4. What is the liturgical observance in the manuscript?
5. Is there evidence of continuity in the liturgical tradition of EXcl 3515 extending from the Anglo-Saxon era to the post-Conquest period of the late twelfth century?
6. Can we identify the musical tradition in EXcl 3515?
7. What types of script are prevalent in EXcl 3515? Is there evidence of a scriptorium?
8. What types of notation are there within the book, and can we find correspondences with other centres?
9. What are the insular and continental influences visible within EXcl 3515?

In relation to questions one to four, concerning the format, provenance, dating and liturgical Use of the missal, the findings reveal a composite book with a complex history. EXcl 3515 lacks the customary clues for determining the provenance and dating of a manuscript, namely a Kalendar and a Sanctorale that include local saints. Contrary to accepted opinion, which advocates both a generic English origin and a thirteenth- (Ker, 1977; Gullick and Rankin, 2009) or late twelfth-century (or early thirteenth) dating for EXcl 3515 (Hartzell, 2006), the evidence points clearly to an Exeter provenance and a twelfth-century dating. In particular, the observations of Hohler (unpublished, 1970) and Brightman (unpublished, 1928), revealed in a series of unpublished correspondences, casts penetrating light on the problematic question of provenance. Most significant to this study was Brightman's (ibid.) observation of the placement of the Ember Days (September) within the two Exeter missals, setting them apart from other secular Uses.

Other aspects of a distinct Use emerge in the examination of the Supplementary Sanctorale (SS) and the Main Sanctorale (MainS). But the vital clue for determining provenance and chronology is found in the added fragment (SS) that prefixes the Main Sanctorale. The special relationship of this short fragment to the Main Sanctorale was not previously recognised by scholars, including Ker (1977) and Hartzell (2006). Both Hohler (*ibid.*) and Brightman (*ibid.*) acknowledged the problematic identification of these two sections; they failed, however, to recognise the particular role of the SS in the MainS, as well as in the earlier section of the book. The results here show that the SS is an integral part of the MainS with a conscious intent by the scribe to supplement and upgrade its feast days. Hohler (*ibid.*), conversely, argues that the SS is the result of an incomplete book copied from a damaged exemplar that represents the Anglo-Norman Use of Exeter. Drawing on the findings of palaeographic analysis, however, combined with the results of a liturgical comparative survey, the methods used here enabled a direct relationship between the SS and both the MainS and T.1 to be established for the first time. The conclusions led me to identify the MainS as an independent service book produced possibly for export. Hohler argues that the Sanctoralia may represent an archdeacon's book, and as such, provides us with a rare and unique type of manuscript. The findings here, therefore, concur with Hohler and Brightman, not only in recognising the SS and MainS as unique witnesses to an Exeter Use, but also in identifying these Sanctoralia as distinctive service books, providing a liturgical lens into rural clerical practice.

Further evidence of provenance and dating emerged in Chapter Two; historical documentation such as bishops' registers, charters, and an inventory, provided confirmation of EXcl 3515 having been at Exeter between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and at Welesford (Hartland parish in North Devon) at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Concerning questions five and six, a tripartite comparative survey revealed closer agreement between the sacramentary of EXcl 3515 and the Leofric Missal than between the prayers of EXcl 3515 and Sarum. By contrast, a collation of the melodic variants between EXcl 3515 and the Leofric Missal indicated different chant traditions. Further comparison of melodic variants with English and continental sources pointed to a close relationship with the St Denis/ Corbie tradition, thus firmly

rooting EXcl 3515 in the chant tradition reflected in noteworthy insular sources from Winchester, Worcester, Downpatrick, Crowland, and York (Hiley, 1980, 1986).

Chapters Three and Four present and discuss the scribal hands in EXcl 3515. With regard to question seven, the current study draws on established criteria summarised by Derolez (2003), Parkes (2008), and Brown (1990) for classifying and dating the Protogothic script of EXcl 3515. The results reveal the identification of eight new hands, adding significantly to the information to date, which recognises only two (Ker, 1977; Hartzell, 2006). Similarly, in addressing question eight, the discussion on notation (in Chapter Four), builds on previous analyses of notational types and regional classifications supplied by Bannister (1913), Corbin (1957), and Hiley (1993; 2001). The findings in this study identify two types of notation in EXcl 3515 of which Type A, characterised by its distinctive use of spikes, connects with notation from continental centres such as Fleury and Tours. The Type-A notation remains unique among English sources to date. In addition, four new music hands are identified. The combined results of Chapters Three and Four point to evidence of a working scriptorium at Exeter in the latter half of the twelfth century.

Of particular interest to chant research, in the examination of EXcl 3515, is the identification of continental links with Fleury and Tours. Drawing on established research tools for tracing relationships between sources, as presented by Hiley (1980, 1981, 1993) and Hughes (2005), affiliations to centres in the Loire Valley were outlined in Chapters Five and Six. In particular, the Fleury post-Pentecostal alleluia series makes a strong case for liturgical influence from St Benoît-sur-Loire. No other secular source gives this series; instead, comparison of series in insular sources points to affiliation to centres in Normandy, Bec, and Dijon. Therefore, in response to the final question above, we find evidence of liturgical influences from the Loire region not only in the post-Pentecostal alleluias, but also in its notation, (the Fleury virga and the Tours virga, pes, and torculus), the melodic variants (*Dies sanctificatus* in Orl 117), and in repertory (rare alleluias) outlined in Chapter Six.

Implications of the Findings

The results highlight the important role that EXcl 3515 plays in the history of secular liturgies in medieval England. By establishing an Exeter provenance and a twelfth-century dating, the book can be securely placed among the post-Conquest service books independent of Sarum Use. No missal survives in a complete state before the intervention of Sarum Use in the thirteenth century. It is therefore a new resource for chant research.

Evidence of its distinctiveness can be detected in many of the research topics under investigation here. For example, in Chapter Three, the plethora of script hands located throughout the various sections of the manuscript suggests an active scriptorium. This evidence is further corroborated in Chapter Four, by the identification of new notational hands. Previous scholars recognised only two hands (Ker, 1977; Hartzell, 2006). In addition, the classification of the Sanctorale as an archdeacon's book implies that, at Exeter, books were produced for export. Both Rankin (1984) and Drage (1978) have confirmed the existence of a scriptorium at Exeter in Anglo-Saxon times; no proof of a post-Conquest scriptorium, however, has been found to date. Therefore, the findings here hint at a shift in emphasis from importation of manuscripts in the beginning of the twelfth century (from Normandy), as proposed by Ker (1960), to a renewal of activity in book production (at Exeter) in the second half of the twelfth century.

That EXcl 3515 was a book in liturgical use is suggested through the many marginal entries and alterations that are inserted to the missal between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. What is noteworthy, contrary to expectation, is that the analysis of the marginal and textual additions indicates that changes affected mainly the alleluia repertory; surprisingly, the core sacramentary remained intact. Therefore, the broader implications here point to the conscious retention of its own Use, the Use of Exeter, into the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Significance of the Findings

The present study has added significant new information to the current information on secular liturgies. Through this investigation, we can acknowledge a full Mass liturgy, independent of Sarum influence, that retains prayers from its Anglo-Saxon past, which are preserved into the twelfth century and later, possibly as late as the fourteenth century. The chant tradition is rooted in the St Denis/Corbie tradition, similar to many insular sources. Yet, among the various unusual chant items, we witness the diversity of liturgical influences emanating eastwards from Lotharingia to Aquitaine in the South of France. These rare items provide a liturgical lens into our understanding of the shaping of this post-Conquest liturgy. That EXcl 3515 preserves a Fleury post-Pentecostal alleluia series may indicate a retention of a tradition that has its origins in the historic period of the monastic revival, when the monks of Fleury were called on to contribute to the formation of Anglo-Saxon liturgy. EXcl 3515 may possibly be the sole surviving witness to a tenth-century continental influence.

The palaeographical analysis of script and notational hands adds significant new material to these areas of chant research. The present study presented summaries, classifying ten script and six notational hands. The criteria outlined for distinguishing between early and later scripts and/or notations may provide starting points for similar investigations. In particular, the study here provides a model for the classification of notations similar to that of EXcl 3515.

Recommendations for Future Research

Due to the lack of evidence concerning Anglo-Norman notations, it was not possible to conduct a comprehensive examination of insular types in the twelfth century. The fifty-four entries in Hartzell's catalogue (see Appendix, Table 4.6 p. 208) highlight the urgent need for a thorough classification and tabulation of Anglo-Norman notations. No studies comparable to those of Corbin or Bannister exist in relation to insular notations, pertaining to the period prior to square notation. This is a totally neglected area, with little or no information available on regional and local styles. In addition, the findings here recommend the interaction of different disciplines; for example, the resources of palaeography can contribute valuable information in

addressing problematic dating of chant manuscripts. By tracing new developments in scripts, watershed lines may be identified and used for dating chant sources more accurately.

Similarly, due to the vast quantity of manuscripts of Exeter origin (or connection) in the Bodleian Library, it was not possible to include a full analysis of 'Exeter' script hands for the current study. In fact, a search for books of Exeter provenance should lead to a thorough study of their scripts. Such an investigation of these books, many of which were donated by various Exeter bishops to the cathedral over several centuries, may contribute valuable information with regard to the identification of scribes and/or a house-style at Exeter during the medieval period.

In conclusion, the findings of the current investigation of EXcl 3515 reveal the importance of this service book to chant scholarship. EXcl 3515 provides a wealth of material, both liturgical and musical, for future research. Both old and new influences co-exist together in the various sections of the missal. Of special significance here is the recognition of its distinctive 'Use', the Use of Exeter. Therefore, further evidence for the existence and nature of Exeter Use should be sought and assessed. EXcl 3515 deserves a prominent place among the established secular Uses of Sarum, York and Hereford.

APPENDIX

TABLE 2.2
Codicological Structure of EXcl 3515

Folio	Quire¹ (Modern)	Liturgy	Collation	Lines	Column	Marginal Pricking	Quire² (EXcl 3515) (Older)	
1-8v	1	Temporale	8	34	2	Both margins	II	
9-16v	2		8	34	2	Both margins	III	
17-24v	3		8	34	2	Both margins	IV	
25-32v	4		8	34	2	Both margins	V	
33-40v	5		8	34	2	Both margins	VI	
41-48v	6		8	34	2	Both margins	VII	
49-56v	7		8	34	2	Both margins	VIII	
57-64v	8		8	34	2	Both margins	IX	
65-72v	9		8	34	2	Both margins	X	
73-80v	10		8	34	2	Both margins	XI	
81-90v	11		10	34	2	Both margins	XII	
91-98v	12		8	34	2	Both margins	XIII (faint)	
99-106v	13		8	34	2	Both margins	XIV (faint)	
107-110v	14		Fourth Sunday of Pentecost	4	34	2		
111-118v	15		Continuation (Scribe C)	8	34	2	Both margins	XV (faint)
119-126v	16		[many sections nn]	8	34	2		XVI (faint)
127-134v	17		8	30	2	_____	XVII (faint)	

End of Temporale

TABLE 2.2 (continued)

Folio	Quire (Modern)	Liturgy	Collation	Lines	Column	Marginal Pricking	Quire (older)
135-137v	[18]	Fragment [Supplementary Sanctorale nn] Purification/Prayers/Blessings Feast of eight saints	3	40	2	Both margins	Folio torn
138-151	19	Sanctorale [Main] (2 Feb-21 Dec)	8	34	1 (Horizontal)	Both margins	Not legible ⁴
151v-153v	20	Common of Saints	8	32	2 (Double)		
154-161v	21	Dedication of Church/Holy Cross Missa BVM	8 5	32 32	2 2		
[Two added quires dating to the fifteenth century; nn]							
162-170v	22	Votive Masses/Preface Canon of Mass	8	28	2		Not visible
171-179	23		8	28	2		Not visible

Notes to Table 2.2

1. The quire numbering here follows Ker's examination of the collation. Ker, (1977, p.286).
2. Quires 1-11 are marked as II – XII in the EXcl 3515.

TABLE 2.3
Kalendar for EXcl 3515
 (Based on the Supplementary Sanctorale and Main Sanctorale)¹

<u>January</u>		SS	<u>May</u>		SS	<u>August</u>		<u>November</u>	
21	...	<i>Agnes</i>	1	Philip & James		1	Chains of Peter	1	All Saints
22	...	<i>Vincent</i>	3	Invention Cross	<u>Invention</u>	10	Lawrence	6	Leonard
25	...	<u>Conversion Paul</u>				15	<u>Assumption</u>	11	Martin
						24	Bartholomew	23	Clement
						29	Decollation	25	Katherine
								30	Andrew
				Rogation	T				
				Ascension	T				
2	<u>Purification</u>			Pentecost	T				
22	Chair of Peter	<u>Chair of Peter</u>		Trinity	T				
24	Mathias								
<u>March</u>			<u>June</u>			<u>September</u>		<u>December</u>	
12	Gregory		24	<u>John Baptist</u>		8	<u>Nat. of BVM</u>	6	Nicholas
			29	<u>Peter & Paul</u>		14	<u>Exaltation</u>	8	<u>Conception</u>
	Ash Wed	T				21	Matthew	21	Thomas
	Easter	T				29	Michael		
<u>April</u>			<u>July</u>			<u>October</u>			
23	...	George	20	Margaret		18	Luke		
?	...	Blaise	22	Mary Magdalene		28	Simon & Jude		
25	Mark (C/S/Pc)	<u>Mark</u>	25	James		31	<u>Vigil</u> (All Saints)		

¹ The eight feasts from the SS (Supplementary Sanctorale) relate only to the first five months of the year (January to May). Ellipses in the text refer to omissions in the manuscript. Offices for a feast (i.e. the proper Mass prayers and chants) are indicated by the use of underlining. 'T' following an entry refers to feasts from the Temporale.

TABLE 2.4

Comparative Summary of Four Medieval Kalendars of Exeter Origin or Association

Month	Feast	EXcl 3515 (MainS)	SS	Bod 579 ¹	Vit A xii ²	HAR ³
January						
21	Agnes	X	*	*	*	*
22	Vincent	X	*	*	*	*
25	Conversion of Paul	X	Office	*	*	*
February						
2	Purification	Office	Prayers/Blessings	Office	*	Office
3	Blaise	X	* (date differs)	X	* (14 th June)	*
22	Chair of Peter	*	Office	*	*	Office
24	Matthias	*	*	*	*	*
March						
12	Gregory	*	...	Office	*	*
<i>Ash Wed</i>						
	Annunciation	X	...	Office	Office	Office
<i>Easter</i>						
		Office		Office	Office	Office
April						
23	George	X	*	*	*	*
[?	Blaise	X	*?]			
25	Mark	*	Office	* (18 th May)	* (18 th May)	*

TABLE 2.4 (continued)

Month	Feast	EXcl 3515	SS	Bod 579	Vit A xii	HAR
May						
1	Philip and James	*	...	Office	*	*
3	Invention of Cross	*	Office	Office	*	Office
<i>Rogation</i>						
<i>Ascension</i>						
<i>Pentecost</i>						
<i>Trinity</i>						
June						
24	John Baptist	Office		Office	*	Office
29	Peter and Paul	Office		Office	*	Office
July						
20	Margaret	*		*(18 July)	*	*
22	Mary Magdalene	*		X	*	*
25	James	*		Office	*	*
August						
1	Chains of Peter	*		(added in 11th)	*	Office
10	Lawrence	*		Office	*	*
15	Assumption	Office		Office	Office	Office
24	Bartholomew	*		Office	*	*
29	Decollation of John Baptist	*		Office	*	*

TABLE 2.4 (continued)

Month	Feast	EXcl 3515	SS	Bod 579	Vit A xii	HAR
September						
8	Nativity of BVM	Office		Office	Office	Office
14	Exaltation of the Cross	Office		*	*	Office
21	Matthew	*		Office	*	*
29	Michael	Office		Office	*	Office
October						
18	Luke	*		*	*	*
28	Simon and Jude	*		Office	*	*
31	Vigil of all Saints	Office		Office	Office	Office
November						
1	All Saints	Office		Office	Office	Office
6	Leonard	*		X	X	*
11	Martin	*		Office	*	*
[23]	Clement	Missing		Office	*	*
25	Katherine	*		X	X	Office
30	Andrew	Office		Office	*	Office

TABLE 2.4 (continued)

Month	Feast	EXcl 3515	SS	Bod 579	Vit A xii	HAR
December						
6	Nicholas	*		(added 11 th)	*	*
8	Conception of BVM	* (Office added later)		(Leofric C) ⁴	X	X

Notes:

Bold print (italicised) is used to indicate feasts of the Temporale (T).

‘*’ indicates a feast day of lower ranking; in EXcl 3515 there are three prayer items: collect, secret and postcommunion.

‘X’ implies that a feast is not present in a Kalendar.

Ellipses (...) apply only to the SS where there is no reference to the feast in the fragment.

‘Office’ refers to a feast of higher rank, supplied with chants, readings and prayers.

In the SS column, no feasts occur after the Invention of the Cross.

1. The Leofric Missal, Oxford Bodley 579, (tenth-eleventh century).
2. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A XII: quoted in Wormald (1934) of Exeter origin.
3. London, British Library, Harley, 863; the Kalendar is prefixed erroneously to this eleventh-century Exeter Psalter (fols. 1-6).
4. Orchard, 2002, vol.2, p. 508.

TABLE 4.6¹

Summary of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Norman Notation
(Based on Hartzell's Catalogue)²

Catalogue No.

<p>3 Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, IC 500/2/1 'Expertly written Anglo-Norman neumes' 'Stem of virga and other neumes runs past head' (p. 3) Probably Bury St Edmunds</p>	<p>s. xii med</p>
<p>4 Cambridge, University Library Additional 2748 Anglo-Norman notation</p>	<p>s.xii in.</p>
<p>5 Cambridge, University Library Additional 2750 Anglo-Norman notation by 'expert scribe' (p. 5)</p>	<p>s.xii.¹</p>
<p>6 Cambridge, University Library Additional 2769 Anglo-Norman neumes by 'expert scribe' (p. 5)</p>	<p>s. xii</p>
<p>21 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 42 Anglo-Norman notation Probably Dover Priory</p>	<p>s.xii.¹</p>
<p>36 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 312 'Modest' Anglo-Norman neumes (p. 51)</p>	<p>s.xii.¹</p>
<p>49 Cambridge, Pembroke College 95 'Anglo-Norman neumes in transition' (p. 113) Maybe Bury, St Edmunds</p>	<p>s.xii ex.</p>

¹ Table 4.6 is included here as a potential resource for future research on twelfth-century sources containing Anglo-Norman notation. The 54 items separates this twelfth-century repertory from the eleventh century and Anglo-Saxon sources. Each entry is accompanied by the notational description dating and provenance given by Hartzell in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (2006). Although censured recently by Gullick and Rankin (2009), the information summarised by Hartzell is invaluable for a study of this nature.

² Each entry is preceded by the catalogue number in Hartzell's book, followed by short commentary or quote given by Hartzell, if deemed relevant. Dating here also follows Hartzell's recommendations.

65 Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 45 (ff. i –ii) Anglo-Norman neumes	s.xii med.
68 Canterbury Cathedral, Additional 128/29 ‘Early square notation with neumatic holdovers’ (p. 133)	s.xii med.
72 Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, D/DP M543 Anglo-Norman neumes	s. xii (Second quarter)
78 Dorchester, Dorset Record Office, DC/BTB: CD 15 Anglo-Norman notation	s.xii med.
80 Douai Abbey, 11 Anglo-Norman neumes ‘elegantly entered’ on four lines’ (p. 146) Possibly from Reading Abbey	s.xii. ¹
94 Durham, Dean and Chapter Library Incunable 4, Leaf S.N Anglo-Norman neumes	s.xii (First quarter)
95 Durham, University Library, Cosin V.v. 6 Anglo-Norman diastematic notation Probably from Christ Church, Canterbury (later at Durham)	s.xi ex. s.xii in–s.xi ex. s.xiii
97 Edinburgh, University library, Laing 499 Anglo-Norman neumatic notation	s.xii in.
99 Eton College 80 Anglo-Norman neumes ‘well-drawn’ (p. 184)	s.xii in., s.xii ²
100 Eton College 220 111 Anglo- Norman neumes	s.xii
101 Exeter, Cathedral 3515 ‘Legible Anglo-Norman point-neume notation on four red lines entered erratically’ (p. 192)	s.xii/siii, s.xiii, s.xv

104 Helsinki, University Library, F. M. IV NR. 2 Anglo-Norman notation	s.xii ¹
105 Helsinki, University Library, F. M. IV NR. 3 Anglo-Norman notation	s.xii. ¹ (First quarter)
106 Helsinki, University Library, F. M. IV NR. 7 Anglo-Norman notation	s.xii
114 Lincoln, Cathedral 15 'Elegant point neume notation' (p. 212) Probably from Lincoln	s.xii/xiii
164 British Library, Harley 3908, (ff. 1–100) 'The Office may be the earliest English witness to the adoption of musical notation on a four-line staff' (p. 305) Anglo-Norman notation Possibly from St Augustine's Canterbury	s. xi/xii
171 British Library, Royal 2 B. IV Anglo-Norman neumes St Albans	s. xii med.
172 British Library, Royal 2 D.XXII Anglo-Norman notation 'entered uneasily' on four-line staves (p. 317)	s.xii med.
179 British Library, Royal 8 B.III Anglo-Norman notation	s.xii ¹
186 British Library, Royal 13 A.VII Anglo-Norman neumatic notation	s.xii (Second quarter)
196 London College of Arms, Arundel XXX 'A fine Anglo-Norman neumatic notation' (p. 339) Probably written at St Bury St Edmunds Abbey	s.xii ¹

205 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 736 'Elegant' Anglo-Norman notation (p. 349) Bury, St Edmunds	c.1130
216 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 873 'Sensitively written Anglo-Norman notation' (p. 364)	s.xii ¹
217 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 46.50.51 Anglo-Norman notation 'moderately square' (p. 365)	s.xii ex.
219 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 667, 1–2, 2 (2) Anglo-Norman neumes	s.xii (Second quarter)
223 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 292, 1–2 and 328, 1–6 'Well drawn Anglo-Norman neumatic notation tending toward square forms' (p. 391)	s.xii ²
224 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 396, 1–2 Anglo-Norman notation	s.xii ¹
237 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 333, 1–3; 334, 1–2 Anglo-Norman neumatic notation	s.xii ²
238 Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. Fragm. 739, 1–5 Anglo-Norman neumes	s.xii ²
247 Oxford Bodleian, Auct. F. 2. 14 (f. 130) 'Anglo-Norman point neums carefully drawn' (p. 392)	s.xii ²
251 Oxford Bodleian, Bodley 120 (ff. 96–99) 'Point neums on staves of four red lines' (p. 394)	s.xii ex.
273 Oxford Bodleian, Lat. Liturg, b. 19 'Poorly executed Anglo-Norman neums' (p. 463)	s.xii ¹

- 278**
Oxford Bodleian, Lat. Miscellaneous b.18, f. A. 7
Anglo-Norman neumatic notation ‘ expertly entered’ (p. 466)
England s.xii in.
- 279**
Bodleian, Laud Miscellaneous 4
‘Flexible, slightly rough Anglo-Norman neumes’(p. 472)
St Albans s.xii
(Third quarter)
- 280**
Oxford Bodleian, Laud Miscellaneous 358, (ff. 1–56)
Anglo-Norman notation s.xii
(Third quarter)
- 285**
Oxford Bodleian, Rawlinson c.892
‘Clearly written, generally unambiguous, near square notation’ (p. 494)
Downpatrick s.xii med.
- 288**
Oxford Bodleian, Rawlinson liturgy, C.1
‘Fastidious Anglo-Norman neums’ (p. 497)
St Albans c. 1160
- 290**
Oxford Bodleian, Selden Supra 90
Anglo-Norman notation ‘well-drawn’ (p. 497) s.xii¹
(First quarter)
- 291**
Oxford Bodleian, Selden Supra 102
‘Fluent Anglo-Norman neumes’ (p. 498) s.xii med.
- 296**
Oxford, Corpus Christi College 134
‘Anglo-Norman neumes of variable quality’ (p. 504)
Possibly written at St Mary and St Oswin, Tynemouth s.xii
(Last quarter)
- 305**
Oxford , New College 159
‘Compact, well-executed Anglo-Norman point neums-almost square’ (p. 516) s.xii²

- 332**
Shrewsbury School XXX
'Anglo-Norman incipient square notation' (p. 579)
Haughmond Abbey c.1175
- 338**
Stockholm, Riksarkivet, BR 312
Anglo-Norman neumatic notation s.xii med.
- 359**
Taunton, Somerset Record Office, DD/AH 16/17
Anglo-Norman notation 'elegantly entered' (p. 633) s.xii in.
- 360**
Winchester, Hampshire Record Office, B/1/A 2
Anglo-Norman notation 'well-drawn' (p. 634) s.xii med.
- 361**
Wiesbach, Town Library 3A
Anglo-Norman neumes 'written hastily and at times erratically'
(p. 635) s.xii¹
-

TABLE 5.1a												
Comparative Examination of EXcl 3515 Oxford Bodley 579 and Sarum Use												
First Sunday in Advent to the Feast of St John the Evangelist												
	Sunday 1 Advent	Sunday 2 Advent	Sunday 3 Advent	Ember Wednesday	Ember Friday	Ember Saturday	Sunday 4 Advent	Christmas Eve	Christmas Dawn	Christmas Day	St Stephen	St John Evangelist
Introit			L psalm v.	EX psalm v			L chant + v.					L psalm v
<i>Collect</i>											EX differs	
Epistle												
Gradual												
Alleluia		EX/L agree					EX differs	EX/L none				
Sequence							EX none		Added	Added	Added	Added
Tract												
Gospel												
Offertory	EX 2Vs add	EX 2Vs add	EX 1v add L differs	EX 1v add L differs		EX 1V add	EX 1v ad/L diff				L differs	L differs
<i>Secret</i>				EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX diff/ L diff					
Communion												
<i>Post-communion</i>				L differs	EX/L agree		EX/L agree					

TABLE 5.1b											
Feast of Holy Innocents to the Fifth Sunday after the Epiphany											
	Holy Innocents	*In Octavas Domini? (Circumcision)	*Sixth Day Christmas (Dom 1 Nat.D)	Eve Epiphany	Epiphany	Oct of Epiphany	Sun 1 Oct Epiphany	Sun 2 Epiphany	Sun 3 Epiphany	Sun 4 Epiphany	Sun 5 Epiphany
Introit									L differs	No chants in EX and L	No chants in EX
<i>Collect</i>			L differs								
Epistle											
Gradual									L differs		
Alleluia	All 3 differ	L differs		L differs					L differs		
Sequence	Marg. add.				Add to EX						
Tract											
Gospel											
Offertory				L differs				No chants in L			
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree		All 3 differ					EX/L agree	EX/L agree		EX/L agree
Communion								No chants in L	L differs		
<i>Postcomm</i>			All 3 differ	EX and L		EX/L agree	EX/L agree				EX/L agree
* (Note the usual ordering of the Masses; also St Silvester and Cirumcision are missing in the original manuscript)											

TABLE 5.1c														
<u>Septuagesima to Saturday in the First Week of Lent</u>														
	Septua- gesima	Sexa- gesima	Quinqua- gesima	Ash Wed	Thursday in Lent	Friday in Lent	Saturday Lent	Sunday 1 Lent	Monday Week 1 L	Tuesday Week 1 L	Wednesda Week 1 L	Thursday Week 1 L	Friday Week 1 L	Saturday Week 1 L
Introit														
<i>Collect</i>							EX/L agree					L differs		EX/L agree
Epistle														
Gradual						EX differs								
Alleluia														
Sequence														
Tract														
Gospel														
Offertory														
<i>Secret</i>	Marg. Add EX/L agree	EX/L agree			EX/L agree		EX/L agree		EX/L agree	EX/L agree				
Communion							EX differs							
<i>Postcomm</i>					EX/L agree	EX differs			EX/L agree		EX/L agree			EX/L agree
<i>Super Populum</i>							Leof differs							all 3 differ

TABLE 5.1d														
<u>Second Sunday in Lent to Saturday in the Third Week of Lent</u>														
	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	Week 2 L	Week 2 L	Week 2 L	Week 2 L	Week 2 L	Week 2 L	Week 2 L	Week 3 L	Week 3 L	Week 3 L	Week 3 L	Week 3 L	Week 3 L	Week 3 L
Introit	L differs													
<i>Collect</i>					EX differs							L differs		
Epistle														
Gradual	EX/L/S differ													
Alleluia														
Sequence														
Tract	L differs	Sarum only												
Gospel					Leof differs							L differs	EX differs	
Offertory	EX/L agree													
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree				EX/L/S differ		EX differs	EX/L agree				EX/L agree		EX/L agree
Communion	EX/L agree													
<i>Postcomm.</i>	EX/L agree		EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L/S differ							EX differs		
<i>Super Populum</i>	EX/L agree				EX differs			EX/L/S diff no SP in Sarum				L differs		

TABLE 5.1e														
Sunday in the Fourth Week of Lent to Saturday after Passion Sunday														
	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wed	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Passion	Monday	Tuesday	Wed	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	Week 4 L	Week 4 L	Week 4 L	Week 4 L	Week 4 L	Week 4 L	Week 4 L	Sunday	Week 5 L	Week 5 L	Week 5 L	Week 5 L	Week 5 L	Week 5 L
Introit								EX Ps v diff	L Ps v diff					L differs
<i>Collect</i>					EX differs		EX 2nd coll							EX differs
Epistle							EX 2nd Ep							
Gradual														L differs
Alleluia														
Sequence														
Tract	L extra v													
Gospel												Leaf differs		
Offertory					EX differs									EX/L/S diff
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree		EX differs			EX/L agree	EX/L agree					EX/L/S diff
Communion														L differs
<i>Postcomm</i>		EX/L agree	EX/L agree		EX differs		EX/L/S diff							EX differs
<i>Super Populum</i>	EX/L agree							EX/L agree		EX/L agree		EX/L agree		

TABLE 5.1f														
Palm Sunday to Saturday after Easter														
	Palm Sunday	Monday Week 6 L	Tuesday Week 6 L	Wednesday Week 6 L	Thursday Week 6 L	Good Friday	Holy Saturday	Easter Sunday	Monday in Easter	Tuesday in Easter	Wednesday in Easter	Thursday in Easter	Friday in Easter	Saturday in Easter
Introit											Ps v L			
<i>Collect</i>														
Epistle			EX differs											
Gradual														
Alleluia								L differs	L differs	L differs	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff		
Sequence														
Tract		EX/L none												
Gospel														
Offertory								L 2 vers						
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree				EX/L agree	EX/L agree				EX/L agree	
Communion														
<i>Postcomm</i>		EX/L agree	EX/L agree					EX differs	EX/L agree					
Super Populum	EX/L agree													

TABLE 5.1g												
First Sunday after Easter to Pentecost Sunday												
	Sunday 1 after Easter	Sunday 2 Easter	Sunday 3 Easter	Sunday 4 Easter	Sunday 5 Easter	Rogation	Vigil Ascension	Ascension	Sunday after Asc	Octave Asc	Vigil Pentecost	Pentecost Sunday
Introit												
<i>Collect</i>											EX/L agree in collect 2 EX/L/S diff in collect 4	
Epistle												
Gradual												
Alleluia	L differs	L 1 Al diff	L differs EX/S 1 diff	EX/S 1diff L/S 1 diff	L differs				EX/L agree 1 EX/S 1diff			EX/L/S diff
Sequence				EX/L all diff								
Tract												
Gospel												
Offertory	L 2 vers						EX differs		EX/L agree 1			
<i>Secret</i>									EX/L agree 1			
Communion							L differs					
<i>Postcomm</i>									EX/L agree 1			
<i>Super Populum</i>												

TABLE 5.1h										
<u>Monday after Pentecost Sunday to the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost</u>										
	Monday after Pentecost	Tuesday Pentecost	Wednesday Pentecost	Thursday Pentecost	Friday Pentecost	Saturday Pentecost	Sunday 1 Pentecost	Sunday 2 Pentecost	Sunday 3 Pentecost	Sunday 4 Pentecost
Introit										
<i>Collect</i>				L differs						
Epistle										
Gradual										
Alleluia	L only 1	EX/L/S diff	EX diff orig EX/L agree 1	L differs EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S dif3 EX/L/S 4 L diff 5 L diff 6	Leaf differs	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff
Sequence										
Tract										
Gospel		EX differs			EX diff orig					
Offertory			EX diff orig			EX diff orig				
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree 1	EX/L/S diff			EX diff orig		EX/L agree		EX/L agree	
Communion										
<i>Postcommunion</i>	EX/L agree 1		EX/L agree						EX/L agree	

TABLE 5.1j											
Fifth Sunday after Pentecost to the 15th Sunday after Pentecost											
	Sunday 5 after Pentecost	Sunday 6 Pentecost	Sunday 7 Pentecost	Sunday 8 Pentecost	Sunday 9 Pentecost	Sunday 10 Pentecost	Sunday 11 Pentecost	Sunday 12 Pentecost	Sunday 13 Pentecost	Sunday 14 Pentecost	Sunday 15 Pentecost
Introit										Ps v L	
<i>Collect</i>											
Epistle											
Gradual											
Alleluia	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff
Sequence											
Tract											
Gospel											
Offertory											
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree										
Communion											
<i>Postcomm</i>											

TABLE 5.1k													
Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost to Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Pentecost													
	Sunday 16 Pentecost	Sunday 17 Pentecost	Ember Wednesday	Ember Friday	Ember Saturday	Sunday 18 Pentecost	Sunday 19 Pentecost	Sunday 20 Pentecost	Sunday 21 Pentecost	Sunday 22 Pentecost	Sunday 23 Pentecost	Sunday 24 Pentecost	Sunday 25 Pentecost
Introit			EX/L Ps diff		EX/L Ps diff								
<i>Collect</i>		EX/L orig agree					EX differs	EX differs	EX differs	EX differs	EX differs	EX/L/S diff	
<i>Epistle</i>													
Gradual		EX/L/S diff	EX/L diff		EX/L diff								
Alleluia	EX/L/S diff	EX differs				EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	L differs	L differs	L differs		No Alleluia	No Alleluia
Sequence													
Tract													
<i>Gospel</i>													
Offertory													
<i>Secret</i>		EX/L orig agree				EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L/S diff
Communion													
<i>Postcomm</i>		EX/L/S diff				EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree		EX/L/S diff

TABLE 5.6a										
Comparison of Sanctorale in EXcl 3515 with Leofric Missal and Sarum Use: St. Agnes to St. Blaise										
	SS	SS	SS		SS				SS	SS
	<i>St Agnes</i>	<i>St Vincent</i>	<i>Conversion of Paul</i>	Purification	<i>Chair of Peter</i>	St Peter's Chair	St Matthias	St Gregory	<i>St George</i>	<i>St Blaise</i>
					Chants only	Prayers only			Prayers only	Not in L Prayers only
Introit			Ps differs L							
<i>Collect</i>					<i>incipit</i>	(Full)				EX differs
Epistle										
Gradual					<i>L differs</i>					
Alleluia			<i>L differs</i>	EX/L agree						
Sequence										
Tract				EX/L agree	<i>L differs</i>					
Gospel										
Offertory				<i>L differs</i>						
<i>Secret</i>				EX/L agree	<i>none</i>	(given in full)			EX/L agree	EX differs
Communion										
<i>Postcommunion</i>			EX/L agree		<i>none</i>	(given in full)			EX/L agree	EX differs

TABLE 5.6b										
SANCTORALE IN EXCL 3515: St Mark to St Jacob										
	SS			SS						
	<i>St. Mark</i>	St. Mark	St. Philip St. Jacob	<i>Invention of Cross</i>	Invention of Cross	St. John Baptist	St. Paul	St. Margaret	St. Mary Magdalene	St. James
		Prayers only			Prayers only			Prayers only	Prayers only	
Introit	L differs			incipit	(Full)			Ps differs L		
<i>Collect</i>	None								EX differs	
Epistle	EX differs									
Gradual										
Alleluia	EX has 4 Alleluias		L differs	L differs		L differs	EX/L agree			
Sequence										
Tract										
Gospel										
Offertory	L differs			L differs						
<i>Secret</i>	None		EX/L agree	incipit	(Full)				EX/L/S differ	
Communion							L differs			
<i>Postcommunion</i>	None		EX/L agree	incipit	(Full)			EX/L/S differ	EX/L/S differ	

TABLE 5.6c											
SANCTORALE IN EXCL 3515: Chains of Peter to St Simon and Jude											
	Chains of Peter	St Lawrence	Assumption of BVM	St Bartholemew	Beheading John Baptist	Nativity of BVM	EXaltation of Cross	St Matthew	St Michael	St Luke	St Simon St Jude
	Prayers	Prayers	Office	Prayers	Prayers	Office	Office	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers	Prayers
Introit					L differs		EX/L agree	EX differs			
<i>Collect</i>											
Epistle											
Gradual						EX/L/S differ					
Alleluia							EX/L/S differ				
Sequence											
Tract											
Gospel											
Offertory			EX/L/S differ			EX/L/S differ	L differs				
<i>Secret</i>	EX/L agree	EX/L agree		EX/L agree	EX/L agree			EX differs	L differs		
Communion			EX/L/S differ unique comm			EX/L/S differ	L differs				
<i>Postcomm</i>	EX/L agree			EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX/L agree	EX differs	EX differs			EX/L agree

TABLE 5.10a												
Summary of Chants: First Sunday in Advent to Feast of St John in EXcl 3515/Leofric/Sarum												
	Sunday 1 Advent	Sunday 2 Advent	Sunday 3 Advent	Ember Wednesday	Ember Friday	Ember Saturday	Sun 4 Advent	Christmas Eve	Christmas Dawn	Christmas Day	St Stephen	St John
Introit			L psalm v.	EX psalm v			L chant + v.					L psalm v
Gradual												
Alleluia		EX/L agree					EX diff only	EX/L none				
Offertory											L differs	L differs
Communion												
TABLE 5.10.b												
Summary of Chants only from Feast of Holy Innocents to Fifth Sunday after Octave of Epiphany												
	Holy Inno- cents	In Octavas Domini	Sexta Die	Circum- cision	Eve of Epiphany	Epiphany	Oct of Epiphany	Sun 1 Epiphany	Sun 2 Epiphany	Sun 3 Epiphany	Sun 4 Epiphany	Sun 5 Epiphany
Introit										L differs	No chants	No chants
Gradual										L differs		
Alleluia	All 3 differ			L differs	L differs					L differs		
Offertory					L differs				L no chants			
Communion									L no chants	L differs		

TABLE 5.10c														
Septuagesima to Saturday in the First Week of Lent														
	Septua- gesima	Sexa- gesima	Quin- gesima	Ash Wed	Thursday in Lent	Friday in Lent	Saturday in Lent	Sunday 1 Lent	Monday Lent 1	Tuesday Lent 1	Wednesda Lent 1	Thursday Lent 1	Friday Lent 1	Saturday Lent 1
Introit														
Gradual						EX differs								
Tract														
Offertory														
Communion							EX differs							
TABLE 5.10d														
Second Sunday in Lent to Saturday in the Third Week of Lent														
	Sunday Week 2 L	Monday Wk 2 L	Tuesda Wk 2 L	Wed Wk 2 L	Thursday Wk 2 L	Friday Wk 2 L	Saturday Wk 2 L	Sunday Week 3 L	Monday Wk 3 L	Tuesday Wk 3 L	Wed Wk 3 L	Thursday Wk 3 L	Friday Wk 3 L	Sat Wk 3 L
Introit	L differs													
Gradual	EX/L/S differ													
Tract	L differs	Sarum only												
Offertory	EX/L agree													
Communion	EX/L agree													

Table 5.10e														
Sunday in the Fourth Week of Lent to Saturday after Passion Sunday														
	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wed	Thursday	Friday	Sat	Passion	Monday	Tuesday	Wed	Thurs	Friday	Saturday
	Week 4 L	Wk 4 L	Wk 4 L	Wk 4 L	Wk 4 L	Wk 4 L	Wk 4 L	Sunday	Week 5 L	Wk 5 L	Wk 5 L	Wk 5 L	Wk 5 L	Wk 5 L
Introit								EX Ps v diff	L Ps v diff					L differs
Gradual														L differs
Tract	L extra v													
Offertory					EX differs									EX/L/S diff
Communion														L differs
Table 5.10.1f														
Palm Sunday to Saturday after Easter														
	Palm	Monday	Tuesday	Wed	Thursday	Good	Holy	Easter	Monday	Tuesday	Wed	Thurs	Friday	Saturday
	Sunday	Week 6 L	Wk 6 L	Wk 6 L	Wk 6 L	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Easter	Easter	Easter	Easter	Easter	Easter
Introit											Ps v L			
Gradual														
Alleluia									L differs	L differs	L differs	EX/L/S differs	EX/L/S diff	
Tract		EX/L none												
Offertory								L 2 vers						
Communion														

TABLE 5.10h										
Monday after Pentecost Sunday to the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost										
	Monday after Pentecost	Tuesday Pentecost	Wednesday Pentecost	Thursday Pentecost	Friday Pentecost	Saturday Pentecost	Sunday 1 Pentecost	Sunday 2 Pentecost	Sunday 3 Pentecost	Sunday 4 Pentecost
Introit										
Gradual										
Alleluia	L only 1	EX/L/S diff	EX diff orig EX/L agree 1	L differs EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/Sdif3 EX/L/S 4 L diff 5 L diff 6	L differs	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff
Offertory			EX diff orig			EX diff orig				
Communion										

TABLE 5.10j											
Fifth Sunday after Pentecost to the Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost											
	Sunday 5	Sunday 6	Sunday 7	Sunday 8	Sunday 9	Sunday 10	Sunday 11	Sunday 12	Sunday 13	Sunday 14	Sunday 15
	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost	Pentecost
Introit										Ps v L	
Gradual											
Alleluia	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff
Offertory											
Communion											

TABLE 5.10k													
Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost to Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Pentecost													
	Sun 16	Sun 17	Ember Wednesday	Ember Friday	Ember Saturday	Sun 18	Sun 19	Sun 20	Sun 21	Sun 22	Sun 23	Sun 24	Sun 25
	PP	PP				PP	PP	PP	PP	PP	PP	PP	PP
Introit			EX/L Ps diff		EX/L Ps diff								
Gradual		EX/L/S diff	EX/L diff		EX/L differ								
Alleluia	EX/L/S diff	EX differs				EX/L/S diff	EX/L/S diff	L differs	L differs	L differs		No Alleluia	No Alleluia
Offertory													
Communion													

TABLE 5.13a														
Liturgical Influences on Post-Pentecostal Alleluias in British Sources														
Sundays after Pentecost	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
FLEURY SERIES														
EXETER	005	007a	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064	077	080	087	089	094a
FLEURY	005	007a	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064	077	080	087	089	094a
CHARTRES, TROYES 894	005	007a	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064+	077	080	087	089	094a+
BEC SERIES														
ST ALBANS	005	007a	007b	017	020	047	058	064	070	077	080	087	089	094a
CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH	005	007a	007b	017	020	047	058	064	070	077	080	087	089	094a
YORK ST MARY'S	005	007a	007b	008	017	020	030	047	058	064	077	080	087	089
WORCESTER	005	007a	007b	017	020	047	058	064+	070	077	080	087	089	094a+
DIJON SERIES														
MONTPELLIER 159	005	007a	007b	017	020	030	046	064	077	080	087	089	094a	094c
OB RAWLINSON 892	005	007a	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064	077	080	087	089	094a
ROUEN SERIES														
ROUEN	005	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064	077	080	087	089	094a	094c
HEREFORD	005	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064	077	080	089	094a	094c	104
HAUGHMOND	005	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064	077	080	087	089	094a	094c
SARUM (SALISBURY)	005	007b	017	020	030	058	064	077	080	087	089	094a	094c	104
AMIENS SERIES														
AMIENS	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064+	077	080	087	089	094a+	094c	104
OB BODLEY 579	007b	017	020	030	046	064	077	080	087	089	094a	094c	104	107
REIMS S. THIERRY	007b	017	020	030	046	064	077	080	087	089	094a	094c	104	107
LILLE	007b	017	020	030	046	064	077	080	087	089	094a+	094c	104	107
CHELLES														
CHELLES	005	007a	007b	017	064	064	058	080	046	077	094c	096	080	087
EVREUX 50	007b	017	020	030	046	058	064+	077	080	087	089	094a+	094c	104

TABLE 5.13a (Continued)												
Post-Pentecostal Alleluias in British Sources												
(Sundays after Pentecost)	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	
FLEURY SERIES												
EXETER	094c	104	107	113c	117	129	145	146b	147a			
FLEURY	094c	104	107	113c	117	129	145	146b	147a	147b		
CHARTRES, TROYES 894	094c	104	107	113c	117	129	145	146b	147a+			
BEC SERIES												
ST ALBANS	094c	104	107	113c	116a	117	124	129	145	146b	147b	
CANTERBURY CC	094c	104	107	110	113c	117	124	129	146b	147a	147b	
YORK ST MARY 'S	094a	094b	101a	104	107	113c	114	117	129	146b	147b	
WORCESTER	094c	104	107	110	113c	116a	117	124	129	146b	147a	
DIJON SERIES												
MONTPELLIER 159	101b	104	107	113c	116a	117	129	145	146b			
OB RAWLINSON 892	094c	092	104	107	110	113c	114	116a	117	124	129	145
ROUEN SERIES												
ROUEN	104	107	113c	117	124	129	145	146b	147b			
HEREFORD pr.	107	113c	116a	113c	117	124	129	145	146b	147b		
HAUGHMOND	104	107	112	113c	124	129	145	146b	147b			
SARUM (SALISBURY)	107	113c	117	121+	124	129	145	146b	147b	007a	101b	
AMIENS SERIES												
AMIENS	107	113c	116a	116b	124	129	145	146b	147a	147b		
OB BODLEY 579	113c	116a	117	124	129	145	146b	147a	147b			
REIMS S. THIERRY	110	113c	116a	129	137a	145	146b	147a	147b			
LILLE 23	113c	116a	116b	121	129	145	146b	147a	147b			
CHELLES	89	94a	94c	104	107	113c	124	129	137a	145	146b	
EVREUX	99	104	107	113c	124	129	116a	145	146b	147b		

TABLE 5.15

Repertory of Easter Week Alleluias in EXcl 3515 and English Sources

	SHR ¹	YORK WOR	WEST C 892	SAR 1	EXT²	LM	FLE	775	HER A	HER B	HER C	
*Nonne cor	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	
*Surgens Jesus			3	3	3		3		3	3	3	
*Surrexit dominus et occurrens	5	5	5	6	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4
In die resurrectiones		4	4		5	5		4	6	5	6	6
Surrexit altissimus	6	6	6					6				
*Christus resurgens	4					5			5	5	5	
Oportebat pati	3			3	6							
Angelus domini		3					4	2				
Dicite in gentibus					6							
Surrexit dominus vere				6								
Redemptionem							5					
Venite benedicti				4								
[Surrexit pastor bonus] ³						6						
[Crucifixus]							6					

¹ Shrewsbury School XXX; OB lat. lit. b.5; Worcester Cathedral Library, F.160; Westminster Abbey, 34; OB Rawlinson C. 892; BL Add. 12194; EXcl 3515; OB 579; Trier, Bistumarchive, H 187; OB 775; BL Add. 39675; BL Harley 3965; OB Univ. Lib. 78A.

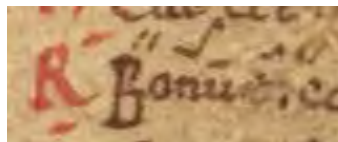
² Bold is used to highlight the sources that show close agreement with EXcl 3515.

³ The alleluias in brackets were not included in Hiley's survey of Sicilian manuscripts (Hiley, 1981).

TABLE 5.16

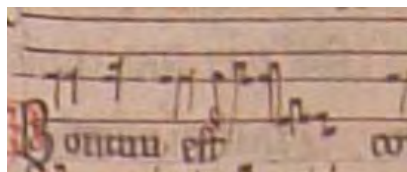
Comparison of the Melodic Tradition in the Leofric Missal and EXcl 3515

1 Gradual: *Bonum est confiteor*



A Leofric A 90r
B EXcl 3515 39v

Bo- *num* est
 FF FG **FF** DFF [GF FGDED DCDC]

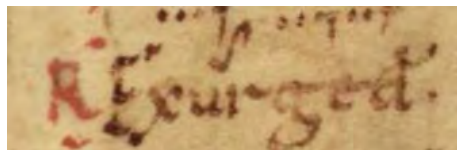


EXcl 3515 (f. 39v)

Note:

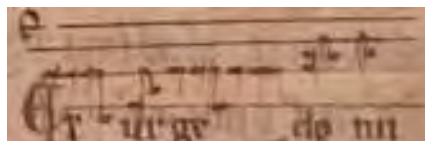
The pes stratus (L-H-H) in LM suggests the pitch (FGG) for the setting of *num* of *Bonum*; EX differs by giving a pes (FG) followed by two virgae (FF)

2 Gradual: *Exsurge domine*



A LeofricA 90v
B EXcl 3515 40v

Ex- sur- ge
 FFFFD DFE FFFD



EXcl 3515 (f. 40v)

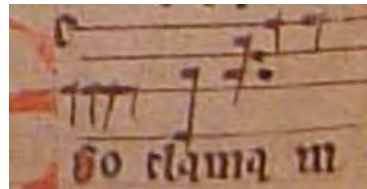
Note:

LM gives extra note (at opening) on *Ex* of *Exsurge*
 EX opens directly with three repeated notes (**F**)

3 Introit: *Ego clamavi*



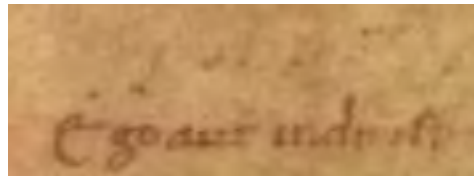
A	Leofric A	92r	<i>Ego</i>	<i>cla-</i>	<i>mavi</i>
B	EXcl 3515	42v	FFFF	DG	GbaG cc



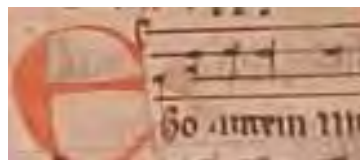
EXcl 3515 (f. 42v)

Note:
LM does not give melisma on *vi* of *clamavi*

4 Introit: *Ego autem*



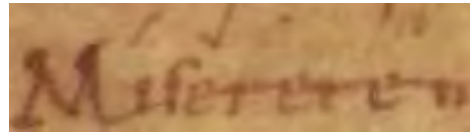
A	Leofric A	92r	<i>E-go</i>	<i>au-</i>	<i>tem</i>
B	EXcl 3515	44r	F-Ga	a	a



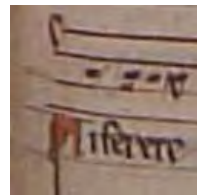
EXcl 3515 (f. 44r)

Note:
LM and EX agree on melodic outline

5 **Gradual: *Miserere***



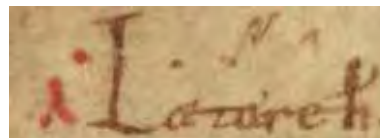
			<i>Mi-</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>re-</i>	<i>re</i>
A	Leofric A	92r				
B	EXcl 3515	44r	G	FG	G	GFG



EXcl 3515 (f. 44r)

Note:
LM and EX agree

6 **Introit: *Laetare***



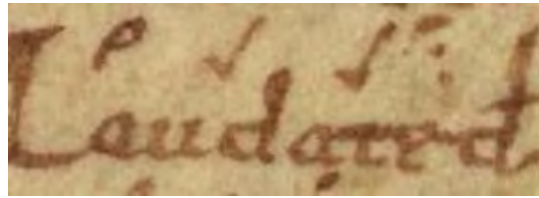
			<i>Lae-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>re</i>
A	Leofric A	94v			
B	EXcl 3515	49v	F	FbFa	GF



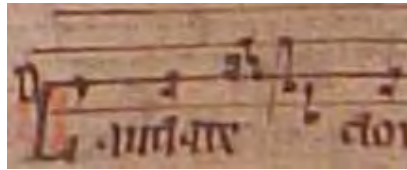
EXcl 3515 (f. 49v)

Note:
LM and EX agree

7 **Offertory: *Laudate***



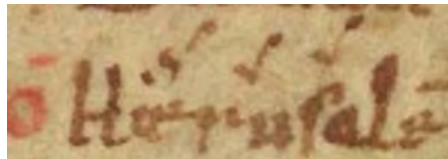
A	Leofric A	94v	<i>Lau-</i>	<i>da-</i>	<i>te</i>
B	EXcl 3515	49v	DC	CD	DE FED



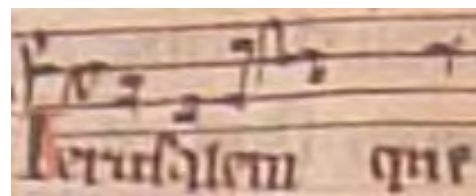
EXcl 3515 (f. 49v)

Note:
LM and EX agree

8 **Communion: *Herusalem***



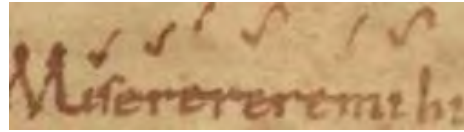
A	Leofric	94v	<i>He-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>lem</i>
B	EXcl 3515	50r	FEF	DE	CD	



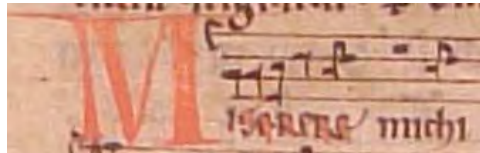
EXcl 3515 (f. 50r)

Note:
LM gives three-note ascending salicus (L-M-H)
on *Je* of *Jerusalem*;
EX presents a porrectus (FEF)

9 Introit: *Miserere mihi*



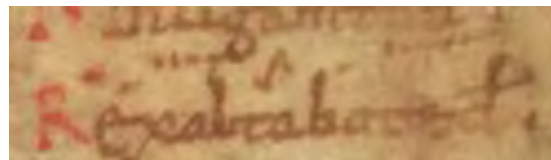
A	Leofric	99r	<i>Mi- se- re-re- [re]re mi- hi</i>
B	EXcl 3515	58v	F F DG a Gba b Gba



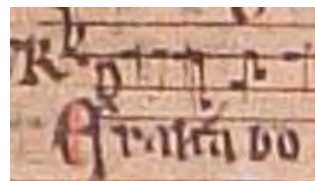
EXcl 3515 (f. 58v)

Note:
 LM gives two clivi (H-L) in succession
 for the setting of *Miser* of *Misererime*;
 EX alternatively gives two virgae (FF)
 followed by a rising fourth (D-G)

10 Gradual: *Exaltabo*



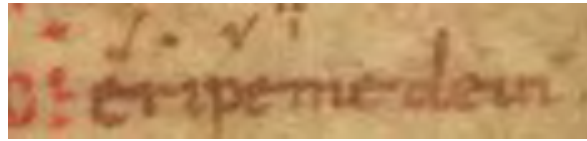
A	Leofric	100r	<i>Ex- al- ta- bo</i>
B	EXcl 3515	60v	F FFFF DFE F



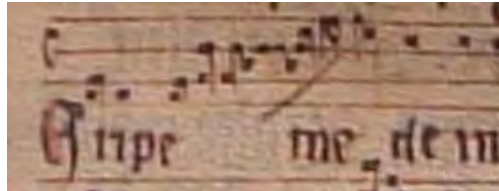
EXcl 3515 (f. 60v)

Note:
 LM and EX agree

11 Offertory: *Eripe me*



A	Leofric	100r	<i>E-</i>	<i>ri-</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>me</i>
B	EXcl 3515	60v	Ga	G	Ga ac	acb ccb....

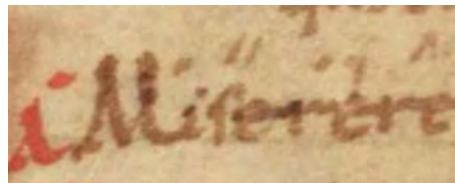


EXcl 3515 (f. 60v)

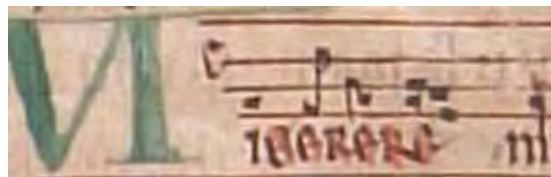
Note:

LM indicates a porrectus (H-L-H)
 on *pe* of *Eripe* (start of melisma);
 EX differs by giving two pes (Ga, ac)

12 Introit: *Miserere mihi*



A	Leofric	101r	<i>Mi-</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>re-</i>	<i>re</i>
B	EXcl 3515	62r	G	Fcb	aG	GaGF

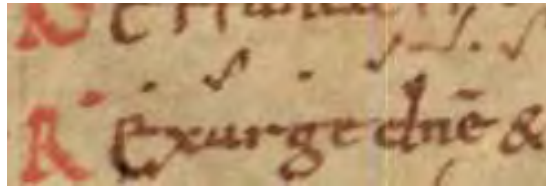


EXcl 3515 (f. 62r)

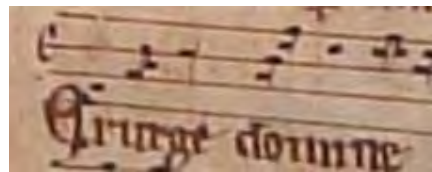
Note:

LM and EX possibly agree (grouping of neumes differ)

13 Gradual: *Exsurge domine*



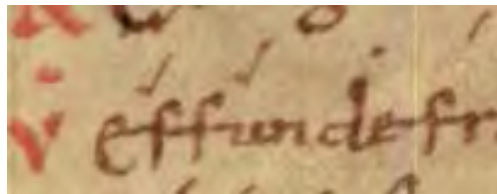
A	Leofric	103r	Ex-	sur-	ge	do-	mi-	ne
B	EXcl 3515	68r	G	acb	c	bc	de	ded



EXcl 3515 (f. 68r)

Note:
LM and EX agree

14 Gradual verse: *Effunde*



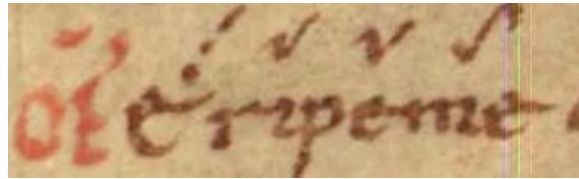
A	Leofric	103r	Ef-	fun-	de
B	EXcl 3515	68r	bc	ad	d



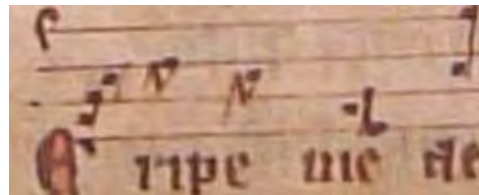
EXcl 3515 (f. 68r)

Note:
LM and EX agree

15 Offertory: *Eripe me*



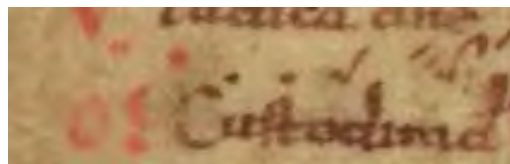
A	Leofric	103r	<i>E-</i>	<i>ri-</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>me</i>
B	EXcl 3515	68v	EFG	aGa	GFG	EFD



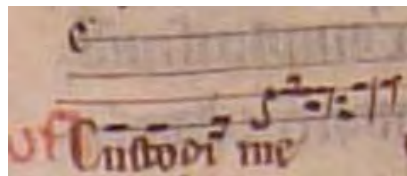
EXcl 3515 (f. 68v)

Note:
LM and EX agree

16 Offertory: *Custodi me*



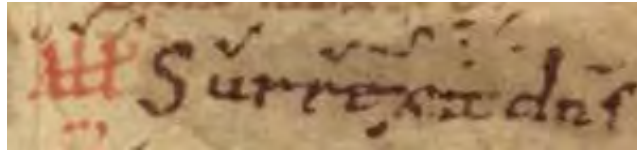
A	Leofric	103v	<i>Cu-</i>	<i>sto-</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>me</i>
B	EXcl 3515	71v	D	D	CD	DFF FGFE FED



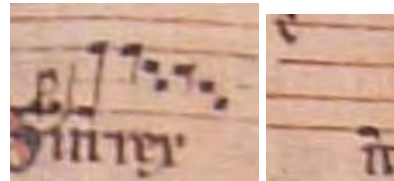
EXcl 3515 (f. 71v)

Note:
LM gives two virgae followed by a torculus (L-H-L) for the setting of *me*;
EX disagrees by giving a pes stratus (DFF) followed by pes subbipunctus (FGFE)

17 Alleluia: *Surrexit dominus*



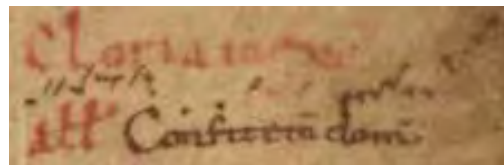
A	Leofric	117r	Sur-	re-	xit	
B	EXcl 3515	88r	Da	aGF	GFD	D



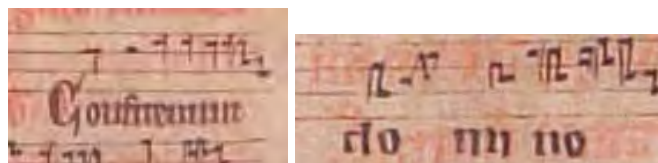
EXcl 3515 (f. 88r)

Note:
 LM gives a pes (L-H) and torculus (L-H-L)
 for the setting of **re** of *Surrexit*;
 EX varies by giving two climaci
 (three descending tones) in succession.

18 Alleluia: *Confitemini*



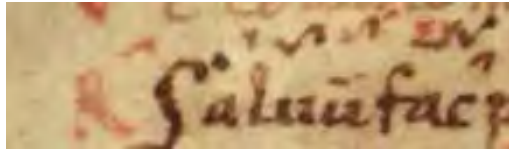
A	Leofric	131v	Con-	fi-	te	mini	do-mi-no
B	EXcl 3515	84v	a	a	b	b b	baaG aF GbGb



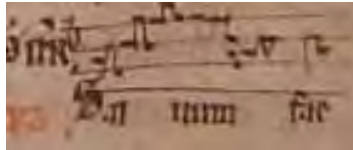
EXcl 3515(f. 84v)

Note:
 LM does not provide for the melisma
 on **ni** of *Confitemini*
 LM and EX seem to agree on the setting for *domino*

19 Gradual: *Saluum fac*



A	Leofric	133v	Sal- vum fac
B	EXcl 3515	31v	GaF aca cdc



EXcl 3515 (f. 31v)

Note:

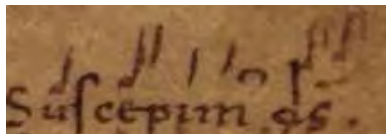
Leofric gives punctum and clivis (H-L)

on *Sal* of *Salvum*

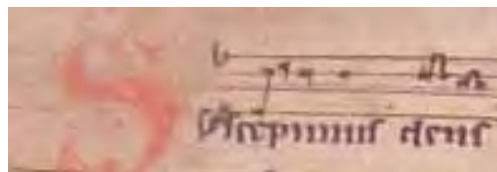
EX differs with two series of torculi (GaF; aca)

SANCTORALE FEASTS

20 Introit: *Suscepimus* (Purification):



A	Leofric	76r	Su- sce- pi-mus de- us
B	EXcl 3515	138r	D Da b a a aca GaG



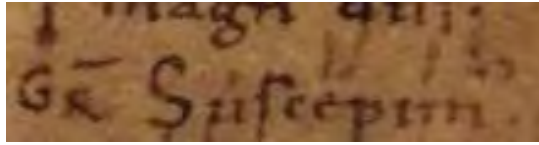
EXcl 3515 (f. 138r)

Note:

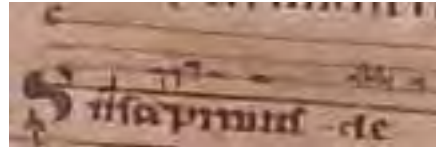
LM gives a rising pes (L-H) on the opening of *Suscepimus*;

EX give a punctum (D)

21 **Gradual: *Suscepimus*** (Purification)



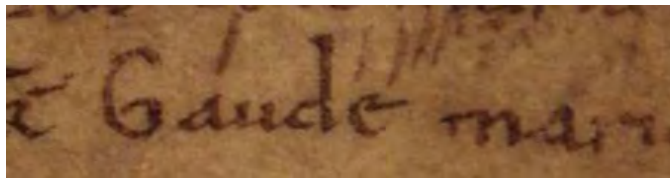
A	Leofric	76r	<i>Su-</i>	<i>sce-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>mus</i>
B	EXcl 3515	138r	D	FF	GF	F



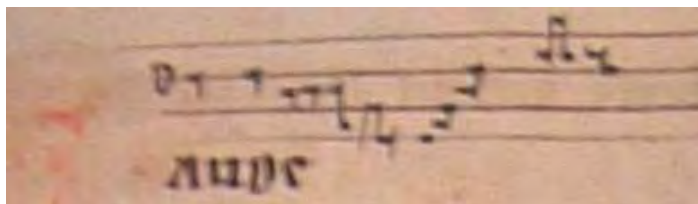
EXcl 3515 (f. 138r)

Note:
LM and EX agree

22 **Tract: *Gaude Maria*** (Purification)



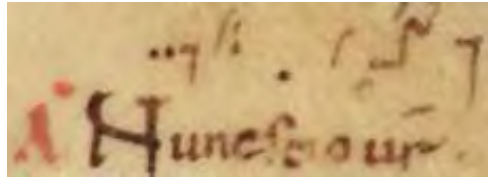
			<i>Gau-</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>maria</i>
A	Leofric	76r			
B	EXcl 3515	138v	D	D	CCCA BG₁G AB CD EGE ED



EXcl 3515 (f. 138v)

Note:
LM gives a climacus (H-M-L) on the sixth neume grouping:
EX differs by presenting a clivis (BG)

23 **Introit: *Nunc scio vere*** (St Peter)

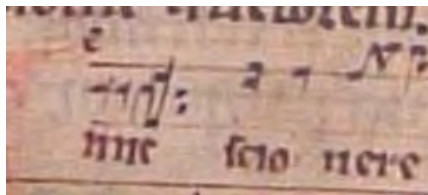


Nunc sci-o ve- re

A Leofric 178r

B EXcl 3515 144r

FF FDGFE Ga a acbc cb

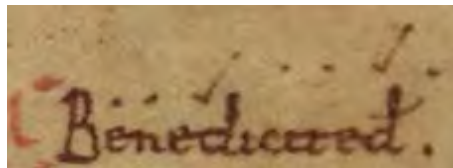


EXcl 3515 (f. 144r)

Note:

LM and EX agree

24 **Introit: *Benedicite dominum*** (St Michael Archangel)

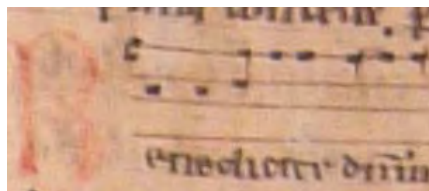


A Leofric 194r

B EXcl 3515 147v

Bene- di- ci- te dominum

GG ac c c c c c



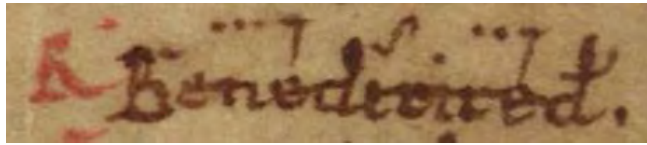
EXcl 3515 (f. 147v)

Note:

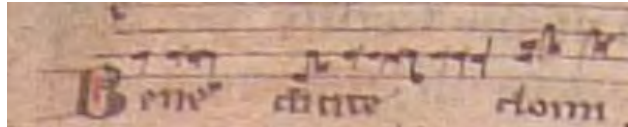
LM gives a pes (L-H) for *do* of *dominum*;

EX specifies a virga (c)

25 Gradual: *Benedicite dominum* (St Michael Archangel)



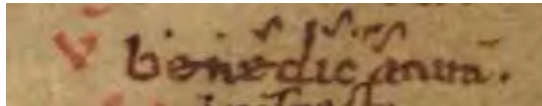
A	Leofric	194r	Be- ne- di- ci- te
B	EXcl 3515	148r	D DDD DC DFE F FFF



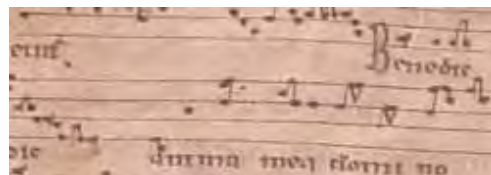
EXcl 3515 (f. 148r)

Note:
LM and EX agree

26 Gradual verse: *Benedicite anima* (St Michael Archangel)



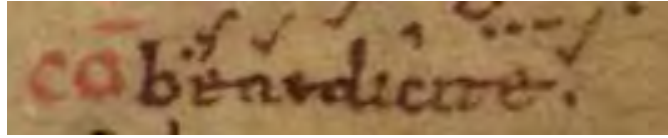
A	Leofric	194r	ben- ne- di- [ci-te]
B	EXcl 3515	148r	E E EGE GaG F FED ED D



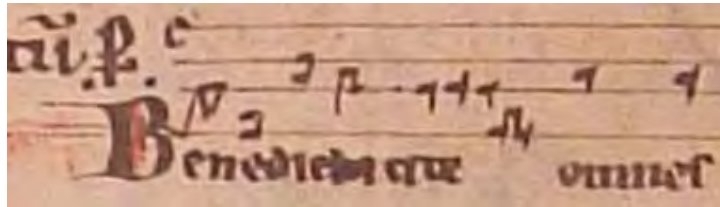
EXcl 3515 (f. 148r)

Note:
LM and EX agree

27 Communion: *Benedicite* (St Michael Archangel)



A	Leofric	194r	Be-	ne-	di-	ci-	te
B	EXcl 3515	148v	FEF DE	Ga	GF	FFF	DEDD

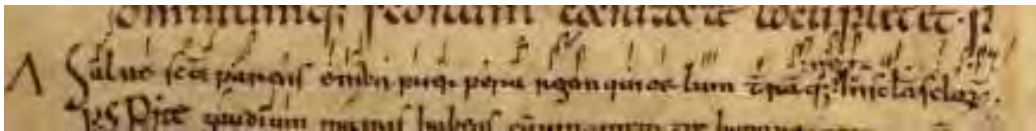


EXcl 3515 (f. 148v)

Note:

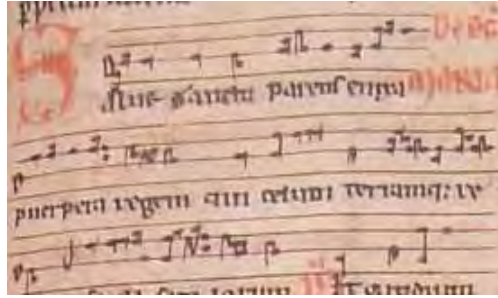
LM gives a pes (L-H) on *te of benedicite* at the end of the melisma
 EX gives a torculus with oriscus (DEDD)

28 Introit: *Salve sancte parens* (Feast of BVM)



A	<i>Sal-ve</i>	<i>sancta</i>	<i>par-ens</i>	<i>e-ni-xa</i>	<i>pu-er-</i>	<i>pe-ra</i>	<i>re-</i>	<i>gem</i>
B	AC DE	D DC	DEFD D	CD DFFGF	F FG	F FGFE	FEED	ED

A	<i>qui</i>	<i>ce-lum</i>	<i>ter-ram-</i>	<i>que</i> (in secula seculorum)
B	D	DF	FFF	DC DEFE DED



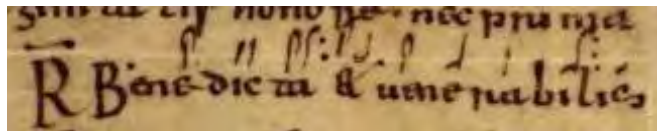
EXcl 3515 (f. 161r)

- A Leofric 267v
- B EXcl 3515 161r

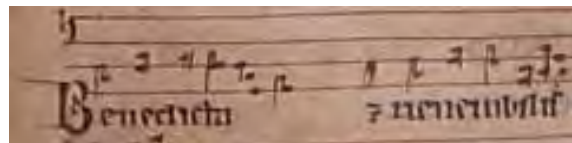
Note:

1. LM allocates a clivis (H-L) followed by pes (L-H) in the setting of *san* of *sancte*
EX gives a virga (D) and contrasting clivis (DC).
2. LM has a two-note group (punctum followed by virga) for setting of *qui*
EX specifies a virga (D)
3. LM gives the single note virga followed by a tristropha (repeated pitch) for the setting of *celum*;
EX introduces a pes (DF) before the three repeated Fs on *lum* of *celum*.
4. LM presents a virga on *ter* of *terramque*
EX gives a clivis (DC)

29 Gradual: *Benedicta* (Feast of BVM)



- A Leofric 267v *Be- ne- dic-ta et ve- ne- ra- bi-lis*
- B EXcl 3515 161r FE FG G GFFEDED FE FE FG GF DE EGFE



EXcl 3515 (f. 161r)

Note:

1. LM gives a punctum and clivis (H-L) on *Bene* of *Benedicta*;
EX differs by giving a clivis (FE) and pes (FG)
2. LM similarly specifies a rising figure (pes) for *et*
EX differs by presenting a falling figure with liquescent (clivis: DC)

TABLE 5.17														
Melodic Variants in EXcl 3515														
GR	EXcl 3515	FLE	IRI	MIC	ORL	PAR 1,4-13	TUR 4	VIN	EXT 1	SAR 1	SAR 2	VOR 1	VOR 2	YORK
1. <i>Dixit</i>	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B
2. <i>et</i>	B	X	X	X	X	B, PAR 6	X	LAC	X	X	B	B	X	X
3. <i>et</i>	B	B	B	LAC	X	B	LAC	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B
4. <i>gus</i>	A	X	A	X	X	X	X	LAC	X	X	X	A	X	A
5. <i>et</i>	B	X	X	B	X	1,8,9,10,11	X	LAC	B	X	B	X	X	X
6. <i>invoc</i>	A	X	A	X	X	X	A	LAC	X	X	X	A	X	A
7. <i>op pr</i>	A	X	A	A	X	NOT 3, 10	A	LAC	A	A	A	A	A	A
8. <i>oblat</i>	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
9. <i>sper</i>	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B
10. <i>Obum</i>	B	B	B	B	X	X	X	LAC	X	X	X	B	X	B
11A <i>sag</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B
12. <i>su per</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B
13. <i>e ripe</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	Not given
14. <i>ti ment</i>	B	X	X	LAC	X	X, par 4=B	B	X	X	X	X	B	X	X
15. <i>gu st</i>	B	X	B	LAC	X	PAR 4	X	B	X	X	B	B	B	B
16. <i>sapi en</i>	A	X	A	X	X	A	X	LAC	X	X	X	A	X	Not given
17. <i>spera</i>	A	X	A	X	X	A	X	LAC	X	X	X	A	X	Not given
18. <i>miseri</i>	A	X	X	X	X	X	X	LAC	X	X	X	A	X	Not given
19. <i>con so</i>	B	ILLEG	B	B	X	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	Not given
20. <i>et ad</i>	B	ILLEG	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
21. <i>con fit</i>	B	ILLEG	B	B	X	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
22. <i>orati</i>	C	X	C	X	X	X	LAC	LAC	X	X	C	C	X	Not given
23. <i>salut</i>	A	X	A	X	X	X	X	LAC	X	X	A	A	X	Not given
24. <i>magni</i>	B	ILLEG	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	X	X	B	B	B	Not given
25. <i>su per</i>	B	ILLEG	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	X	X	B	B	LAC	Not given
26. <i>educ</i>	B	ILLEG	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	LAC	Not given
27. <i>quon</i>	A	A	A	X	X	X	A	X	X	X	A	A	X	A
28. <i>Is rael</i>	B	B	X	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	Not given

GR	EXcl 3515	FLE	IRI	MIC	ORL	PAR	TUR 4	VIN	EXT	SAR 1	SAR 2	VOR 1	VOR 2	YORK	ROG 1
						1,4-13									
29. <i>ex om</i>	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	Not given	B
30. <i>Erube</i>	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	Not given	B
31. <i>in dua</i>	B	B	B	B	X	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	Not given	B
32. <i>et adh</i>	B	B	B	LAC	X	B	LAC	LAC	B	LAC	X	B	B	B	B
33. <i>im mol</i>	B	X	X	LAC	X	PAR 4,B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
34. <i>sincer</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	7,9,12 B	B	LAC	B	B	X	B	B	B	B
35. <i>vobis</i>	B	B	X	LAC	X	B	B	LAC	B	B	X	X	B	B	X
36. <i>et in</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
37. <i>non vi</i>	A	X	A	LAC	X	X	X	X	A	A	A	A	A	A	X
38. <i>iustit</i>	A	ILLEG	A	LAC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	A	X	A	X
39. <i>cantat</i>	B	X	B	LAC	X	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
40. <i>qui as</i>	B	B	X	LAC	X	B	B	B	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
41. <i>Domi n</i>	B	B	X	LAC	LAC	3,4,5,7	X	LAC	B	B	B	X	B	X	B
42. <i>crea b</i>	B	B	X	LAC	B	1,7,8,11	X	B	B	B	B	X	B	X	B
43. <i>ubi</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	X
44. <i>et exa</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	X	B	B
45. <i>firma</i>	B	B	B	LAC	X	3,4,5,6,8,9	B	B	B	B	B	B	X	B	B
						10,11									
46. <i>au rem</i>	B	B	B	LAC	X	X	B	B	X	X	X	B	B	B	B
47-48 nn															
49-50 lac															
51 <i>genu i</i>	B	Illeg	X	X	B	X	X	LAC	B	X	X	X	B	X	X
52 <i>pro pt</i>	A	A	A	LAC	X	X	LAC	LAC	A	A	A	A	A	A	LAC
53.. <i>cordi</i>	B	B	X	LAC	B	B	LAC	LAC	B	B	B	X	B	B	LAC
54 <i>Je sum</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	LAC	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	LAC
55 <i>de xtri</i>	B	B	B	LAC	B	B	LAC	LAC	B	B	B	B	B	B	B

Music Example 6.1
Accipite Jocunditatem

EXel 3515
Ac. ci. pite Jo. cum di. ta. tem glo. rie ve. stre

Sarum
Ac. ci. pi te Jo. cum di. ta. tem glo. rie ve. stre

H 159
Ac. ci. pi te Jo. cum di. ta. tem glo. rie ve. stre

Oel 119
Ac. ci. pite Jo. cum di. ta. tem glo. rie ve. stre

York
Ac. di. ta. tem ve. stre

F 160
Ac. ci. pite Jo. cum di. ta. tem glo. rie ve. stre

The image shows a musical score for six different versions of the Latin text "Accipite Jocunditatem". Each version is written on a single staff in G-clef and 3/8 time. The lyrics are: "Ac. ci. pite Jo. cum di. ta. tem glo. rie ve. stre". The EXel 3515 version includes first and second endings marked with '1' and '2' above the staff. The York version is shorter, only containing "Ac. di. ta. tem ve. stre".

Mus. Ex. 6.1 (continued)

EXcl 3515
Al-le-lu-ia gra-ti-as a-gen-tes de-o Alle-lu-ia

Sarum
Al-le-lu-ia gra-ti-as a-gen-tes de-o Alle-lu-ia

H 159
Al-le-lu-ia

Org 119
Al-le-lu-ia gra-ti-as a-gen-tes de-o Alle-lu-ia

F 160
Al-le-lu-ia gra-ti-as a-gen-tes de-o Alle-lu-ia

York
Al-le-lu-ia

Cist
(Bonn)
Al-le-lu-ia

Mus. Ex. 6.1 (continued)

EXcl 3515
qui vos ad ce les_ ti_ a reg_ na vo_ ca_ vit Al le lu_

Surum
qui vos ad ce les_ ti_ a reg_ na vo_ ca_ vit Al le lu

H 159
qui vos ad ce les_ ti_ a reg_ na vo_ ca_ vit Al le lu

Ori 119
qui vos ad ce les_ ti_ a reg_ na vo_ ca_ vit Al le lu

Yock
qui vos ad ce les_ ti_ a

F 160
qui vos ad ce les_ ti_ a reg_ na vo_ ca_ vit Al le lu

Mus. Ex. 6.1 (continued)

EXcel 3515 *So*
in Alleluia Alleluia

Sarum
in Alleluia Alleluia

Hl 159
in Alleluia Alleluia

Oel 119
in Alleluia Alleluia

York
in Alleluia Alleluia

F 160
in Alleluia Alleluia

Cist (Bomn)
Alleluia Alleluia

Music Example 6.3
Oportet te

Rouen
305

Oportet te fili gaudere qui a

EXcel
3515

Oportet te fili gaudere qui a

Rouen
305

frater tuus mortuus fuerat

EXcel
3515

frater tuus mortuus fuerat

Rouen
305

et reuixit perierat et in

EXcel
3515

et reuixit perierat et in

Rouen
305

uentus est

EXcel
3515

uentus est

Music Example 6.5
Hodie sancti innocentes

EXcel
3515



1 2 3 4 5

AL_ le_ lu_ in

Detailed description: This musical staff shows a melodic line in treble clef. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes. Above the staff, five fingerings are indicated: 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Below the staff, the lyrics 'AL_ le_ lu_ in' are written under the corresponding notes.

Cosin
V.v.6



2 1 2 3 4 5

AL_ le_ lu_ in

Detailed description: This musical staff shows a melodic line in treble clef. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes. Above the staff, six fingerings are indicated: 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Below the staff, the lyrics 'AL_ le_ lu_ in' are written under the corresponding notes.

F160



3 1 2 3 4 5

AL_ le_ lu_ in

Detailed description: This musical staff shows a melodic line in treble clef. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes. Above the staff, five fingerings are indicated: 3, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Below the staff, the lyrics 'AL_ le_ lu_ in' are written under the corresponding notes.

Music Example 6.5a
Hodie sancti innocentes (Verse)

EXcl 3515

Ho die sanc ti in no cen tes mere

Cosin

Ho die sanc ti in no cen tes mer

F 160

Ho die sanc ti in no cen tes mer

EXcl 3515

vi er ret pro Chris te

Cosin

vi er ret pro Chris te

F160

vi er ret pro Chris te

TABLE 6.3

**List of Variants in Agreement with EXcl 3515
(Based on Karp's Survey of Insular and Continental Sources)**

Sigla	Segment	Text	Melodic Reading	Source	Date
P 1413	3:2-3	-ia (Alleluia)	G	Cistercian, Lombardy	12-13
BRll 3823	4:1-3	...		Cluny	12
Mun Ms 61	4:1-3	...		Cambrai (and Lille)	12
Ox. Bod. C 892	4:1-3	...		Downpatrick	12
Fl. Ash.61	7:4	...		Tuscan	11-12
R. Cas/ 1695	7:4	...		Paris	13
*Orl. 117	8:1-12	...		Tours	13
VERSE					
Mo.O.16	2:1-4	Di (Dies)	a-G-G-F	Modene (K,C,P)	13 (early)
Fl. Gad 44	2:1-4	...		Tuscan	12
M S74	2:1-4	...		Milan	13

TABLE 6.3 (continued)

Sigla	Segment	Text	Melodic Reading	Source	Date
V 146	2:1-4	...		Verceil	12 (early)
V 162	2:1-4	...		Verceil	11 (end)
*Orl 119	3:2	-es (Dies)	E	Orleans	14
*P 13254	3:2	...		St Maur-des-Fossés (Chelles)	12
P 17318	3:2	...		Compeigne	12
Graz 807	3:2	...		Klosterneuberg	12
Kl 588	3:2	...		Klosterneuberg	13-14
Cambrai 61	4:4	-tus (Sanctificatus)	D	Cambrai (and Lille)	12
Mun. Bay. St. 2541	4:4	...		Cistercian, Alderbach	12
Be. Q ^o 487	4:4	...		Germany	
Mu. 17025	4:4	...		Scheftlarn	13
R. Ros 76	10.3	ve (venite)	E	Rome, Aquilée	13
U. 8 ^o 2	10.3	...		Use of St Gall	12/13
*An 96	10.3	...		Angers	12
*Orl. 117	10.3	...		Tours	13 ¹
*Orl 119	10.3	...		Fleury	14
*Orl 121	10.3	...		Micy	13
* Angers 96	10.3	...		Angers	13
Pr. 12	10.3	...		Provins	13

TABLE 6.3 (continued)

Sigla	Segment	Text	Melodic Reading	Source	Date
Ox. Bod. C 892	19:2-3	-e (hodie)	E-F	Downpatrick	12
*Orl 119	19:2-3	...		Orleans	14
P 13254	19:2-3	...		St Maur-des-Fossés	12
P 17318	19:2-3	...		Compeigne	12
Au S12	23:6	-gna (magna)	E	North France ?	12
*Orl 119	23:6	...		Orleans	14
*Orl 121	23.6	...		Micy, St Mesmin	13
Rou 305	23.6	...		Montaure, Evreux	13 (early)
V162	26:1(-3)	ram (terram)	a-a-a	Verceil	11 (end)
End of Verse (26:7 to end)					
Au S12	26:7-end	ram (terram)	D-F-E-D	North France ?	12
*Orl 121	26:7-end	...		Micy, St Mesmin	13
P 833	26:7-end	...		Champagne, St Etienne	12
P 13254	26:7-end	...		St Maur-des-Fossés	12
P 17318	26:7-end	...		Compeigne	12
Pr 12	26:7-end	...		Chartres	13
*Tr. 1047	26:7-end	...		Sens, St Etienne	12
Mun.Bay.St. 2541	26:7-end	...		Cistercian Alderbach	12

TABLE 6. 4
Unusual Alleluias in EXcl 3515¹

Schlager	Verse	Folio	Assignment	Hughes (2005) Continental		English
7	Rex Noster	7	Fourth Sunday of Advent	---	St. Vaast/ Cambrai ² Aquitaine St. Denis	Winchester ³ Durham Downpatrick
97*	Hodie Sancti Innocentes ¹²		Holy Innocents	---	---	EXcl (ThK 97*) Durham (ThK 97) ⁴ Worcester Stockholm
169*	<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i> (textual variant 'ovibus')	90v	Friday in Easter week	6 ⁵	Lille/St. Vaast Auberive (?) German sources ⁶	No other English sources (Only EXcl 3515)
263	Ego sum pastor	93	Second Sunday of Easter	41	Aquitaine/Fleury (?) ⁷	Downpatrick Haughmond ⁸ / Swed. 932

¹ * Indicates that the alleluia melody is a variant of the corresponding melody in Schlager's catalogue.

² Cambrai 75,78; Paris, 776; 780; 1084; 1135; 9436; n.a 1177.

³ OB 775 (Winchester Troper); Durham, University Library, Cosin V.v.6; Downpatrick: Oxford Bodley Rawlinson C.892.

⁴ Cosin V.v.6 (ThK 97); Worcester: Cambridge Univ. Libr. Kk ii 6 (ThK 97, Hanley Castle); Stockholm Kungliga Biblioteket, A 128(ThK 97).

⁵ The numeral refers to the number of times this alleluia is found among French manuscripts in Hughes' survey (2005) of paschal alleluias.

⁶ Schlager gives two French sources (VAA 1; STA 2), but cites various German sources, including Bamberg Lit. 4, Bamberg Lit. 7, Berlin th. Lat. 4.15, Colmar 443, Eichstatt, Pont.de Gundekar, and St. Gall Stiftsbibl. 359 (see Schlager,1965, p. 146).

⁷ Paris, 776; 903; 1084; 13252; n.a 1177; Rome, Vall. C. 52. Gautier observes that the Troper section of the Troper-Sequentiary book, Paris n.a 1177 comes from Fleury (Gautier, Paris 1886, cited in GR 1957, p.110).

⁸ Shrewsbury XXX.

TABLE 6. 4 (continued)

Schlager	Verse	Folio	Assignment		Hughes (2005) Continental	English
29?	<i>Crucifixus surrexit tertia</i> (nn)94v		Fourth Sunday of Easter	6	Dijon ⁹ Rouen Jumièges	Downpatrick
218	<i>Surrexit Christus iam</i>	95	Fifth Sunday of Easter	10	Dijon/Fecamp ¹⁰ Rouen Jumièges Beauvais	None (only EXcl 3515)
47b?	<i>Spiritus paraclitus</i> (nn)	104	Wednesday after Pentecost	15	Dijon/ Fécamp ¹¹ Jumièges/Mont St. Michel Beauvais	Downpatrick Oslo Riksarkivet (333)
26	<i>Verbo domini</i>	107	Saturday after Pentecost	38	Aquitaine ¹² Metz?	St. Albans ¹³ Winchester

⁹Norman sources cited by Hughes (2005): Dij 1; Fis A; Jum 2; Rog 1-2; Rog 5-6.

¹⁰Dij 1-2; Fis A-B; Jum 2; Rog 1-2; Rog 5-6; Bel A.

¹¹Dij 1-2; Fis A-B; Jum 2; Kel; Rog 5; Bel A.

¹²Paris 903; Paris 1135 (St. Martial); Egerton 857; Angelica. B. 3.18;OB Laud 358; CCC 473.

¹³OB Laud Miscellaneous 358.

TABLE 6. 4 (continued)

Unusual Alleluias in EXcl 3515

Schlager	Verse	folio	Assignment	Hughes (2005)	Continental	English
41b	<i>Salve nos Christi</i>	147	Exaltation of the Cross	---	Aquitaine (one source: Paris 903)	St. Albans ¹⁴
329	<i>Justum deduxit</i>	157	Confessors and Abbots	---	Aquitaine/Fleury ¹⁵ Cluny	St. Albans Downpatrick Stockholm (892)

¹⁴ OB Laud Miscellaneous 358.

¹⁵ Paris, 776; 903; 115; 909; 1121; 1132; 1134-37; 1087; Paris, n.a. 1177 (a Troper book of Fleury provenance, see fn.7 above); BL Harley 4971; Brussels II/3823.

TABLE 6.5 A

EVIDENCE OF THE USE OF SARUM IN EXCL 3515

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not inserted)
1v	First Sunday of Advent	Offertory	Two verses added		
	Second Sunday of Advent	Alleluia Offertory	<i>Laetatus sum</i> replaced by <i>Virtutes celi</i> Two verses added		
2v	Third Sunday of Advent	Sequence	Text incipit added		
3		Offertory	Two verses added		
3	Ember Wednesday in Advent	Introit (Psalm)	<i>Et Justitia</i> replaces <i>Celi enarrant</i>		
4	...	Offertory	One verse added		
	...	Secret		X (marked)	
4v	Ember Friday in Advent	Secret		X	
6v	Ember Saturday in Advent	Offertory	One verse added		
	...	Secret		X	
7	Fourth Sunday of Advent	Alleluia	<i>Veni domine</i> replaces <i>Rex noster</i>		
		Offertory	One verse added		
		Secret		X	
		Postcommunion		X	

TABLE 6.5 B

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
7v 8	Christmas Eve ...	Lesson Alleluia	<i>Populus syon</i> replaces <i>Hec dicit dominus</i> No alleluia in EX/ <i>Crastina die</i> added		
8 9	Christmas Day Mass at Cockrow ...	Lesson Credo	Cue for troped lesson <i>Laudes deo</i> Text incipit		
9 9v	Christmas Day Mass at Dawn ...	Lesson Sequence	<i>Spiritus domine</i> replaces <i>Propter Syon</i> Text cue for <i>Sonent</i>		
10v	Christmas Day Mass of the Day	Sequence	Text incipit for <i>Celeste organum</i>		
11	St. Stephen (14th century)	Collect	Crossed through and replaced		
12v 12v	Holy Innocents	Alleluia Sequence	<i>Te Martyrum</i> cue to replace <i>Hodie sancti</i> Text cue for <i>Celsa</i>		
13	St. Thomas of Canterbury (13/14th) St. Thomas of Canterbury	C/S/Pc Office	Prayers in full added Chant texts added		
13v	Sexta die	Secret		X	

TABLE 6.5 C

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
13v	Circumcision	Introit/Gradual Alleluia	Texts inserted in margin		
14	Eve of Epiphany	Postcommunion		X	
15	St. Hilary (15th)	Office	Prayers added in full		
16v	Second Sunday after Epiphany	Secret		X	
17v	Third Sunday after Epiphany	Offertory Secret	2 verses added	X	
18	Fifth Sunday after Epiphany	Secret		X	
19	Septuagesima	Offertory	2 verses added		
20v	Septuagesima	Secret			*
23	Thursday after Ash Wednesday	Secret			*
23v	Friday after Ash Wednesday	Gradual Postcommunion			*
25v	Saturday after Ash Wednesday	Secret			

TABLE 6.5 D

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
26v	Monday of the First Week of Lent	Secret			*
27v	Tuesday of the First Week of Lent	Offertory verse			*
28		Secret			*
29	Wednesday of the First Week of Lent	Offertory verse Postcommunion			* *
29v	Thursday of the First Week of Lent	Lesson Gospel	<i>Dicebat</i> replaces <i>Johannes</i>		*
31	Saturday of the First Week of Lent	Collect 2/5			*
33v		Offertory verse			*
		Postcommunion			*
		Superpopulum			*
33v	Second Sunday of Lent	Gospel Offertory S/C/Pc/SP			* * *
36	Tuesday of the Second Week of Lent	Postcommunion			*
36v	Wednesday of the Second Week of Lent	Postcommunion			

TABLE 6.5 E

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
36v 37v	Thursday of the Second Week of Lent	Collect S/Pc/SP			*
40	Saturday of the Second Week of Lent	Secret	Second part revised		
41v	Third Sunday of Lent	S/Pc			*
45v	Thursday of the Third Week of Lent	Secret		X	
49	Saturday of the Third Week of Lent	Secret			*
50	Fourth Sunday of Lent	S/Pc			*
51	Monday of the Fourth Sunday of Lent	S/Pc			*
52 53v	Tuesday of the Fourth Sunday of Lent Thursday of the Fourth Sunday of Lent	S/Pc C/S/Pc Offertory			*
56v	Saturday of the Fourth Sunday of Lent	Collect(extra) Reading (extra) Postcommunion			*

TABLE 6.5 F

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
58v	Passion Sunday	Secret			*
59	Monday after Passion Sunday	Offertory v Secret			* *
63	Friday after Passion Sunday	Superpopulum			*
63v	Saturday after Passion Sunday	C/S/Pc Offertory			*
63v	Palm Sunday	S/Pc			*
67v	Monday after Palm Sunday	Tract S/Pc			* *
69	Tuesday after Palm Sunday	Lesson Offertory v S/Pc			* * *
71v	Wednesday in Holy Week	Secret			*
83v	Holy Saturday	Lesson 3	...		*

TABLE 6.5 G

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
87	Monday in Easter Week	S/Pc			*
88	Tuesday in Easter Week	S/Pc			*
89v	Thursday in Easter Week	Alleluia			*
90v	Friday in Easter Week	Alleluia	<i>Dicite in gentibus</i> replaces <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>		
		Postcommunion			*
97	Vigil of Ascension	Offertory			*
97v	Ascension	Offertory	<i>In die Ascendit</i> replaces <i>Viri Galilee</i>		
98	Sunday after Ascension	Offertory			*
		Postcommunion			*
101	Vigil Pentecost	S/Pc			*
102v	Monday after Pentecost	S/Pc			*
103v	Tuesday after Pentecost	Alleluia	<i>Veni sancte</i> replaces <i>Factus est</i>		

TABLE 6.5 H

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
104	Wednesday after Pentecost	Alleluia	<i>Spiritus domine replevi</i> replaces <i>Spiritus paraclitus</i>		
104v		Offertory Postcommunion			*
105	Thursday after Pentecost	Alleluia (2)	<i>Factus est</i> replaces <i>Veni sancte</i>		
105v	Friday after Pentecost	Secret			*
107v	Saturday after Pentecost	Offertory Secret			*
109v	Third Sunday after Pentecost	Secret			*
112	Fifth Sunday after Pentecost	Alleluia	Crossed through: <i>In te domine</i> replaces <i>Domine in virtute</i>		
112v		Secret			*
117	Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost	Alleluia	Crossed through: <i>Domine Refugiam</i> replaces <i>Exultate deo</i>		
122	Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc Gr/All			

TABLE 6.5 J

FOL.	LITURGICAL ASSIGNMENT	ITEM	EMENDATION (Original text differs to Sarum)	UNREVISED (Earmarked X)	SARUM (Not Inserted)
127v	Eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc			*
128v	Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc			*
129	Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc			*
130	Twenty-First Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc			*
131	Twenty-Second Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc			*
132	Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc			*
*f. 133	Twenty-Fourth Sunday after Pentecost	C/S/Pc	X in margin and prayers (written out in full at end of page) Non-Sarum Use ¹		
133v	Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Pentecost	Alleluia	<i>Timebunt</i> added (not in original)		
150	Feast of Conception	Office	Marginal entry (non-Sarum)		

¹ Collect and Secret are assigned to the Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost in LM. I have not traced the postcommunion to date.

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LOCATION	SIGLUM ¹	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Angers, Bibliothèque municipale				
91	FLE 1	Gradual	Used in Angers	s.x
96	AGV 1	Gradual	Angers	s.xii (early)
Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale				
181	CAR 6	Gradual	Villeneuve-lez-Avignon	s.xii (end)
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale				
339		Missal	St Vaast	s.xiv
601		Missal	St Vaast	s.xiv
606		Missal	St Vaast	s.xiv
Avranches				
42	KEL [Hughes]	Missal	Mont-St-Michel	s.xiii
Bamberg Staatliche Bibliothek lit.				
7	BAB 2	Cantatorium	Seeon	s.xi (early)
Bari, St Nicholas				
1	PAR 1	Gradual	Paris	s.xiii

¹ The siglum is based on the Gradual Romain, II, Les Sources, 1957 (GR henceforth). Additional sigla by Hughes (2005) (not provided by the GR) are indicated in the text (in brackets); new sigla for use in the current study are written in italics.

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Beneventan, Bibliotheque Cap. MS VI	BEN 5	Gradual	Benevento	s.xi-xii
34				
35	BEN 7	Gradual	Benevento	s.xii
Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek MS				
40078	KED	Gradual	Quedlinburg	s.xii
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale				
2013-32	STA 2	Gradual	Stavelot	s.xi
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale II				
3823	CLU 2	Gradual	[Cluny tradition]	s.xii
3824	DIJ 2	Gradual	Dijon	s.xiii
Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale				
61	CAM 5	Gradual	Cambrai	s.xii
75	VAA 1	Gradual	St Vaast	s.xi
78		Processional/Troper	Cambrai	s.xi-xii
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College				
42		Incipits ²	Dover Priory	s.xii
312		Miscell. chants ³	Canterbury	s.xii
473		Troper	Winchester	s.xi

² See Hartzell (2006, p. 22) for details of incipits.

³ Hartzell (ibid. p. 51).

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Cambridge, Pembroke College 95		Responsory	St Bury's (?)	s.xii (end)
Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.45		Breviary (fr)	England	s.xii (middle)
Cambridge, University Library Kk ii/6	VOR 2	Missal	Hanley Castle (Worcester)	s.xiii-xiv
Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 47 520 (facsimile)	CHA 1	Gradual Missal	Brittany Chartres	s.x s.xiii
Chaumont 44	CAL 1	Gradual	Cistercian, Auberive (?)	s.xiii
Dixson, State Library New South Wales SAFE/Q3/1	<i>CIST</i>	Gradual	Cistercian, San Stefano, Lombardy	s.xiii
Durham, University Library Cosin V.v.6	DUR	Gradual	Canterbury	s.xi (end), s.xii
Einisiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 121	MUR 3	Gradual	Einsiedeln	s.x

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Exeter, Cathedral Library				
3502 [Ker, 1977]		Ordinale	Exeter	xv
3504		Legenda	Exeter	xiv/middle
3505		Legenda	Exeter	xiv/middle
3505B		Legenda	Exeter	xiv/end
3508		Psalterium	Worcester?	xiii (first half)
3510		Missale (nn)	Exeter?	xiii (second half)
3511		Sermones	England	xiv/middle
3512		Excerpta ex decretis romanorum pontifical	Exeter?	xii/early
3513		Pontificale (Edmund Lacy)	England	xiv/xv
3515		Missale	Exeter	xii/xv
3518		Martyrologium	Exeter	xii ¹
3520		Anselmus/Ambrosius Miscellanea theol.	France/Exeter	xii/in-xii
3525		Miscellanea theol.	England	xii/in
3526		Breviarium	England	xiii
3548A		Sacramentarium	France/Exeter	x
3548B		Missale (Fragm)	Exeter?	xiii
3548F		Breviarium	England	xiii/iv
Misc.1/2		Missale (Fragm.)	England	xiv (middle)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham				
61	ITI 3	Missal	Toscan	s.xi-xii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Gadd 44	TOS 1	Missal	Toscan	s.xii
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 807	KLO 1	Gradual	Passau	s.xii
Klosterneubourg, Stiftsbibliothek 588	KLO 3	Gradual	Klosterneubourg	s.xiii-xiv
Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 239	LAN	Gradual	Laon region	s.x early
Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale 330	VIN	Missal	Winchester	xii
Lille, Bibliothèque municipale 23	DOE	Missal	Douai	s.xiii
26	LIL	Cantatorium	Lille	s.xiv
Lincoln, Cathedral 15		Offices for Virgin	Lincoln?	s.xii-xiii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
London, British Library Additional 12194 Additional 39675 Additional 23935	SAR 1 <i>HER A</i>	Gradual Missal Gradual	Salisbury Hereford (Dominican)	s.xiii (second quarter) s.xiv s.xiii (end)
London, British Library Egerton 857		Gradual	Noyon	s.xi-xii
London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A xii	<i>VIT A xii</i>	Kalendar	Exeter	s.xi
London, British Library Harley 863 Harley 2961 Harley 3965 Harley 4951	<i>HAR</i> <i>HER B</i> TOU	Psalter Kalendar at opening 'Leofric Collectar' Gradual Gradual	Exeter Exeter Exeter Hereford Toulouse	s.xi c.1173 s.xi s.xiv s.xi
Manchester, John Rylands, lat. 24	EXT 1	Missal	Exeter	s.xiii
Manuscrit du Mont-Renaud (private collection)		Gradual	St Denis	s.x-xi
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S 74	ITN 2	Gradual	Unknown	s.xiii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Montpellier, Faculté de médecine H 159	DIJ 1	Tonary	St-Bénigne	s.xi
Modène, Biblioteca Capitolare O. 1. 16	MOD 2	Kyriale/Cantatorium	Modène	s.xiii (early)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS 2541 17025	CIS 1	Gradual Gradual	Aldersbach Scheftlarn	s.xii s.xiii
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS VI G 38	FRA 3	Missal	Naples	1230-1250
Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 117 119 121 129 201	TUR 4 ORL MIC	Missal Missal Missal Ordinal Liturgical drama	Tours Fleury (Leproserie) St Micy Fleury Fleury	s.xiii s.xiv s.xiii s.xiii s.xiii
Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D.1.7 [K, 1964] ⁴		Gospels	Exeter Connection [EC]	s.xii

⁴ With the exception of OB 579 and OB 775 the following Bodleian manuscripts with an Exeter connection (hereafter [EC]) are taken from Ker, 1964. It is outside the scope of the current study to address questions of provenance. Various bishops of Exeter, including Bishop Osbern and Bishop Bartholomew, donated many of these manuscripts (Ker, 1964). It should be noted that the list of manuscripts is confined here to twelfth and early-thirteenth century books, as part of the palaeographical survey undertaken in this project.

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
D. 13	[K, 1964]	Paul	[EC]	s.xii
D.2.8	[K, 1964]	Psalter	[EC]	s.xii (end)
F.2.14 (f.130)	[H]	Missal (one folio)	England	s.xii.
Oxford, Bodleian Library				
92	[K, 1964]	Ambrosius	Exeter Connection [EC]	s.xii
93	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii (end)
94	[K, 1964]	Ambrosius	[EC]	
120	[H]	Breviary	England	s.xii
135	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
137	[K, 1964]	Ambrosius	[EC]	s.xii
147	[K, 1964]	Pseudo-Athanasius	[EC]	s.xii
148	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
149	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
190	[K, 1964]	Gregorius	[EC]	s.xii
193	[K, 1964]	Gregorius	[EC]	s.xii
201	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
206	[K, 1964]	Ambrosius	[EC]	s.xii
239	[K, 1964]	Isidorus	[EC]	s.xii
230	[K, 1964]	Gregorius	[EC]	s.xii
237	[K, 1964]	Florus diaconus	[EC]	s.xii
253	[K, 1964]	Gregorius	[EC]	s.xii
272	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
273	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
274	[K, 1964]	Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
289 [K, 1964]		Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
291 [K, 1964]		Decreta	[EC]	s.xii
301 [K, 1964]		Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
314 [K, 1964]		Gregorius	[EC]	s.xii
335 [K, 1964]		Lombardus	[EC]	s.xiii/iv
382 [K, 1964]		Jeronimus	[EC]	s.xii
449 [K, 1964]		Sermons	Bishop Bartholomew (?)	s.xii
479 [K, 1964]		Beda	[EC]	s.xii
482 [K, 1964]		Bartholomew	Exeter	s.xiii
579	EXT 2	'Leofric Missal'	Exeter (earlier:Lotharingia)	s.ix-x/ x-xi
683 [K, 1964]		Gregorius	[EC]	s.xii
691 [K, 1964]		Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
717 [K, 1964]		Jeronimus	[EC]	s.xii
725 [K, 1964]		Paul	Exeter	s.xii
732 [K, 1964]		Bede	[EC]	s.xii (end)
775	775	Troper	Winchester, Old Minster	s.xi (middle)
792 [K, 1964]		Julianus Toletanus	[EC]	s.xii
804 [K, 1964]		Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii
808 [K, 1964]		Jeronimus	[EC]	s.xii
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. b				
5	YORK	Gradual	York	s.xv
810 [K, 1964]		Canones Apostolorum	[EC]	s.xii
813 [K, 1964]		Augustinus	[EC]	s.xii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Oxford, Bodleian Laud miscellaneous 358		Kyriale/Cantatorium	St Albans	c. 1160
Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C. 892	IRI	Gradual	Ireland	s.xii
Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson lit. d. 3		Gradual	(Sarum)	s.xiii
Oxford, Bodleian, University Library 78a	<i>HER C</i>	Missal	Hereford	s.xiv
Oxford New College 159 [H]		Missal	England	s.xii
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 110	PAR 10	Gradual	Paris	s.xiv
135	SAR 2	Missal	London/Canterbury	s.xiii
608	PAR 11	Gradual	Pairs (Poissy)	s.xiv
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 384	DEN 1	Gradual	St Denis	s.xi
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 776	ALB	Gradual	Albi	s.xi
780	NAR	Gradual	Narbonne	s.xi-xii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
830	PAR 7	Missal	Paris, St Germaine	s.xiii
861	PAR 8	Missal	Paris	s.xiv
903	YRX	Gradual	St Yrieix	s.xi
904	ROG 1	Gradual	Rouen (Cathedral)	s.xiii
906	ROG 6 [Hughes]	Gradual	Rouen	s.xv
909		Troper	St Martial	s.xi
1105	BEC	Missal	Bec	s.xiii
1112	PAR 4	Missal	Paris	c.1225
1121		Troper	St Martial	s.xi
1084		Troper	Aurillac	s.xi-xii
1087	CLU 1	Gradual	Cluny	s.xi
1132	MAL 1	Gradual	St Martial	s.xi-xii
1134		Versiculaire/Troper	St Martial	s.xi
1135		Troper	St Martial	s.xi
1136		Cantatorium	St Martial	s.xi
1137		Proser	St Martial	s.xi
8885	PAR 9	Missal	Paris	s.xiv
9434	TUR 3	Gradual	Tours	s.xi
9435	TUR 2	Missal	Maillezais	s.xii
9436	DEN 4	Missal	St Denis	s.xi
9441	PAR 5	Missal	Paris, Notre Dame	s.xiii
10511	CYR	Gradual	St Cyran-en-Braine ?	s.xii
13252		Troper	St Magloire	s.xi (end)
13254	MOR 1	Gradual	Chelles	s.xii (end)
15615	PAR 6	Missal	Paris, Sorbonne	s.xiii
17306	AMB A [Hughes]	Missal	Amiens	s.xi
17318	COC 3	Missal	Compiègne	s.xii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Paris, Bibliothèque nouveau acq. lat.				
1177		Troper	Aquitaine	s.xi
1413	CIS 10	Gradual	Lombardy	s.xiii
1414	CIS 8	Gradual	Morimondo	s.xii
Paris, Bibliothèque St Geneviève				
95	BelA [Hughes]	Missal	Beauvais	s.xii
Paris Mazarine				
411	PAR 13	Missal	Paris, Notre-Dame	c. 1380
Paris, Université				
705	PAR 12	Missal	Paris	s.xiv
Provins				
12	PRO 1	Gradual	Chartres	c.1205-18
Reims, Bibliothèque municipale				
225		Missal	Riems	s. xii (late)
226		Missal	Reims	s. xii (late)
229		Missal	Reims	s. xii (late)
231		Missal	St Thierry	s. xiii (early)
232		Missal	St Thierry	s. xiii (early)
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS				
C52	NUR	Gradual	St Eutizio de Norcia	s.xi-xii

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1695		Missal	Paris diocese	s.xiii
Rome, Biblioteca Vaticane Rossi 76 231	AQU 1 ITN 1	Gradual Gradual	Aquilée Northern Italy	s.xiii s.xii
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica B. 3. 18 (123)	LAV	Gradual	Italy	1039-1120
Rouen 250 267 277 293 294 305	ROG 5 JUM 1[Hughes] ROG 2 FIS A [Hughes] FIS B [Hughes] EVR 1	Gradual Missal Missal Missal Missal Missal	Jumièges Jumièges Rouen Cathedral Fécamp Fécamp Montaure, Evreux	s.xiv s.xii s.xiii s.xiv-xv s.xiv-xv s.xiii
Shrewsbury School XXX	<i>SHR</i>	Gradual	Haughmond	c. 1175
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 359 339	GAL 1 GAL 2	Cantatorium Gradual	St Gall St Gall	s.x (early) s.xi (early)
Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 128		Gradual (Frag)	England	s.xi

LOCATION	SIGLUM	MS TYPE	PROVENANCE	DATE
Stockholm, Riksarkivet MI 4 932		Missal Gradual (Frag)	London England	s.xii (end) s.xii
Trier, Bistumarchive H 187		Missal	Fleury	s.xii
Troyes 894	PER 1	Missal	Saint-Père de Chartres	s.xii
Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek 12865	PRE 7	Gradual	North-West Germany	s.xiv (end)
Vercell, Biblioteca Capitolare 146 161 162	VEC 2 VEC 1 VEC 3	Gradual Gradual Gradual	Vercell Vercell Vercell	s.xii (early) s.xi (end) s.xii
Westminster Abbey MS 34	<i>WEST</i>	Missal	Westminster Abbey (The 'Lytlington Missal')	s.xiv
Worcester, Cathedral Library F. 160 F. 173	VOR 1 [<i>WOR</i>]	Gradual Missal (Frag)	Worcester Winchester	s.xiii s.xi

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