

VEIL AND TONSURE: STUTTGART 95, DEVOTIONAL MUSIC, AND THE
DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DOUBLE HOUSES

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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This dissertation provides the first full-scale musicological study of Stuttgart 95, a thirteenth-century song book, formerly thought to be from the abbey of Weingarten. Upon further examination, it is clear that rather than a single unified corpus of Latin songs, the musical portions are composed of three separate layers. Furthermore, I argue that these layers were best understood as separate entities. This delineation between writing campaigns indicates that the original musical project likely constitutes a mostly intact collection, with only one or two folios missing from the beginning of the codex. Moreover, the song repertoire in the first layer is partially comprised of addenda entered into other Engelberg liturgical manuscripts, mainly at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, shortly before the manufacture of Stuttgart 95. I focus, in particular, on the first layer of its musical corpora, arguing that the earliest stratum in this composite manuscript points to the double cloister of Engelberg as a likely provenance.

As a collection of addenda, it demonstrates that musicians in Engelberg actively collected pieces that addressed Mary, the community's patrona. I first discuss the consistent use of majuscule and rubrication to visually highlight the name of Mary amidst

its surrounding text. Furthermore, I demonstrate that Mary along with each of these additional saints had liturgical ties to the double house of Engelberg; Mary was the monastery's patrona, and the additional figures were either especially venerated at Engelberg or were the namesakes for dedicated altars or chapels in joint community's churches.

Furthermore, I contend that the music of Stuttgart 95 reflects a tradition of 'decorating' Mary's name aurally by musical means, as in the case of melismatic migrating refrains used as either concluding elements or interpolations in antiphons and sequences. Finally, I assert that liturgy is a reflection of institutional identity, and that it served as a gendered discourse that affirmed the relationship between men and women religious of Engelberg.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Stories are embedded within the physical make-up of medieval manuscripts. These tales shed light on the creators and consumers of these artifacts of cultural history, offering tantalizing insight into the intellectual life of subjects silenced by time. During the central Middle Ages, the majority of scriptoria that produced these codices were attached to monasteries and other kinds of religious institutions: cloistered communities for monks, nuns, or both (i.e., double communities); secular houses for canons regular or canonesses regular; cathedrals and collegiate churches. Not surprisingly, many documents made in such places (sacramentaries, psalters, breviaries, antiphoners, graduals, ordinals, etc.) reflect the cultural priorities and liturgical needs of their respective institutions or the commissioning institutions. Books created by and for a religious community can reveal liturgical and devotional traditions that were central to lived experiences: those of the individuals who produced them as well as the vocalists who participated in the aural realization of their contents.

Books, even those put together by anonymous assemblers and scribes, provide a window into the subjective experiences of individuals in these communities. Musicological studies focusing on a single manuscript often overlook what a source discloses about the shared musico-liturgical lives and social experiences of its community members. Yet the thirteenth-century songbook of the manuscript HB I 95 of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart — with its rich and idiosyncratic collection of liturgical music — offers a story about its creators and consumers. Through the examination of codicological makeup and paleographic evidence, I argue that, rather

than its traditional provenance of Weingarten, Stuttgart 95 should be attributed to the Swiss double monastery of Engelberg. Furthermore, this same evidence suggests a strong devotional tradition focused on Engelberg's patron, the Virgin Mary. Moreover, using musical transcription and comparing concordances, I show that Mary's name was often the site of migrating musical material—a quotational practice heretofore unknown in monophonic liturgical music. Finally, I suggest that certain devotional songs reflect a discourse concerning the dangers of co-mingling of men and women in a double monastery context.

Stuttgart 95: Preliminary Remarks

Already since the close of the nineteenth century, the musical portion of HB I 95 (folios 4r–83v) has captured the attention of both musicologists and historians of Latin liturgical poetry. In 1977, Wolfgang Irtenkauf, then librarian at the Württemberg Landesbibliothek and director of the manuscript department there remarked, “Mit dieser Handschrift [HB I 95]...haben sich viele Forscher beschäftigt.”¹ Of the numerous research contributions known to Irtenkauf, he drew special attention to relevant volumes of *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, to musicological and philological assessments by Guido Maria Dreves, Hans Spanke, Friedrich Ludwig, Jacques Handschin, Eduard Gröninger, Bruno Stäblein, Heinrich Husmann, and to some of his own studies.² Irtenkauf went on to

¹ Wolfgang Irtenkauf, “Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95,” *Codices Manuscripti* 3 (1977): 22.

² Ibid. A typical entry in *Analecta Hymnica* reads “Trop. Ms. Wingartense (?) saec. 13 Cod. Stuttgardien HB I Asc. 95. See: Clemens Blume und Guido Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 47 (Leipzig: O.R. Reiland, 1905); Guido Maria Dreves, “Profane lateinische Lyrik aus kirchlichen Handschriften,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 39 (1895): 361–368; Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. I. Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, Pt. 1. Handschriften in Quadratnotation* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1910), 319 ff.; Hans Spanke, “Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet 95,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 68 (1931): 79–88; Jacques Handschin, “Die Schweiz, welche sang,” in *Festschrift Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag* (Zurich/Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug, 1933), here pp. 111–112; Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame-*

characterize the importance of HB I 95 (hereafter Stuttgart 95 for short) thusly:

Die Handschrift...steht, wie die Literatur erweist, schon lange im Mittelpunkt des Interesses der Hymnologen. Sie bildet einen Teil jener 'Schiene', die zwischen Frankreich, näherhin Paris, und dem deutschen Sprachraum im hohen Mittelalter bestand. Die dortige musikalische Entwicklung, vornehmlich die Mehrstimmigkeit, strahlte im 2. oder 3. Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts nach Deutschland ab.³

The few specimens of polyphony to which Irtenkauf refers are noteworthy insofar that Stuttgart 95 is one of the earliest extant German sources to record the presence of pieces linked to contemporary Aquitanian and Parisian repertoires. Yet these few instances of polyphonic items (seven total) pale in comparison to the monumental collection of monophony in Stuttgart 95, and the real fame of this manuscript resides in its extraordinary array of sacred, monophonic Latin songs. Of a total of 221 musical works, 214 are monophonic. Roughly a quarter (55) are genres new to, or gaining prominence in, the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, namely the conductus and its hybrids (e.g.

Conductus (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1939), 24; Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen (I): Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1 (Kassel, 1956): 698; Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM, B, V, 1 (Munich and Duisburg, 1964): 81; Irtenkauf, "Stand und Aufgaben der Choralforschung in Württemberg," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 14 (1955): 171–85; idem, "Der Alleluja-Tropierungen der Weingartner Handschriften," in *Weingarten: Festschrift zur 900-Jahr-Feier des Klosters 1056–1956*, ed. Gebhard Spahr (Weingarten: Benediktinerkloster Weingarten, 1956), 345–61; and idem, "Die Evangelientropierung vornehmlich in der Schweiz," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1957): 162.

³ "As the secondary literature shows, the manuscript has long held center stage for hymnologists. It represents a part of that 'path' [of transmission] that existed between France, or more precisely Paris, and the German-speaking realm in the high Middle Ages. The musical developments emerging in France, in particular polyphony, radiated from there to Germany in the second or third quarter of the 13th century" [translation mine]. See, Irtenkauf, "Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95," 22.

conductus-planctus, carmina), *Benedicamus* tropes, and other so-called *nova cantica*.⁴ Others represent sequences and tropes for the Mass, genres in existence since the ninth century, yet many of which — in particular the sequences — exhibit more ‘modern’ stylistic traits and sensibilities, such as poetic texts with disyllabic rhyme and rhythmic stress or melodies built on newer, often expanded, modal vocabularies. Stuttgart 95 frequently numbers among the oldest extant sources to witness to these newer musical and poetic developments in liturgical music in the German-speaking lands.

Thus, music historians and philologists have generally considered Stuttgart 95 for what it illuminates about emerging genres in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and, to use Irtenkauf’s descriptive framework, for its stational role on a transmission route between France and the German-speaking lands. Yet scholars have not considered other parts of the ‘story’ that the manuscript shares about its history; they have not yet engaged the manuscript for its own sake. To date there is no scholarly analysis on the manufacture of the song collection of Stuttgart 95, nor is there an in-depth look at its liturgical use or focus. And while one repeatedly finds mention of the many stylistic, repertorial and genre-related ‘firsts’ in the secondary literature concerning the manuscript, details about, or close analysis of, its specific melodic and textual readings are largely absent. Finally, for over a century the abbey of Weingarten and more generally a German Benedictine

⁴ Wulf Arlt introduced the concept of these new song types in a series of studies including: Arlt, “*Nova cantica*: Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10 (1986): 13–62; idem “Das eine Lied und die vielen Lieder: Zur historischen Stellung der neuen Liedkunst des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts,” in *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Dubowy and Sören Meyer-Eller (Pfaffenhofen: Ludwig, 1990), 113–27; and idem, “Sequence and *Neues Lied*,” in *La sequenza medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 3–18. For a helpful review of the conductus, with particular attention to the type found in Stuttgart 95, see Stevens, “Latin Songs: Conductus and Cantio,” in *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama 1050–1350*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

monastery has been floated as the manuscript's possible provenance, yet neither the place of origin nor the locus of its medieval use has ever been established.⁵ Consequently, without a firm provenance, questions arising about possible meanings the song collection of Stuttgart 95 held for its particular religious community must go unanswered.

The following study aims to investigate some of these unaddressed issues, asking in particular what the musico-liturgical materials in Stuttgart 95 reveals about its makers and users, and about the musical and devotional priorities in the community where it either originated or was used. This dissertation is therefore, first and foremost, an examination of the song collection of Stuttgart 95. It begins broadly with an overview of the collection as a whole, and then increasingly narrows its focus to assess how specific characteristics of Engelberg's devotional music can shed light on local traditions and the lives of its medieval users.

Even as, already since the close of the nineteenth century, the rich collection of 221 songs in Stuttgart 95 has intrigued musicologists, its richness has frustrated attempts at classification.⁶ Its chants do not comprise a normative chantbook; rather the types of

⁵ As will be discussed in Chapter II, the oldest evidence placing the manuscript at Weingarten is a late eighteenth-century inscription of a signature for the abbey's library. Other types of evidence, however, including the types of neume script, scribal hands, musical concordances, individual chants of a Marian mass, particular saints' commemorations in Stuttgart 95 strongly point away from Weingarten. Irtenkauf also cast doubt on an origin and initial use in Weingarten. See, Irtenkauf, "Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95," 22; and in his catalog entry "HB I 95" in Johanne Autenrieth and Virgil Ernst Fiala, eds., *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek*, in cooperation with Wolfgang Irtenkauf, vol. 1, pt. 1: *Codices ascetici*. Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, 2nd ser. 2: (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 171–172. The inclusion of a sequence for St. Benedict in Stuttgart 95 suggests a Benedictine house.

⁶ A full literature review concerning Stuttgart 95 can be found in Chapter II, but here I call attention to the fact that other than Spanke's 1931 *catalogue raisonné* and Irtenkauf's revised inventory of 1977, most scholarship including some mention of Stuttgart 95 have dwelt on a particular concordance or set of pieces, rather than the songbook in toto. See, for example: Sarah Fuller, "Aquitainian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1969), 111–147; eadem, "Hidden Polyphony, A Reappraisal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2: 183; John Stevens, "Samson dux fortissime: An International Latin Song," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1, no. 1 (1992): 6;

pieces in Stuttgart 95 represent precisely the least standardized and the least codified sung items of the Mass and hours of the Divine Office. Its musical materials are thus of the kind that affords the greatest license to those making cantorial decisions. My methodology assumes that the inclusion of such songs presumes that there were agents making choices as to which pieces to incorporate, and that these decisions were based on specific liturgical needs of the institution, as well as on other subjective factors.

Who, then, were the creators of the song collection of Stuttgart 95? Who were its consumers? In order to advance a plausible hypothesis about its makers, one must first examine its make-up, especially as concerns its construction and contents. In order to put forth a basic ‘roster’ of probable users, one must consider plausible liturgical and devotional uses of this peculiar collection. To that end, Chapter II surveys the codicological and paleographic evidence of the manuscript (including the physical structure, quire signatures, types of neumatation, number of hands, layers) to gain an understanding of the collecting processes and scribal campaigns accounting for the songs of Stuttgart 95. Here I will argue for a new provenance, namely the Swiss monastery of Engelberg, a joint Benedictine community of monks and nuns newly founded around 1120–1124.

Building on evidence laid out in Chapter II concerning make-up, use, and provenance for Stuttgart 95, Chapter III addresses the different ways it expresses

Wulf Arlt, “Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy,” in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies*, ed. Rebecca Baltzer and Margot Fassler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 337–8.

musically a special devotion to the Virgin Mary.⁷ First, paleographically, in the song texts of Stuttgart 95, occurrences of *Maria* (and its declensions) are systematically marked by simple decoration, employment of majuscule letter forms, or both. By contrast, the scribal renderings of other proper names (including sacred names) in Stuttgart 95 routinely appear in miniscules. Rubrication also demonstrates the special care the songbooks' makers took with chants for the Virgin Mother. Secondly, in terms of repertoire, the large and disproportionate number of Marian chants from the combined *temporale*, *sanctorale*, and *commune sanctorum* of the liturgical year reinforces the clear Marian concentration of the collection as a whole. Establishing the Marian orientation of Stuttgart 95 clarifies the modern understanding of the 221 musical works as well; rather than an anthology of the latest genres, bound miscellanies of mixed character, or representatives of medieval Latin lyric, the pieces in this manuscript represent a devotionally focused collection of addenda from Engelberg.⁸ Finally, the make-up and use of the songbook demonstrates that it was created for a specific *locus* and *usus* – and thus attests to how it was intended to serve the particular liturgical and devotional needs of the mixed-gender community at Engelberg.

Chapter IV introduces musical case studies of two antiphons and two sequences for Mary, this time with a particular focus on the sonic decoration of the Virgin Mary's name. In this chapter I explore how the melodically inflected adornment of her name was

⁷ In this study, I use the words “liturgy” and “devotion” relatively interchangeably throughout. For further discussion of this decision, see below under the subheading “Special Notes on Terms, Conventions of Language, Transcription, and Orthography.”

⁸ See, for instance, the short characterizations: Stanley Boorman, et al. “Sources, MS” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 5, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg2>; and Spanke, “Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet 95,” 79–80.

heightened through the use of musical citation—revealing a creative musical practice that relied on quotation and attests to the interweaving of devotional and liturgical occasions through shared music. Furthermore, this quotational practice can be found in chantbooks from other locales, indicating that, in addition to well-known refrain traditions in vernacular musics, monophonic devotional traditions too might have relied on migrating musical passages in ways heretofore unknown.

Chapter V considers how liturgical music in Stuttgart 95 mirrors and shapes institutional and individual identity. Here I ask whether larger ecclesiastic discourses on the interaction of men and women religious are reflected in the liturgy of Engelberg. Stuttgart 95 is composed of non-standard liturgical pieces—chants from the Mass or Office that were flexible rather than prescribed. The variable nature of the codex's repertoire implies that agents were required to choose whether or when to include them in musical services. Through a series of three case studies, I argue that a tradition of attacking and defending the organization of the double monastery is reflected in specific repertoire from the double community of Engelberg. The musical pieces examined offer both warnings about the co-mingling of religious men and women as well as virtuous models for the monks and nuns of Engelberg to follow. Moreover, I propose that gender theory offers a methodology to investigate ways in which liturgy and its performance impacts the individual identities of agents, both male and female.

To date the musicological source studies dealing with medieval Latin liturgical manuscripts are too numerous to list here. In general, these studies have largely foregrounded aspects of genre, repertoire, transmission, notation, modal theory, and musical analysis. Musicological studies addressing agency and institutional identity tend

to be less prominent, compared to those that address what a chantbook has to say about musical and liturgical priorities of the community to which it belonged, and the possible bearing of such considerations on practice.⁹ More recently, however, several scholars have considered more directly institutional and individual identities of their owners and creators (especially scribes, compilers, redactors) and their possible impact on and meaning to performance and liturgy.¹⁰ For example, Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin contextualize and detail the work of Σ , the scribe, notator, and collector of CH-SG 484 and 318, much as Parkes uses the scribal process and the individual scribe's choices in GB-Lbl Add. 19768 to contextualize the creation and use of tropers in that genre's history.

Source studies, of course, are not the only musicological research where identity is addressed. I have borrowed from the methodological models found in Susan Boynton's

⁹ For a few representative examples of source studies, especially ones focusing on aspects of genre, repertoire, and transmission (including dissemination, reception, source affiliation, and regional or institutional relationships) as related to non-standard liturgical chants (e.g., sequences, tropes, conductus, versus) as well as matters on notation, modal theory, and musical analysis, see for Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*. 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); David Hiley, "The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid" (PhD diss., University of London King's College, 1981); Ellen Jane Reier, "The Introit Trope Repertory at Nevers: Mss. Paris, B.N. lat. 9449 and Paris, B.N. n.a. lat. 1235" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1981); and Günther Michael Pauker, *Das Graduale Msc. Lit. 6 der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg: Eine Handschriften-Monographie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires und der Notation* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1986). Similar to these are stated questions in Sarah Fuller, "Aquitainian Polyphony." Themes about agency and insitutional identity are less on display in these studies, but this in no way diminishes their importance or impact on the field. Indeed, the methodologies found in these and other studies have served as models for my chapters II and III in this dissertation.

¹⁰ See, for example, Wulf Arlt, and Susan Rankin, eds. *Kommentar-Band/Commentary volume to Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 und 318*, 3 vols. (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996), vol. 1: esp. pp. 19–119 on the scribe dubbed Σ as notator and collector; Michael Klaper, *Die Musikgeschichte der Abtei Reichenau im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 52 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003); Rankin, ed., *The Winchester Tropes: Facsimile Edition and Introduction* (London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer & Bell, 2007), in particular, pp. 3–15, 60–67; and Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), esp. pp. 31–88.

monograph *Shaping a Monastic Identity*,¹¹ as well as Benjamin Brand's article on Matteo da Perugia's motet *Ave Sancta Mundi/Agnus Dei*.¹² James Maiello has laid out reasons why the Epiphany liturgy at the San Zeno Cathedral in Pistoia might have been used as a tool to assert the power of the bishop over that of the Holy Roman Emperor, with the 'stand-ins' of the Christ child as the local Pistoia bishop, and Herod as Holy Roman emperor of the twelfth century.¹³ Finally, matters of agency and institutional identity are not interests exclusive to liturgical manuscripts. The recent collection of essays in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song* provides several short source studies on non-liturgical music manuscripts, dating from between the ninth through fourteenth centuries, and representing monophonic and polyphonic and Latin and vernacular repertoires as well as notated as well as unnotated songs.¹⁴ The authors rely both on the more traditional

¹¹ Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). Because of the relative paucity of surviving notated musico-liturgical sources from Farfa, Boynton examines the liturgy of the imperial abbey of Farfa through extant chronicles, musical archeological findings, and other supporting sources, and asserts that the musical practices reflect and shape a kind of community identity for the monastery.

¹² Benjamin Brand, "Viator ducens ad celestia: Eucharistic Piety, Papal Politics, and an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (2003): 250–84. Brand argues through textual analysis that there was a direct connection between Matteo da Perugia's motet *Ave Sancta Mundi/Agnus Dei* and the papal politics surrounding Peter of Candia's election at the Council of Pisa.

¹³ James Maiello, "The Epiphany Liturgy at Pistoia as an Expression of Episcopal Authority" (paper presented at the annual meeting for the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 6–9, 2014). Maiello's work belongs to his longer monograph project *Plainchant, Liturgy, and Identity in Medieval Pistoia*.

¹⁴ See, the individual chapters in: Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, eds., *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, and Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). This collection of ten source studies primarily focuses on manuscripts which, like Stuttgart 95, are well-known, but have not been studied in detail or evaluated in light of scholarship of the last fifty years. For example, in Gundela Bobeth's chapter on the famous *Carmina Burana* manuscript (D-Mbs Clm 4660) she suggests that current scholarship has obscured the true variety of songs represented in the codex. Furthermore, she suggests that the eclectic nature of the repertoire suggests a series of smaller song collections from which this larger collection was drawn. See Bobeth, "Wine, Women, and Song? Reconsidering the *Carmina Burana*," trans. Henry Hope, in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song*, 79–115.

methodologies of paleography, codicology, and transcription, as well as provide methodological models for the study of institutional identity and liturgy.

With regard to individual identity, in particular among women religious, I borrow from feminist musicology. Suzanne Cusick has suggested that by “thinking from women’s lives,” sources already present can be examined in new ways.¹⁵ For her, this means considering history not only from the perspective of historical women, but also from one’s own perspective as a contemporary woman. By inserting herself into the place of Francesca Caccini, Cusick discovered that Alessandro Ademollo’s 1888 biography of Caccini was based on a seventeenth-century factually-false horoscope written as a cautionary tale to women against using their talents to excess. In doing so, she further revealed that Caccini continued her performance career for the ladies of the Medici court. Susan McClary has introduced subjectivity into her own research. In her monograph, *Modal Subjectivities*, she uses modal analysis of cadential figures and melodic contour to discuss the affective function of musical composition and structure in the sixteenth-century polyphonic madrigal repertoire.¹⁶ Both of these scholars also borrow from gender theory, in particular from the works of Judith Butler, Luce Irigaray, and Michel Foucault, to discuss the historicity of gendered identities and their representations in music and text.¹⁷ They additionally seek new ways to examine traditional sources, thereby offering new avenues for research.

¹⁵ Suzanne Cusick, “‘Thinking from Women’s Lives’: Francesca Caccini after 1627,” *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (1993): 484–507.

¹⁶ Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

¹⁷ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge Press, 1990); Luce Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke (Ithaca:

Many scholars have examined elements of the liturgies common to double monasteries in German regions as related to the Hirsau reform network. For instance, Felix Heinzer, Andreas Haug, and Lori Kruckenberg have reconstructed the Hirsau *liber ordinarius*, troper, and the sequentiary respectively, yet none of these specific studies engage these aspects of the liturgy in terms of the double cloister.¹⁸ More recently, Hanna Zühlke has similarly worked to identify further markers of Hirsau liturgy and sources, and her most current work represents the first study to tackle directly the liturgy of Hirsau nuns on the traditions of the double communities in that reform network.¹⁹ While there is a wealth of scholarship concerning the devotional practices of Hirsau reform houses, there is virtually nothing concerning the St. Blasien reform liturgy, the reform which Engelberg belonged at its foundation.

Fortunately, scholars in other disciplines have examined double monasteries, including ones connected to the St. Blasien network, and the double community of Engelberg in particular. For example, Judith Raeber assesses illuminated psalters copied in the scriptoria of the Blasien double cloister Muri and Engelberg, respectively. Raeber

Cornell University Press, 1985); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1990).

¹⁸ Felix Heinzer, “Der Hirsauer Liber Ordinarius,” *Revue bénédictine* 102 (1992): 309–47; Andreas Haug, “Ein ‘Hirsauer’ Tropus,” *Revue bénédictine* 104 (1994): 328–45; Lori Kruckenberg, “Zur Rekonstruktion des Hirsauer Sequentiars,” *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999): 186–207.

¹⁹ See, Zühlke, “Das Hainricus-Missale als liturgisches Gesangbuch,” in *Das Hainricus-Missale Vollständige Faksimile Ausgabe der Handschrift MS M. 711 (bisher auch ‘Hainricus-Sakramentar’) aus The Morgan Library and Museum, New York. Kommentar*, ed. Hans Ulrich Rudolf (Graz: ADEVA, 2010), 217–255; eadem, “Die musikalisch-liturgischen Quellen des Hochmittelalters aus dem österreichischen Benediktinerstift Admont,” in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 16th Meeting Vienna, Austria 2011*, ed. Robert Klugseder, et al. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Musikforschung, 2012), 438–51. It is worth noting that at the time of this dissertation’s completion, Zühlke is currently preparing a Habilitationsschrift on the musical-liturgical tradition of Hirsau reform movement as witnessed in double communities at Admont and in Prague.

traces these decorated books to the scribal cooperative of their joint communities, outlines the holding of their libraries, and notes at Engelberg the special import that *Song of Songs* illustrations and “frauenspezifische” themes hold for the pictorial cycles in codices produced there.²⁰ The art historian Susan Marti draws attention female scribes and artists who were responsible for the creation of several manuscripts attributed to the double cloister of Engelberg.²¹ Marti focuses mainly on iconography and the overall aesthetics that found at this northern Swiss women's community, as well as providing a compelling look into the differences between aesthetics in men's and women's religious communities. Historian Fiona Griffiths has done extensive work on the *cura monialium*, the pastoral care women religious required from ordained men. Such focus has led to numerous publications on double monasteries, including as an editor for the recent collection *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany 1100–1500*.²² While these works discuss double monasteries in terms of the relationship between men and women, musical scholarship has not yet done so. My dissertation represents the first such study.

²⁰ Judith Raeber, “Illuminierte Psalterien aus den *Innerschweizer* Doppelklöstern Muri und Engelberg vom 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert,” in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of Its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 223–238.

²¹ Susan Marti, *Malen, Schreiben und Beten: Die spätmittelalterliche Handschriftenproduktion im Doppelkloster Engelberg* (Zurich: Zurich InterPress, 2002).

²² See Fiona Griffiths, “The Cross and the Cura Monialium: Robert of Arbrissel, John the Evangelist, and the Pastoral Care of Women in the Age of Reform,” *Speculum* 83, no. 2 (2008): 303–330; eadem, “Monks and Nuns at Rupertsberg: Guibert of Gembloux and Hildegard of Bingen,” in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany 1100–1500*, eds. Griffiths and Hotchin (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 145–70; and eadem, “Brides and Dominae: Abelard’s *Cura Monialium* at the Augustinian Monastery of Marbach,” *Viator* 34 (2003): 57–88.

Special Notes on Conventions of Language, Transcription, and Orthography

For the purpose of this dissertation, I use joint feminine and masculine (she/he) pronouns for the anonymous figures behind the songbook of Stuttgart 95. I make no claims as to the gender of its creators, nor do I make any claims as to whether the male or female half of the double monastery used the codex. However, given that women were active in scriptoria of double monasteries, including the one at Engelberg, it seems inaccurate for researchers to always assume that sources were produced and used by male agents only. I hope to draw attention to the methodological problems that arise when scholars mechanically assume male creation of most medieval codices, even when a source is known to have been copied in and for a double community.

Transcriptions and translations in this project are mine unless noted otherwise. I have endeavored to preserve the Latin orthography, capitalization, and punctuation as found in Stuttgart 95. Thus, while I have generally expanded abbreviations, suspensions, and contractions without indication or further comment, I have aimed to record the Latin used in the original manuscript. Latin texts given in edited works (i.e., primary sources) and secondary literature will reflect the spelling and capitalization the author or editor has chosen to use. To indicate the incipits of chants italics are used.

With the exception of the aforementioned codex Stuttgart 95, manuscript sigla generally follow the conventions established by the Répertoire International de Sources Musicales, or RISM. For example, the siglum CH-EN 102 refers first to the country designation (CH for Confédération Helvétique), the city and library (EN for Engelberg and Stiftsbibliothek), and the library shelfmark (102). Additionally, many of the sources I have examined in this dissertation have been digitized and are available online without

cost or registration requirements. These digitizations are cited in the footnotes where they first appear; in such cases I give the RISM siglum, relevant folio or page numbers, and a link to the material in the accompanying footnote citation.

Terminology with reference to the words “liturgy” and “devotion” has been a matter of controversy in modern scholarship.²³ Throughout this study I use “liturgy” and “devotion” roughly interchangeably. This decision has in part to do with the lack of clear assignment of chants in Stuttgart 95 to specific feast days or other occasions, as well as rites of the Mass or specific hour of the Divine Office). Some genres like the conductus are without clear liturgical locus, and it is not always apparent when or at what juncture in the rite of the Office or Mass these pieces were used, so while many of them were definitely used for spiritually-edifying purposes, it is unclear how this music was employed in communal or private services as well as votive worship.

²³ Susan Boynton has sought to define the separation between “liturgy” and “devotion,” defining the former as “structured communal worship” and the latter as a more flexible practice that does not include the clergy. She goes on to point out, however, that these categories are more fluid than rigid. This would have been particularly true in a medieval monastic context where these structured ways of worship would have informed private commemorations and individual spiritual identity. See, Susan Boynton, “Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Monastic Psalters,” *Speculum* 82, no. 4 (2007): 896.

Additionally, scholars have called into question the biases inherent in the labeling of materials as “para-liturgical.” Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn have specifically addressed this question in the co-authored study Flanigan, Ashley, and Sheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definitions,” in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 698. They argue that because liturgical scholarship has been the province of ritual specialists and those who identify with them, the accepted definition of liturgy tends to exclude those who celebrate in ways that are not officially prescribed in written culture. These populations include women and the lay population. To further complicate matters, modern scholars have marked “votive observances” as a distinct category. Sally Harper in her study on special services in English Benedictine monasteries defines these as pieces that were “recited as additions to or replacements for the major calendar observances.” She adds that unlike other observances, they were not affected by the liturgical cycle. Sally Harper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office* (New York: Garland Publications, 1993), 143.

CHAPTER II

STUTT GART 95, PALEOGRAPHY AND PROVENANCE

The manuscript HB I 95 of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (hereafter Stuttgart 95), is a thirteenth-century songbook that scholars have long held to have originated at Weingarten, a former Benedictine double cloister in southern Germany, not far from Lake Constance. Diminutive in size but massive in inventory, the so-called Weingarten *Cantionarium* measures 12.5 cm x 10 cm — smaller than a mass-market paperback — yet it boasts a staggering 221 Latin sacred pieces. The majority of these chants features German adiastematic neumatation, however, there are portions of the codex missing musical notation. The music is overwhelmingly monophonic, with a few examples of polyphony, and has been entered on 83 folios of the total 102 folios of the current-day bound book. The codex is today known primarily for its large and diverse musical repertoire but has long confounded musicologists due to its apparent lack of a clear liturgical or topical focus, and the variety of transmission patterns traceable for each chant.

This chapter will provide the first in-depth codicological and paleographic examination of Stuttgart 95. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will focus solely on the musical portion of the codex, leaving aside the *Moralia* of folios 84r–100v. I begin by reviewing the historiography, history of the cantionarium label, and the persistence of Weingarten as the suggested provenance. I will show that the codex—including the songbook—is a composite manuscript made up of different scribal campaigns. I will then contend that each of these portions should be examined as separate ventures that were later bound as a single manuscript. Finally, I will argue that Stuttgart 95's provenance

should be assigned to the Swiss double monastery of Engelberg. My inspection will concentrate on the physical construction of the codex, the musical hands within, as well as musical concordances with other manuscripts. This analysis offers a fresh point of departure from earlier research concerning Stuttgart 95, opening the manuscript to new avenues of exploration.

History and Historiography

From the time of its first citations in library catalogues and liturgical analects, Stuttgart 95 has proved troublesome for the modern scholar attempting to match its contents with a clear book type, e.g., gradual, troper, or antiphoner. Thus assigning a name, function, and purpose to the manuscript has been difficult. The popular moniker for the manuscript, *cantionarium*, is problematic. Attached to the manuscript during the twentieth century, this label highlights two qualities of Stuttgart 95: 1) the large number of devotional songs comprising the manuscript, some without identifiable genre, and 2) an apparent lack of a clear liturgical focus or use. The label defines the manuscript primarily by what it is not—a ‘standard’ chant book as with a gradual, etc. While effectively categorizing it as ‘other’ or ‘miscellaneous,’ the label marginalizes Stuttgart 95, keeping it on the periphery of musicological inquiry.

Prior to the “*cantionarium*” designation, Stuttgart 95 was mostly referred to as either a troper, or simply by city, library, and shelfmark.²⁴ The epithet “*cantionarium*” first appears in 1968 in the library catalog *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen*

²⁴ For example, a typical entry in *Analecta Hymnica* reads “Trop. Ms. Wingartense (?) saec. 13 Cod. Stuttgardien HB I Asc. 95. See: Clemens Blume und Guido Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 47 (Leipzig:O.R. Reisland, 1905); Hans Spanke, “Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet. 95,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 68 (1931): 79–88.

Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.²⁵ It was again used in Wolfgang Irtenkauf's 1977 article listing Stuttgart 95's contents.²⁶ Subsequent scholars have kept this label, so that even now, the online entry for the manuscript identifies it as cantionarium.²⁷

While I have found no direct evidence attesting to the first use, I surmise the title was applied by Irtenkauf—perhaps first in unpublished discussions—and eventually Stuttgart 95 was christened the cantionarium. In 1956, Wolfgang Irtenkauf published an article on A-GU 756, the Seckau Cantionarium.²⁸ On folio 179r of that source, a scribe had written *Incipit Cantionarium* in what appears to be a contemporary medieval hand.²⁹ In his article, Irtenkauf compares this Seckau manuscript from ca. 1345 to Stuttgart 95 along with a few others, primarily because of their varied repertoire. He also took note of the numerous significant concordances between the A-GU 756 and Stuttgart 95.³⁰

Tellingly, in the 1968 catalogue identifying the Stuttgart manuscript as the “cantionarium,” the main editors Johanne Autenrieth and Virgil Ernst Fiala acknowledge Irtenkauf's contributions to the volume overall as seen on the title page (e.g. “Unter

²⁵ Johanne Autenrieth and Virgil Ernst Fiala *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek*, in cooperation with Wolfgang Irtenkauf, vol. 1, pt. 1: *Codices ascetici*. Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, 2nd ser. 2: (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 171.

²⁶ Wolfgang Irtenkauf, “Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95,” *Codices Manuscripti* 3 (1977): 22–30.

²⁷ See for example: Sarah Fuller, “Aquitainian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” PhD diss., (University of California at Berkeley, 1969); eadem, “Hidden Polyphony, A Reappraisal,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2: 183; John Stevens, “*Samson dux fortissime*: An International Latin Song,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1, no. 1 (1992): 6; and the internet entry “Cantionarium – HB I 95,” *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*. June 20, 2016. <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz339701315>.

²⁸ Wolfgang Irtenkauf, “Das Seckauer Cantionarium,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13, no. 2 (1956): 116–41.

²⁹ A-GU 756 179r, <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0600-0799/Ms.0756/index12.html>.

³⁰ Irtenkauf, “Das Seckauer Cantionarium,” 116.

Mitarbeit von Wolfgang Irtenkauf”), the listing of manuscript descriptions, where he is named as the responsible for the description of “HB I 95”, and again in the foreword.³¹ Given that Irtenkauf drew connections between A-GU 756 and Stuttgart 95, it seems reasonable to assume that he had simply transferred the label from the Seckau manuscript to Stuttgart 95.³²

Provenance: Weingarten?

Since the nineteenth century, the place of origin for Stuttgart 95 has generally been assigned to the German monastic community of Weingarten. However, the provenance of Stuttgart 95 has also continually been called into question, not least of all because of its diverse contents. It draws not only on music of German chant traditions but also on pieces more closely allied with Aquitanian and Franco-Norman repertoires as well as traditions presumed to be Parisian. This puzzling repertorial range marks Stuttgart 95 as conspicuously different from other Weingarten manuscripts, since overlapping repertoires from Weingarten tended to prefer localized and regional musical traditions.³³

Moreover, Stuttgart 95 is visually unlike other manuscripts with clear Weingarten provenances. During the thirteenth century, under the guidance of Abbot Berthold, the

³¹ See Autenrieth and Fiala, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek*, vol. 1, pt. 1: v, x, and xi.

³² Irtenkauf was employed at Württembergische Landesbibliothek and published many studies about the library’s manuscripts. As an archivist, his advice would have been invaluable because of his breadth and depth of knowledge about the library’s collections. See for example: Irtenkauf, “Die Choralhandschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart” (PhD diss., Universität Tübingen, 1954); idem, *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975).

³³ I had the good fortune to be able to examine many Weingarten manuscripts *in situ* at the Stuttgart Württembergische Landesbibliothek. Some of the manuscripts consulted include: D-SI HB I 240, D-SI Cod. Brev. 160, D-FUI Aa 55. Felix Heinzer has written extensively on the liturgical manuscripts of Weingarten. Many of his most pertinent essays can be found in: Felix Heinzer, *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 168–223, 300–31, 365–385.

abbey of Weingarten was renowned for its scriptorium, particularly for its ornate and highly skilled illuminations and decorations.³⁴ Manuscripts from Weingarten bear the signs of this artistic skill; even the humblest manuscript shows decoration and coloration of letters. In contrast, Stuttgart 95 is markedly bare—at the most adorned with red lettering to indicate the beginning of individual pieces.

While musicologists today have continued to echo Weingarten as the provenance for Stuttgart 95, according to the list of scholarly citations in Irtenkauf's inventory, some scholars were far less certain, cautiously connecting the source to this Swabian abbey. In addition to the editors of *Analecta Hymnica* (see n.1 above), other cataloguers and authors listed the provenance of Weingarten as either probable (Friedrich Ludwig and Jacques Handschin), or certain (Bruno Stäblein and Heinrich Husmann).³⁵ Three early

³⁴ Hans Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal: The Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 710 and the Scriptorium of Weingarten Abbey* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1943), 25. Heinzer, *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur*, 300–31; Felix Heinzer, "Das Berthold-Sakramentar als liturgisches Buch," in *Das Berthold Sakramentar: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat von MS. M. 710 der Pierpont Morgan Library in New York*, ed. Hans Swarzenski, Felix Heinzer, and Hans Ulrich Rudolf (Graz: Adeva, 1999), 217–56; Hans Ulrich Rudolf, *Das Hainricus-Missale: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift MS. M. 711 (bisher auch "Hainricus-Sakramentar") aus der Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum New York; Kommentar* (Graz: Adeva, 2010);

³⁵ Clemens Blume und Guido Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 47 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1905); Guido Maria Dreves, "Profane lateinische Lyrik aus kirchlichen Handschriften," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 39 (1895): 361–368; Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. I. Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, Pt. 1. Handschriften in Quadratnotation* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1910), 319 ff.; Hans Spanke, "Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet 95," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 68 (1931): 79–88; Jacques Handschin, "Die Schweiz, welche sang," in *Festschrift Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag* (Zurich/Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug, 1933), here pp. 111–112; Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame-Conductus* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1939), 24; Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen (I): Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1 (Kassel, 1956): 698; Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM, B, V, 1 (Munich and Duisburg, 1964): 81; Irtenkauf, "Stand und Aufgaben der Choralforschung in Württemberg," *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 14 (1955): 171–85; idem, "Der Alleluja-Tropierungen der Weingartner Handschriften," in *Weingarten: Festschrift zur 900-Jahr-Feier des Klosters 1056–1956*, ed. Gebhard Spahr (Weingarten: Benediktinerkloster Weingarten, 1956), 345–61; and idem, "Die Evangelientropierung vornehmlich in der Schweiz," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1957): 162.

studies by Irtenkauf also cite Weingarten as its place of origins.³⁶ These scholars, with the exception of Irtenkauf, were not primarily concerned with Stuttgart 95, but rather about certain aspects of its repertoire or its place in a larger library.

Irtenkauf himself points out that if Stuttgart 95 were to have emanated from Weingarten, then it was unlike any Weingarten manuscript he had ever seen.³⁷ Eduard Gröninger also doubts as the provenance Weingarten, and presumed it was of French origin and arrived in Germany early on.³⁸ In his 1977 assessment, Irtenkauf thought that the source's connection to Weingarten postdated its origins, and that it came to reside there in the fifteenth century at the latest.³⁹ His later conclusion was based on shared concordances for some poetic texts (“einige Gedichte”) between Stuttgart 95 and D-FUI C 11, a fifteenth-century manuscript firmly ascribed to the Weingarten scriptorium. Irtenkauf argues that Stuttgart 95 was the likely exemplar from which the version in D-FUI C 11 was copied, thereby putting Stuttgart 95 in Weingarten by the fifteenth century.⁴⁰

Irtenkauf's hypothesis rests on two concordances: *Vale tellus*, found without neumes on folio 73r, and *Sanctificatus deo domus*, a *Benedicamus domino* trope found on

³⁶ Irtenkauf, “Stand und Aufgaben der Choralforschung in Württemberg,” *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 14 (1955): 171–85; idem, “Der Alleluja-Tropierungen der Weingartner Handschriften,” in *Weingarten: Festschrift zur 900-Jahr-Feier des Klosters 1056–1956*, ed. Gebhard Spahr (Weingarten: Benediktterkloster Weingarten, 1956), 345–61; idem Irtenkauf, “Die Choralhandschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart.”

³⁷ Irtenkauf, “Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95,” 22.

³⁸ Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame-Conductus* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1939), 24.

³⁹ Irtenkauf, “Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95,” 22.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 and 30, n.2.

folio 75r.⁴¹ As will become clear, however, both of these chants belong to a single writing campaign postdating the original writing project in the music portion of the codex.

Therefore, even if the concordances found in Stuttgart 95 were used as models for D-FUI C 11, it would mean that only one of the fascicles of the manuscript must have been there by the fifteenth century.

Another detail casting doubt on provenance is that an entry matching Stuttgart 95's description is missing from catalogues of Weingarten's library before its dissolution in 1803. These include the thirteenth-century medieval catalogue known through the edition *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* as well as the Johann Walbert Bommer's catalogue from 1781.⁴² The absence of Stuttgart 95 from Bommer's catalogue is particularly telling, as many of these manuscripts are also in the "Hofbibliothek collection" now housed in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, securing the identity and provenance of numerous Weingarten manuscripts. Presumably, Stuttgart 95 found itself in the Württemberg State Library (Landesbibliothek) by 1901, when the Royal Library's Collection of Stuttgart (i.e., the Hofbibliothek Sammlung) was donated.⁴³ The largest part of the royal collection came from Weingarten, though there were also manuscripts from other monastic and ecclesiastical institutions, most notably

⁴¹ *Vale tellus* is also found in the famous *Carmina Burana* manuscript, the origin of which is unclear and assigned by scholars to several religious communities. D-Mbs Clm 4660, 50r, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00085130/images/index.html?id=00085130&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=103>

⁴² *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, 405; Karl Löffler, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten*, 98 <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ihd/content/pageview/1069487?query=95>

⁴³ Autenrieth and Fiala, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek*, vol. 1, pt. 1: xiii.

for my purposes, the double cloister at Zwiefalten and the Dombibliothek of Constance.⁴⁴ It seems feasible that Stuttgart 95 came from another library in making up the royal collection, but had been presumed to have come from Weingarten because its library accounted for the largest percentage of the Hofbibliothek's manuscript collection. Thus, while in the secondary literature a link between the Stuttgart 95 and the Weingarten scriptorium is almost universal, such a provenance has yet to be proven through analysis, and, as I will make clear later in this chapter, a closer look at the paleographic and codicological evidence suggests a different origin story for Stuttgart 95.

Stuttgart 95 on the Periphery

Precious little secondary literature focuses on Stuttgart 95 per se. Two inventories of music by Hans Spanke and Wolfgang Irtenkauf and their accompanying commentaries—both quite brief—are the only two works of scholarship that focus specifically on Stuttgart 95.⁴⁵ Spanke's 1931 work provides the first catalogue of this particularly sizeable and varied collection. Understandingly, since he was not able to take advantage of foundational scholarship to which later musicologists and historians have had access, one finds several errors of transcription and problematic conclusions.⁴⁶ Irtenkauf provides a much more thorough and accurate accounting for the manuscript's contents as well as concordances known at the time.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Hans Spanke, "Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet 95," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 68 (1931): 79–88; Irtenkauf, "Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95," 22–30.

⁴⁶ For example, he reads the opening text of *O dulce flagrans lilium* as *O dulce fanglans lilium*, and attributes the text as unicum. While instead the scribe for Stuttgart 95 reversed the "r" and "l," producing the altered incipit as *O dulce fraglans lilium*.

⁴⁷ For example, most of the identification numbers from *Analectical Hymnica* are provided by Irtenkauf. Irtenkauf, "Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95," 22–30.

Apart from Spanke's and Irtenkauf's respective short studies, Stuttgart 95 has typically been discussed as a peripheral source, providing the odd concordance for other well-known, well-studied, and influential manuscripts or repertoires. Musicologists have frequently detailed relationships between specific pieces or musical settings common to Stuttgart 95 and other manuscripts. For example, Irtenkauf identifies the rare Latin song *Puer natus hodie/O cantio cantus est* as occurring in both Stuttgart 95 and the fifteenth-century 'Liederbuch' from the women's convent of Wienhausen.⁴⁸ John Stevens discusses the history of the conductus *Samson dux fortissime* and the use of dialogue and dramatic action in Stuttgart 95's setting. He also mentions in a footnote that the musicologist Wulf Arlt links one of the scribal hands in Stuttgart 95 with a hand found in the manuscript CH-EN 102, the so-called Engelberg *Directorium*.⁴⁹ Separately, Arlt also discusses Stuttgart 95 in his contribution to *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies*, in so far that he discusses the structure of *Revirescit et florescit*.⁵⁰ He identifies a concordance between this conductus found in Stuttgart 95 and the first four strophes found in the *Bozolari* manuscript containing the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy. Sarah Fuller, in "Hidden Polyphony, A Reappraisal," deals with the sources of the polyphonic *Benedicamus Domino* settings found in Stuttgart 95, as well as tackles the unusual successive notation found in the codex.⁵¹ In sum, while

⁴⁸ Irtenkauf, "Einige Ergänzungen zu den lateinischen Liedern des Wienhäuser Liederbuchs (1470–1480)," *Die Musikforschung* 10, no. 2 (1957): 219.

⁴⁹ Stevens, "*Samson dux fortissime*," 6.

⁵⁰ Wulf Arlt, "Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies*, ed. Rebecca Baltzer and Margot Fassler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 337–8.

⁵¹ Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 111–147; eadem, "Hidden Polyphony," 183.

scholars have frequently discussed this manuscript in passing, none have attempted an in-depth study of its repertoire, construction, or purpose.

Most scholarly discussions of Stuttgart 95 have more or less assumed that the musical part of the codex was a single venture. However, Spanke and Irtenkauf had identified a few separate hands, and indeed Irtenkauf briefly mentioned that there may be two layers of musical material; however, current scholarship does not incorporate these ideas.⁵² As I will show, a deeper codicological and paleographic inspection suggests a composite musical manuscript, the origins of which span time and geographic space. Three main pieces of evidence support this conclusion: the layout of the gatherings, the different scribal hands found, and the patterns of musical concordances found in Stuttgart 95.

General Content and Composition

As said at the outset, Stuttgart 95 contains two larger, discrete sections: a musical portion (4r–83v) and Book V of Gregory’s *Moralia in Job* (84r–100v). Folio numbers, given in Arabic numbers in the upper right hand corner of each recto were entered sometime in the late nineteenth or twentieth century, with three paper flyleaves foliated at the same time as the rest of the codex, accounting for folios 1r–3v.⁵³

⁵² Irtenkauf describes duplications of five texts, four with neumatation. These will be discussed later in this chapter. Given that these five pieces have significant textual and musical differences, Irtenkauf reasons that the only explanation is that they were written at different time or places and joined later. “Die Folgerung kann nur lauten: die verschiedenen Teile der Handschrift sind erst später, nachdem die einzelnen Sammlungen ‘ausgedient’ hatten, vereinigt worden, auch wenn sie zur gleichen Zeit entstanden sind.” Irtenkauf, “Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I 95,” 23.

⁵³ These initial flyleaves making up 1r–3v are blank except for an eighteenth-century entry at the top of 1r, which gives an older signature (“F.95.”), and summarizes the contents as: “Diversi Hymni cum Notis Musicis–a / Lib. V. Moralium S. Gregorii Papae/de vita contemplativa. ____ ____ ____ b.” Stuttgart 95 features two different sets of numbers. Recto folios feature a number both in the upper and lower right hand corners. Older inventories from Spanke and Irtenkauf follow the lower set of numbers. The digitization of

The *Moralia in Job* is a commentary by Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) on the Book of Job. Gregory’s longest work, it was widely copied and disseminated throughout the medieval period.⁵⁴ The *Moralia* discusses the contemplative life, specifically depicting the Christian soul’s journey towards God through this gloss on the Book of Job.⁵⁵ The copy in Stuttgart 95 displays a later hand in a different script. The vellum in this section features a drastic improvement in the quality of parchment as well as a high degree of consistency. In addition, the writing is much smaller. For example, in the musical section of Stuttgart 95, there are typically sixteen or seventeen lines per page. In the *Moralia* section, there are thirty-five lines per page.

The musical section can be further divided as representing three different enterprises. Thanks to the structure, construction of fascicles, and handwriting, it is easy to identify the differences among these sections. These distinguishing elements suggest a composite construction.

There are ten gatherings found in the musical section of Stuttgart 95, and in addition, there is a single page, 79 r/v, bound between gatherings nine and ten. I have summarized the gathering structuring, their corresponding folios, and other codicological aspects of the musical section in table 1 below. Small roman numerals (in sequence) on the first page of six of the ten gatherings are still visible today: these occur on 19r (“iii”), 27r (“iiii”), 37r (“v”), 45r (“vi”), 53r (“vii”), and 61r (“viii”), and they indicate the beginnings of their respective gatherings. With the exception of 27r, the first page of each

Stuttgart 95, however, is organized based on the upper set of numbers. My numbering matches that found on the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek’s digitization, that is, the upper right-hand set of numbers.

⁵⁴ Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo, eds., *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2013), xviii.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

gathering is a continuation of the piece from the previous gathering. Moreover, genre groupings started in one gathering continue onto the succeeding gatherings. For example, 37r features the continuation of the Kyrie trope *Firmator sancte* begun on 36v. This trope is part of a larger section of Kyrie tropes that spans 36v–39v, i.e., from the end of fourth gathering to the middle of fifth gathering. A similar situation occurs for a series of *Benedicamus domino* tropes begun at the end of the fifth gathering and continuing throughout the sixth gathering. Given that each of the gatherings 3–8 are numbered sequentially, and that genre groupings span across these gatherings, it is clear that at least gatherings 3–8 were conceived of at the same time, and that the layout of these quires was carefully planned out.

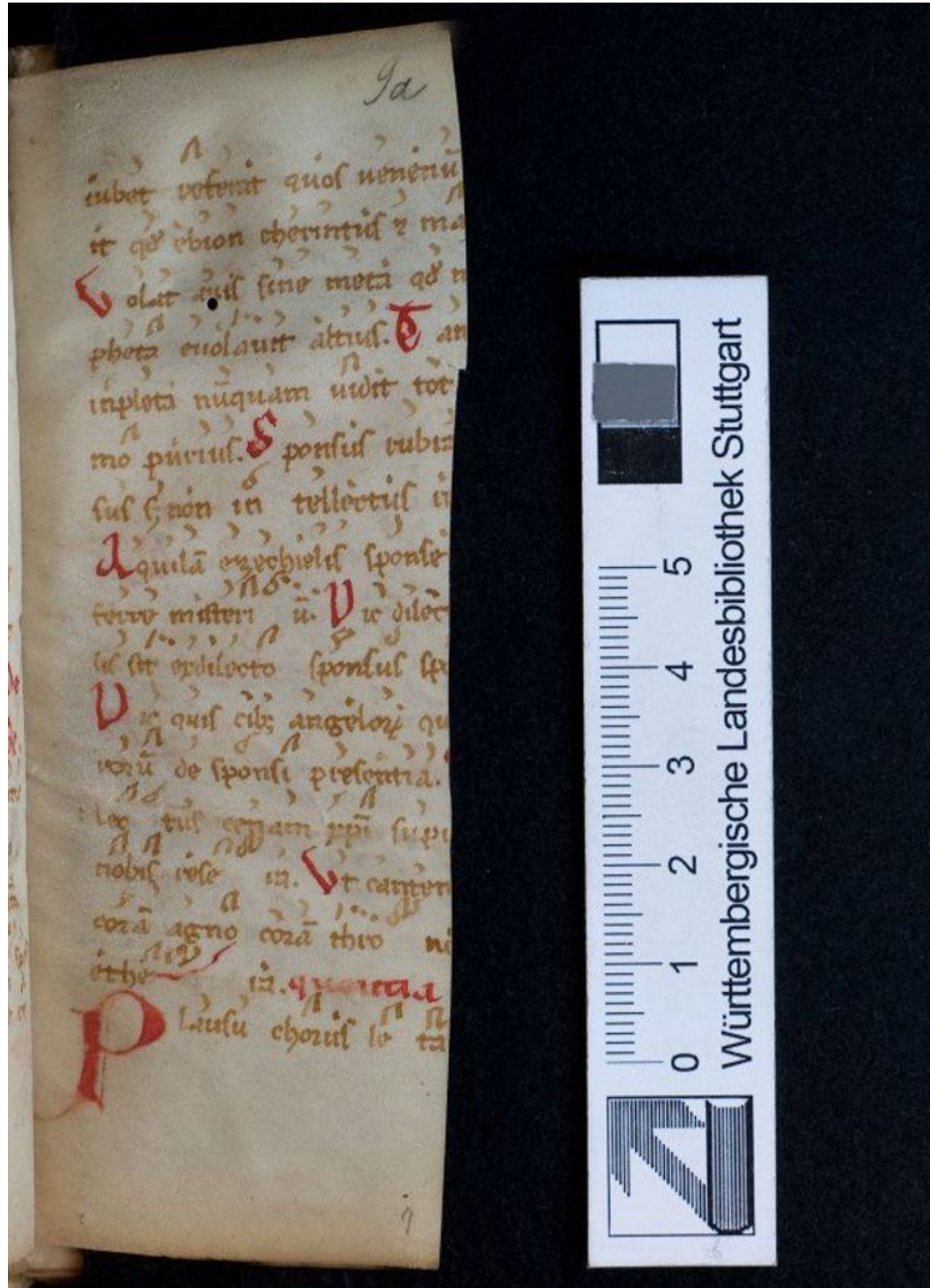
Table 2.1. Codicological Summary of Music Sections in D-S1 HB I 95

Gathering Number	Folios	Number of Bifolios	Writing Campaign	Roman Numerals Denoting Gatherings
1	4r-9v ⁵⁶	incomplete	1 st	
2	9ar-18v	5	1 st	
3	19r-26v	4	1 st	iii
4	27r-36v	5	1 st	iiii
5	37r-44v	4	1 st	v
6	45r-52v	4	1 st	vi
7	53r-60v	4	1 st	vii
8	61r-67v	5	1 st	viii
	68r-70v		2 nd	
9	71r-78v	4	2 nd	
	79r/v	incomplete	2 nd	
10	80r-83v	3	3 rd	

⁵⁶ For a summary of 1r–3v, see n.57 above.

Furthermore, it is reasonable to suggest that the first and second gatherings belong to the numbered gatherings. The main difference between the first two quires and gatherings 3–8 (numbered iii–viii) is that the latter are complete, while Gathering 1 and Gathering 2 are not. Their fragmentary state is easy to spot. The first gathering (4r–9v) begins in the middle of the sequence *Salve mater salvatoris* and ends in the middle of the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus et emitte*. The second gathering (9ar–18v) is missing the outer half of its first page, shown in figure 1 below. Further examination of this damaged page, 9ar, also reveals that it begins in the midst of *Verbum dei deo natum*. This exposes a second lacuna between 9v and 9ar. It is possible that this absent fragment was substantial, but evidence strongly points to only one or two bifolios are missing from the first gathering. Unfortunately, the missing text does not offer a definitive choice between these two options.

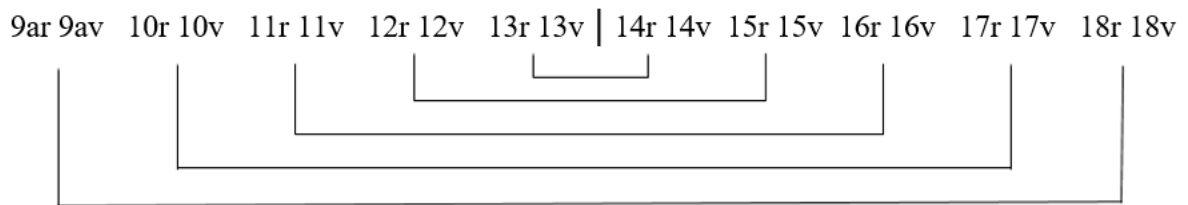
Figure 2.1. Stuttgart 95, 9ar: Outer side of page excised



Save for the missing outer half of folio 9ar/9av, the codicological bundle of 9ar–18v is an otherwise complete gathering. The last incipit on 18v is for the conductus, *O amor deus deitas*, which continues on the start of Gathering 3 (19r). Not only is this an uninterrupted continuation of text, but it is also a continuation of the word

“inextinguibilis.” The general construction of the third gathering is also an indication of its completeness. Threads, the sewing material used to bind the bifolios together, are visible throughout the musical section of Stuttgart 95. By finding the thread at the center of each gathering and using the roman numerals to identify the beginning of gathering iii, it is possible to deduce the structure of the second gathering. The figure below (Figure 2) reveals the location of the binding thread, shown with the stroke |, which occurs between 13v and 14r, demonstrating that the structure of the gathering is complete. Consequently, the missing musical material must be from the preceding gathering.

Figure 2.2. Structure of Gathering 3

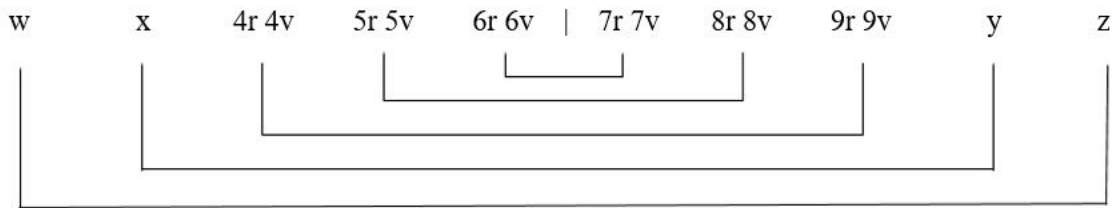


As already noted, folios 4r–9v obviously form an incomplete gathering, and at first glance it is unclear how many folios have been lost. What is clear is that the first piece on 4r begins in medias res of a sequence, while 9v ends mid-piece. Much like the second fascicle, the structure of 4r–9v becomes clear through the middle binding thread. The figure below (Figure 3) shows the current structure of this gathering to be three bifolios. Given that, in this segment of Stuttgart 95, the number of folios in the fascicles constitutes either four or five bifolios, it stands to reason that only one or two bifolios are missing from the first gathering.

It is equally important to note the consistency of genre between these two gatherings. For the most part, genres in these numbered fascicles are grouped together.

While it is possible that there is a missing gathering of sequences, I find it more likely that today's Gathering 1—albeit incomplete—is part of the first fascicle with one or two bifolios of missing material. This hypothesis is also supported by the numberings. They begin on 19r with iii, which would suggest that two other gatherings preceded it. I have already established that 9ar–18v directly preceded this third gathering, making it the second and 4r–9v and indeed the first fascicle of the original layer.

Figure 2.3. Structure of Gathering 1



From a construction perspective, 4–70v appears to have at one time comprised a single book. Moreover, it seems to be a manuscript that was created, more or less, during a single copying campaign. The multiple overlaps between gatherings, the grouping of genres, and the sequential numbering for fascicles 3–8 suggest that this layer of Stuttgart 95 was conceived of and executed as a cohesive whole. With the exception of a bifolio or two from the first gathering, Thus, this ‘earlier manuscript’ — one existing before being bound to additional folios bearing chants — is nearly intact today. If this early manuscript and its outer bifolios of the first fascicle were not bound with any sort of protective cover, it is possible that the now missing folio or folios preceding 4r fell off when the binding thread or the parchment degraded. Perhaps they were cannibalized for the creation of other, later manuscripts as well since the missing right half of 9ar undoubtedly met this fate. While the binding for the first writing campaign extends

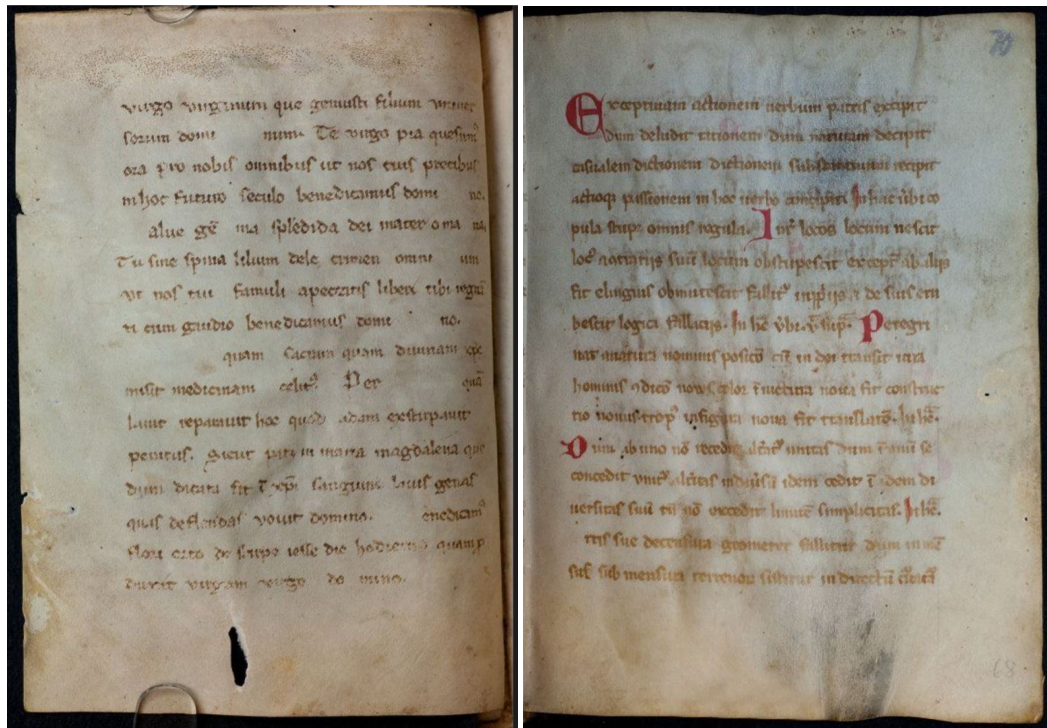
through 70v, the last few openings of the first campaign (beginning at the top of 68r) include later additions and were probably left blank.

There are two other gatherings in the musical portion of Stuttgart 95 that have not yet been addressed (71r–78v and 80r–83v). Other than changes in hand, which will be discussed later—physical evidence and layout suggest these two gatherings are additions to an older collection. First, the quality and consistency of the vellum improves. Second, the page layout abruptly shifts from seventeen lines per page to sixteen. These two contrasts coincide with a change of hand as well as a dramatic decrease in the frequency of neumatation. Taken separately, these differences could be explained away, but collectively they indicate that these gatherings were not written with at the time of the foregoing materials.

Instead, these last two fascicles of the musical segment of Stuttgart 95 were most likely added at a later time, perhaps even at a different place. By comparing the appearance of the adjacent leaves of the opening 69v–70r, it is easy to see the unblemished character of 70r (Figure 4), with 69v still carrying signs of animal hair on the upper parts (Figure 4). Examination of 70r–83v makes obvious the consistency of this untarnished writing surface. In contrast, the parchment used for 4r–69v reveals inconsistent preparation of the writing surface. One of the most striking examples of this can be found on the opening of 58v–59r (Figure 5). The vellum for 59r is of decent quality, while 58v appears ‘pock-marked.’ The same pock-marked character can also be seen, on 55r, which is not surprising since structurally 55r and 58v belong to the same bifolio. In sum, the parchment used for the first eight gatherings varies, with some inferior materials mixed with well-prepared skins, whereas the majority of the vellum in

Gatherings 9 and 10 of Stuttgart 95 appears to be a better quality than that found in the first eight gatherings, where folios are often inconsistently sized and show more “browning” around the edges and grey in the margins where owners may have gripped the pages to turn. Such discoloration is, at the very least, deepened by ahistorical factors: exposure to light and air as well as physical handling by modern onlookers.

Figure 2.4. Stuttgart 95, 69v and 70r



The change in the page layout and number of lines per page mark the ninth and tenth gatherings as different from the preceding ones. The first layer consistently has seventeen ruled lines with neumes displayed above each line, and over an 2.5 cm of space is left at the bottom of the page after the last texted line, while the other borders are considerably smaller. This lining and page layout is continuous from folio 4r until the abrupt shift on 68r. Here, there are suddenly on sixteen lines per page until the beginning of Gregory's *Moralia* on 84r, which has thirty-four lines per page.

In the section 68r–83v, the shift to begin the text further down the page might seem trivial, but it in fact indicates a delineation in scribal practices, and thus possibly the adoption of other practices in the same scriptorium or a change in locus. The new approach to spacing and text blocking on 68r–83v is called “frame ruling.” Typically, a manuscript is blocked and lined out before any writing is added to it, with the text beginning below the first marked line. In Stuttgart 95, it is sometimes easier to see the pinpricks on the outer edges of the vellum than the lines themselves. If one examines the opening 67v–68r, one can see that each folio has small holes, i.e. pinpricks, on the outer edges of the pages. On 67v the text appears above the top hole while on 68r it appears below it. In general, between the end of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth century, there was a shift in scribal practice from writing above the top ruling on a page to writing below it.⁵⁷ While this practice gradually spread throughout Europe, such an abrupt change in the midst of a single manuscript suggests a different time for the

⁵⁷ N. R. Ker, “From ‘Above Top Line’ to ‘Below Top Line’: A Change in Scribal Practice,” *Celtica* 5 (1960): 13–16.

writing campaigns and/or scriptoria where the first music project and the latter two were produced.

Neumation occurs sporadically in the second and third layers of Stuttgart 95, while neumation is present for the vast majority of musical pieces in the first section. Specifically, in the first layer, neumes are missing from only four of the 163 musical pieces, and the neume forms are by and large consistent in execution. By contrast, of the fifty-eight separate song texts in the last two sections, only twenty-five have neumes. Five of these are in the third layer, the other twenty are in the second layer. In sum, the two later musical sections seem haphazard, pointing to a lack of planning and follow-through.

As previously stated, the first layer in its current state begins in the midst of a chant on folio 4r, but likely there is no more than two missing bifolios from this first fascicle. The second and third layers both end in the middle of texts too. The second section ends in the middle of a *probatio penna*, while the third ends in the middle of *Heu mundi vita*. Folio 79r/v is the only page not attached to a specific gathering. In terms of construction, it doesn't fit the pattern of book making given that 71r–78v is a complete fascicle by itself. Moreover, the text from 70v continues on the top of 71r eliminating the possibility of a missing bifolio. It seems possible that 79r/v was either the first part of a missing gathering or was attached at the very end of some version of layer two given that it ends with a *probatio penna*.

Notational Hands

Besides the general construction of the manuscript, the distribution of hands also suggests three separate projects. The three hands active in the first layer are largely

consistent in neume forms, letter forms, and decoration, with Hand 1 largely responsible for the majority of the original writing campaign. The second and third layers each have distinct hands. Further, a later “layer” of neumatation spans musical layers one and two, offering corrections and additions. The pattern of hands suggests that the first two layers were joined sometime during the fourteenth or fifteenth century at the latest.

Table 2 shows six different notational hands that I have identified, and it allows for a comparison of the forms of specific neumes found throughout Stuttgart 95’s music section. Hands 1–3 belong to the first campaign, Hand 4 to the second, and Hand 5 to the third. Hand 6 appears to be a later hand offering corrections or additions and is found only in the first and second layers. While there are some similarities between Hand 5 and Hand 6, I think there is enough evidence to suggest that were not contemporary, nor are they necessarily from the same scriptorium.

Table 2.2. Neume Hands in D-SI HB I 95

Name	Hand 1 4r-65r	Hand 2 18r, 67r/v	Hand 3 65v-67v	Hand 4 67v-79v	Hand 5 80r-83v	Hand 6 44 & 77, 78v, 79r
Virga						
punctum						
clivis						
Pes						

Name	Hand 1 4r-65r	Hand 2 18r, 67r/v	Hand 3 65v-67v	Hand 4 67v-79v	Hand 5 80r-83v	Hand 6 44 & 77, 78v, 79r
porrectus						
Torculus						
Climacus						
Scandicus						
pes subbipunctis						
torculus resupinus						
bistropha, tristropha						
quilisma						
liquescent neumes						
epiphonus						
cephalicus ancus						
Pressus						

Throughout the first layer, there appears to be consistency in the hands for both words and music, thus I surmise that there is a likelihood that the hand responsible for the lettering was the same as the hand providing neumatation. This hypothesis is strengthened by the ample text spacing left by the text scribe for long melismatic musical passages, and overall appropriate coordination between text hand and notators. Two additional notational hands are also visible in this first section. Hand 2 is found on 18r as well as 67r and 67v. There are only three pieces in the manuscript that have neumes in this hand. Stylistically, they seem to be slightly different in shape from Hand 1, but not dramatically so. One notator, dating from a later period, features drastically different neumatation and lettering. This later hand, Hand 6, spans musical layer 1 and 2. Hand 6 mostly provides additions of text and music to the first layer.

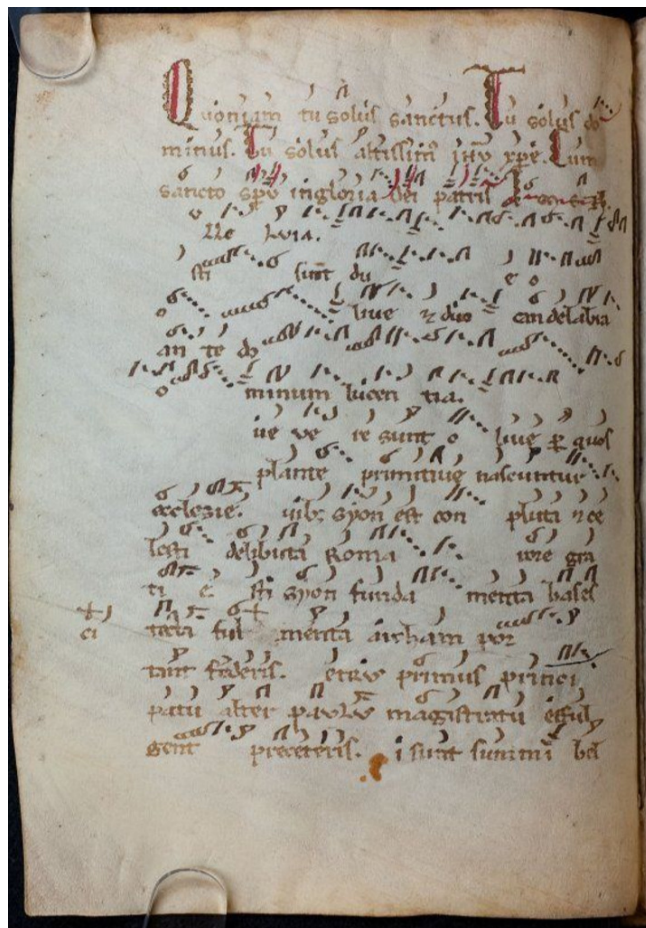
Towards the end of this first musical layer, on 65v–67v, Hand 3 emerges, with a noticeable change in the color of ink. The style of neumes and lettering appears mostly consistent with the style of Hand 1, however there are some differences that suggest a change of hand and perhaps period or location. The ink is darker with more black than brown, and some of the letters are made with different strokes. The shape of the letter “i” is noticeably different than that of Hand 1, incorporating a very thin horizontal line at the top of the letter. Additionally, while the neumes appear to be stylistically equivalent to those found in Hand 1, the quill seems to be slightly thicker. Even though Hand 3 is distinct from Hand 1, I believe this section, 65v–67v, to be roughly contemporaneous with the majority of layer one. The number of lines in this section is still a consistent seventeen, the same as throughout layer one. Red coloration is not present in the lettering of this hand; moreover, Hand 3 has failed to enter the capital letters indicating the

beginning of new chants. Hand 2 appears in this section, on 67r and v adding neumatation for only two pieces.

The activity of Hand 2 is most likely due to some disruption in the copying process. In the section where Hand 3 is prominent (65v–67v), all of the first letters that would typically have been capitalized and highlighted are missing (Figure 6). While the neumes are still consistent in this section, the lack of capitalization suggests a multi-scribe process and a campaign that remained largely unfinished. The end of 67v also features another sharp contrast in hands, beginning with the hymn *Conditor alme*. This new hand, Hand 4, appears far clearer and easier to read than the hands featured in the first venture. Red coloration in this second layer does not appear until 70r; neumes do not appear until 74v. Hand 6 has added neumes before this in the sequence *Audi tellus audi magnus*. This scribe is active in both the first layer and the second layer of the manuscript, and appears to have made corrections or additions to these two layers.

Additionally, the hands can be seen to have a different angle of execution. Hands 1, 2, and 3 are more horizontally angled; hands 4, 5, and 6 appear to be more vertical. Another point of distinction between these two groups is the shape of the virga. For hands 1, 2, and 3, the virga is curved and appears almost as an apostrophe or comma chape. In contrast the virga for hands 4, 5, and 6 is more linear with a notch on the upper part where the neume was probably started by the scribe.

Figure 2.6. Hand 3, Stuttgart 95, 65v



The second musical campaign begins on the bottom of 67v with *Conditor alme siderum*. This section is largely split between two different hands. The first of these, Hand 4, is consistent throughout 67v–79v. The first few pages, however, are incomplete. They also lack the red lettering at the beginning of chants, and spacing gives clear indications that certain pieces were to be neumed. The red lettering begins on 70v and continues throughout. Neumes, shown in figure 7, in this hand do not appear until 74v in *Hec est sancta solemnitatis*. The neuming is mostly consistent throughout this section from 74v–79v, however, there are a few pieces here and there that lack neumation. Most

notably, Hand 6 has neumed several pieces in this section. *Audi tellus audi magni* has added neumatation including a text addition and a correction of *magne* for *magni*. At the end of this section, Hand 6 has also added some neumatation for *Ingressus ihesus* spanning 78v–79v. Unlike other additions by this hand, the neuming (Figure 8) is sporadic, although mostly consistent with alternating phrases. For example, one phrase seems to be neumed and then another is left without neumatation; while the music seems to be added erratically, the pattern that emerges may suggest that this chant was sung antiphonally. The neumatation serves as a memory guide for only one part of the chant.

Figure 2.7. Hand 4, Stuttgart 95, 74v

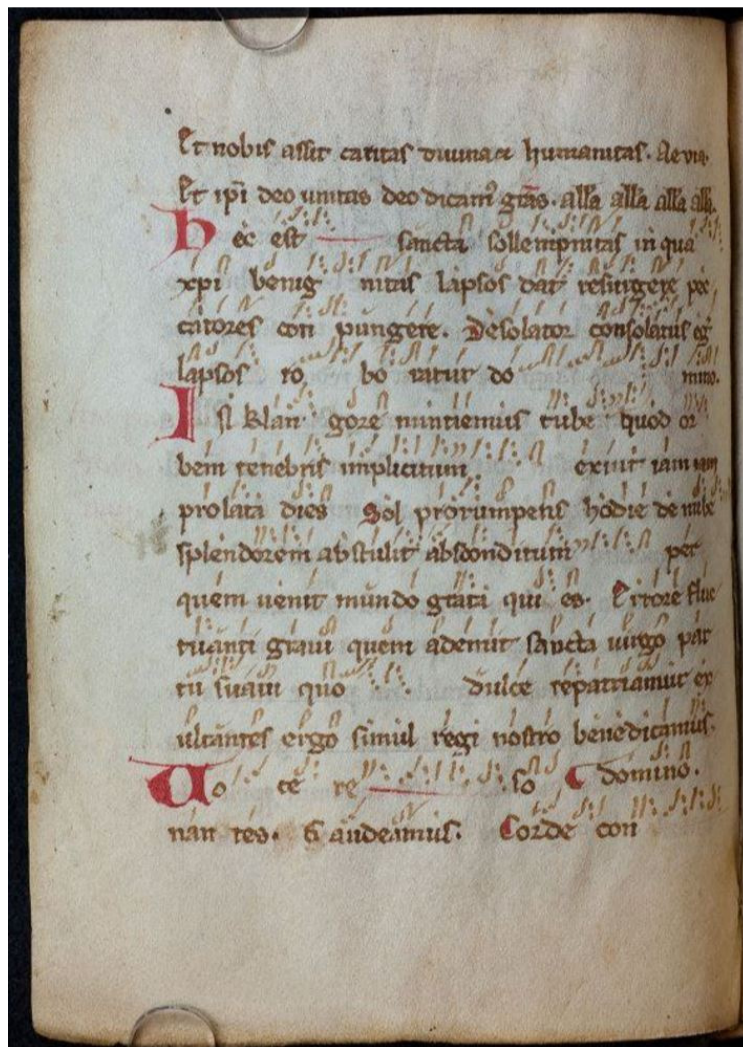
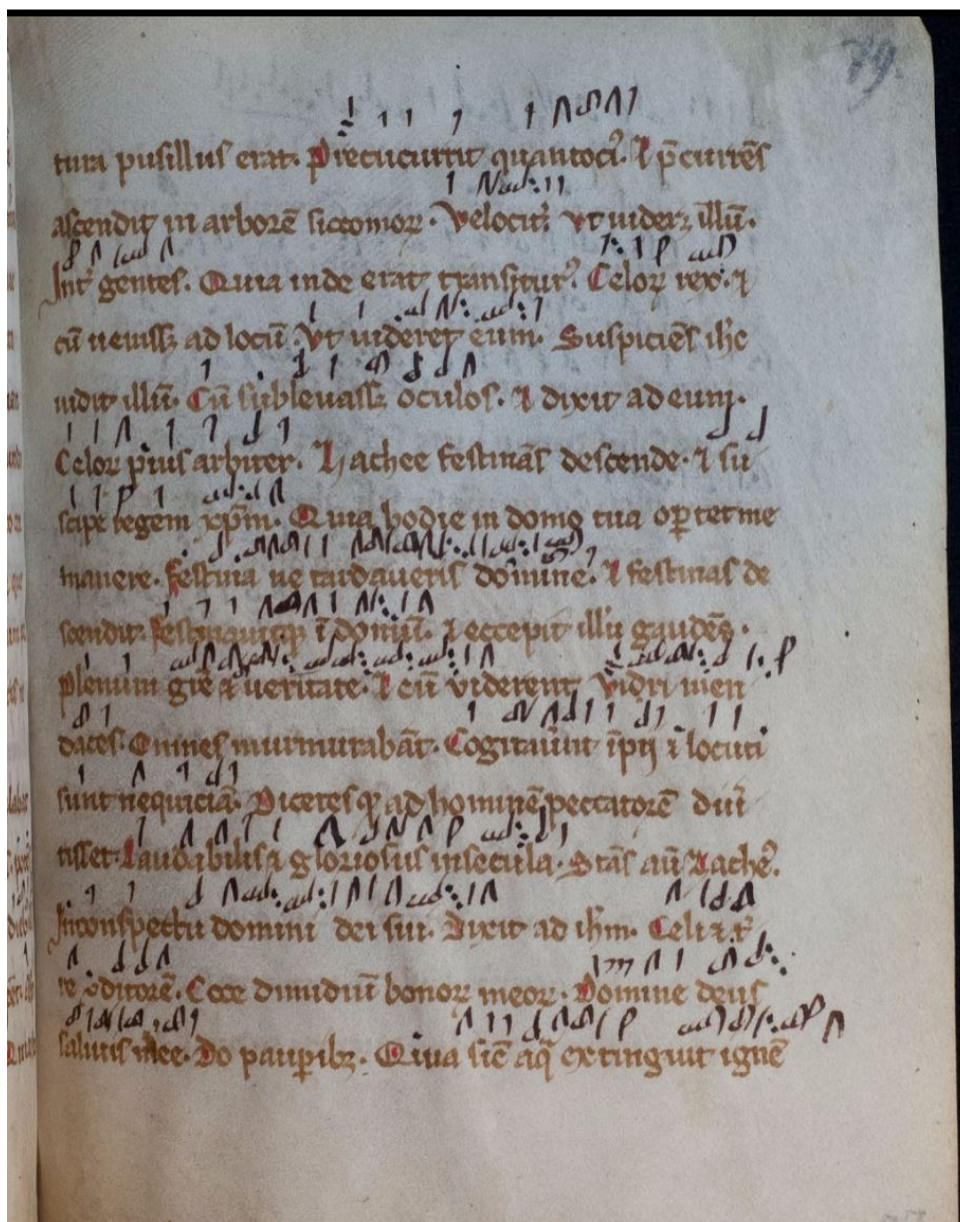


Figure 2.8. Hand 6, Stuttgart 95, 79r



At 80r, the hand seems to change again, this time in the middle of a passage. At the end of 79v, there is a passage that begins *Salve regina misericordie*, for which there is no neumatation. Irtenkauf's catalogue remains completely silent regarding this group of text, whereas Spanke's inventory is slightly more informative, noting that the melody is

missing and that it is apparently incomplete.⁵⁸ Almost the entirety of this text is found in a second source attributed to the abbey of Reichenau. The 1970 catalogue that includes general inventories of the manuscripts described identifies the passage as a “Federprobe.”⁵⁹ Some of these *probationes penna* do share the same texts, and many come from liturgical texts the scribes would have known well, like the Credo, or from elementary texts used to train youth in reading and writing.⁶⁰

While the two texts are direct copies of one another at the beginning, the textual concordance differs at the end. The Reichenau example reads, *In adventu iudicis iudicantes*. Stuttgart 95’s version gives: *In adventu iudicis. Sedebitis*. The Stuttgart 95 example ends after this last word, where the writing found in Reichenau continues for several lines. The editor of the catalogue dates this pen trial to the eleventh century, well before Stuttgart 95.

The presence of a *probatio penna*, or pen trial, in this location suggests, almost undeniably, that at one point in its history, folios 79v represented the end of the codex. Pen trials are typically found in the margins, fly leaves, or bindings of manuscripts, rather than in the middle of a page in the middle of a manuscript. The presence of this pen trial would suggest the end of one project or, even more likely, the start of another. Moreover, because the pen trial implies the conclusion of a writing campaign, it also serves as

⁵⁸ Spanke, “Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet 95,” 88.

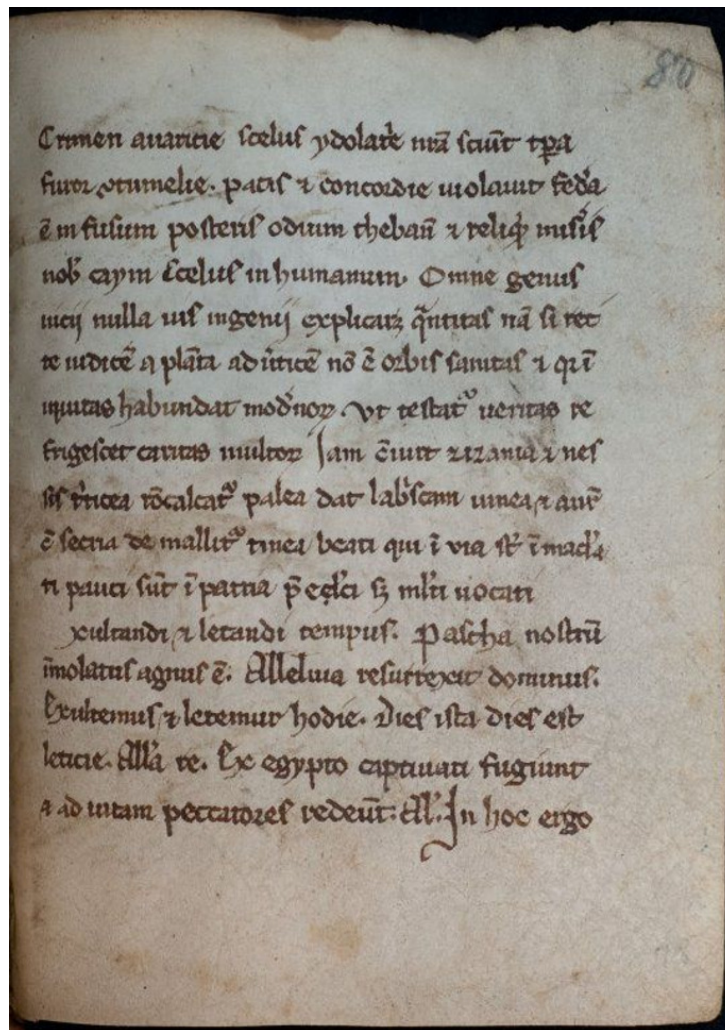
⁵⁹ Loosely translated as “pen rehearsal” or “pen trial,” such passages were used to test the new pens of medieval scribes. Wilhelm Alfred Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, vol. 1, “Die Pergamenthandschriften.” Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe V (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1906), 191 (http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs//katalogseiten/HSK0720_c191_jpg.htm).

⁶⁰ Bernhard Bischoff, “Elementarunterricht und Probationes Pennae in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters,” in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. Leslie Webber Jones (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), 13.

testimony to an intermediary existence for the physical object we know today as Stuttgart 95.

Hand 5 appears on the beginning of 80r and ending on 83v (figure 9 below). The ink here is noticeably darker and the lettering is punctuated by thin, precise lines. The neumatation for this section is almost entirely absent. The only pieces neumed are a single *Benedicamus domino* and four antiphons based on passages from the Song of Songs. All of these pieces are highly melismatic, and the text and neumatation was clearly coordinated, and most probably executed by the same person.

Figure 2.9. Folio 80r Stuttgart 95



Set apart from the earlier five hands, Hand 6 is more recent than the others, and found sparsely throughout the music book. This scribe, presumably at a much later date, wrote corrections and both textual and notational additions to the chants found in the first and second layers. The presence of this hand implies that throughout its life, Stuttgart 95 was seen as a viable book—whether to be consulted, revisited, copied, or performed from. It also suggests that the first two projects were combined fairly early in its life—probably sometime during the fourteenth or fifteenth century given the neumes and the texts in Hand 6.

Taken together, the codicological and paleographic evidence suggests three different layers for the music portion of the current manuscript, layers that may have occurred at different times or locations. The first campaign, 4r–67v, has eight different gatherings and appears to be mostly complete. The second project, beginning at the end of 67v and ending on 79v, is somewhat incomplete. It begins in the middle of a fascicle that is attached to the first layer and adds one complete extra gathering along with a single folio, 79. In all probability, the original manuscript, containing the first layer, ended with blank vellum. A later user, representing a second layer, then decided to add material and used the blank pages before adding other fascicles. The third layer, 80r–83v, has only a single gathering and is incomplete. Again, this suggests that another owner added musical material.

Broadly speaking, these hands represent individual scribes who had different functions in the creation of Stuttgart 95. Hand 1 is the main scribe for the majority of Stuttgart 95—the scriptrix/scriptor of the original musical campaign. Her/His efforts created a meticulously thorough and expansive codex of chants. Hands 2 and 3 both offer

corrections and additions to this first layer. Hands 4 and 5 are responsible, respectively, for the neumatation in projects 2 and 3—scriptrices in their own right. Finally, Hand 6, separated by time, corrects a small number of pieces in sections 1 and 2, almost like a director penciling-in musical corrections to an old score.

A paleographic and codicological analysis cannot offer solutions to problems about the origins and purpose of Stuttgart 95, and many questions remain. Even so, a few conclusions can be made about the codex as a physical specimen. First, this book has had many different lives. Second, different owners added musical and textual material throughout Stuttgart 95's existence. Finally, Stuttgart 95 was a music book in use for at least two and a half centuries. Each new layer adds text and detailed musical material. Furthermore, Hand 6 supplies musical and textual corrections and additions throughout layers one and two. All of these points suggest that the owners of Stuttgart 95 continued to adapt the book to their own personal needs and uses.

Three Layers Taken Separately

The separation of these three campaigns provides new avenues to the study of Stuttgart 95. As Irtenkauf identified, five pieces occurring in the first layer (4r–67v) are duplicated in the second and third layer of Stuttgart 95. Specifically, four of these are shared between the first and second layers; the third campaign features one piece also in the first layer. Moreover, both the first and third sections also include small groups of relatively florid and occasionally highly melismatic antiphons with texts drawn from the Song of Songs. By comparing these musical pieces from the first and second layers, and from the first and third layers, it becomes apparent that these strata should be treated as distinct objects distinct from one another.

To begin, *Dies ista colitur* is found in Layer 1 on 25v–26r, and again in Layer 3 on 81r–81v. Beyond these two readings, the conductus is found in ten other sources dating from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries.⁶¹ While there are a few minor textual variants between the two versions in Stuttgart 95, the most important distinction appears in the refrain.

First Layer	Felix est egressio per quam fit salvatio.
Third Layer	Felix est egressio per quam fit remissio.

The textual change is small, but representative of two different streams of transmission. The variant *remissio* is connected to sources from northern France, while the *salvatio* variation is more commonly German sources.⁶² It is a minute variation to be sure, but as a repeated musical element, its sheer continual recurrence with each strophe adds weight to the identity of the two traditions.

The table below (Table 3) shows all of the Song of Songs antiphons found in both the first and third layers. There are eleven in total, with seven from the first campaign and four from the third. The concordances show some distinct patterns of transmission.⁶³ The composite-manuscript D-Mbs Clm 5539 shares antiphons found in both the first and third

⁶¹ A-GU 258, A-GU 409, D-LEu 225, D-Mu Cim 100 (Moosburger Gradual of 1360), F-CO 187, F-Pn lat. 1351, F-SEm 46, GB-Lbl Egerton 2615, I-Tn F. I. 4 [http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/#m-columnbrowser@&view\[f_Conductus\]&view\[f_Source\]&view\[f_Form\]&view\[f_SyllabicMelismatic\]&view\[f_StanzasTransmitted\]&constraint\[f_Conductus\]\[id\]\[exact\]=2434](http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/#m-columnbrowser@&view[f_Conductus]&view[f_Source]&view[f_Form]&view[f_SyllabicMelismatic]&view[f_StanzasTransmitted]&constraint[f_Conductus][id][exact]=2434&informationcontrol@&view[f_Conductus]&view[f_Source]&view[f_Form]&view[f_SyllabicMelismatic]&view[f_StanzasTransmitted]&constraint[f_Conductus][id][exact]=2434) Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols.: Darstellungband und Editionsband (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1970), vol. 1, 121–124; vol. 2, 47, 218.

⁶² A-GU 258, 2v, <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0200-0399/Ms.0258/index.html>. This includes at least one other manuscript dating from the twelfth-century Benedictine double monastery of Lambrecht.

⁶³ Many of the concordances were found in: Jürg Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes: Vertonungen des Canticum Canticorum vom 9. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen, 2008).

parts. Indeed, this manuscript has a large number of melismatic Song of Songs antiphons in its catalogue. However, the antiphons in the two campaigns show different geographic traditions. For example, the relatively rare *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem* are found in CH-EN 102, the twelfth-century manuscript from Engelberg with strong connections to Stuttgart 95's first campaign. Additionally, several monastic institutions found in modern-day Austria report concordances found in the first portion of Stuttgart 95. The concordances of Layer 2 seem to share some commonalities with the first, but they do not have the same broad pattern.

Table 2.3. Song of Songs Antiphons, Stuttgart 95

Title	Page	Song of Songs verse	Concordances
Mandragore dederunt	50r	Song of Songs 7:13	Stenzl indicates three traditions; He groups Stuttgart 95 with D-Mbs Clm 5539, 50r and PL-WRk 58, 146v–147v; with A-GU 756, 217r–217v and CH-EN 102, 150v being separate traditions, but the unneumed text from Stuttgart 95 lines up much more with the neume figures from CH-EN 102
Indica michi quem	50v	Song of Songs 1:6, 7	CH-EN 150v; Another tradition in A-KN 1012, 49r; D-Mbs Clm 5539, 55v; PL-WRk 58, 148v
Speciosa facta es	50v	Song of Songs adapted phrases	GB-Cu Mm.ii.9 (diff melody same mode and trope)
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	50v	Song of Songs 7:6, 7, 5, 4, 11, 12	D-Mbs Clm 5539, 40v–41r; D-Mbs Clm 716, 88r–88v; D-Mbs Clm 14926, 170r–171v; PL-WRk 131r–132r;
Equitatu meo	51r	Song of Songs 1:8/1 (1:8-9; 6:4, 11)	A-GU 1584, 48r; Stenzl calls this unicum (then lists it as part of another tradition with only the beginning); A-GU 756, 215r–215v; D-Mbs Clm 5539, 44r–44v;
Nigra sum sed formosa	51r	Song of Songs 1:4, 5	Stenzl: NL-Uu 406, 149v; D-KA LX, 275v; A-GU 756, 215v; D-Mbs Clm 5539, 42r–42v; D-Mbs Cgm 716, 86r; D-Mbs Clm 14926, 172r–172v; CZ-VB 42, 105v–106r; I-Bu 46, 87r (troped in CH-EN 314); PL-WRk 58, 181r; Cantus Database: A-VOR 287, 173v; A-Wda D-4 301v and 315v; B-TO olv 63, 258v; B-TO olv 64, 243r; CH-SGs 388, 470; D-KA Aug. LX, 275v; NL-Uu 406, 150v; PL-WRu R 503, 177r; SI-Lna 18 (olim 17), 001r;
Dilectus meus clamat	57r	Song of Songs 2:10; 8:6/1	D-Mbs Clm 5539, 45r–45v; D-Mbs Cgm 716, 25r–25v; D-Mbs Clm 14926, 174r–174v; PL-WRk 58, 166r–166v; Cantus Database: A-VOR 287, 173r

Title	Page	Song of Songs verse	Concordances
Surge amica mea	80v	Song of Songs 2:13/2, 14	D-Mbs Clm 5539, 52r; D-Mbs Cgm 716, 21r–21v; D-Mbs Clm 14926, 166v–167r; CZ-VB 42, 106v–107v; PL-WRk 58, 138v–139r, 178v; D-KA Aug. LX, 272r
Manus eius tornatiles	80v	Songs of Songs 5:14-15/1	Stenzl has as unicum
Ecce tu pulcher es dilecte	81r	Songs of Songs 1:15-16; 2:1	D-Mbs Clm 5539, 53r–53v; Cantus Database: GB-WO F. 160, 81r;
Osculetur me osculo	81r	Songs of Songs 1:1-2	Stenzl has two musical traditions: 1) Stuttgart 95; D-Mbs 5539, 40r; CH-Bu B. XI. 8, 158r–158v; 2) D-Mbs Cgm 716, 18v; D-Mbs Clm 14926, 166r–166v; PL-WRk 58, 143v;

This dissertation will focus on the original campaign of Stuttgart 95, 4r–67v. Besides the basic lack of neumatation in the later layers, it is clear from paleographic and codicological evidence that these later sections were not part of the original manuscript. It is also apparent from the careful planning and thorough execution of the original section, that Layer 1 was conceived as a single project. Because the first campaign of Stuttgart 95 was intended to form a single collection, I will focus the remainder of my study on this layer, examining how this largely intact, coherent compilation might offer insight into how the use of such a songbook at its inception.

Hypothesis for a New Provenance

As detailed above, modern scholarship gives Weingarten as the provenance for Stuttgart 95. Yet, as Irtenkauf also observed, if it had originated in Weingarten, then it stood apart from any other manuscript copied there. Weingarten was, after all, a center for scribal activity, and the manuscripts produced there during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries display high levels of scribal and artistic execution. Weingarten also belonged to the Hirsau network, a Benedictine reform movement, which had its own musico-liturgical preferences. Stuttgart 95 bears hardly any of traditional pieces or “finger prints”

associated with Hirsau's liturgy as reconstructed by Felix Heinzer, Andreas Haug, and Lori Kruckenberg.⁶⁴

It is my contention that, at the very least, layer 1 of Stuttgart 95 (4r–67v) was copied at the double monastery of Engelberg. Likewise, this stratum of Stuttgart 95 should be understood in part as a collection compiled from addenda found in at least two other Engelberg manuscripts from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The strongest argument for both of these contentions lies in the concordances between Engelberg manuscripts and the repertoire of Stuttgart 95.

Out of 163 pieces in Stuttgart 95's first campaign, eighty-five of them are present in the additions made to two, older Engelberg manuscripts as well as three younger codices. Table 4 below shows all of the pieces I have located to date in Engelberg manuscripts. Specifically, thirty-nine of the chants present in Stuttgart 95 are present in CH-EN 1003, and forty-five in CH-EN 102. Three additional Engelberg manuscripts—CH-EN 42, CH-EN 106, and CH-EN 314—share at least one concordance with Stuttgart 95. There is some overlap among the five Engelberg manuscripts. *Fas legis prisce* is found both in CH-EN 42 and CH-EN 106, and *Imperatrix gloriosa* is found both in CH-EN 1003 and CH-EN 102.⁶⁵ In broader terms, a little over 50% of the music in Stuttgart 95's original layer is found as addenda in CH-EN 102 and CH-EN 1003.

⁶⁴ For a reconstruction of the Hirsau ordinal as well as the identity of Hirsau-related tropers and the Hirsau-related sequentiaries, see: Felix Heinzer, "Der Hirsauer Liber Ordinarius," *Revue bénédictine* 102 (1992): 309–47; Andreas Haug, "Ein 'Hirsauer' Tropus," *Revue bénédictine*, 104 (1994): 328–45; Lori Kruckenberg, "Zur Rekonstruktion des Hirsauer Sequentiars," *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999): 186–207.

⁶⁵ *Imperatrix gloriosa* appears with the uncommon repeated refrain on *Maria* in both instances, however neumes are only present in the concordance found in Engelberg 1003.

The five manuscripts housed today in Engelberg either originated there or arrived there early on where they remained in use for the rites of Mass and Offices there. All are books pertaining to liturgical music and might be summarized as follows:

- (1) CH-EN 1003 is a twelfth-century notated gradual-processional-sequentiary, with numerous additions dating from the end of twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
- (2) CH-EN 102, frequently cited as “directorium cantus” (“directory of chants”) is a kind of ordinal listing in liturgical order, mainly neumed chant incipits. Dated to the twelfth century, this codex is preceded by a calendar and contains several complete chants copied as addenda formerly to blank pages and in margins.
- (3) CH-EN 42 is a fourteenth-century antiphoner, the concordances for which I have gleaned from Gottwald’s 1891 catalog entry.⁶⁶
- (4) CH-EN 106 is yet another fourteenth-century antiphoner, whose shared material with Stuttgart 95 was established through the catalog of 1891.⁶⁷
- (5) CH-EN 314, a fourteenth-century paper manuscript, contains ordinary chants, some proper and ordinary tropes, sequences, as well as some polyphonic pieces including conductus and motets.⁶⁸

I cannot exclude additional concordances from Engelberg, since to date it has not been possible to work systematically through their present sources. Also, further manuscripts may come to light and clarify Stuttgart 95’s connection to Engelberg. For example, CH-

⁶⁶ P. Benedictus Gottwald, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Monasterii O.S.B. Engelbergensis in Helvetia* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1891).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Wulft Arlt and Manfred Stauffacher eds., *Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314* (Schweizer Musikdenkmäler, 11: Winterthur, 1986).

EN 1003 was rediscovered in 1963, found under a false floor above the Engelberg library along with eight other manuscripts dating from the twelfth century, and thus is not found in Gottwald's nineteenth-century library catalog, essentially the only modern register to contain basic descriptions of manuscripts still kept in the Abbey Library today.⁶⁹ The rediscovery of CH-EN 1003 and my subsequent examination of its addenda have opened many possibilities for attributing Stuttgart 95 to Engelberg's scriptorium. While I am confident enough to state that Stuttgart 95 is definitively from Engelberg, I have no doubt that a deeper search of Engelberg's manuscripts, namely those not already digitized or described in Gottwald's catalog, would yield much illuminating information about Stuttgart 95.

Table 2.4. Concordances between Engelberg Books and Stuttgart 95's Original Layer

Incipit	Order	Genre	Folio	Rubric	Concordance
Imperatrix gloriosa	2	sequence	4r	Sequentia Alia; Item	CH-EN 102, 72r; CH-EN 1003, 122r
Gaude mater luminis	3	sequence	4v	Alia Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 122r
O dulce flagrans lilium	4	Salve regina trope	5r		CH-EN 1003, 2v
Letabundus	5	sequence	5r	Alia Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 122v
Ave mater qua natus ests	6	sequence	5v	Alia Sequentia de Sancta Maria	CH-EN 1003, 2r
Ave preclara maris stella	7	sequence	6r	Sequentia de Sancta Maria; divisio	CH-EN 1003, 97r;
Rex regum dei agne	10	sequence	8r	In pachali tempore s	CH-EN 1003, 115v
Veni sancte spiritus et emitte	12	sequence	9v	De Sancto Spiritu Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 114v
Plausu chorus letabundo	14	sequence	9ar	Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 3r

⁶⁹ See P. Benedictus Gottwald, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Monasterii O.S.B. Engelbergensis in Helvetia* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1891). Walther Lipphardt also offers commentary that CH-EN 1003 was moved to Engelberg early on and was in use thereafter. Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1975), vol VI, 261.

Incipit	Order	Genre	Folio	Rubric	Concordance
Qui sunt isti qui volant	15	sequence	10v	De Apostolis Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 122v
Verbum bonum et suave	18	sequence	12v		CH-EN 1003, 114r
Virginalis turba sexus	20	sequence	14v	Sequentia undecium milium virgines	CH-EN 102, 151v
Laude christo debita	22	sequence	16r	De Sancto Nicolao Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 119v
Sanctissime virginis votiva	23	sequence	17v	De Sancta katherina	CH-EN 102, 148v
Laudemus creatorem qui fortis	24	sequence	18r	De Sancta Cruce Sequentia	CH-EN 102, 71v
Ecce venit de syon	30	conductus	25r		CH-EN 102, 139r
Dies ista colitur	31	conductus	25v	Carmen de Sancta Maria	CH-EN 1003, 117r
Audi chorus organicum	32	conductus	26r	Aliud Carmen	CH-EN 102, 12r
In conflictu nobili	33	conductus	27r	Conductus	CH-EN 102, 150r
Austro terris influente	34	conductus	27v		CH-EN 102, 150v
Qui sub dione militas	35	conductus	28r		CH-EN 1003, 117r
Pater ingenitus	36	conductus	28v		CH-EN 102, 150v
Fregit adam interdictum	37	conductus	29r		CH-EN 102, 1v
Dic christi veritas	46	conductus	33v		CH-EN 1003, 114v
Respondit caritas	48	conductus	33v		CH-EN 1003, 114v
Fas legis prisce	51	conductus	34v	In parasceve	CH-EN 42, 344v and CH-EN 106, 200v
Firmator sancte	55	Kyrie trope	36v	In summis festiva	CH-EN 102
Ave nunc genitrix	56	Kyrie trope	37r	Aliud	CH-EN 102, 150v; CH-EN 314 98r
Cunctipotens genitor	57	Kyrie trope	37r	Aliud	CH-EN 102, 142r
Kyrie eleyson. Pater cuncta qui gubernas	58	Kyrie trope	37v		CH-EN 102, 145r
Orbis factor rex eterne	62	Kyrie trope	39r		CH-EN 1003, 121r
Rex deus eterne sine principio	63	Kyrie trope	39v		CH-EN 1003, 120r
Ad decus ecclesie	64	trope	39v	In dedicatione	CH-EN 102, 142v
Sanctus Divinum misterium	66	Sanctus trope	41v		CH-EN 314, 109v

Incipit	Order	Genre	Folio	Rubric	Concordance
Sanctus genitor summi	67	Sanctus trope	42r		CH-EN 1003, 114r
Sanctus est pater ex patria	68	Sanctus trope	42v		CH-EN 102
Agnus dei qui celitus informans	69	Agnus dei trope	42v		CH-EN 1003, 2v
Agnus dei Maria videns angelum	71	Agnus dei trope	43r		CH-EN 102, 150v; CH-EN 314, 118v
Agnus dei Danielis prophetia	73	Agnus dei trope	43v		CH-EN 1003, 111v; CH-EN 314, 109v
Festivali Melodia	74	Benedicamus trope	43v	Benedicamus	CH-EN 1003, 111v
Mater dei creditur	75	Benedicamus trope	44r	Aliud	CH-EN 102, 12v
Quem prophetaverunt prophete	76	Benedicamus trope	44r	Benedicamus	CH-EN 102, 12v
In laude matris hodie	77	Benedicamus trope	44v		CH-EN 102, 12v
Exultemus et cantemus domino	80	Benedicamus trope	45r		CH-EN 102, 144v
Stirps yesse floruerat	81	Benedicamus trope	45r		CH-EN 102, 12r
Rex deus deorum	82	Benedicamus trope	45v		CH-EN 102, 12v
Templum hoc pacificus	86	Benedicamus trope	46v		CH-EN 102, 144v
Ecce patent juda	87	Benedicamus trope	46v		CH-EN 1003, 119v
Innixa scale dominum	88	Benedicamus trope	47r		CH-EN 1003, 119v
Celestis ut agmina	89	Benedicamus trope	47r		CH-EN 102, 149r
Surrexit christus a mortuis	91	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus	CH-EN 102, 12r
Spiritus sanctus apostolis consolator	92	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus	CH-EN 102, 12r
Deus in adjutorium	93	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus	CH-EN 102, 12v
Virgo dulci pullulans	94	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus	CH-EN 102 150r
Salve virga florens Aaron	98	alleluia	49r		CH-EN 102, 142r
Virga yesse floruit	99	alleluia	49r		CH-EN 1003, 121r
Viri galilei quid admiramini	100	alleluia	49v		CH-EN 1003, 122r
Dorsa eorum	101	alleluia	49v		CH-EN 102, 149v
Ex filiabus Babilonis	103	antiphon	49v	Antiphon	CH-EN 102, 1v
Gaudendum nobis est	104	antiphon	50r	Antiphon	CH-EN 102, 1v
Mandragore dederunt	105	antiphon	50r	Antiphon	CH-EN 102, 150v
Indica michi quem	106	antiphon	50v	Antiphon	CH-EN 102, 150v

Incipit	Order	Genre	Folio	Rubric	Concordance
Bene vox pia...domino	115	trope	52r		CH-EN 1003, 117r
Sanctorum vita virtus	121	sequence	54r	de Sancto Blasio Sequentia	CH-EN 1003, 99r
Grates deo et honor sint	122	sequence	55r	Sequentia de Sancta Aram	CH-EN 1003, 115v
Benedictio trine	123	sequence	56r	De Sancta Trinitate	CH-EN 1003, 103v
Hodie cantandus est nobis puer	127	trope	57r	Inatale Domini	ENG 1003, 121v
Hodie totus orbis letabundus	128	trope	57v	In resurrectione	ENG 1003, 121v
Psallite regi nostro	130	sequence	58r	In decollatione Sancti Johannis Baptiste(?)	CH-EN 1003, 3r
Qui benedici cupitis	131	sequence	59r	Sequentia de Sancto Benedicto	CH-EN 1003, 104r
Salve sancta parens	136	Marian mass	60v	de sanc)a Maria	CH-EN 1003 114v
Benedicta et venerabilis v. Virgo dei genitrix	137	Marian mass	60v	Graduale	CH-EN 1003 114v
Sancta dei genitrix	138	Marian mass	60v		CH-EN 1003, 112r
Felix valde es	139	Marian mass	60v	Offertorium	CH-EN 1003 114v
Beata viscera	142	Marian mass	60v	Communio	CH-EN 1003 114v
Dum sanctificatus fuero	144	Holy Ghost mass	62r	De Sancto Spiritu Officium	CH-EN 102, 11r
Beata gens cuius	145	Holy Ghost mass	62r	Graduale	CH-EN 102, 11r
Sancti ps	146	Holy Ghost mass	62r		CH-EN 102, 11r
Emitte spiritum tuum	147	Holy Ghost mass	62r	Offertorium	CH-EN 102, 11r
Spiritus ubi vult	148	Holy Ghost mass	62r	Communio	CH-EN 102, 11r
Adorate deum vs. Dixit in angelis	149	Angel mass	62v	De Angelis Officium	CH-EN 102, 11r
Benedicite domino	150	Angel mass	62v	Graduale	CH-EN 102, 11r
Confitebor tibi	151	Angel mass	62r		CH-EN 102, 11r
Inmittit angelus domini	152	Angel mass	62r	Offertorium	CH-EN 102, 11r
Dico vobis gaudium est	153	Angel mass	62r	Communio	CH-EN 102, 11r

These concordances represent all of the genres found in Stuttgart 95. CH-EN 42, CH-EN 106, and CH-EN 314 clearly postdate Stuttgart 95, but their shared concordances might represent a continuity of practice in the double monastery. All three of the votive masses in Stuttgart 95 are also found in either CH-EN 102 or CH-EN 1003. While the Marian mass in CH-EN 1003 is not a precise copy of Stuttgart 95's version, both the Holy Spirit and Angel mass are the same as Stuttgart 95's version.⁷⁰ The largest number of concordances are shared between Stuttgart 95 and the CH-EN 102.

Steven's study linked CH-EN 102 and Stuttgart 95 to the same scribal hand: "In particular, Wulf Arlt has established that the scribe of the Stuttgart MS and the scribe of Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS [102] are the same."⁷¹ Arlt has similarly mentioned a scribal connection between the two as well.⁷² While there are no other such documented scribal connections between CH-EN 102 and Stuttgart 95, given the concordances between these two sources, it is likely that Stuttgart 95 could have been written by a scribe working on CH-EN102.

It is difficult to determine which scribe Arlt meant in this case, given the large number of hands from different periods through CH-EN102. The table below (Table 5) shows a comparison between the hands of the main scribe of Stuttgart 95's original layer, the main scribe of CH-EN 102's primary layer, and the scribe who wrote the antiphon, *Gaudendum nobis est*, found in both. There is certainly more than a passing similarity


































⁷⁰ The Holy Spirit and Angel mass are without neumes in Engelberg 102. The Marian mass will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, as well as how it differs from the Marian votive mass found in Engelberg 1003.









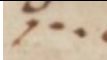






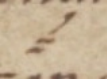


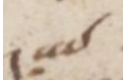

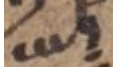
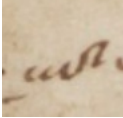




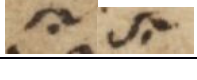

⁷¹ Stevens, "*Samson dux fortissime*," 6.

⁷² Wulf Arlt, "Repertoirefragen 'peripherer' Mehrstimmigkeit: das Beispiel des Codex Engelberg 314," in *Theory and Lehre versus Téori*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, (Torino: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 120–21.

between the neume shapes. Between CH-EN 102 and Stuttgart 95, the major differences in the appearance of many of the neumes can be attributed to different directional slants to the hands. The primary hand from Engelberg tends to “lean” to the right, while the neumes from Stuttgart 95 appear to be parallel or leaning slightly left. I do think that scribes trained in the same house produced both manuscripts. Stuttgart 95 and the *Gaudendum nobis* hand have the strongest connection, however. At times, the neume shapes are virtually identical. Take for example the third virga, the pes, and the climacus. While there are certainly similarities shared with CH-EN 102’s primary hand, Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 102’s *Gaudendum nobis est* could have come from the scribal house style.

Table 2.5. Neumes in Stuttgart 95 and Engelberg 102

Name	D-SI HB I 95 Hand 1 4r-65r	CH-EN 102 <i>Gaudendum nobis est</i> Hand	CH-EN 102 Primary Hand
Virga			
			
			
			
Punctum			
Pes			
			
			
			
Porrectus			
			
			

Name	D-Sl HB I 95 Hand 1 4r-65r	CH-EN 102 Gaudendum nobis est Hand	CH-EN 102 Primary Hand
Torculus			
			
			
Climacus			
			
Scandicus			
			
Quilisma			
			
Epiphonus			
Pressus			

CH-EN 1003 is the second strongest source sharing concordances with Stuttgart 95. Because it was only rediscovered in 1963, it was unavailable and unknown at the time Spanke and Irtenkauf wrote their respective inventories of Stuttgart 95. One striking commonality between the concordances shared between the three books: they are almost always addenda in the Engelberg manuscripts, that is, later additions entered into blank folios, margins, and unclaimed spaces of CH-EN 102 and CH-EN 1003. This suggests that the original layer of songs in Stuttgart 95 was made in part by collecting the addenda from books held in Engelberg, sometime in the early thirteenth century. In other words, much of the first campaign of Stuttgart 95 appears to be a systematically ordered

collection of devotional songs — in particular non-Gregorian pieces as well as new genres and new compositions. These addimenti — tucked into margins and entered onto unused leaves of two twelfth-century liturgical books from Engelberg namely CH-EN 102 and CH-EN 1003 — appear to have been gathered up, organized according to genre, recopied with other pieces not added to the twelfth-century codices to form the main corpus of musical materials of Stuttgart 95. .

Conclusion

In this chapter, my examination of Stuttgart 95 has focused on the manuscript as a physical object. The paleographic and codicological testimonies offer a story of the manufacture of an early thirteenth-century songbook with some ‘ad hoc’ additions. Two somewhat later musical ‘libelli’ were attached to the first layer. These components were eventually bound to a fifteenth-century copy of Gregory the Great’s *Moralia* commentary on the Book of Job to form the composite manuscript found today. The songbook of Stuttgart 95 then, is better understood as three different musical writing projects. These distinct campaigns show different levels of engagement, including varying degrees of organization, planning and thoroughness in the execution of neumatation. For these reasons, I contend that each of these musical layers should be examined as separate objects that were joined later on.

The first campaign—the main focus of the remaining chapters—occupies folios 4r–67v and represents a mostly self-contained song collection. The contents demonstrate an arrangement of chants by genre. While not entirely whole, this portion of Stuttgart 95 probably lacks only one or two bifolios at the beginning of Gathering 1. A study of the dissemination of individual items reveals that fifty-percent of the musical repertoire is

found also in the form of addenda entered into two liturgical manuscripts from the Swiss double monastery of Engelberg. To date, I know of no other chantbook or set of chantbooks to evince such repertorial connections.

Of the five Engelberg music manuscripts considered, the older CH-EN 102 and CH-EN 1003, collectively, contain roughly half of the music found in Stuttgart 95. The overlap suggests not only a strong connection between Stuttgart 95 and the musical tradition in Engelberg, but also implies that the scribe for Stuttgart 95 was creating a compendium partly assembled from addenda and musical supplements, and organized for use. By comparison, twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chantbooks from the abbey Weingarten do not show the same kind of repertorial affinities. Finally, Wulf Arlt has noted a remarkable similarity between the hands of Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 102; I have shown that the hand responsible for *Gaudendum nobis est* in CH-EN 102 is likely of the same house style as the one in Stuttgart 95.⁷³ All of this evidence taken together, points to Engelberg as the provenance for Stuttgart 95, and puts to rest the questionable assignment to Weingarten.

I have argued in this chapter that a way of understanding this manuscript is to recognize the multiple projects eventually bound together to form the current state of the codex. By examining Stuttgart 95 separate from the other two musical projects to which it is bound, it becomes apparent that the main songbook was most likely the product of Engelberg's religious community comprised of confessed brothers and sisters.

Correspondingly, Stuttgart 95 should be considered as a collection of devotional and

⁷³ Stevens, "*Samson dux fortissime*," 6; Wulf Arlt, "Repertoirefragen 'peripherer' Mehrstimmigkeit," in *Theory and Lehre versus Téori*, 120–21.

liturgical material fostering the spiritual needs of its double congregation. The recognition, then, of ties to Kloster Engelberg — and thus to the culture and milieu of double houses — presents a new lens through which to examine Stuttgart 95 and its song repertoire.

CHAPTER III

MARIAN DEVOTION IN STUTTGART 95

As discussed in Chapter II, existing scholarship concerning Stuttgart 95 primarily treats the manuscript as a peripheral musical witness. In the body of current scholarly literature the musical contents of the source are discussed in terms of their relationships with other, more central manuscripts.⁷⁴ Other than the two inventories by Spanke and Irtenkauf, and the accompanying prose included with them, no study that focuses specifically on Stuttgart 95 and its musical tradition exists.⁷⁵ Moreover, while much of the previously mentioned writings note the diversity of genres and some notational eccentricities, there has been no consideration of the liturgical usage or focus of the its song repertory. The following discussion seeks to address this oversight.

To begin, in order to comprehend this Engelberg compendium, it is essential to recognize that Marian devotional music permeates the first layer of Stuttgart 95. The collector(s) put together a diverse catalogue of pieces representing different facets of Marian devotion in the early thirteenth century. Building on a repertorial examination of various genres present in Stuttgart 95 as well as a consideration of textual analysis and certain paleographic clues, I will argue that Stuttgart 95's first layer was developed

⁷⁴ See: John Stevens, "Samson dux fortissime: An International Latin Song," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1, no. 1 (1992): 6; Wulf Arlt, "Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies*, eds. Rebecca Baltzer and Margot Fassler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 337–8; Sarah Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony, A Reappraisal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2 (1971): 183; eadem, "Aquitainian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1969); Gundela Bobeth, "Wine, Women, and Song? Reconsidering the *Carmina Burana*," trans. Henry Hope, in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, and Context*, eds. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 79–115.

⁷⁵ Hans Spanke, "Die Stuttgarter H.B. I Ascet 95," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 68 (1931): 79–88; Wolfgang Irtenkauf, "Zum Stuttgarter Cantionarium HB I. 95," *Codices Manuscripti* 3 (1977): 22–30.

primarily as collection commemorating the Virgin Mother. Moreover, this Marian emphasis taken together with the presence of a specific group of saints and scribal habits, suggests that this manuscript was grounded primarily in the liturgical and devotional practices of the double monastery of Engelberg in central Switzerland.

Any cursory glance through Stuttgart 95 reveals its clear emphasis on Marian veneration. Even so, to date very little has been said about the nature of the song collection in its own right. Addressing the importance of Marian devotion in Stuttgart 95 and characterizing the musical contents of the book and their possible use can also shed light on the musical practices of Engelberg. As I have already shown (Chapter II), much of Stuttgart 95's corpus appears as addenda to two slightly earlier liturgical manuscripts found in Engelberg. I surmise that a substantial portion of Stuttgart 95 reflects a coordinated effort to gather up later additions entered onto blank leaves and even placed inelegantly into margins in older books. These were then systematically arranged – generally by genre – with other new compositions likely recently acquired in the community at the time of the writing of the first layer, made into a new coherent chant book. Thus, the major themes of the songs found in Stuttgart 95, and the occasions when they were likely sung, give us a snapshot of the musical needs in Engelberg's constantly changing sacred musical culture.

Marian Devotion in the Central Middle Ages

In the Latin West, the Virgin Mary had a broad importance in devotional practices throughout the medieval period, including for standard liturgical celebrations and ad hoc commemorations. Already in the seventh century, four standard Marian feasts were in

place and their respective liturgies had identifiable and specific features.⁷⁶ These four were the Assumption (August 15), the Nativity (September 8), the Purification (February 2), and the Annunciation (March 25).⁷⁷ Moreover, some feasts, like the Assumption, were regarded as particularly solemn occasions. These solemn feasts would be marked with a second celebration a week later, the so-called festal octave.

Other feasts honoring the Virgin Mary began to be accepted later in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but were not codified by the Church until the late fourteenth century.⁷⁸ The celebration of these feasts, then, differed regionally. In this period, furthermore, various offices for Mary as well as a votive mass were often celebrated on Saturdays. Popularized by a Marian votive mass said on *feria sexta*, an office for the Blessed Virgin Mary, also sung on Saturday, was in universal use by the eleventh century.⁷⁹ Because it only had one nocturn instead of three, this office was called the Little Office of the Virgin.⁸⁰ As it was short, this office was also assigned for daily use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, particularly in certain religious orders like the Cluniacs, Carthusians, Dominicans, and Cistercians.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Pierre Jounel, “The Veneration of Mary,” in *The Church at Prayer—Volume IV: The Liturgy and Time*, trans. Matthew O’Connel (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1983), 135.

⁷⁷ Jounel, “The Veneration of Mary,” 135.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 139.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 142.

⁸⁰ A nocturn is a group of chants sung for the Office, either incorporating antiphons with psalm verses and a Gloria or canticles. Typically, a set began with an antiphon followed by several psalm verses, a Gloria, and concluded with and antiphon.

⁸¹ Jounel, “The Veneration of Mary,” 142.

Marian devotion also showed itself in other ways, across all monastic communities. Cistercians, for instance, dedicated all of their monasteries to Mary, following a tradition that stems from their origins in Molesme and Cîteaux.⁸² During the late twelfth and continuing on into the thirteenth centuries, the first collections of miracles performed by the Virgin were compiled, leading to a rapid growth in the cult of Mary.⁸³ The Dominican order's liturgy also put a particular emphasis on Mary. Marian devotion represented over a third of the sequences sung in Dominican liturgies, and a majority of these were attributed to Dominican authors.⁸⁴

The growing importance of the cult of Mary is evinced in the visual arts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Penny Schine Gold articulates a shift in the representation of Mary in art from ca. 1100 to 1400. She specifically focuses on the iconography of Mary commonly displayed on French cathedral entrances.⁸⁵ She notes that in the late twelfth century, the typical iconography of the Virgin and Child emphasizes Mary simply as the bearer of Christ, while later depictions stress Mary's own power as the queen of heaven standing beside an adult Christ figure, a representation referred to as the Triumph of the Virgin.⁸⁶ This shift to the Triumph also reflects an

⁸² See: Brian Patrick McGuire, "Constitutions and General Chapter," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 93; and Chrysogonus Waddell, ed., *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: Latin Text in Dual Edition with English Translation and Notes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 463.

⁸³ Margot Fassler, "Music and the Miraculous: Mary in the Mid-Thirteenth-Century Dominican Sequence," in *Aux origines de la Liturgie dominicaine: Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, ed. Leonard Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy (Paris: CNRS, 2004), 229.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁸⁵ Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 45–62.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

increasingly popular interpretation of the Song of Songs as the relationship between Mary and Christ.⁸⁷ As will be later discussed, the Song of Songs is a biblical book that portrays a discussion between a regal Bride and Bridegroom. During the Middle Ages, this imagined ‘connubial’ relationship was frequently seen as a metaphor for the relationship between Mary and Christ; the portrayal of the two sacred figures as king and queen of heaven evokes the nuptial couple in Song of Songs. In short, Marian devotion was prevalent in liturgical and religious life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

From a paleographic perspective, the scribe for Stuttgart 95 laid bare her veneration of Mary; two scribal tendencies highlight Marian devotion in this manuscript. The first clue is the scribe’s consistent capitalization of Mary in the song texts throughout the first layer, a writing habit by no means universal in the medieval period. Furthermore, these capitalizations are, more often than not, accompanied by a slight highlight of the “M” letter with red ink. Many of the dedicatory rubrics were similarly treated with capitalization and highlights, reinforcing the systematic and paleographic intentionality given to the Virgin’s name. Together, these two aspects provide a first glimpse at the Marian focus in Stuttgart 95.

The Evidence of Rubrics: The Preeminence of Marian Designations

There are different types of rubrics found in Stuttgart 95. Table 1 below shows all instances of rubrication found in the first layer of Stuttgart 95. Eighty-eight of the pieces, over half, found in Stuttgart 95 have some sort of rubric. The majority of these indicate genre, telling the user of the manuscript how and for which liturgical rite the piece was likely intended. Other rubrics indicate liturgical feast or period, or the object of intended

⁸⁷ Ibid.

commemoration, a type of rubric particularly prevalent for sequences. In some of these cases, the rubrics will indicate both genre (e.g. “sequentia”) and dedication or occasion (as with “in paschale tempore,” i.e. paschaltide). It is important to note, however, that only forty-eight of the eighty-three rubrics (roughly 57%) in Stuttgart 95 provide festal or occasional information. This also means that only 29% of the total pieces in Stuttgart 95 have any indication for which feast day or occasion they were to be sung.

Table 3.1. Rubrics found in Stuttgart 95

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Imperatrix gloriosa	2	sequence	4r	Item Sequentia alia
Gaude mater luminis	3	sequence	4v	Alia Sequentia
Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus	5	sequence	5r	Alia Sequentia
Ave mater qua natus est	6	sequence	5v	Alia Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Ave preclara maris stella	7	sequence	6r	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Virgine Marie laudis intonent	8	sequence	7r	Alia Sequentia
Veni virgo virginum veni lumen	9	sequence	7v	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Rex regum dei agne	10	sequence	8r	In pachali [sic] tempore. Sequentia
Mane prima sabbati	11	sequence	9r	Sequentia. In paschali tempore
Veni sancte spiritus et emitte	12	sequence	9v	De Sancto Spiritu. Sequentia
Plausu chorus letabundo	14	sequence	9ar	(Se)quentia
Qui sunt isti qui volant	15	sequence	10v	De apostolis Sequentia
Salve proles davidis	16	sequence	11r	De Sancta Maria Sequentia
Virgines caste virginis	19	sequence	12v	Sequentia de virginibus
Virginalis turba sexus	20	sequence	14v	Sequentia undecium milium virgines
Sancte sion assunt	21	sequence	15v	In dedicatione Sequentia
Laude christo debita	22	sequence	16r	De Sancto Nicolao Sequentia
Sanctissime virginis votiva	23	sequence	17v	De Sancta Katherina
Laudemus creatorem qui fortis	24	sequence	18r	De Sancta Cruce Sequentia
O amor deus deitas	25	conductus	18v	Conductus
O si michi rethorica	26	conductus	20v	De Sancta Maria carmen
Flete fideles anime	28	conductus	23r	Planctus Marie virginis
Ave dei pia genitrix	29	conductus	24v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Dies ista colitur	31	conductus	25v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Audi chorus organicum	32	conductus	26r	Aliud Carmen
In conflictu nobili	33	conductus	27r	Conductus
Samson dux fortissime	39	conductus	30r	Planctus Sampsonis
Olim fuit argumentum	41	conductus	32r	Conductum
Venit angelus ad Mariam virginem	49	antiphon	34r	antiphona
Salve mater salvatoris	50	trope	34r	Versus super alma redemptoris
Fas legis prisce	51	conductus	34v	In parasceve
Ve quomodo sunt oculi	52	conductus	34v	lamentatio
Ecce dies triumphalis	54	trope	36v	In dedicatione
Kyrie eleyson Firmator Sancte	55	Kyrie trope	36v	In summis festiva
Kyrie eleyson Ave nunc genitrix	56	Kyrie trope	37r	aliud
Kyrie eleyson Cunctipotens genitor	57	Kyrie trope	37r	aliud
Ad decus ecclesie	64	prosula	39v	In dedicatione

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Hec est sponsa summi regis	65	troped Epistle	40v	Epistola
Festivali melodia	74	Benedicamus trope	43v	Benedicamus
Mater dei creditur	75	Benedicamus trope	44r	Aliud
Quem prophetaverunt prophete	76	Benedicamus trope	44r	Benedicamus
Pudore femineo	90	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus
Surrexit christus a mortuis	91	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus
Spiritus sanctus apostolis consolator	92	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Deus in adiutorium	93	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Virgo dulci pullulans	94	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Ex filiabus babilonis	103	antiphon	49v	antiphona
Gaudendum nobis est	104	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Mandragore dederunt	105	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Indica michi quem	106	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Speciosa facta es	107	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	108	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Equitatu meo	109	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Arte mira	110	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Nigra sum sed formosa	111	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Precelsa seclis colitur	120	sequence	53v	de Sancto vincentio
Sanctorum vita virtus	121	sequence	54r	de Sancto Blasio Sequentia
Grates deo et honor sint	122	sequence	55r	Sequentia de Sancta Aram
Benedictio trine	123	sequence	56r	De Sancta trinitate
Dilectus meus clamat	125	antiphon	57r	antiphona
Hodie cantandus est nobis puer	127	introit trope	57r	In natale domini
Hodie totus orbis letabundus	128	introit trope	57v	In resurrectione
Domum quam edificat	129	Benedicamus trope	57v	In dedicatione
Psallite regi nostro	130	sequence	58r	In decollatione Sancti Iohannis Baptiste
Qui benedici cupitis	131	sequence	59r	Sequentia de Sancto Benedicto
O decus ecclesie	133	antiphon trope	60r	antiphona
Salve sancta parens	136	introit for the Marian mass	60v	de sancta Maria
Benedicta et venerabilis v. Virgo dei genitrix	137	gradual for the Marian mass	61r	Graduale
Felix valde es	139	offertory for the Marian mass	61r	Offertorium
Recordare virgo	140	offertory for the Marian mass	61v	Offertorium
Ab hac familia tu propicia	141	offertory prosula	61v	versus
Beata viscera	142	communion for the Marian mass	61v	Communio
Pater summe pietatis	143	communion for the Marian mass	61v	Communio
Dum sanctificatus fuero	144	introit for the	62r	De Sancto Spiritu Officium

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
		Holy Ghost mass		
Beata gens cuius	145	gradual for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	Graduale
Emitte spiritum tuum	147	offertory for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	Offertorium
Spiritus ubi vult	148	communion for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	Communio
Adorate deum—Dixit in agelis	149	introit for the Angel Mass	62v	De Angelis Officium
Benedicite domino	150	gradual for the Angel Mass	62v	Graduale
Inmittit angelus domini	152	offertory for the Angel Mass	62r	Offertorium
Dico vobis gaudium est	153	communion for the Angel Mass	62r	Communio
Gloria in excelsis deo	157	gloria	65r	In summis festivitate

Many of the rubrics merely indicate that the piece was in honor of Mary. Not all Marian songs in Stuttgart 95 are explicitly rubricated as such, rather a dedication to the Virgin can be surmised through contextual information found in the manuscript, or through known usage in other concordances. Below, table 2 identifies pieces in Stuttgart 95 whose Marian liturgical or devotional use is uncontested.

Table 3.2. Individual Pieces found in Stuttgart 95 with Rubrics that indicate Marian uses

Incipit	Position	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Salve mater salvatoris...configura glorie	1	Sequence	4r	Folio not present
Imperatrix gloriosa	2	sequence	4r	Item. Sequentia alia
Gaude mater luminis	3	sequence	4v	Alia Sequentia
Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus	5	sequence	5r	Alia Sequentia
Ave preclara maris stella	7	sequence	6r	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Virgine Marie laudis intonent	8	sequence	7r	Alia Sequentia
Veni virgo virginum veni lumen	9	sequence	7v	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Salve proles davidis	16	sequence	11r	De Sancta Maria Sequentia
O si michi rethorica	26	conductus	20v	De Sancta Maria carmen
Flete fideles anime	28	planctus	23r	Planctus Marie virginis
Ave dei pia genitrix	29	conductus	24v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Dies ista colitur	31	conductus	25v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Marian Mass	136–143	votive mass	60v–61v	de sancta Maria

Of these, seven individual pieces are rubricated specifically to Mary, bearing several different rubrics: *Sequentia de Sancta Maria*, *De Sancta Maria Sequentia*, *De Sancta Maria Carmen*, *Planctus Marie Virginis*, and *Carmen De Sancta Maria*. The Marian mass bears the rubric *de sancta Maria*. Except for the mass, all of these pieces occur towards the beginning of the manuscript and include three sequences and four conductus. Additionally, there are some rubrics that indicate continuations of Marian themes within the inventory of Stuttgart 95; these rubrics include the words *item* (“also” or “similarly”) or *alia* (“another”). For example, the rubric for *Imperatrix gloriosa* begins with *item*. The piece directly preceding it, *Salve mater salvatoris vas electum*, also has a Marian topic. Based on general medieval scribal practices, it is plausible that *item* indicates the similarity in topic, probably along the lines of *de sancta Maria*, a dedication to Mary.

Though the rubrics frequently reveal a generic Marian purpose, they do not specify the day in the calendar. In the thirteenth century there were several traditional Marian feasts, and celebrated throughout the liturgical year.⁸⁸ The standard set included the Assumption (August 15), the Nativity of Mary (September 8), the Purification (February 2), and the Annunciation (March 25).⁸⁹ Also gaining acceptance over the course of the twelfth century was a fifth feast on December 8 celebrating Mary’s Immaculate Conception.⁹⁰ Additional commemorations, as on the octave of Christmas, were historically associated with Mary and featured liturgical materials that often

⁸⁸ Jounel, “The Veneration of Mary,” 134–5.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15.

revealed this Marian theme. Besides these liturgical constants, there was also a larger array of Marian devotional music arranged in “a vast edifice of votive ceremonies and private devotions.”⁹¹

Marian rubrics in Stuttgart 95, while vague or generic, nevertheless reveal the strong Marian implications for the manuscript’s inventory. They also demonstrate that the tie to Marian material was not necessarily associated with a specific feast day. As will be illustrated below, other scribal characteristics point to a particularly strong tradition of venerating Mary. Specifically, I will argue that the scribe for Stuttgart 95 conscientiously used capitalization and highlighting of Mary’s name throughout the main music corpus to emphasize the importance the Virgin Mother to the users of the song collection.

Decorating Mary’s Name: Majuscule and Highlighting

In the first layer, the name “Mary” (i.e. “Maria” or its different declensions) is constantly capitalized, highlighted with red ink, or both. These scribal features seem to point to a particular importance of the Holy Mother for the possessor of the songbook. Capitalization and punctuation were not standardized within medieval scribal practice, neither for proper names nor *nomina sacra*. However, Stuttgart 95 shows a consistency in capitalization for the name of Mary if not for other proper nouns. Figures 1 and 2 below show proper names associated with biblical figures and saints in two sequences. I have placed boxes around these names to call attention to the scribe’s treatment of them. In both examples, the occurrence of *Maria* is slightly stressed with red marks, even though it is not capitalized. Other important proper names in the same pieces, however, feature no distinguishing marks. In figure 2, one finds *Qui sunt isti*, a sequence mentioning each

⁹¹ Ibid.

of the apostles; with the exception of the beginning of the versicle *Thomas non post ponitur*, the scribe fails to visually highlight any of the holy personages. The same is true for another sequence (Figure 1), *Ave preclara maris stella*: while Mary's name stands out, for other including Paul, Andrew, and especially the angel Gabriel and even Christ, the names are left without any distinguishing visual features.

Figure 3.1. Ave preclara maris stella, Folio 6r

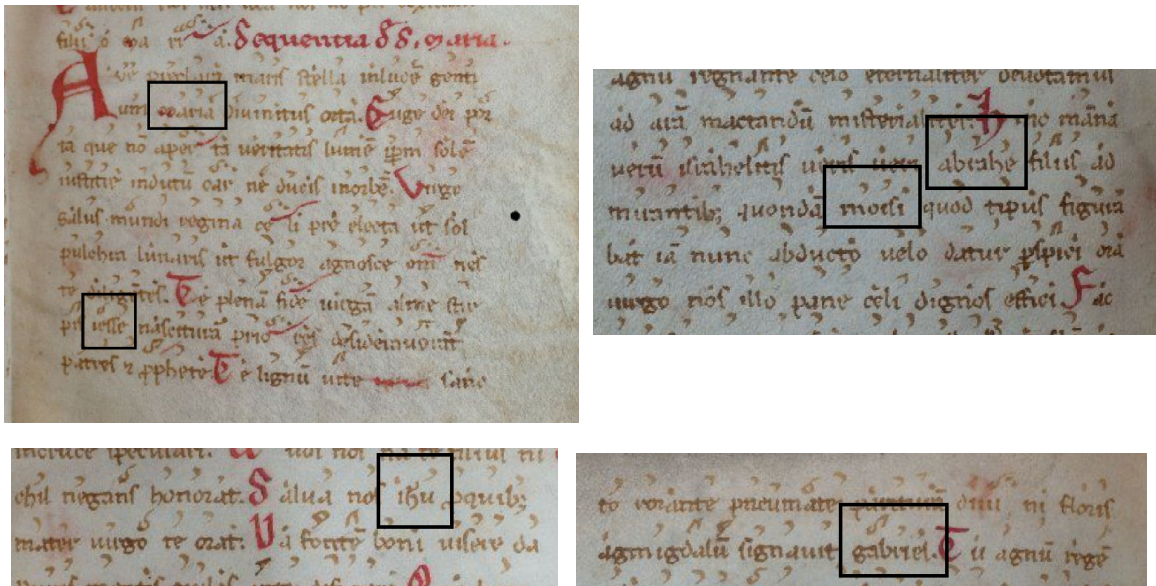
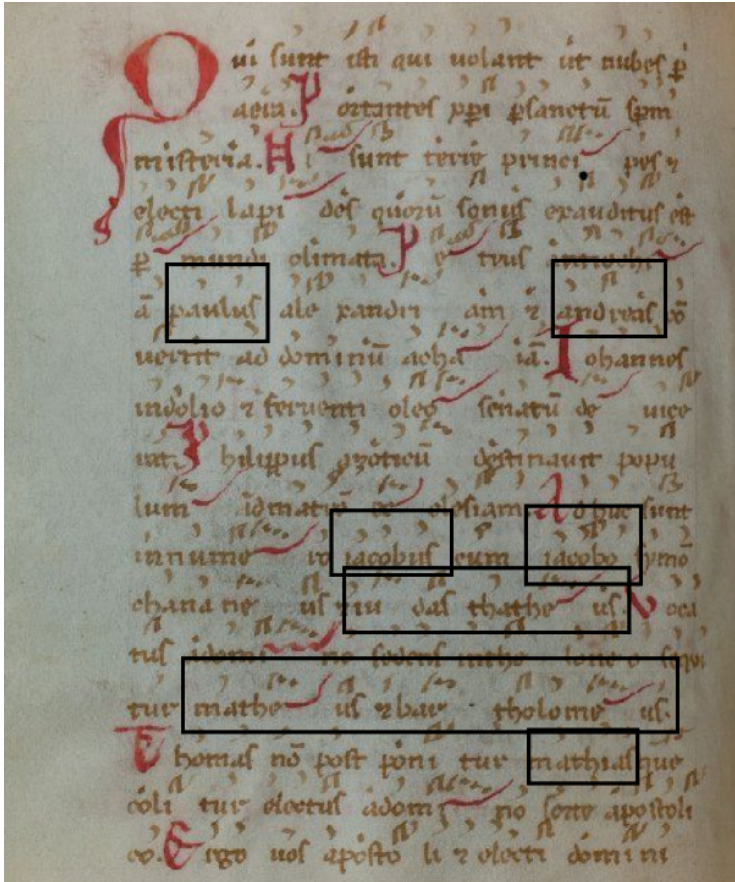


Figure 3.2. Qui sunt isti, Folio 10v



Mary was the patron of Engelberg's community, and many of the books held in the Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek were dedicated to *her*.⁹² One of the ways in which scribes expressed this connection with the monastery's patrona was the use of capitalization or red embellishments for the name of Mary. As Verena Germaud remarked about another Engelberg codex, CH-EN 47, "At the beginning, when the name of Mary, the patron-saint of the monastery of Engelberg, appears in the text, it is slightly emphasized through

⁹² Some of the Engelberg manuscripts with specific dedications include CH-EN 3, CH-EN 4, CH-EN 16, CH-EN 21, CH-EN 37, CH-EN 64, and CH-EN 65; all of these have been digitized. CH-EN 3, a copy of the vulgate produced some time in the second half of the twelfth-century, shows on its opening pages (1v) Abbot Frowin, abbot of Engelberg from 1143 to 1178, presenting a volume to the Virgin Mary, as she holds the Christ Child.

the use of majuscule or rubrication.”⁹³ Thus, letter forms and color for *Maria* are stylistic markers of Engelberg’s scriptorium. Similar emphasis on Mary’s name can also be found in CH-EN 102 as well as CH-EN 1003, particularly in the addenda found at the beginning and end of the manuscripts. In the feast of the Assumption section on 96r of CH-EN 102, for example, the scribe has capitalized every instance of Mary’s name.⁹⁴ There is not, however, any highlighting of her name. The same is also true on folio 69r in CH-EN 1003 for the Feast of the Assumption.⁹⁵

A twelfth-century book possibly from Engelberg shows similar capitalization and highlighting for the names of angels.⁹⁶ As Ritva Jacobsson notes: “When reading the manuscript, it is impossible to miss any occurrence of the angels since the words...are distinguished with capital letters and written with red ink.”⁹⁷ Dubbed the *Engelbuch* or Angelbook, the art historian Barbara Polaczek has posited that this illuminated chantbook-prayerbook was written in and for a female monastery, possibly St. Blasien in the Black Forest or Engelberg. Like Stuttgart 95, it too features a mix of genres directed

⁹³ From: Verena Gremaud, Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 47: Omiliae lectionum sancti evangelii Venerabilis Bedae presbiteri numero quinquaginta (<http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/bke/0047>), 2014. None of the publicly available catalogues for the library at Engelberg provide complete or consistent manuscript descriptions. However, as the library’s holdings are becoming digitized, current scholars are posting vital information in the online descriptions, as is the case for the cited passage from Gremaud’s online description.

⁹⁴ See CH-EN 102 <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0102/96r/0/Sequence-174> beginning on the bottom right-hand column of 96r

⁹⁵ See CH-EN 1003 <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/1003/69r/0/Sequence-189> 69r

⁹⁶ Barbara Polaczek, *Apokalypseillustration des 12. Jahrhunderts und weibliche Frömmigkeit: die Handschriften Brüssel, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Ms. 3089 und Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 352* (Weimar: VDG, 1998).


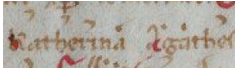
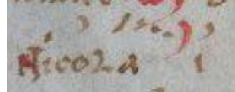

⁹⁷ Ritva Maria Jacobsson, “Tropes in Honor of Angels,” in *Chants and Its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terrence Bailey*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998), 258.

toward a single devotional purpose, in this case, chants for the Feast of St. Michael, and more generally in honor of the angels and archangels.⁹⁸


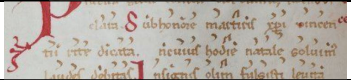
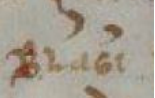

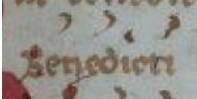
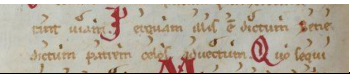
In Stuttgart 95, the vast majority of the occurrences of Mary’s name are adorned with red ink on the first letter; however, the scribe also drew attention to the name in other ways: there are occurrences where the entire name is capitalized, but it is not highlighted. Conversely there are times when there is highlighting at the beginning of the word, but the remaining letters are not capitalized. The overall effect, however, is a visual emphasis on Mary’s name every time it appears.

There are instances, however, where capitalization and/or highlighting are applied to other names and textual moments in chants. Sometimes the scribe uses such to mark structural refrains, which in turn denote a sort of ‘chorus’ that is repeated throughout a given musical piece. Moreover, there are a handful of saints, mentioned once or twice in the manuscript, whose names are capitalized, highlighted, or both. Table 3 below demonstrates all of the occurrences of highlighting for saints’ names. These include: Mary Magdalene, Katherine, Agathe, Nicholas, Blaise, Vincent, Afra, and Benedict. Excluding Afra, all of these saints have devotional links to Engelberg.

Table 3.3. Highlighting of Names in Stuttgart 95

Incipit	Page	Rubric	Graphic	Genre
Mane prima sabbati	9r	Sequentia In paschali tempore		Sequence
Virgines caste virginis	12v	Sequentia Undecium milium virginis		Sequence
Laude Christo debita	16r	De Sancto Nicolao Sequentia		Sequence
Sanctissime virginis votiva	17v	De Sancta Katherina		Sequence

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Incipit	Page	Rubric	Graphic	Genre
Celestis ut agmina	47r			Benedicamus trope
Precelsa seclis colitur	53v	De Sancto Vincentio		Sequence
Sanctorum vita virtus	54	De Sancto Blasio Sequentia		Sequence
Grates deo et honor sint	55r	Sequentia de Sancta Aram ⁹⁹		Sequence
Sospitati dedit egros	57r	Versus		Prosula
Qui benedici cupitis	59r	Sequentia de Sancto Benedicto	 	Sequence

Perhaps these examples of names being highlighted offer additional insight about the Engelberg, other important days in its liturgical calendar, and the use of this songbook.

The table below (Table 4), taken from the calendar in CH-EN 102, shows the ranks for the feasts of same saints whose names were capitalized or decorated in Stuttgart 95 (compare to the examples given in Table 3). CH-EN 102 shows several grades for the solemnity of commemorations and feasts, thereby providing a context for liturgical material in Stuttgart 95. From highest to lowest, the festal grading system used for the entire calendar of CH-EN 102 are: *summa festivitas* (“highest feast”), *maior festivitas* (“major feast”), *minor festivitas* (“minor feast”), *xii lectiones* (“twelve lessons”), and *iii lectiones* (“three lessons”). Moreover, a feast day at the rank of “summa” carries additional markers for its solemnity through an octave celebration (*octava*). Many feasts

⁹⁹ The rubric’s text clearly shows “Arā,” however this is most likely a scribal error. Further text reveals that the sequence addresses Afra, and so most likely the rubric was meant to read, “Sequentia de Sancta Afra.”

with the grade of *summa*, *maior*, and *minor* will hold a vigil (*vigilia*) on the eve of the main feast day as well. Rankings that mention the numbers of lessons denote commemorations rather than a celebration for the entire day.¹⁰⁰ Several entries for saints' day receive no ranking in the calendar; these are usually saints with no particular cult in the community, region, or diocese. On one occasion in the calendar, a later addition denoting the dedication of the altar for 11,000 virgins was not given a festal ranking; this non-ranking is more likely an omission by the later scribe than an indication of the relative solemnity of the liturgical occasions.

Table 3.4. Transcription of Selected Days in Calendar of CH-EN 102

	Feast	Festal Grade
22.i	Vincentii martiris.	minor festivitas
02.ii	Purificatio sancte M A R I E V I R G I N I S	maior festivitas
03.ii	B L A S I I episcopi et martiris	minor festivitas
05.ii	A G A T H E virginis et martiris	minor festivitas
21.iii	B E N E D I C T I abbatis	x[ii lectiones]
25.iii	Annunciatio sancte M A R I E	xii lectiones
12.vii	Dedicatio nostre ecclesie	summa festivitas
	Oct sancti Benedicti	xii lectiones
22.vii	Marie Magdalene	minor festivitas
07.viii	Afre martiris	xii lectiones
15. viii	Assumptio sancte M A R I E	summa festivitas
22.viii	Octava sancte M A R I E . Thimothei et Simphoriani	xii lectiones
08.ix	Nativitas sancte M A R I E . Andriani m	summa festivitas
15.ix	Octava sancte M A R I E . Nicomedis m.	xii lectiones
21.x	[Festivitas .xi. milium virginum]	maior festivitas
22.x	[Dedicatio altaris xi milium virginum]	
25.xi	[Katherine virginis et martyris]	minor festivitas
06.xii	Nicolai epi. et conf.	maior festivitas
08.xii	[Conceptio sancte Marie semper virginis et matris domini dei nostri]	summa festivitas

¹⁰⁰ The more lessons there were, the greater the solemnity for the feast day or commemoration. See Lila Collamore, "Prelude: Charting the Divine Office," in *The Divine Office in the Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, and Hagiography*, eds. Rebecca Baltzer and Margot Fassler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4.

There are 19 feasts in total that match highlighted names in Stuttgart 95; 15 of these are original to CH-EN 102's calendar, while 4 have been added by later hands (indicated in square brackets). Gradations are as follows: three are *summa*, three are *maior* (two original, one added), and five are *minor* (four original, one added). Six entries are designated for "12 lessons," and one, a later entry, is listed without a gradation. Eleven of the days corresponding to the highlighted names in Stuttgart 95 line up with the higher festal grades, and thus would have required more musical material. Some of these feasts are declared minor feasts, but such designations belie the liturgical importance, specifically Katherine, whose cult enjoyed a veneration according to other liturgical books from Engelberg. For instance, in addition to the official liturgy in CH-EN 102, there is an entire added office for Katherine, a sequence dedicated to her, an extra lauds service, and a hymn all in the addenda,¹⁰¹ testifying that even saints at the "minor" rank might have elaborate liturgies.

In addition, the saints emphasized in Stuttgart 95 had specific physical and material importance to Engelberg as manifested in architectural features and furnishings of the churches. For instance, the high altar in the choir in mens' church was consecrated to Mary, Katherine, Agathe, Agnes, Nicholas, Theodor, and Leonhard.¹⁰² Altars in both the monk's church as well as the women's chapel for St. Andrew were dedicated to Mary Magdalene, Katherine, Agathe, Nicholas, Vincent, and Benedict.¹⁰³ In addition devotion to the BVM, the cults of Katharine and Nicholas were particularly prevalent at

¹⁰¹ CH-EN 102: 145r, 146r, 148v, and 149v.

¹⁰² Susan Marti, *Malen, schreiben und beten: Die spätmittelalterliche Handschriftenproduktion im Doppelkloster Engelberg* (Zurich: Zurich InterPublishers, 2002), 76.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Engelberg.¹⁰⁴ While other monastic institutions had devotional ties to these saints as well, the scribe of Stuttgart 95 intensifies their significance through visual emphasis.

Thus, I would like to suggest that the inclusion of these sequences and the decoration of these specific names were deliberate. Given the particular group of saints, it is plausible that the collector of Stuttgart 95 gathered these specific pieces as a means for fulfilling local liturgical and devotional needs. Stuttgart 95, in my interpretation, then becomes an aggregation of the addenda found within Engelberg's liturgical manuscripts and serves as a supplemental gathering of devotional music linked to the specific traditions and physical layout of Engelberg's most sacred spaces. The reflection of this intention is expressed scribally through the highlighting and capitalization of these names.

Up to this point, I have examined the paleographic and codicological clues that have pointed to Marian devotion and saints' commemorations. I have also argued that those same scribal markers reinforce Engelberg as a likely provenance for Stuttgart 95. However, given the relative lack of occasional markers, I now turn to textual analysis in order to provide more clues as to the liturgical and devotional purpose of Stuttgart 95.

Marian Texts

As stated, seventy-nine of the 157 musical pieces found in Stuttgart 95's first layer are Marian in nature. Rubrics clarify the Marian nature of many of these, but textual analysis is the most compelling way to tie several unrubricated pieces to the BVM. The table below (Table 5) includes all pieces that present overt Marian content, make reference to Mary, and/or allude to themes typically associated with Marian

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

devotion, most notably, references to Bride and Bridegroom imagery. Items given in italics have only passing references to Mary and indicate a weaker textual connection to this larger devotional theme.

Table 3.5. Marian Pieces found in Stuttgart 95

Incipit	Position	Genre	Page	Rubric
Salve mater salvatoris vas electrum...configure glorie	1	sequence	4r	
Imperatrix gloriosa	2	sequence	4r	Item. Sequentia alia
Gaude mater luminis	3	sequence	4v	Alia Sequentia
O dulce flagrans lilium	4	Salve regina trope	5r	
Letabundus	5	sequence	5r	Alia Sequentia
Ave mater qua natus est	6	sequence	5v	Alia Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Ave preclara maris stella	7	sequence	6r	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Virgine Marie laudis intonent	8	sequence	7r	Alia Sequentia
Veni virgo virginum veni lumen	9	sequence	7v	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
<i>Rex regum dei agne</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>sequence</i>	<i>8r</i>	<i>In paschali tempore Sequentia</i>
Mane prima sabbati	11	sequence	9r	Sequentia In Paschali tempore
Verbum dei deo natum	13	sequence	9ar	
Salve proles davidis	16	sequence	11r	De Sancta Maria Sequentia
Ave spes mundi	17	sequence	11v	
Verbum bonum et suave	18	sequence	12v	
Virgines caste virginis	19	sequence	12v	Sequentia de virginibus
<i>Virginalis turba sexus</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>sequence</i>	<i>14v</i>	<i>Sequentia Undecium miliu[m] virginis</i>
<i>Sancte sion assunt</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>sequence</i>	<i>15v</i>	<i>In dedicatione Sequentia</i>
<i>O amor deus deitas</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>conductus</i>	<i>18v</i>	<i>Conductus</i>
O si michi rethorica	26	conductus	20v	De Sancta Maria carmen
O quam Formosa	27	conductus	22r	
Flete fideles anime	28	planctus	23r	Planctus Marie virginis
Ave dei pia genitrix	29	conductus	24v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Ecce venit de Syon	30	conductus	25r	
Dies ista colitur	31	conductus	25v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Austro terris influente	34	conductus	27v	
Fregit adam interdictum	37	conductus	29r	
Audi mundi domina	38	conductus	29v	
<i>Veri floris sub figura</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>conductus</i>	<i>31v</i>	
<i>Olim fuit argumentum</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>conductus</i>	<i>32v</i>	<i>Conductum</i>
Venit angelus ad M A R I A M virginem	49	antiphon	34r	antiphona
Salve mater salvatoris	50	versus	34r	Versus super alma redemptoris
Kyrie eleison ave nunc genitrix	56	Kyrie trope	37r	Aliud
Kyrie eleison Rex virginum amator	59	Kyrie trope	37v	
<i>Rex deus eterne sine principio</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>Kyrie trope</i>	<i>39v</i>	

Incipit	Position	Genre	Page	Rubric
<i>Ad decus ecclesie</i>	64	<i>trope</i>	39v	<i>In dedicatione</i>
Hec est sponsa summi regis	65	troped epistle	40v	Epistola
Sanctus Genitor summi	67	trope	42r	
Sanctus Est pater ex patria	68	Sanctus trope	42v	
Agnus dei Vulnere mortis	70	Agnus dei trope	43r	
Agnus dei Maria videns angelum	71	Agnus dei trope	43r	
Agnus dei Danielis prophetia	73	Agnus dei trope	43v	
Festivali melodia	74	Benedicamus trope	43v	Benedicamus
Mater dei creditur	75	Benedicamus trope	44r	Aliud
Quem prophetaverunt prophete	76	Benedicamus trope	44r	Benedicamus
In laude matris hodie	77	Benedicamus trope	44v	
Verum sine spina M A R I A est lilium	78	Benedicamus trope	44v	
Ave virgo virginum carnis dei cella	79	Benedicamus trope	44v	
Rex deus deorum	82	Benedicamus trope	45v	
Puer natus in Bethlehem	83	Benedicamus trope	46r	
Pudore femineo	90	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus
Surrexit christus a mortuis	91	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus
Virgore dulci pullulans	94	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Salve virga florens aron	98	alleluia	49r	
Virga yesse floruit	99	alleluia	49r	
Ex filiabus babilonis	103	antiphon	49v	antiphona
Gaudendum nobis est	104	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Mandragore dederunt	105	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Indica michi quem	106	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Speciosa facta es	107	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	108	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Equitatu meo	109	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Arte mira	110	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Nigra sum sed Formosa	111	antiphon	51r	antiphona
O vite via o mater pia	116	Benedicamus trope	52v	
Spiritus et alme orphanorum	119	Gloria trope	53r	
Dilectus meus clamat	125	antiphon	57r	antiphona
Domum quam edificat	129	trope	57v	In dedicatione
Missus ab arce	132	trope	59v	versus
Alleluja Dulcis Mater	134	alleluia	60v	
Salve sancta parens	136	Marian votive mass	60v	de Sancta Maria
Benedicta et venerabilis v. Virgo dei genitrix	137	Marian votive mass	60v	GR
Alleluja Sancta dei genitrix	138	Marian votive mass	60v	
Felix valde es	139	Marian votive mass	60v	Offertory
Recordare virgo	140	Marian votive mass	60v	Offertory
Ab hac familia tu propicia	141	offertory trope (on recordare virgo mater); Marian votive mass	61v	versus
Beata viscera	142	Marian votive mass	60v	Communion
Pater summe pietatis	143	Marian votive mass	60v	Communion
M A R I A virgo ora pro populo	154	alleluia	63v	

Roughly half of the chants in Stuttgart 95 are directly connected to Marian devotion. This also bears out in each genre; roughly half of every genre represented can be directly tied to a veneration of Mary. The other half of these chants, while not

necessarily first and foremost Marian, often bear hallmarks of other feasts allied with Marian veneration. For example, the Nativity of Christ, a theme with representation in Stuttgart 95, was a feast thematically and historically associated with the Virgin Mary.

This large focus on Marian devotion is also a marker of Engelberg’s liturgy. Table 6 shows the Marian feasts celebrated in Engelberg as found in CH-EN 102. Four are marked as either major or highest feasts. Naturally “octaves,” which themselves are the result of their corresponding “summa,” are lower, but still requiring twelve lessons. The Annunciation, which falls during the period of Lent, a period of time at Engelberg where most days were graded either “3 lessons” or unranked, is designated “12 lessons,” the most solemn rank during Lent. Given the large amount of music that would be required to celebrate all of these services, Stuttgart 95’s large corpus of Marian texts is a logical addendum to the musical repertoire of Engelberg.

Table 3.6. Marian feasts Celebrated in Engelberg and Their Rankings in CH-EN 102

Date	Feast	Festal Rank
February 2	Purificatio sancte M A R I E V I R G I N I S	maior festivitas
March 25	Annunciatio sancte M A R I E	xii lectiones
August 15	Assumptio sancte M A R I E	summa festivitas
August 22	Octava sancte M A R I E	xii lectiones
September 8	Nativitas sancte M A R I E	summa festivitas
September 15	Octava sancte M A R I E	xii lectiones
December 8	[Conceptio sancte Marie semper virginis et matris domini dei nostri] (addendum)	summa festivitas

While the practice of capitalizing and reddening of the BVM’s name is not unique to this Swiss double monastery, the fact that other surveyed liturgical manuscripts from 1100–1300 follows this scribal pattern witnesses to an established in-house practice. There are other indications that Engelberg’s devotional tradition drew both on explicit and implicit Marian themes common through Europe in the central middle ages, and that

they developed localized expressions of Marian piety. I will begin by examining explicit devotion to the Virgin Mother, focusing on the text of one sequence and two Kyrie tropes, as well as the specific Engelberg version of the *Salve sancta parens* votive Mass. I will then turn to implicit textual themes as those found in a group of antiphons. These pieces will present a clearer portrait of Engelberg's devotional character.

Marian Sequences

Of the thirty-one sequences that appear in Stuttgart 95, seventeen of them are devoted to or mention the Mary (Table 7). This is roughly half of the sequences in Stuttgart 95, and the genre's percentage of Marian pieces is consistent with those found in other genres in the manuscript. Moreover, three of these sequences have refrains on the word *Maria*, a musical feature which will be discussed at length in the next chapter. However, in examining the Marian themes of Stuttgart 95, one of these sequences, *Imperatrix gloriosa*, offers a further glimpse into the devotional aspects of Stuttgart 95.

Table 3.7. Marian Sequences in Stuttgart 95

Incipit	Position	Genre	Page	Rubric
Salve mater salvatoris vas electrum...configure glorie	1	sequence	4r	
Imperatrix gloriosa	2	sequence	4r	Item. Sequentia alia
Gaude mater luminis	3	sequence	4v	Alia Sequentia
Letabundus	5	sequence	5r	Alia Sequentia
Ave mater qua natus est	6	sequence	5v	Alia Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Ave preclara maris stella	7	sequence	6r	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Virgine Marie laudis intonent	8	sequence	7r	Alia Sequentia
Veni virgo virginum veni lumen	9	sequence	7v	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
<i>Rex regum dei agne</i>	10	<i>sequence</i>	8r	<i>In pachali tempore S</i>
Mane prima sabbati	11	sequence	9r	Sequentia In Paschali tempore
Verbum dei deo natum	13	sequence	9ar	
Salve proles davidis	16	sequence	11r	De Sancta Maria Sequentia
Ave spes mundi	17	sequence	11v	
Verbum bonum et suave	18	sequence	12v	
Virgines caste virginis	19	sequence	12v	Sequentia de virginibus
<i>Virginalis turba sexus</i>	20	<i>sequence</i>	14v	<i>Sequentia Undecium milium virgins</i>
<i>Sancte sion assunt</i>	21	<i>sequence</i>	15v	<i>In dedicatione Sequentia</i>

Imperatrix gloriosa introduces Stuttgart 95's preference for metaphorical texts about Mary's life and relationships with a biblical cast of characters. The sequence begins by praising the Holy Virgin and honoring her as the Mother of Christ. Throughout the text she is identified by many epithets: glorious ruler, root of Jesse, and a flowering rod. There are also briefer allusions to other names for Mary. For example, in the eighth stanza, the text refers to the "sun proceed[ing] from the star." Mary is often known as *maris stella*, or "star of the sea." This designation also appears in *Ex filiabus babilonis* another piece which will be discussed later in this chapter. In prayers to and about Mary, it was common to declaim her many titles as well as the many laudable aspects of her character and life.

1a	<p><i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i> <i>potens hac inperiosa</i> <i>ihesu christi generosa</i> <i>mater atque filia</i> <i>Maria</i></p>	<p>Glorious ruler mighty and powerful noble mother as well as daughter of Jesus Christ, Mary</p>
1b	<p><i>Radix yesse speciosa</i> <i>virga florens et frondosa</i> <i>quam produxit copiosa</i> <i>deitatis gratia</i> <i>Maria</i></p>	<p>Beautiful root of Jesse rod, flowering and leafy brought forth by the abundant grace of divine nature Mary</p>
2a	<p><i>Auster lenis te perflavit</i> <i>et perflando secundavit</i></p> <p><i>aquilonem dum fugavit</i> <i>sua cum potentia</i> <i>Maria</i></p>	<p>The gentle south wind blew over you and blowing over will make conditions favorable until [he] will chase away the north wind with his power Mary</p>
2b	<p><i>Florem ergo genuisti</i></p> <p><i>exquo fructum protulisti</i></p>	<p>Therefore, you have begotten the flower out of that, you have brought forth fruit</p>

	Gabrieli dum fuisti	while you have trusted the bridegroom's friend
	Paranympho credula	[the words] of Gabriel
	Maria	trusting Mary
3a	Joseph iustus vir expavit ista dum consideravit sciens quod non temeravit	Joseph, just man, became frightened while [he] considered that special knowledge that [she was] by no means defiled
	florescentem virgulam	the blossoming shoot
	Mariam	Mary
3b	Bene tamen conservavit archanum nec divulgavit sponsam sed magnificavit honorans hanc dominam	Still, he rightly kept the mystery safe he did not divulge it but esteemed greatly the bride honoring this wife
	Mariam	Mary
4a	Celi quondam roraverunt exquo nubes concreverunt concreatque stilaverunt virginis ingre[m]ium	The heavens once had dripped out of that, thickened the clouds and created together, dripped into the womb of the maiden of Mary
4b	Res miranda res novella quod ¹⁰⁵ procedit sol de stella	Marvelous thing, novel thing because the sun proceeds from the star
	regem dum parit puella viri thori nescia	while a maiden bears the king unknowing of a man's bed
	Maria	Mary
5a	Ergo Clemens ac benigna cunctorumque laude digna nato tuo nos consigna	Therefore, merciful and kind and worthy of all praise through your tender intercessory prayer

¹⁰⁵ In Stuttgart 95, the word "quod" appears in the main text, with "dum" written above it. The former word is not altered or marked out in any way. The edited version in *Analecta Hymnica* gives the preferred text as "Nam procedit sol de stella." Clemens Blume, ed. *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi* (Leipzig: 1904; repr. New York: 1961), 54, no. 221.

	pia persuffragia Maria	commend us to your Son O Mary
5b	Ut carnali qua gravamur compede sic absolvamur ut secure transferamur ad celi palatia Maria	That we who are burdened by worldly things may we then be freed from the shackles so that we may be conveyed safely to the palace of heaven Mary

Versicle 2a draws upon text and imagery from the *Canticum canticorum*. In this versicle, the sequence calls upon the south wind to blow and chase away the north wind.

This language recalls Song of Songs 4:16.

Surge aquilo et veni auster perfla hortum meum et fluant aromata illus	Arise, north wind and come, south wind blow through my garden and let the aromatic spices flow
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In Gregory of Nyssa’s commentary on the text, he equates the north wind with “the opposing power,” namely Satan; he likens the south wind to the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁶ Rupert of Deutz also espouses a similar interpretation.¹⁰⁷ With this in mind, the text of *Imperatrix gloriosa* deals in part with the Holy Spirit inseminating Mary, and through her pregnancy, chasing away Satan, or the north wind.

Imperatrix gloriosa also alludes to this passage from Song of Songs through its use of plant and wedding imagery. The text describes Mary as flowering, leafy, and blossoming. Intensifying the garden metaphor, the text mentions flowers and fruit in reference to Mary and the conception of Christ. Wedding imagery also connects

¹⁰⁶ Richard A. Norris, Jr., ed. and trans., *The Song of Songs: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2003), 188–9.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

Imperatrix gloriosa to the Song of Song. The virgin mother is called both a bride and a wife, while the angel Gabriel is identified as the attendant to the Bridegroom. This is particularly evocative of the Annunciation, when the archangel appeared to Mary and told her of her mystical pregnancy.

The feast of the Annunciation is a liturgical commemoration of a passage from the book of Luke (1:26–38), where the angel Gabriel descends from heaven to tell Mary that she will bear Christ, the son of God.

But the angel said to her, “Do not be afraid, Mary; you have found favor with God. You will conceive and give birth to a son, and you are to call him Jesus. He will be great and will be called the Son of the Most High. The Lord God will give him the throne of his father David, and he will reign over Jacob’s descendants forever; his kingdom will never end.”

“How will this be,” Mary asked the angel, “since I am a virgin?” The angel answered, “The Holy Spirit will come on you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you. So the holy one to be born will be called[a] the Son of God.”¹⁰⁸

The excerpt indicates three figures: Mary, the angel Gabriel, and the Holy Spirit. Versicle pairs 2a and 2b also clearly reference all of these figures. Moreover, these figures are even present in the subjects of the three votive masses entered onto folios 60v–62r in Stuttgart 95: Mary, the Holy Spirit, and Gabriel. It is not mysterious why the residents of Engelberg saw the Annunciation as a particularly important feast. The double house was dedicated to Mary and their geographical location was named Mount Angel. It seems plausible that Marian pieces referencing the Annunciation, then, would have a specific localized meaning to the community.

¹⁰⁸ Luke 1:30–35, NIV.

Imperatrix gloriosa mirrors three major textual themes particularly distinct in the songs of Stuttgart 95: 1) the continual identification of Mary through numerous honorifics and titles, 2) the occurrence of imagery and textual allusions to the *Canticum canticorum*, and 3) the persistent references and allusion to the Annunciation. The reference to the north and south winds comes directly from the Song of Songs, while garden and bridal imagery provide additional evocations. Moreover, the text for this sequence is packed with appellations for Mary. This includes oblique references, like *stella* (star), that are meant to suggest well-known Marian chants, in this case, *Ave maris stella*. The emphasis on the Annunciation represents localized devotional concerns; there are also other examples of Engelberg-specific liturgical expression.

Salve sancta parens

The explicit rubric, *de Sancta Maria*, identifies a widely known Marian votive mass. The table below (Table 8) shows the mass included in Stuttgart 95, typical of the weekly mass celebrated on Saturdays for the Blessed Virgin Mary. Such masses often took place in special chapels dedicated to Mary.¹⁰⁹ Votive masses were generally associated with days of the week, and while ferial masses were flexible, Saturday votive masses were directed towards the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹¹⁰

Table 3.8. *Salve sancta parens* Mass as found in Stuttgart 95

Incipit	Position	Genre	Page	Rubric
Salve sancta parens	136	votive mass	60v	de Sancta Maria
Benedicta et venerabilis v. Virgo dei genitrix	137	votive mass	60v	Graduale
Alleluja Sancta dei genitrix	138	votive mass	60v	
Felix valde es	139	votive mass	60v	Offertorium

¹⁰⁹ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 18.

¹¹⁰ Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 157.

Recordare virgo	140	votive mass	60v	Offertorium
Ab hac familia tu propicia	141	votive mass	61v	versus
Beata viscera	142	votive mass	60v	Communio
Pater summe pietatis	143	votive mass	60v	Communio

The traditions of a Marian Mass originated in the ninth century with Alcuin of York (d. 804), who is said to have compiled an entire votive Missal.¹¹¹ By the eleventh century, Saturday was officially consecrated to Mary and the day was provided with a complete office in addition to a mass.¹¹² Most scholarship concerning the *Salve sancta parens* mass focuses on its much later polyphonic manifestations and ensuing proliferation, specifically detailing musical practices beginning in the fifteenth century and going forward. Scholars are silent, however, on the earlier transmission of Marian masses even though the establishment of this Saturday dedication is well documented.

Stuttgart 95's monophonic *Salve sancta parens* mass sits in the middle of this historiographical gap. To date, there are no systematic studies or catalogues of monophonic Marian votive masses, and therefore we are at a disadvantage when attempting to compare different traditions that are geographically and historically relevant to Stuttgart 95. While by no means complete, this brief overview and subsequent collection of *Salve sancta parens* votive masses provides a first attempt to trace the development of the Marian votive mass as it relates to Stuttgart 95.¹¹³ The concordances I have gathered either act as early witnesses or witnesses to the traditions of German-speaking lands.

¹¹¹ Jounel, "The Veneration of Mary," 142.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ While this is only a cursory study, more scholarly attention must be paid to the development and transmission of monophonic votive masses. The development of the Marian votive mass is an avenue of study on which I plan to return.

Although called Alcuin's Missal, Alcuin's votive masses are drawn from two manuscripts containing the Sacramentary of St. Martin of Tours.¹¹⁴ These two manuscripts, dating from the late ninth and early tenth century respectively, are F-Pn Lat 9430 and F-TOM 184.¹¹⁵ While both sources are dated well after Alcuin's death, Jean Deshusses considers them to be representative of Alcuin's work at St. Martin at the turn of the ninth century.¹¹⁶ The specific texts for the mass are presented in F-Pn Lat. 9430 on 14r with the rubric *Missa in honore sancte marie*.¹¹⁷

These same texts are found in other manuscripts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, though many of these codices are not chant books, per se. In the monastery of St. Gall, they are found in two lectionaries (CH-Zz C 60, 234r and CH-Zz C 77, 6ar), an evangelary (F-MH AW 1, 122r), and a sacramentary (CH-SG 342, 711).¹¹⁸ The two lectionaries date between 900 and 910, the evangelary from the tenth century, and the sacramentary from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. Because many of these masses are included in non-musical books, it is possible that they were to be recited or read aloud rather than sung.

The masses in the manuscripts identified above, do have rubrics that indicating that they are to be held on Saturday and for the Virgin Mary. Of the concordances I have

¹¹⁴ Owen Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 123.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ F-Pn Lat. 9430, 14r, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422986v/f71.vertical>

¹¹⁸ See: CH-Zz Ms. C 60, 234r, <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/zbz/C0060/234r/0/Sequence-1141>; CH-Zz Ms. C 77, 6ar, <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/zbz/C0077/6ar/0/Sequence-1144>; F-MH AW 1, 122r, <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bmm/Erk/122r>; CH-SG 342, 711, <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0342/711/0/Sequence-489>.

found in St. Gall, the earliest version of a Saturday Marian mass with neumes is found in CH-SG 338, dating from between 1050–1060. Instead of the *Salve sancta parens* mass, St. Gall assigns different Marian chants used during the liturgical; these are displayed in the table (Table 9) below.

Table 3.9. Saturday Marian Mass in CH-SG 338

Incipit	Part of the Mass	Folio
Vultum tuum deprecabuntur	introit	566
Eruclavit cor	verse	566
Dilexisti iuitiam	gradual	567
Proptera unxit te	verse	567
Ave maria gratia plena	alleluia	567
Offerentur regi virgines	offertory	567
Diffusa est gratia	communion	568

It makes sense that this early St. Gall votive mass would use different chants; the chants most used for the *Salve sancta parens* service, frequently referred to as the “Lady Mass” or the “Missa Salve,” were not known in the earliest sources.¹¹⁹ None of the incipits found in the Stuttgart 95 version of the *Salve sancta parens* mass, for instance, are found in René-Jean Hesbert’s *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*. This monument of medieval liturgico-musical studies transcribes six of the oldest non-notated sources for mass music, all of which date between the eighth and tenth centuries. On the other hand, the chants in table 4 are indeed found in Hesbert’s *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* in multiple sources for multiple occasions. While the scholarship on the polyphonic Marian mass assumes that there were always multiple permutations of this votive service, it seems

¹¹⁹ René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonal Missarum Sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1967). According to Karl Heinz Schlager, *Sancta dei genitrix*, the Alleluia chant found in Stuttgart 95’s *Missa Salve*, has its earliest appearance in Einsiedeln 121, a Swiss manuscript dated circa 960–970, well after Alcuin’s death. Karl Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire* (Munich: W. Rieke, 1965), 171.

more likely that the Saturday mass began with pre-existing chants with other festal assignments and, over the course of the next couple of centuries, a series of codified chants became established, with different sets for multiple liturgical seasons.

In the literature on the service's polyphonic iterations, this mass varied from season to season; *Salve sancta parens* is typically associated liturgically with the period from Purification to Advent.¹²⁰ In the series given in Stuttgart 95 there are two offertories and two communions. This might indicate variations for different liturgical seasons covered by the broad use of the *Salve sancta parens* mass.¹²¹ This votive tradition might then ostensibly "properize" the Marian mass, providing an array of variable pieces that could be chosen depending upon liturgical season.

By the fifteenth century, the votive masses for the Virgin were widely known and celebrated, and there were three different basic versions of the mass, indicated by their respective introit incipits: *Rorate celi* for the period of Advent, *Vultum tuum* for the period of Christmas up to Purification, and *Salve sancta parens* from the period of Purification to Advent. Part of the reason the latter was so well known, was simply because it was used for the largest part of the liturgical year, namely the beginning of February up through November. By contrast, *Rorate celi* was used from the end of November or beginning of December up to Christmas Eve, and *Vultum tuum* from Christmas day through the first of February.

Table 10 below shows the *Salve sancta parens* mass as found in Stuttgart 95 as well as in six other contemporary sources, with which Stuttgart 95 shows demonstrable

¹²⁰ Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 20–21.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

repertorial and regional connections. I include an example from twelfth-century Benevento, simply as a geographical comparison and because it is well known as part of the *Paleographie Musicale* facsimile series. I have chosen to include two thirteenth-century sources from Weingarten, owing to of the long held assignment of Stuttgart 95 to that abbey. These are D-Sl HB I 240¹²² and D-FUl 100 Aa 32.¹²³ See columns 4 and 5 of table 10. In the seventh column, the version of the *Salve sancta parens* mass found in A-GU 1584, an early thirteenth-century sequentiary from Seckau, is provided.¹²⁴ Beginning on 33r of A-GU 1584, the mass commences with the rubric *de Sancta Maria*, although a trimmed edge cuts off the full rubric. The version of the mass in CH-EN 1003, a twelfth-century gradual from Engelberg, is given in column 3,¹²⁵ where its Marian votive mass was added on 114v. Another source from the Hirsau-reformed double community of Millstatt offers the mass as a neumeless addition in the margin on opening 59v–60r. St. Gall also offers a twelfth-century example from the diocese of Constance; it is found on 175r in CH-SGv 292.¹²⁶

None of the sampled sources completely replicates the version found in Stuttgart 95, though, the Engelberg example of CH-EN 1003 is more similar than the versions in the surveyed sources from Weingarten, Seckau, St. Gall, Millstatt, and Benevento. Both the introit antiphon and gradual are standard in all versions of the mass, although the

¹²² <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz39309524X>

¹²³ <http://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN312049579/142/>

¹²⁴ Manuscripts from Seckau contain several concordances with Stuttgart 95, and as discussed, Irtenkauf drew parallels between the Seckau *Cantionarium* and Stuttgart 95. <http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/katalog/katalogisate/1584.html>

¹²⁵ <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bke/1003>

¹²⁶ <http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/vad/0292/175r>

assigned psalm verse for the introit *Salve sancta parens* is not standard. The offertory provides a good example of other divergences.

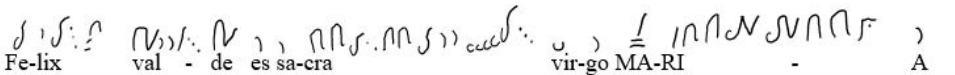
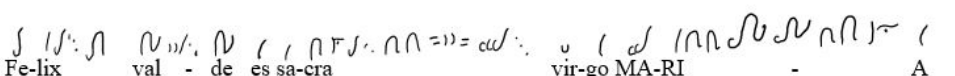

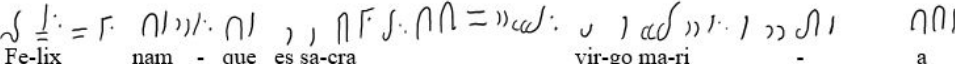
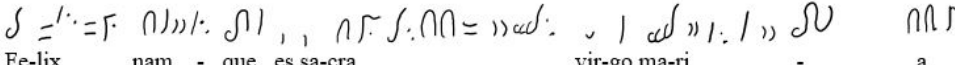
Felix valde es sacra is found in Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 1003. By contrast, *Felix namque es sacra*, apparently a textual variation, is found in A-GU 1584, D-SI HB 1, and D-FUI 100 Aa 32. Musically the melodic material in the Weingarten sources is closer to the readings in Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 1003 than that of the version in Seckau book. A selective transcription of *Felix valde* can be used for comparison of melodic reading below (musical example 1). Both Weingarten manuscripts also include the *Recordare virgo pia* also found in Stuttgart 95. The Engelberg version found in CH-EN 1003 is nearly identical to Stuttgart 95—in particular on the final word MARIA. The relationship between the melodic contour and the orthography on MARIA is most distinct in the Engelberg examples over the syllable “RI.” While the other three examples have fewer notes (about four in Seckau and 10–12 in Weingarten), Engelberg’s tradition puts a long melisma on this syllable. The consistency between the two Weingarten examples is also important to note, particularly given that Stuttgart 95’s version is decidedly different both in terms of the choice of Alleluia chant and one of the communion pieces.

Table 3.10. *Salve sancta parens* mass concordances

Source	D-SI HB I 95	CH-EN 1003 Engelberg, 12 th /13 th c	D-SI HB I 240 Weingarten, ca. 1220	D-FUI 100 Aa 32 Weingarten, ca. 1220-1230	CH-SGv 292 St. Gall, 12 th c	A-GU 1584 Seckau, ca. 1200	A-Kla GV 6/35 Millstatt, ca. 1180	I-BV VI 34 Benevento ca. 12 th c
Introit	Salve sancta parens Vs. Serviant omnes	Salve sancta parens Vs. Serviant omnes	Salve sancta parens Vs. Serviant omnes	Salve sancta parens Vs. Sentiant omnes tuum levamen	Salve sancta parens Vs. Benedicta tu in mulieribus	Salve sancta parens Vs. Serviant omnes	Salve sancta parens Vs. Senciant omnes tuum adiu??amen	Salve sancta parens Vs. Eructavit cor meum
Gradual	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix	Benedicta et venerabilis Vs. Virgo dei genitrix
Alleluia	Vs. Sancta dei genitrix	Vs. Sancta dei genitrix ¹²⁷	Vs. Virga Jesse floruit		Vs. Virga Jesse floruit	Vs. Virgo dei genitrix gloriosa Vs. Virga Jesse floruit Vs. Omnis GloriVs. Hec est specio Vs. Christe dei genitrix Vs. Sancta dei genitrix Vs. Ave maria gracia plena	Vs. Sancta dei genitrix	Vs. Post partum virgo inviolata
Offertory	Felix valde es sacra Recordare virgo v. Ab hac familia	Felix valde es sacra	Recordare virgo pia Felix namque es sacra	Recordare virgo pia Felix namque es sacra	Beata es virgo Maria	Felix namque es sacra	Recordare virgo	Beata es virgo Maria
Communion	Beata viscera Pater summe pietatis	Beata viscera	Regina mundi Beata viscera	Regina mundi Beata viscera	Beata viscera	Regina mundi	Beata viscera	Beata viscera

¹²⁷ The alleluia I include from CH-EN 1003 occurs elsewhere than the rest of the *Salve sancta parens* mass, on folio 122r. There is no alleluia included with the *Salve sancta parens* mass itself.

Musical Example 3.1. Selective Transcription, *Felix valde/namque es sacra*

Stuttgart 95	 Fe-lix val - de es sa-cra vir-go MA-RI - A
CH-EN 1003	 Fe-lix val - de es sa-cra vir-go MA-RI - A
A-GU 1584	 Fe-lix nam - que es sa-cra vir-go ma - ri - a
D-SI HB I 240	 Fe-lix nam - que es sa-cra vir-go ma-ri - a
D-FUI 100 Aa 32	 Fe-lix nam - que es sa-cra vir-go ma-ri - a

The alleluia *Sancta dei genitrix* is common to three versions of this mass. It occurs both in Stuttgart 95's version as well as A-GU 1584's entry. On a different folio from the rest of the votive mass, folio 122r, *Sancta dei genitrix* appears as an addition in CH-EN 1003.¹²⁸ Coincidentally, this page features four pieces, three of which are found in Stuttgart 95.¹²⁹

It is apparent from this examination of the *Salve sancta parens* mass, that the version found in Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 1003 represent an in-house, localized tradition. This is borne out both in terms of selection of individual chant items as well as melodic variations. This brief case study suggests that other monastic communities also had in-house Marian votive masses, as evidenced by the consistency in the two Weingarten examples. While this is by no means enough information to claim that local or in-house

¹²⁸ CH-EN 1003, 122r: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/1003/122r>;

¹²⁹ The other two, *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*, are sequences found at the opening of Stuttgart 95 and as will be shown in Chapter 3, the two sequences share some musical characteristics with *Sancta dei genitrix*. All three of these will be discussed in detail further in Chapter 3.

traditions were standard practice in the thirteenth century, it is enough to suggest an avenue for future research.

Marian Kyrie Tropes

The Kyrie tropes also suggest an attention to liturgical music that reflects the specific relationship between Engelberg and the Virgin. There are three Kyrie tropes included in Stuttgart 95 that textually focus on or mention Mary. Two of these have a singular focus on Mary's life and intercession: *Rex virginum amator* and *Kyrie eleyson. Ave nunc genitrix*. However, the trope *Kyrie eleyson. Ave nunc genitrix* is distinctive in that the supplicant addresses Mary rather than the tripartite Godhead. By examining the commonalities in their texts, it is possible to identify not only common Marian themes found in Stuttgart 95, but also the distinctive verve Engelberg's community had for the virgin mother.

Rex virginum amator appears among other Kyrie tropes (37v–38r). A trope well-known throughout the medieval world, it shares its tune with the even more popular Kyrie trope *Cunctipotens genitor deus*, which appears earlier on the same leaf of Stuttgart 95. These troped Kyries are also known in polyphonic version in *Ad organum faciendum*, *Codex Calixtinus*, and *Codex Las Huelgas*.

The petitioner entreats first God the Father, then Christ, and finally the Holy Spirit. Throughout the threefold trope, aspects of the trinity are developed in terms of their specific relationship to Mary. Thus, God the Father is defined as creator of Mary, she from the Davidic line. Christ is called 'Son of God' and of Mary. The Holy Spirit, then, protects Mary that she might become the conduit for Christ's entry into the world,

and he assumes her body into heaven at the time of her death. At the conclusion of the tripartite trope, the speaker makes a final request for Mary's intercession.

Rex virginum amator deus Marie decus Eleyson Quem de stirpe regia clara produxit Mariam Eleyson Preces eius suscipe dignas pro mundo fusas Eleyson	King, lover of virgins, God, glory of Mary Have mercy on us Who brought forth Mary from the lineage of illustrious royalty Have mercy on us Receive her prayers, worthy, spreading out, on behalf of the world Have mercy on us
Christus decus de patre homo natus de Maria matre Eleyson Quem de ventre beato Maria edidit mundo Eleyson Sume laudes nostras alme Marie dicatas Eleyson	Christ, glory from the Father, man born from Mother Mary Have mercy on us You who, from her blessed womb, Mary brought forth to the world Have mercy on us Accept our praises, devoted to kindly Mary Have mercy on us
O pa[ra]clite obumbrans corpus Marie Eleyson Qui facis dignum thalamum pectus Marie Eleyson Qui super celos levasti corpus Marie Eleyson	O Paraclete, defending the body of Mary Have mercy on us You who makes a worthy marriage bed the heart of Mary Have mercy on us You who lifted up above the heavens the body of Mary Have mercy on us
Fac nos post scandere tua virtute Spiritus alme	Make us ascend after through your virtue Nourishing spirit

Because of its unique structure, *Rex virginum amator* would have been textually applicable to a variety of Marian feasts. Recalling the Marian feasts celebrated at

Engelberg, it is clear that this Kyrie trope could have been sung at any Marian celebration. The trope refers to several important events of Mary’s life, all of which were celebrated in Engelberg. For example, in the third section the text refers to Mary’s heart and that she is a worthy vessel for Christ. This reflects the angel’s exaltation to her during the Annunciation, in Luke 1:28, saying that she is full of grace.¹³⁰ Moreover, this same section also alludes to the Assumption in the mention of the Holy Spirit assuming Mary’s body into heaven. By beginning the troped Kyrie with a reference to Mary’s lineage, *Rex virginum amator* could also be seen as applicable to the feast of Mary’s birth. Given that only ten Kyrie tropes appear in Stuttgart 95’s original project, those selected would, presumably, need to have wide calendaric use. Because *Rex virginum amator*’s text applied to most of the Marian occasions commemorated in Engelberg, it also meets the strong devotional interest in the BVM.

While there is no specific rubric provided for this trope, it appears in a grouping of Kyrie tropes that begin with a rubric indicating a broad occasion or festal assignation. In the table below (Table 11), *Firmator sancte* bears the rubric *In summis festis*. The scribe then marks two Kyries that follow with the rubric *Aliud*, meaning, “another.”

Table 3.11. Kyrie Tropes Surrounding *Rex virginum amator*

Position	Folio	Incipit	Rubric
55	36v	Kyrie eleyson. Firmator sancte	In summis festis
56	37r	Kyrie eleyson. Ave nunc genitrix	Aliud
57	37r	Kyrie eleyson. Cunctipotens genitor	Aliud
58	37v	Kyrie eleyson. Pater cuncta qui gubernas	
59	37v	Rex virginum amator	
60	38r	Kyrie Fons bonitatis	
61	38v	Inmense celi conditor	
62	39r	Kyrie eleyson. Orbis factor rex eterne	
63	39v	Rex deus eterne sine principio	

¹³⁰ Luke 1:28 NIV

It is possible that the scribe meant the rubric to stand for the entire group of Kyrie tropes. This is partially supported by the appearance of another rubric marking another type of tropes directly after *Rex deus eterne sine principio*. On 39v, the trope *Ad decus ecclesie* is marked, *In dedicatione*, marking not only a new occasion, but an end to the Kyrie tropes. The scribe does not appear, however, to be entirely consistent in labeling new genres with rubrics. If the *In summis festivis* was meant to stand, there are three different Marian occasions offer be possibilities.

Another Kyrie trope, *Ave nunc genitrix*, shows a further example of the importance of Mary's intercession among the Ordinary chants sung at Engelberg. In the text, the singer appeals to Mary directly as interpolated in one of the sections, rather than to God. In a typical Kyrie text, the petitioner calls out Lord (Kyrie) and Christ (Christe). *Ave nunc genitrix* does not adhere to these conventions. Such a deviation is not entirely unique; in the Beneventan sources, several Kyrie tropes address other subjects, including *O Maria Lux*, which also addresses Mary instead of the aspects of God.¹³¹

Ave nunc genitrix appears consistently in the Engelberg tradition. There are concordances found in Stuttgart 95, CH-EN 102, and CH-EN 314. This means that out of the three accessible Engelberg music manuscripts and two partially surveyed chantbooks (VH-EN 42 and CH-EN 106), *Ave nunc genitrix* is found in three of them. A Seckau manuscript, A-GU 479, also contains the piece as an addendum, typically attributed to either the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Two other concordances exist in manuscripts from Hauterive and Pruhl.¹³²

¹³¹ Ibid, xxxviii.

¹³² Blume, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 54, no. 98.

In *Ave nunc genitrix*, the subject calls upon Mary directly in the first prayer. Begging for Mary's intercession, the supplicant praises Mary as the ultimate feminine progenitor. This section is also the only portion of the Kyrie trope that specifically references her position as a mediatrix, who assists the petitioner's asking for the Father's salvation. Through this small mention of Mary as the avenue for redemption and salvation, specifically as the mother of God's son, the Kyrie trope offers a subtle structural parallelism by focusing on Mary's importance through her relationship to God the Father.

Ave nunc genitrix Maria, Eleyson	Hail today, Mary, birth-giver Have mercy on us
Ave nunc clara maris stella Eleyson	Hail today, gleaming star of the sea, Have mercy on us
Et porta in domo dei clausa Eleyson	And entrance into the closed house of God Have mercy on us
Christi veri templum extitisti Eleyson	The temple of the true Christ appeared Have mercy on us
Christi mater esse meruisti Eleyson	The mother of Christ to be earned Have mercy on us
Alvum ad exemplum prebuisti Eleyson	Model offered to the womb Have mercy on us
Adiuva tibi faventes in confessione Eleyson	Help [us] favoring you in prayer Have mercy on us
Adiuva te deprecantes in oratione Eleyson	Help [us] entreating you in prayer Have mercy on us
Adiuva te collaudantes teque venerantes et dicentes ave Eleyson	Help [us] extolling you highly, and venerating you and saying Hail! Have mercy on us

Similarly, the second troped portion focuses on the virgin mother's relationship to Christ. Mary is described as both the mother and temple of Christ. Furthermore, she is described as the model womb, who brings forth salvation. There also seems to be much more of an emphasis on the physicality of Mary in this part of the trope. While in the first

section, Mary is described in mostly metaphorical terms, the second mostly focuses on Mary as the mother, both familial and biological, of a very real, very human, Christ.

The final section focuses entirely on asking for Mary's aid and intercession directly. This closing also suggests that the supplicant favors Marian devotion. Given that Mary is the patrona of the Engelberg community, it is not surprising that *Ave nunc genitrix* appears in three of the major musical manuscripts in Engelberg. Going past simply identifying Mary, the third Kyrie section identifies the double cloister through its seemingly-ubiquitous focus on Marian devotion.

Ave nunc genitrix and *Rex virginum amator* do have some imagery and thematic consistencies between them. Both make mention of Mary's womb as well as emphasizing Mary's role as the metaphorical conduit for salvation as Christ's physical mother. Most importantly, both Kyrie texts reveal the petitioner's devotion to Mary. This is particularly evident in *Ave nunc genitrix*, which not only addresses the Virgin directly but also has a final prayer declaring the supplicant's identity as someone seeking Mary's intercession with God. While more obvious in *Ave nunc genitrix*, the text of *Rex virginum amator* reveals a similar disposition. The singers appeal to Christ to honor their prayers as directed through Mary. While these two Kyrie texts may seem to simply be Marian in nature, they crucially identify the petitioners and their community as one that is heavily invested in cultivating a special relationship with the Holy Mother.

Up to this point I have discussed pieces that are explicitly Marian. However, I would like to turn to pieces that do not refer to the Virgin Mary overtly but rather a Marian element might be inferred. Many of these allusions are not readily noticeable, but I will argue that they would have been apparent to medieval audiences. The use of

Song of Songs imagery in various texts, specifically the mention of the *Sponsus/Sponsa* relationship and its parallel with the relationship between Mary and Christ, is the most persistent of these allusions.

A Series of ‘Song of Songs’ Antiphons in Stuttgart 95

On folios 49v–51v, one finds nine antiphons, six of which are based or drawn broadly from the *Canticum canticorum*: a book of the bible known for its sensual depiction of a relationship between an unnamed Bride and Bridegroom. Over the course of history, this book of the bible has been interpreted in many different ways. During the course of the twelfth century, a favored exegetical treatment views the unnamed bride as a stand-in for the Virgin Mary. It is my contention that this set of antiphons was part of a service for one of the major feasts celebrated for Mary, given the strong emphasis on Song of Songs language in Marian liturgical celebrations, particularly as seen in CH-EN 102. Thus, I will refer collectively to this set of nine chants in Stuttgart 95 as the series of ‘Song of Songs’ antiphons, in those with texts not derived from this Old Testament book.

There is an abundance of secondary literature dealing with the history of the interpretation of Song of Songs.¹³³ Ann Astell’s monograph *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* details the different historical interpretations of the biblical text in the medieval period. She details a shift during the twelfth century towards a more metaphorical interpretation of the Song of Songs. Two main themes emerge: the first

¹³³ See: E Ann Matter, *Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Ann Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Rachel Fulton, “‘Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?’: The Song of Songs as the Historia for the Office of the Assumption,” *Medieval Studies* 60 (1998), 55–122; eadem, “The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages,” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1994); Jürg Stenzl, *Der Klang des Hohen Liedes: Vertonungen des Canticum Canticorum vom 9. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008).

equates the Bride with *ecclesia*, or the Church, and the second equates the Bride with the virgin Mary. “In both the ecclesiastical and the Marian treatments, then, the historicized allegory of the Bride serves as a bridge, putting Solomon’s emotive letter in direct contact with people’s lives as a moving moral force.”¹³⁴ Astell points out that mapping both the Church and Mary onto the *sponsa* gives the devout an individual connection with the story of Song of Songs as well as a model for the soul’s journey towards God.

Rupert of Deutz is the first to link the Song of Songs with Mary’s historical relationship with Christ.¹³⁵ He begins his commentary on the *Canticum canticorum*, “What means this cry, so loud, so startling? An overflowing joy, O Blessed Virgin, a powerful love, a rush of delight wholly seized you, wholly captured you.”¹³⁶ It expands upon the first line of the *Canticum canticorum*, “Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth.” These writings were then tied to the Gospel story of Mary and Jesus. “Contextualizing the words of the Song within episodes from the Gospel narrative stimulates the audience’s imaginative, emotional participation in Mary’s experience and helps them to become her extended self.”¹³⁷

E. Ann Matter’s chapter “The Woman Who is All: The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs” from *The Voice of My Beloved*, focuses specifically on the connection between the liturgy for Marian feasts and the Song of Songs.¹³⁸ Matter identifies the

¹³⁴ Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages*, 42.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹³⁶ Norris, ed. and trans., *The Song of Songs: Interpreted*, 24–5.

¹³⁷ Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages*, 45.

¹³⁸ Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 151–77.

feasts of the Purification, Nativity, and Assumption as major liturgies that included references to the *Canticum canticorum* as early as the seventh century.¹³⁹ The Feast of the Assumption, in particular, is closely linked with the text from Song of Songs.¹⁴⁰ Matter discusses an early treatise's use of text from the Song of Songs to describe Mary's Assumption.¹⁴¹ *Cogitis me*, written in the ninth century and circulated as Jerome's ninth Epistle though actually written by Paschasius Radbertus, bears a liturgical connection to the antiphoner of Compiègne.¹⁴² Matter states, "Quotations of the *Cogitis Me* can usually also be found in this liturgical tradition, in a series of antiphons and responses to the Common of Virgins, to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and, especially, to the Assumption."¹⁴³ While Rupert of Deutz was the first to focus on the relationship between Mary and Christ, the liturgical tradition reaches even further back, with a liturgical-musical association between the Assumption and the *Canticum canticorum*.

When looking at the antiphons as depicted in Stuttgart 95, there is little information given about function other than the marking "ā" to indicate genre. The table below (Table 12) shows the six Song of Songs antiphons within a larger group of nine antiphons, consequently enough to fill three Nocturns for an entire Matins service. Those in bold draw their texts from the *Canticum canticorum*, while the other

¹³⁹ Ibid., 152.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 152.

¹⁴² Ibid, 152–3

¹⁴³ Ibid, 153.

are newly composed texts not drawn from biblical scripture. The texts of these ‘additional’ antiphons clearly mark them as Marian in theme.

Table 3.12. Song of Songs Antiphons

Incipit	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Ex filiabus babilonis	Antiphon	49v	antiphona
Gaudendum nobis est	Antiphon	50r	antiphona
Mandragore dederunt	Antiphon	50r	antiphona
Indica michi quem	Antiphon	50v	antiphona
Speciosa facta es	Antiphon	50v	antiphona
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	Antiphon	50v	antiphona
Equitatu meo	Antiphon	51r	antiphona
Arte mira	Antiphon	51r	antiphona
Nigra sum sed Formosa	Antiphon	51r	antiphona

Two antiphons precede the Song of Songs antiphons: *Ex filiabus babilonis* and *Gaudendum nobis est*. The first, *Ex filiabus*, appeals to and praises Mary. The second speaks more to the relationship between Christ and Mary, first praising Christ and then appealing to Mary for intercession. Both mention Mary by name, a detail that is absent in the texts drawn from Song of Songs.

The text of *Ex filiabus babilonis* would certainly provide exegesis for the birth of Mary, and serves as an introduction to the antiphon group as a whole.

Ex filiabus babilonis virgo dei mater filia	Out of the daughters of Babylon Virgin, mother of God, daughter
Conregnas in celorum thronis exaltata super omnia	You co-reign together on the heavenly throne exalted above all
De profundo fecis et miserie Educ nos desolatos gratie	From the depths of sediment and misery Lead us out, the desolate, to grace
Maria stella maris fulgida	O Mary, gleaming star of the sea
Commiserans nobis in hac vita fetida	Commiserate with us in the midst of this fetid life

This piece begins the antiphon cycle by recalling the Mary's entrance into the world from the daughters of Babylon. This phrase, daughter of Babylon, appears several times in the bible, typically with reference to women who are sullied. For example, in Jeremiah 51:33, "For thus says the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: 'The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor at the when it is trodden; yet a little while and the time of harvest will come for her. '"¹⁴⁴ This also appears in a chapter where God is set to punish Babylon severely. By mentioning the condemned women as Mary's progenitors, the writer of the text makes a variation on the much-used Eva-Ave palindrome when praising Mary.

Writers during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century continued to uphold this negative view of the daughters of Babylon. In a letter to a nun named Adelitia, Peter of Blois, a cleric primarily known for his large corpus of letters, writes ca. 1200, "The daughters of this world are the daughters of Babylon, who determine successors for themselves from impurity of flesh, conceive in sin, give birth in pain, nourish in fear, are always worried about the living, are inconsolably distressed for the dying."¹⁴⁵ This text helps to contextualize the thirteenth-century understanding of the phrase *Ex filiabus babilonis*: while the negative connotation opens the chant, it is upended through the emergence Virgin Mary, who herself a daughter, but also virgin and mother of God, reigns from a celestial seat. "

¹⁴⁴ Jeremiah 51:33 NIV

¹⁴⁵ Ashleigh Imus, trans., "A Letter from Peter of Blois, "Medieval Women's Latin Letters. <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1287.html>; *Filiae hujus saeculi filiae Babylonis, quae de carnis immunditia sibi destinant successores, in peccato concipiunt, in dolore pariunt, in timore nutriunt, de viventibus semper sollicitae sunt, de moricntibus inconsolabiliter affliguntur.* For a biography of Peter of Blois, see: John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 7–48.

Gaudendum nobis est is a processional antiphon venerating Mary; it appears as the second of the group of antiphons in the original layer of Stuttgart 95.¹⁴⁶ It begins by praising Christ, but soon after turns to an exhortation to the virgin Mary.

<p>Gaudendum nobis est quod Christus mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine virginum natus nostri naturam in sue divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsam pre omnibus amemus laudemus glorificantes hoc sepe subplectentes M A R I A M A R I A totius sanctitatis tu principalis gemma nos tibi humiliter servientes ut ab hostis antique mille millenis fraudibus defendas petimus</p>	<p>Let us rejoice that Christ, intermediary between God and men, born of the holiest virgin of virgins has elevated the nature of us according to the person of her divinity let us love her person, above all others let us praise her, glorifying that, after twining always. O Mary, O Mary of all holiness you, principal gem, we, humbly serving you, we ask that you defend the thousand by thousandfold deceits of the ancient enemy</p>
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The antiphon opens with an appeal to Christ, particularly focusing on the mystery of the divine incarnation. Even this Christocentric beginning mentions Mary, and speaks of her “twining” (*subplectentes*) with Christ. Midway through the chant, Mary becomes the named intercessor whom the supplicants are to address. The twice capitalized *Maria* entries accompany this thematic turn. In addition, the vocative form *Maria* together with second person singular “tu,” calls out to Mary explicitly. The combination of both the figures of Christ and Mary at this point in the antiphon group is strategic: by introducing Christ and Mary’s relationship, the text paves the way for

¹⁴⁶ *Gaudendum nobis est* will be examined in great detail in the next chapter. This includes an examination of why I believe it to be a processional antiphon.

the allegory of the *sponsa* and *sponsus* found within the Song of Songs antiphons, found beginning on 50r with *Mandragore dederunt*.

The next two antiphons are the first of those with texts drawn from Song of Songs. *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem* are from the Bride's perspective as she speaks words of love and desire for her beloved, her Bridegroom.¹⁴⁷ Towards the end, *Indica michi quem* also features a verse told from the perspective of a gathered group of friends and relations.

Mandragore dederunt odors suos in portis nostris omnia poma nova et vetera dilecte mi servavi tibi	The mandrakes give forth their fragrance in our doors all fruits new and old my lover, saved for you.
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Indica michi quem diligent anima mea ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie ne vagari incipias post greges sodalium tuorum si ignores te o pulchra inter mulieres egredere et abi post vestigial gregum et pasce edos tuos iuxta tabernacula pastorum	Tell me, you whom my soul loves where you shepherd, where you rest at midday lest I begin to wander after the flocks of your companions? If you do not know, most beautiful among women go out and go after the tracks of the flock and graze your lambs near the shepherds' tents
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Speciosa facta es speaks broadly about Mary "blossoming" and being proclaimed queen by the daughters of Zion. This text is taken more broadly from the Song of Songs rather than a single verse.

Speciosa facta es et suavis in delitiis virginitatis sancta dei genitrix quam videntis filie Sion vernantem in floribus	You are made beautiful and sweet in the delights of virginity You the daughters of Zion saw the holy mother of God whom you saw
--	--

¹⁴⁷ Song of Song 7:13, 1:6–7 NIV

rosarum et lilium convallium	blossoming
beatissimam predicaverunt	with flowers of roses and lily of the valley
et regine laudaverunt eam	they proclaimed her most Blessed
	and praised her, "Queen."

Several of the phrases in this antiphon take their text from various chapters of the *Canticum canticorum*: Daughters of Zion (3:11) and lily of the valley (2:1). The opening, *speciose facta es et suavis in delitiis* is a slight paraphrase of 7:6: *quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis*. These phrases are then interspersed with references to Mary as both a queen and the mother of God.

Quam pulchra es and *Equitatu meo* both speak of the Bride and her womanly traits.

In the former, after the opening declaration, the reader is confronted with a cascade of metaphors.

Quam pulchra es et quam decora	How beautiful you are, how fair
carissima in delitiis	my love, daughter of delights
statura tua assimilate est palme	Your very form resembles a date-palm
ubera tua botris	and your breasts, grapes
capud tuum ut carmelus	Your head rises upon you like Carmel
collum tuum sicut tueris eburnean	Your neck like a tower of ivory
videamus si flores parturient	Let us see if the flowers are flowering
si floruerut mala punica	if the pomegranates have blossomed
ibid abo tibi ubera mea	There will I give you my breasts

In the next antiphon, the reader encounters the more laconic, even puzzling excerpt *Equitatu meo*.

Equitatu meo incurribus pharionis	I have likened you to my cavalry
Pharionis assimilavi te amica mea	among the chariots of Pharaoh, my
	beloved.

While *Quam pulchra es* is more obvious in its application, the brief extract of *Equitatu meo* makes more sense in its biblical context, where one finds a framework not unlike *Quam pulchra es*, thus:

- 1:7 If you do not know yourself,
 O fair one among women,
 Go out and depart in the footprints of the flocks,
 And pasture your goats' beside the shepherds' tents.
- 1:8 **I have likened you, my beloved,
 To my cavalry among the chariots of Pharaoh.**
- 1:9 Your cheeks are fair like those of a dove;
 Your neck is like a necklace.

In the larger context of the first book of Song of Songs, *Equitatus meo* is but another praising of the Bride's beauty. Exegetical explanations of this passage vary greatly, usually trying to determine what kind of horse to which the Bride is being compared.¹⁴⁸

The final Song of Song antiphon, *Nigra sum sed formosa*, provides a multivalent text to finish the series of antiphon.

Nigra sum sed formosa	I am black but I am beautiful
filie Ierusalem	daughters of Jerusalem
sicut tabernacula cedar	as the tents of Cedar
sicut pellis salomonis	as the Curtains of Solomon
nolite me considerare quod fusca	Do not consider me, that I am brown
sim quia decoloravit me sol.	Because the sun has changed my color.

On the surface level, this is again a text praising a woman's characteristics. Medieval commentaries also likened the Bride to a person's soul, particularly because both *sponsa* and *anima* are feminine nouns. This was also true for Bernard of Clairvaux, who saw the blackened woman as a sinful soul, redeemed by God.¹⁴⁹ Thus, the Bride, as Mary, becomes a model for every soul.

While on the surface these six antiphons may not seem to be about Mary specifically, historical and contextual evidence helps to explain how medieval audiences

¹⁴⁸ Norris, ed. and trans., *The Song of Songs: Interpreted*, 55.

¹⁴⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, trans. Kilian Walsh (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 53.

would have understood these pieces. *Ex filiabus* and *Gaudendum nobis est* also supply material directly appealing to Mary and describing her relationship with Christ. *Ex filiabus* sets up Mary as mediatrix and helpmate to Christ, a role echoed again in *Gaudendum nobis est*. The antiphons then move into a conversation largely praising Mary and her feminine qualities. *Nigra sum*, the final antiphon, summarizes Mary's beauty, and also offers a closing parallel: the daughters of Jerusalem. If the daughters of Babylon in *Ex filiabus* speak of fallen women, *Nigra sum*'s mention of the daughters of Jerusalem allude instead to the daughters of a nation faithful to God. Liturgically, texts from the *Canticum canticorum* can be found in many of the major Marian feasts, suggesting a possible occasion for these antiphons—to the veneration of Engelberg's patrona.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that texts with Marian devotional themes account for over half of the musical repertoire in Stuttgart 95's original layer. In addition, while the musical pieces in general may very well have been incorporated into the liturgy of the intended church and offer pieces for non-Marian occasions, the repertoire does not provide music for the entire liturgical year. Rather, Stuttgart 95 should be understood as a liturgical-devotional supplement, and one with a pronounced Marian focus. This conspicuous emphasis on Mary may, furthermore, be suggestive of the *patrocinium* for which the book was made, and hence the provenance of the manuscript. That the virgin mother was patron saint of Engelberg accords well with other evidence presented in Chapter II, which similarly points to this Swiss double monastery as a more plausible place of origin and usage than Weingarten. As I have illustrated in the foregoing

discussion, moreover, the importance of Mary is apparent not only in the repertory, but also various scribal markers. The scribe for Stuttgart 95, like other scribes in Engelberg, took care to use capitalization and red decoration when writing Mary's name. Other saints' names also bear these markers, specifically those who had strong devotional ties to Engelberg as manifested in festal ranking (calendars) and altars. These names, like those of Katherine, Nicholas, and Blaise, bear similar calligraphic attention and detail with the Marian pieces. On the other hand, names of saints with no discernible liturgical status at Engelberg go uncapitalized and undecorated in their presentation in Stuttgart 95. This surprisingly includes the names of apostles and Christ himself.

I have demonstrated other important Marian textual themes found in Stuttgart 95. I have discussed the sequence *Imperatrix gloriosa*, and how it demonstrates an honoring of the virgin through use of titles and honorifics. I have also shown how the piece uses bridal and natural imagery, as well as mimicking text from the Song of Songs.

Moreover, I have paid particular attention to several versions of the votive mass *Salve sancta parens*. As I have demonstrated, the votive mass found in Stuttgart 95 bears the strongest resemblance to one found in CH-EN1003. Furthermore, the occurrence of this votive mass appears to be a relatively early adoption of this special service, thus reinforcing the impression of the Marian significance in the song collection as a whole.

Importantly, I have demonstrated how the Kyrie trope *Ave nunc genitrix*, present in three of the four major musical manuscripts known to be from Engelberg, directs its praise and petitions toward Mary rather than the tripartite Godhead. Most significantly, the text reveals the petitioner's devotion to the virgin, perhaps illuminating a bit of the investment the Engelberg community had as devotees of Mary.

Finally, I have argued that the idiosyncratic series of antiphons found on folios 49v–51r, several with texts drawn from the *Canticum canticorum*, are grouped together not by chance, but rather because they appear to represent a portion of a service – perhaps to be joined to a cursus of psalms and responsories. Those antiphons excerpted from Song of Songs, while not explicitly naming Mary, might be understood evoking an exegesis common to the Central Middle Ages, especially the paired lovers as stand-ins for Christ and Mary. Moreover, rather than a random set of antiphons based on the *Canticum canticorum*, the arrangement points to an intentional *compositio*, as expressed through the thematic unfolding of a dramaturgical exposition of Mary’s relationship with Christ.

This chapter has focused on Marian devotion expressed visually; that is, a zeal and dedication to the monastery’s patron that can be seen in three major ways: 1) paleographic decoration of Mary’s name, 2) a Marian focus in a prodigious share of the corpus of Stuttgart 95, and 3) specific textual themes that support and enhance the devotional topic through allegory and metaphor. However, this devotion also has a sonic element – specifically, certain pieces in Stuttgart 95 have a tendency to musically decorate Mary’s name. Indeed, as I will develop in the next chapter, Marian devotion is also expressed musically in Stuttgart 95, particularly through intertextuality and refrains that decorate the name of the virgin mother.

CHAPTER IV

SOUNDING MARY

Up to this point, I have primarily focused on the physical construction of and the texts found in Stuttgart 95. In Chapter II, I proposed a new provenance for Stuttgart 95; namely, that the manuscript belonged to the Swiss double monastery of Engelberg, rather than Weingarten. Moreover, I contended that Stuttgart 95 might be understood in part as a compilation of additamenta from other Engelberg music manuscripts, carefully organized by genre. In Chapter III, I further supported my proposal of an Engelberg provenance through an examination of the scribal components of Marian devotion in Stuttgart 95. I demonstrated that the use of rubrication and majuscule for Mary's name was a scribal trait of the Engelberg scriptorium. I also suggested that the prodigious presence of Marian devotional texts stemmed from a desire to supplement Engelberg liturgies with pieces that addressed and implored the Virgin, the double monastery's patron. Finally, I examined several texts to identify major Marian allusions, themes, and metaphors that permeate the music of Stuttgart 95.

In this chapter, I turn to the musical texts in Stuttgart 95. As certain textual allusions and metaphors are found repeatedly in the manuscript, so too are specific melodic devices. The music in Stuttgart 95 presents a repeating melodic pattern of aurally calling to Mary – sonically emphasizing the sound of her name. I will focus my examination on two antiphons and two sequences. I will show that *Gaudendum nobis est* shares musical material with *Salve nobilis virga iesse*, a responsory well-known in the German-speaking realms, as well as the alleluia, *Sancta dei genitrix*, found in Stuttgart 95's Marian votive mass. The two sequences I examine, *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude*

mater luminis, possess a mutual migrating refrain, previously unknown to musicologists. These shared melodic gestures result in an intentional web of intertextuality woven throughout different liturgical periods and ceremonies, all with the goal of musically heightening the name of the Virgin mother.

Ex Filiabus Babilonis

To begin, let us examine *Ex filiabus babilonis*, a Marian antiphon found in the Song of Songs antiphon series. As shown in table 1 below, *Ex filiabus babilonis* begins this set on 49v. While *Ex filiabus babilonis* is grouped with other antiphons whose texts are drawn from Song of Songs, its poetry is newly written and not drawn from this scriptural source. As an object of study, this piece presents many challenges. The major obstacles, however, are a lack of concordances to be found and an adiastematic version of the melody existing in just two sources: a thirteenth-century addition in CH-EN 102 as well as Stuttgart 95. Even so, a closer analysis of *Ex filiabus babilonis* offers a point of departure, from which we might ask several important questions about the practices of musical devotion, creation, and adaptation in Engelberg.

Table 4.1. Song of Songs Antiphon Series

Incipit	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Ex filiabus babilonis	antiphon	49v	antiphona
Gaudendum nobis est	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Mandragore dederunt	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Indica michi quem	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Speciosa facta es	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Equitatu meo	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Arte mira	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Nigra sum sed Formosa	antiphon	51r	antiphona

As noted above, *Ex filiabus babilonis* is found as an addendum on folio 1v of CH-EN 102 (figure1 below).¹⁵⁰ Like many of the pages with supplements in CH-EN 102 and

¹⁵⁰ CH-EN 102, 1v, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0102/1v/0/Sequence-174>.

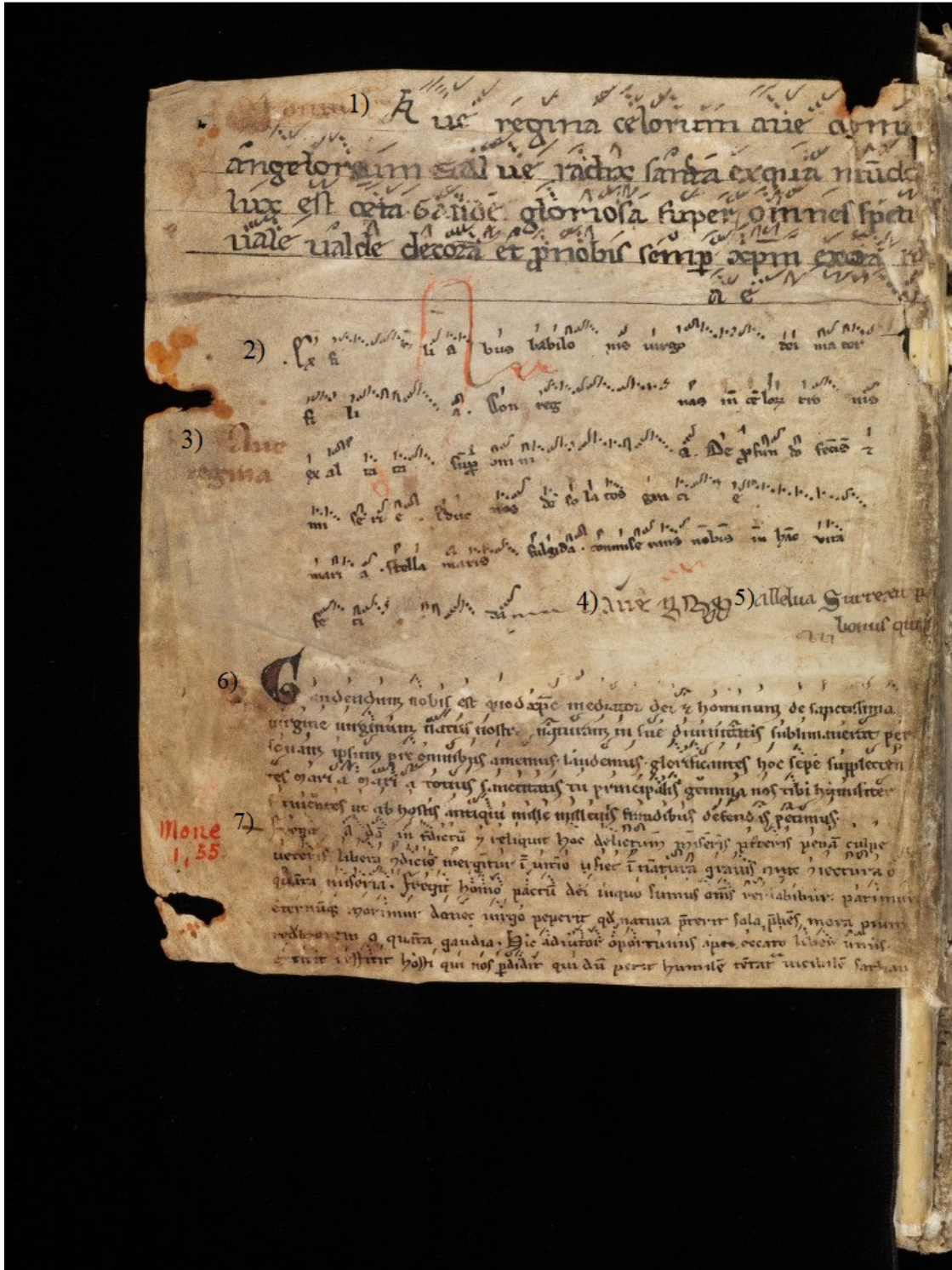
CH-EN 1003, the folio is visually confusing.¹⁵¹ Around a quarter of the bottom of the page has been excised (see Figure 1). I have superimposed arabic numbers to the pieces on a reproduction of the folio. A fully neumed version of *Ave regina celorum* (1), is featured at the top of the folio, directly above *Ex filiabus*. Directly below *Ave regina celorum*, the antiphon *Ex filiabus* (2) appears in a much smaller script. To the left of *Ex filiabus*, a scribe has written *Ave regina* (3) in what appears to be a pen trial. After the final word of *Ex filiabus*, i.e. “fetida,” to the right appears another pen trial; the incipits appear to be *Ave regina* (4) and *Surrexit pastor bonus qui* (5). On the bottom of the 1v are *Gaudendum nobis est* (6), and *Fregit adam interdictum* (7); both of these are also found in Stuttgart 95. They are in a small script and written in a much denser distribution when compared with other pieces present on this opening. Given the small number of concordances, how might we find meaningful clues about the musical traditions of Engelberg in the neumes of *Ex filiabus babilonis*?

CH-EN 102’s concordance of *Ex filiabus babilonis* bears no indication of genre, nor is it meaningfully grouped with any other pieces. We can, however decipher some information from the Stuttgart 95 version. Most importantly, Stuttgart 95 clearly identifies this piece as an antiphon. However, as such, *Ex filiabus babilonis* is atypical; normative antiphons were “brief chant[s] of relatively simple style sung chorally in alternation with psalms.”¹⁵² In other words, pieces in this genre tended to exhibit syllabic to neumatic text-note ratios. This standard strongly contrasts the highly melismatic texture of *Ex filiabus babilonis*.

¹⁵¹ Arabic numerals have been added to the figure to aid in the clarity of discussion.

¹⁵² Susan Boynton, “Plainsong,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 11.

Figure 4.1. Folio 1v, CH-EN 102



While a high note-to-syllable ratio is unusual in pieces like *Ex filiabus babilonis*, it is far from unique. Some antiphons are highly melismatic, and many of these atypical

examples feature texts drawn from Song of Songs. While atypical, *Ex filiabus babilonis* was not of singular musical construction.

We cannot turn to extensive transcription to trace patterns of dissemination and transmission. However, given the strong connection between music and poetry in the medieval period, examining the musico-poetic structure of the piece might offer some insights into the construction of *Ex filiabus babilonis*.

Dag Norberg's foundational text *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* provides an excellent methodology for the analysis of the poetic structure of *Ex filiabus babilonis*.¹⁵³ The first two phrases are easily separated into two nine-syllable phrases alternating between paroxytonic and proparoxytonic endings. This poetic structure is further supported with a rhyming pattern of abab.

Ex filiabus babilonis	9p
virgo dei mater filia	9pp
Conregnas in celorum thronis	9p
exaltata super omnia	9pp

Two couplets follow, with more-or-less ten syllables each. The pairing is supported by the end rhyme ccdd.

De profundo fecis et miserie	11pp
Educ nos desolatos gratie	10pp
MaRia Stella maris fulgida	10pp
Conniserans nobis in hac vita	10p

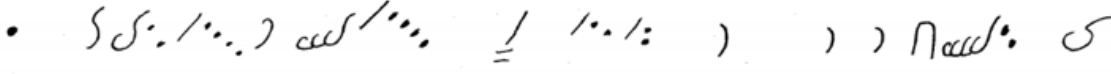
These phrases are then followed by the single word, *fetida*, which continues the rhyme of the previous couplet. Below, the text appears in its entirety, grouped according to its poetic structure.

¹⁵³ Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline La Chapelle Skubly (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004).

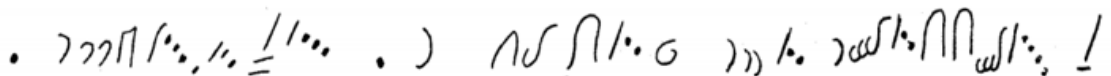
Ex filiabus babilonis	9p
virgo dei mater filia	9pp
Conregnas in celorum thronis	9p
exaltata super omnia	9pp
De profundo fecis et miserie	11pp
Educ nos desolatos gratie	10pp
Maria Stella maris fulgida	10pp
Conniserans nobis in hac vita	10p
Fetida	3pp

The repetition of musical material roughly reinforces the rhyming pattern of the text. The transcription below (Musical Example 1) shows the entire chant as found in both known concordances. The upper set of neumes represents the version found in Stuttgart 95, while the lower set are from CH-EN 102. While there are some small variations in neume shapes, the versions are virtually identical both in text and music.

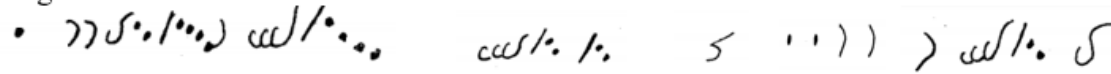
Musical Example 4.1. *Ex filiabus babilonis*, Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 102



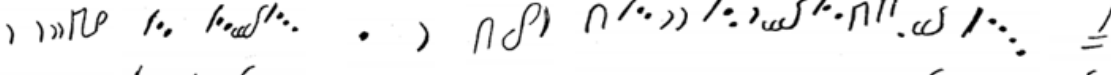
 Ex fi - li - a - bus ba - bi - lo - nis



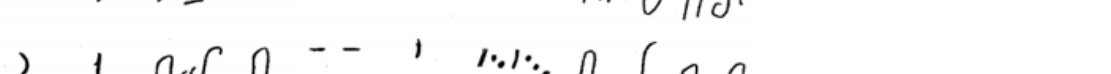
 vir-go ————— de - i ma - ter ——— fi - li - a



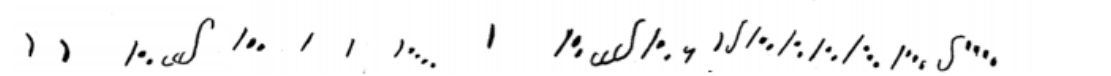
 Conreg - nas incelorum thro - nis



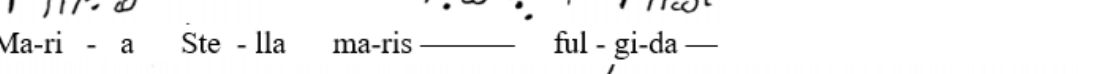
 ex-al - ta - ta ——— su-per om - ni - a



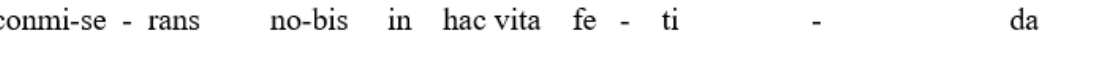
 De pro - fun - do fe-cis et mi - se - ri - e ———



 Educ nos — de - so - la - tos gra - ci - e —————



 Ma-ri - a Ste - lla ma-ris ——— ful - gi-da —



 conmi-se - rans no-bis in hac vita fe - ti - da

Similar music appears in both the complete phrases “Ex filiabus” and “Congregnas...super omnia,” shown below in musical example 2. However, it is clear that the repetition is not exact; there are some different neume groupings and added figures, suggesting slight melodic variants to accommodate syllable stress. We can definitively state that the first two couplets have repeated melodic phrases underlaid with different texts.

Musical Example 4.2. Musical Repetition in *Ex filiabus*, first two couplets

Ex fi - li - a - bus ba - bi - lo - nis vir - go ————— de - i ma - ter — fi - li - a
 Congregnas in celorum thronis ex - al - ta - ta — su - per om - ni - a

The clarity in musical form, however, disappears after this first section. The music for “De profundo fecis” repeats later in the piece on the text “Commiserans nobis.” If we look at the position of these two paired phrases in the text, the oddness of their shared musical phrases become obvious.

De profundo fecis et miserie	11pp
Educ nos desolatos gratie	10pp
Maria Stella maris fulgida	10p
Commiserans nobis in hac vita	10p

Lastly, the final word of the antiphon, “fetida,” shares music with earlier cadential melismas on the words “filia” and “omnia.”

Ex filiabus babilonis
 virgo dei mater **filia**
 Congregnas in celorum thronis
 exaltata super **omnia**

De profundo fecis et miserie
 Educ nos desolatos gratie

MaRia Stella maris fulgida

Conniserans nobis in hac vita

Fetida

This helps to create a sonic connection with the earlier, more structured phrases. Below, the text has been repeated one last time; couplets that are ‘through-composed’ are given in bold, and therefore set apart.

Ex filiabus babilonis
virgo dei mater filia
Conregnas in celorum thronis
exaltata super omnia

De profundo fecis **et miserie**
Educ nos desolatos gratie

MaRia Stella maris fulgida
Conniserans nobis **in hac vita**

Fetida

Clearly, two complete phrases are distinct: “Educ nos desolatos gratie” and “Maria Stella maris fulgida.” The phrase “Educ nos desolatos gratie” shares the same texture with the rest of the antiphon—highly melismatic, with cascading figures over certain syllables. In contrast, the simpler neumatic texture for the words “MaRia Stella” seems out of place, almost as if it came from another chant. Could, perhaps, part or the entirety of this phrase be taken from another source?

One other clue exists in the scribal treatment of the phrase “MaRia Stella maris fulgida,” which might point our search in the right direction. The text, in this case, includes punctuation thusly: “MaRia. Stella maris fulgida.” These punctuation markings are odd in their placement; other periods tend to mark the ends of strophes as displayed below:

Ex filiabus babilonis virgo dei mater filia.

Conregnas in celorum thronis exaltata super omnia.

De profundo fecis et miserie.
Educ nos desolatos gratie

MaRia. Stella maris fulgida.
commiserans nobis in hac vita

fetida

CH-EN 102 has one distinction; a period has been placed after “gratie,” however the rest of the text is parsed as it is in Stuttgart 95.

It is crucial to understand that medieval punctuation did not serve the same function it does in modern usage. Since texts were primarily meant to be read, recited, or sung aloud, these marks were often used to indicate rhetorical units, rather than only indicating syntactical information.¹⁵⁴ Mary Carruthers goes further, and points out that “cola, commata, and periodi served a dual purpose; they marked the sense- and pause-divisions, and they also *cut the text into brief segments that could be memorized as a single unit.*”¹⁵⁵ If we, again, ask if the phrases, “MaRia Stella maris fulgida,” might come from another chant—would it not make sense that they would then be held in the memory as units that might migrate between chants?

Ingressus Angelus ad Mariam and Stella Maris Fulgida

When seeking sources for the “Maria Stella” phrase, I looked for commonly used pieces in Marian offices, especially those known in the German-speaking regions. I started with a full-text search of the CANTUS database, focusing individually on the

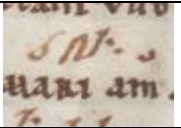
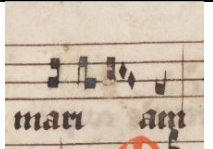
¹⁵⁴ Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 169.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 141. Emphasis is my own.

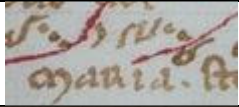
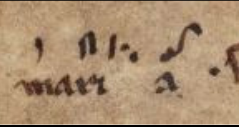
words “Stella maris fulgida” as well as “Maria”. The “Stella maris” phrase does not exist in any of the well-known hymns beginning, “Maris stella,” in any permutation. Given the number of office texts that include some variation of the word “Maria,” I focused primarily on the feast of the Annunciation, given its importance to the community of Engelberg.

Ingressus angelus ad Mariam is an antiphon used almost universally for the feast of the Annunciation.¹⁵⁶ It is found widely in liturgical manuscripts ranging from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries. Two specific concordances present a possibility for the melodic source material of “Maria” found in *Ex filiabus Babilonis*, shown in table 2 below. CH-E 611 (89), a fourteenth-century antiphoner from Einsiedeln, and A-WN 1890, a twelfth-century ‘breviarium chori’ of uncertain German provenance. Both contain a slight variation in the music for the word “Mariam” found in this antiphon. When compared with the neumatism for the “Maria” found in *Ex filiabus Babilonis*, they indicate a similar melodic figure. It is difficult to say with certainty, however, because of the lack of diastematic concordances for *Ex filiabus Babilonis* if they are the same.

Table 4.2. Mariam concordances

Manuscript	Incipit	
A-WN 1890	Ingressus angelus ad Mariam	
CH-E 611	Ingressus angelus ad Mariam	

¹⁵⁶ The CANTUS Database lists only one non-Annunciation use in the 67 concordances it lists. This reading is found in SI-Lna 18 (olim 17), a fifteenth-century antiphoner from the parish church of Kranj (Krainburg). *Ingressus angelus ad Mariam* is listed as part of the *Commune BMV*. SI-Lna 18 also lists *Ingressus angelus ad Mariam* in its Annunciation feast.

Manuscript	Incipit	
Stuttgart 95	Ex filiabus babilonis	
CH-EN 102	Ex filiabus babilonis	

As for the phrase “Stella maris fulgida,” it is found as the incipit for a hymn for the feast day of Anna, the mother of Mary. The text of *Ex filiabus babilonis* would certainly provide exegesis for the birth of the Virgin by identifying Anna as one of the daughters of Babylon. *Stella maris fulgida* is found in A-GU 30, a fourteenth-century manuscript from the abbey of Lambrecht in modern Austria, which has many other concordances with Stuttgart 95. Importantly, the music for the text does not match that found in Stuttgart 95 or CH-EN 102. However, the only thing we can definitively say is that the piece in A-GU 30 appears to be unrelated to this section of *Ex filiabus babilonis*. It is possible that there were other melodies associated with this incipit, or that the phrase “stella maris fulgida” was featured in chants for Anna’s feast day.

There are methodological problems with jumping directly to the assumption that the “Maria/Mariam” musical material is the same. First, there are no concordances that can suggest discrete pitch, or even a mode, for *Ex filiabus babilonis*. Second, the excerpt in question is so brief, that it could easily be argued that these simply represent common modal gestures rather than any sort of intentional quotation between pieces. Similarly, while we cannot rule out another source for the music of the line “Stella maris fulgida,” we also cannot assume, or even imply, anything definitive about its origin. However, the suggestion of intertextuality among different chants and liturgies is too tantalizing to shrug off, and offers too many compelling questions to ignore.

Was there a tradition of migrating refrains in liturgical chants? If so, was it unique to Engelberg? Was there a tradition of crafting these pieces, or was the community at Engelberg simply a consumer of this quotational practice? Would this migrating material have enhanced devotional practices in Engelberg, and if so, how? What might the construction of pieces with common melodic fragments tell us about the way memory played into musical composition in this period?

In the remainder of this chapter, I offer two case studies, each revolving around instances of refrains. The first of these is an examination of the antiphon *Gaudendum nobis est*. I will show that this Marian antiphon quotes from another liturgical service and occasion. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that the version common to Engelberg manuscripts deviates from the standard *Gaudendum nobis est*, bringing in music from a second source. The second of these case studies examines two Marian sequences, *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*, which share a migrating musical refrain on the word *Maria*.

Refrains and Refrain Networks

Typically, when speaking about music, the word “refrain” refers to music and text that is repeated regularly, between parts of a larger form. However, when used in reference to music of the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth centuries, a refrain serves as a migrating quotation which may, or may not, be repeated within a single text. These refrains, sometimes alternatively called migrating refrains or intertextual refrains, have captivated musicologists because while they were widely used, none of the scribes responsible for their appearance cited sources. Currently, refrain research is almost

exclusively devoted to the study of French secular music. I seek here to borrow from this methodology while focusing entirely on Latin liturgical music.

In refrain research literature, there are several works of scholarship that gather all known secular refrains together. A seminal catalogue by Nico van den Boogard collected the texts of 1,933 refrains.¹⁵⁷ The music attached to them was not presented until 2000 in a PhD dissertation by Anne Ibos-Augé.¹⁵⁸ Thankfully, both of these works have been combined and are found in the online database, REFRAIN.¹⁵⁹

Much of the literature concerning refrains tries to address or suggest a musical inception point. Scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries proposed a connection to “folk traditions” that could possibly offer a window into the history of folk song in medieval culture.¹⁶⁰ Alfred Jeanroy contended that refrains were vestigial fragments of the *rondet de carole*, a verse/refrain form typically carried in the oral tradition and thought to be used to accompany dances.¹⁶¹ The idea that refrains were tied to the *rondet* genre, and that they were strictly orally transmitted, persisted in the literature until relatively recently. Ardis Butterfield, writing in 2003, states, “So much

¹⁵⁷ Nico van de Boogard, *Rondeaux et Refrains Du XIIIE Siècle Au Début du XIVE: Collationnement, Introduction, et Notes* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969).

¹⁵⁸ Anne Ibos-Augé, “La Fonction des Insertions Lyriques Dans des Œuvres Narratives Et Didactiques Aux XIIIÈME Et XIVÈME Siècles” (PhD diss., Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III, 2000).

¹⁵⁹ “REFRAIN: Music, Poetry, Citation: The Medieval Refrain,” University of Southampton, Accessed July 15, 2016, <http://refrain.ac.uk/>.

¹⁶⁰ See: Alfred Jeanroy, *Mélanges d'ancienne Poésie Lyrique: Chansons, jeux Partis et Refrains inédits du XIIIe siècle* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1902), 51; and Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastouellen* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1870), xvi.

¹⁶¹ Jeanroy, *Chansons, jeux Partis Et Refrains*, 23.

confusion persists about the nature of refrains that it seems necessary to return to the questions that taxed...Jeanroy early last century...since the issues remain current.”¹⁶²

Newer studies have argued for a different origin for the tradition of the refrain. Jennifer Salzstein, in her monograph *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry*, discusses the refrain as a practice growing out of clerical traditions.¹⁶³ She proposes that clerics elevated the vernacular with the purpose of using quotations to authorize the composition of new texts and music, specifically those in the vernacular. Implicit in her treatment is a problem that distances refrain theory and methodology from my current study; the current field focuses on French vernacular texts, and largely deals with non-liturgical repertoires.

However, Salzstein’s point about the importance of quotation in the composition of new musical works also applies to the creation of new liturgical music. Much in the way that authors would use quotations to heighten the vernacular, intertextual quotations from older liturgies could be used to validate new rites as well. If there was a tradition of migrating refrains in Engelberg’s liturgical music, this certainly could have been the motivation behind the use of quotations. But how would such a tradition have played out within the music of Stuttgart 95’s corpus?

¹⁶² Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 43.

¹⁶³ Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music* (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 35–79.

Gaudendum Nobis Est

Gaudendum nobis est, a processional antiphon venerating Mary, follows *Ex filiabus babilonis* in Stuttgart 95.¹⁶⁴ It is found in thirteen different sources, as shown in the table below (Table 3). The CANTUS database separates *Gaudendum nobis est* into two separate traditions; one of these specifically marks this antiphon as a processional. While these differing forms are not musically identical (and indeed, there are small but definitive differences), they are similar enough to be understood as very closely related.¹⁶⁵ Taken together, these concordances support a primary usage within the German Empire during the twelfth century, most specifically in modern day Austria.

Table 4.3. Concordances for *Gaudendum nobis est*

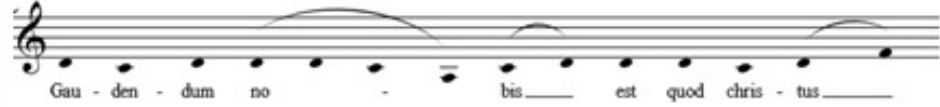

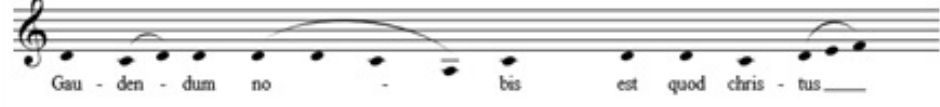
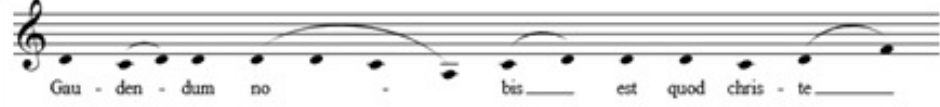


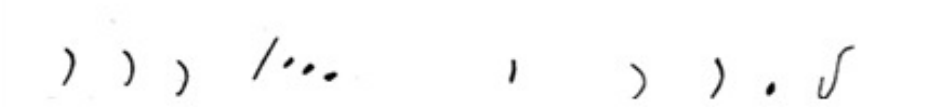

Sigla	Date	Provenance	Occasion	Processional
A-KN 1012	1100's	Klosterneuburg, Austria	Assumptio Mariae, 8	
A-KN 1018	1300's	Klosterneuburg, Austria	Assumptio Mariae, 8	
A-KN 589	1300's	Klosterneuburg, Austria	Assumptio Mariae, 8	
A-LIs 290	1100's	Kremsmünster, Austria	Octava Nat. Mariae	
A-Wn 1890	1100's	Southern Germany/Austria	Annuntiatio Mariae, 8	
MA Impr. 1537	1537	Muenster, Germany	Conceptio Mariae	
D-LÜh 2° 11	1400's	Lübeck, Germany	Annuntiatio Mariae, 8	
A-GU 30	1300's	St. Lambrecht, Austria	Assumptio Mariae	X
NL-Uu 406	1100's	Utrecht, Netherlands	Annuntiatio Mariae	X
CH-EN 1003	1100's	Engelberg, Switzerland	Addendum	X
CH-EN 102	1100's	Engelberg, Switzerland	Addendum	X
P-BnF Lat. 271	1100's	Aquitaine		X
D-SI HB I 95	1200's			X






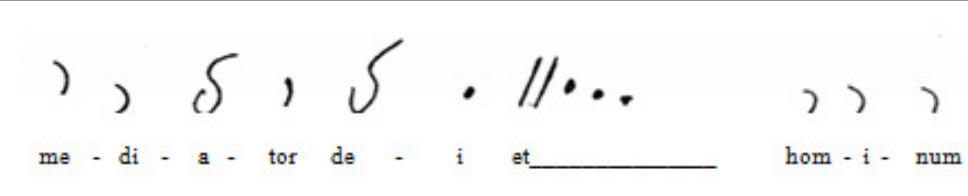
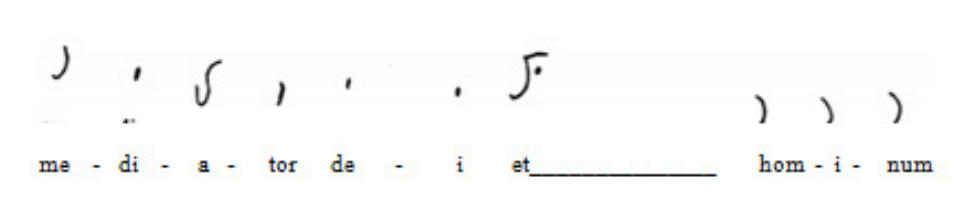
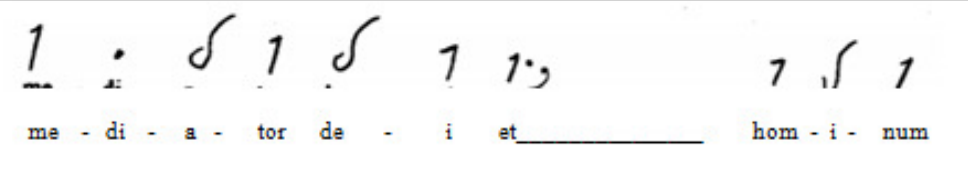
¹⁶⁴ The CANTUS database lists two different settings of this text. The first entry, CANTUS ID 201930, is an antiphon used primarily during the week after the Assumption of Mary. “*Gaudendum nobis est quod*,” CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/390233>. The second entry, CANTUS ID 850212, is listed as a supplementary chant used during either the Assumption or Annunciation of Mary. “*Gaudendum nobis est quod*,” CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, <http://cantusdatabase.org/id/850212>.






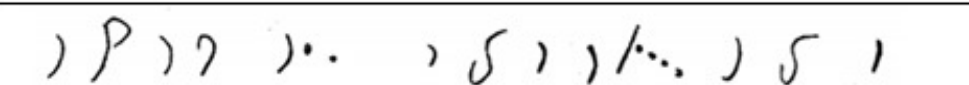


¹⁶⁵ The scribes of F-PBn Lat. 271 and A-GU 30 indicate that *Gaudendum nobis est* should be used as a processional. F-PBn Lat. 271, 18v, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8492149r/f40.image>. Musically, most of the differences appear to be a slight preference for syllabicism over neumaticism in the processional chant. The single point of strict difference between the two seems to be the use of *ipsam/ipsam* in the processional chant and *hunc* in the non-processional tradition. As Stuttgart uses *ipsam*, it might be grouped in this processional tradition shared with F-PBn Lat. 271, CH-EN 102, CH-EN 1003, NL-Uu 406, and A-GU 30.






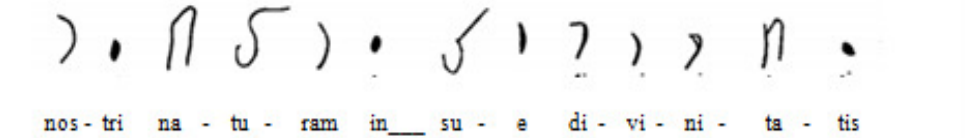
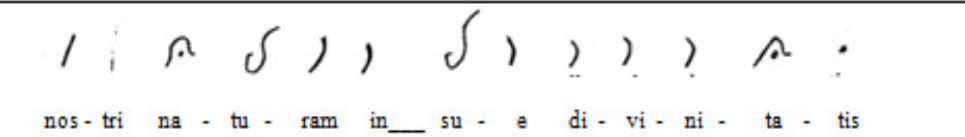
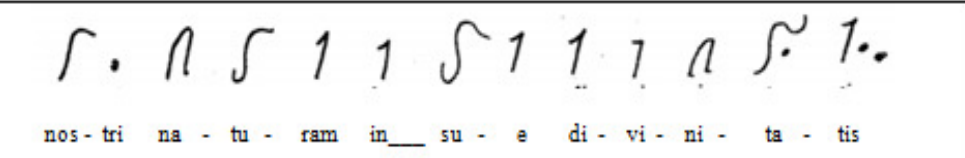
The musical example below (Musical Example 3) provides a complete transcription of *Gaudentum nobis est*. The transcription does not feature every concordance of the antiphon, but rather provides a selective group. Notice that NL-Uu 406 has been set at a different pitch level. The intervallic relationships, however, have been preserved and are consistent with the broad musical shape shown in other concordances. Also of note, is that in the sixth system, NL-Uu 406 deteriorates and is illegible in its current facsimile.






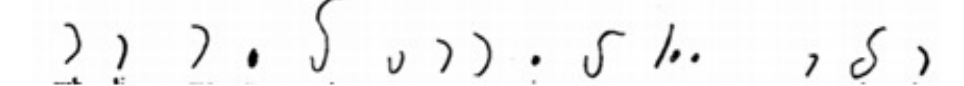
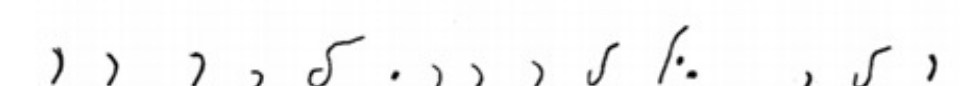
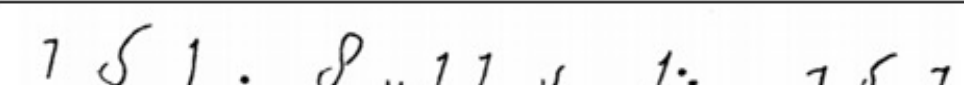
Musical Example 4.3. *Gaudendum nobis est*




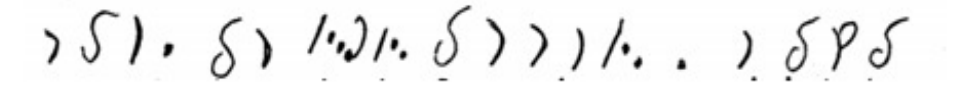
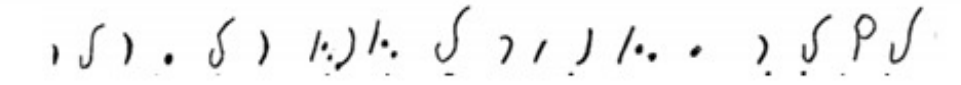
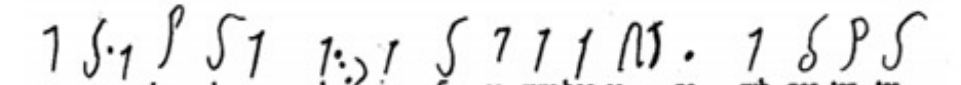
D-LUH 2°11	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - tus</p>
NL-Uu 406	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - te</p>
A-KN 1012	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - tus</p>
A-KN 389	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - te</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - te</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - tus</p>
CH-EN 102	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - tus</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>Gau - den - dum no - bis est quod chris - tus</p>




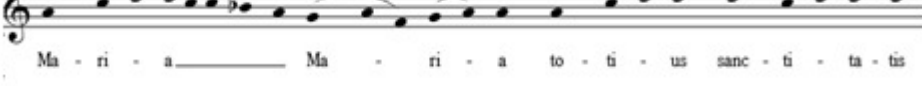
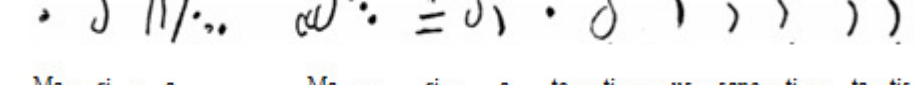
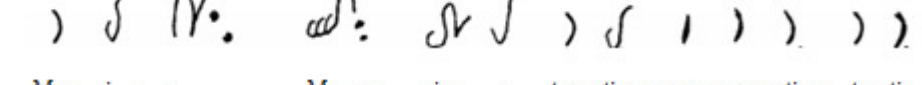
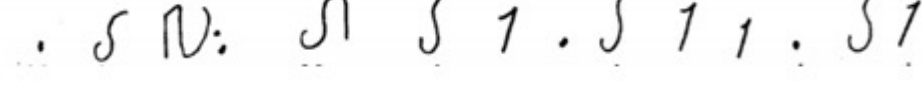
D-LUh 2*11	
NL-Uu 406	
A-KN1012	
A-KN 589	
A-GU 30	
Stuttgart 95	
CH-EN102	
A-Wn 1890	





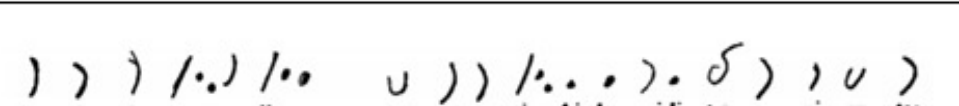
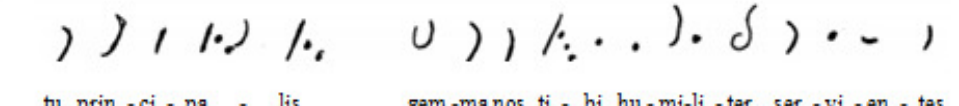
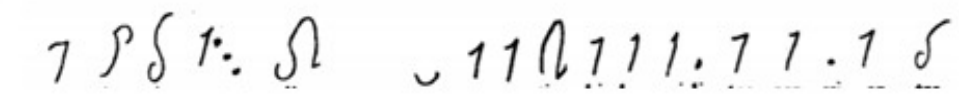
D-LUh 2*11	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - num vir - gi - ne na - tus</p>
NL-Uu 406	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num</p>
A-KN1012	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num na - tus</p>
A-KN 589	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num na - tus</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num na - tus_ est</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num na - tus</p>
CH-EN102	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num na - tus</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>de sanc - tiss - i - ma _____ vir - gi - ne vir - gi - num na - tus</p>





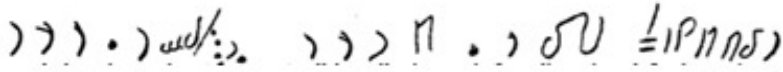
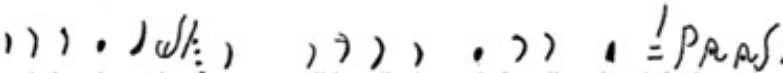

D-LUh 2*11	 <p>nos - tra na - tu - ra in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
NL-Uu 406	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ram in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
A-KN1012	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ra in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
A-KN589	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ram in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ram in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ram in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
CH-EN 102	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ram in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>nos - tri na - tu - ram in su - e di - vi - ni - ta - tis</p>

D-LUh 2*11	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - ra___ per - so - na hunc___ pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
NL-Uu 406	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - na ip - sam pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
A-KN1012	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - nam hunc___ pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
A-KN 589	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - nam hunc___ pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - nam ip - sum pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - nam ip - sam pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
CH-EN102	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - nam ip - sam pre___ om - ni - bus</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>sub - li - ma - ve - rat___ per - so - nam ip - sam pre___ om - ni - bus</p>

D-LUH 2*11	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - ce - mus hoc se - pe sub - nec - ten - tes__</p>
NL-Uu 406	<p>Illegible</p>
A-KN 1012	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - ce - mus hoc se - pe__ sub - nec - ten - tes__</p>
A-KN 589	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - ce - mus hoc se - pe__ sub - nec - ten - tes__</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus et glo - ri - fi - ce - mus hoc se - pe__ sub - nec - ten - tes__</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - can - tes hoc se - pe__ sub - plac - ten - tes__</p>
CH-EN 102	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - can - tes hoc se - pe__ sub - plac - ten - tes__</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>a - me - mus lau - de - mus glo - ri - fi - ce - mus hoc se - pe__ sub - nec - ten - tes__</p>

D-LUh 2*11	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>
NL-Uu 406	<p>Illegible</p>
A-KN1012	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>
A-KN589	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>
CH-EN102	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>
A-Wn1890	 <p>Ma - ri - a _____ Ma - ri - a to - ti - us sanc - ti - ta - tis</p>

D-LUh 2*11	 <p>tu prin - ci - pa - lis - gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes</p>
NL-Uu 406	<p>Illegible</p>
A-KN 1012	 <p>tu prin - ci - pa - lis _____ gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes _____</p>
A-KN 589	 <p>tu prin - ci - pa - lis _____ gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes _____</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>prin - ci - pa - lis _____ gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes -</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>tu prin - ci - pa - lis _____ gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes</p>
CH-EN 102	 <p>tu prin - ci - pa - lis _____ gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>tu prin - ci - pa - lis _____ gem - ma nos ti - bi hu - mi - li - ter ser - vi - en - tes</p>

D-LOh 2*11	 <p>ab hos-tis an-ti - qui - mil-le mil-le - vis - frau-di - bus - con - ser-va</p>
NL-Uu 406	<p>Illegible</p>
A-KN 1012	 <p>pe - ti - mus-ut-ab os - tis ne-qui - ssi-mi — mil-le mil - le - nis frau-di - bus de - fen-das</p>
A-KN 589	 <p>pe - ti - mus-ut-ab os - tis ne-qui - ssi-mi — mil-le mil - le - nis frau-di - bus de - fen-das</p>
A-GU 30	 <p>pe - ti - mus-ut-ab os - tis ne-qui - ssi-mi — mil-le mil - le - nis frau-di - bus de - fen-das</p>
Stuttgart 95	 <p>ut ab hos-tis an-ti - que mil-le mil-le - nis frau-di - bus defendas petimus</p>
CH-EN 102	 <p>ut ab hos-tis an-ti - que mil-le mil-le - nis frau-di - bus defendas petimus</p>
A-Wn 1890	 <p>pe - ti - mus utab hos-tis an-ti - que mil-le mil-le - nis frau-di - bus de - fen - das</p>

Refrains in *Gaudendum nobis est*

With the antiphon *Ex filiabus babilonis*, I examined the text, poetic, and musical form to pinpoint evidence of a refrain. However, in *Gaudendum nobis est*, there is an obvious place to begin a search. In the Stuttgart 95 concordance, the duplicated words “Maria Maria” are capitalized. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is a scribal trait of the Engelberg scriptorium, and represents a visual component of the Marian devotion so prevalent in the double monastery’s community. However, two other manuscripts not ascribed to Engelberg also bear the double Maria majuscule treatment. The musical stability of this phrase is also telling. While the transmission of *Gaudendum nobis est* seems to have affected small melodic variations in much of the chant, the double Maria is remarkably stable among all versions of *Gaudendum nobis est*—with the exception of those found in Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 102. The two neumed sources from Engelberg share essentially the same music as the corpus of concordances up to the first “Maria;” the second has entirely new music not found in any of the other concordances.

Salve nobilis virga iesse

Salve nobilis virga iesse is a responsory common to liturgies in the German-speaking realm, typically used on the feast day of the Annunciation. When not used for this occasion, it typically occurs on one of the other Marian feast days. *Salve nobilis* has a much larger number of concordances (Table 4) than *Gaudendum nobis est*, yet its transmission is still confined to the same general locations: present-day Austria and historically the eastern part of the German Empire.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ “Salve nobilis virga iesse,” CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant. <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/384953>

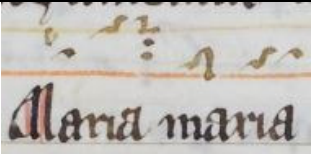
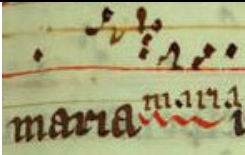
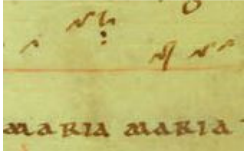
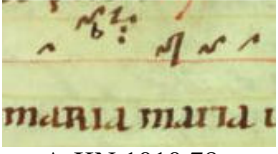


Table 4.4. Concordances of *Salve nobilis virga iesse*

Sigla	Location	Date	Occasion
A-GU 29	Lambrecht, Austria	1300's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-KN 1010	Klosterneuberg, Austria	1100's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-KN 1011	Klosterneuberg, Austria	1300's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-KN 1012	Klosterneuberg, Austria	1100's	Assumptio Mariae, Exaltatio Crucis
A-KN 1013	Klosterneuberg, Austria	1100's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-KN 1015	Klosterneuberg, Austria	1300's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-KN 1017	Klosterneuberg, Austria	1200's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-LIs 290	Kremsmünster, Austria	1100's	Octava Nat. Mariae
A-SF XI 480	St. Florian, Austria	1300's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-VOR 287	Vorau, Austria	1300's	Annuntiatio Mariae, Conceptio Mariae
A-Wda D-4	Kirnberg, Austria	1400's	Annuntiatio Mariae
A-WN 1890	Southern Germany/Austria	1100's	Annuntiatio Mariae
AA Impr. 1495	Augsburg, Germany	1495	Assumptio Mariae
CH-SGs 388	St. Gall, Switzerland	1100's- 1300's	Assumptio Mariae, Additamenta
CH-SGs 390	St. Gall, Switzerland	1100's- 1200's	Annuntiatio Mariae
CH-SGs 391	St. Gall, Switzerland	1100's- 1200's	Assumptio Mariae
D-AAM G 20	Aachen, Germany	1200's	De BMV
D-FUI Aa 55	Rasdorf, Germany	1300's+	Annae
D-SI HB I 55	Weingarten, Germany	1100's+	Nativitas Mariae
D-W 28 Helmst.	Hilwarthausen, Germany?	1500's	Annae
DK-Kk 3449 8o X	Augsburg, Germany	1580	Assumptio Mariae
GB-Ob Can. Lit. 202	Southern Germany	1200's	Assumptio Mariae
Gottschalk	Lambach, Austria	1100's	Annuntiatio Mariae
I-Ad 5	Central Italy	1235+	De BMV
PL-Klk 1	Kielce, Poland	1372	Nativitas Mariae
TR-Itks 42		1360	Vig. Assump. Mariae, Assumptio Mariae 8

The text of *Salve nobilis* also features a doubled call of “Maria, Maria.” The table below shows the melodic fragment in both *Gaudendum nobis est* as well as *Salve nobilis virga iesse*, comparing concordances from manuscripts with similar provenance and historical context. The doubled “Maria” is nearly identical in comparable sources, as shown in table 5 below. The examples from Klosterneuberg are fairly exact repetitions, while the Lambrecht instance, though retaining its melodic continuity, varies by one note in the second “Maria.” These are only a few examples, however, given the stability of

transmission for this phrase across almost all musical concordances, it is reasonable to assume that this refrain was shared between the two pieces.

Table 4.5. Double Maria Phrase in *Gaudendum nobis est* and *Salve nobilis*

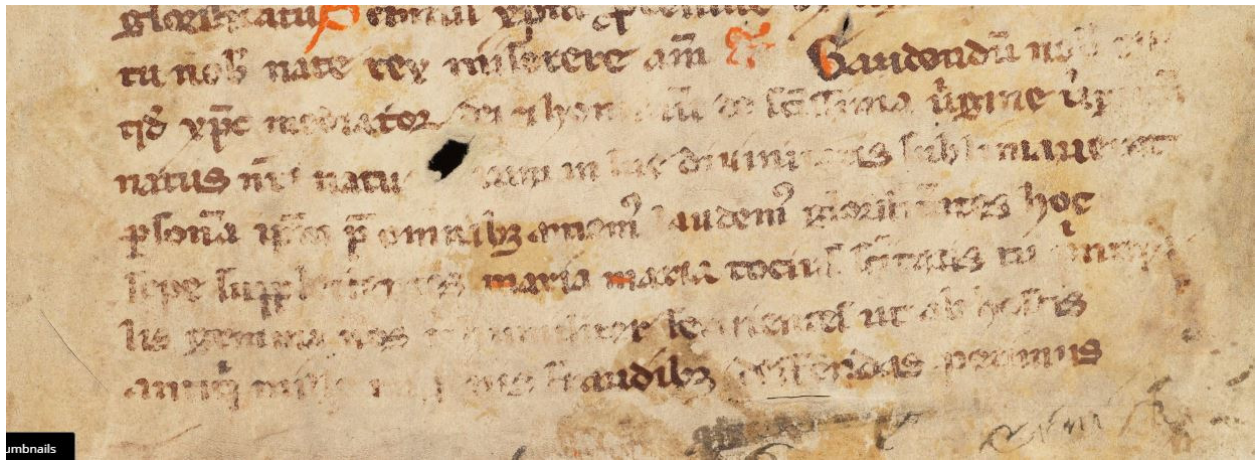
Location	Date	Gaudendum nobis est Maria	Salve nobilis virga iesse
Klosterneuberg	1300's	 A-KN 589 71r	 A-KN 1011 133r
Klosterneuberg	1100's	 A-KN 1012 51v	 A-KN 1010 78v
Lambrecht	1300's	 A-GU 30 230v	 A-GU 29 305r

Stuttgart 95's version, however, has a melodic variation for the second "Maria." It does, however, still draw on *Salve nobilis virga iesse* for the first half of the "Maria" phrase. The second is either a newly composed melodic nugget, or it is drawn from an additional source.

A Separate Engelberg Tradition

There are indications, beyond the musical clues, that Engelberg's *Gaudendum nobis est* represents a modified tradition. Three of the different concordances for *Gaudendum nobis est* are found in Engelberg music manuscripts. Two of these were already known, CH-EN102 and Stuttgart 95, however a third example appears in twelfth-century manuscript CH-EN 1003. Shown below, it contains a neumeless version of *Gaudendum nobis est*.

Figure 4.2. CH-EN 1003, 118v, *Gaudendum nobis est*



With these three textual concordances, all from Engelberg, it becomes apparent that there are consistent unique variations. The table below (Table 6) compares four different texts of *Gaudendum nobis est*. Words in brackets is difficult to decipher; while those in bold highlight points of differentiation. Three are from Engelberg (CH-EN 1003, CH-EN102, and Stuttgart 95) while the fourth, A-GU 30, is from Lambrecht.

Table 4.6. Text comparison of Engelberg version of *Gaudendum nobis est*

A-GU 30	Gaudendum nobis est quod christus mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine virginum
CH-EN 1003	Gaudendum nobis est quod christus mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine [virginum]
CH-EN 102	Gaudendum nobis est quo christus mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine virginum
Stuttgart 95	Gaudendum nobis est quod christus mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine virginum
A-GU 30	natus est nostri naturam in sue divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsum pre omnibus amemus
CH-EN 1003	natus nostri naturam in hac divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsum pre omnibus amemus
CH-EN 102	natus nostri naturam in sue divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsum pre omnibus amamus
Stuttgart 95	natus nostri naturam in sue divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsam pre omnibus amemus
A-GU 30	laudemus et glorificemus hoc sepe subnectentes maria maria totius sanctitatis principalis gemma
CH-EN 1003	laudemus glorificantes hoc sepe subplectentes maria maria totius [sanctitatis] tu [principalis] gemma
CH-EN 102	laudemus glorificantes hoc sepe supplectentes maria maria totius sanctitatis tu principalis gemma
Stuttgart 95	laudemus glorificantes hoc sepe subplectentes MARIA MARIA totius sanctitatis tu principalis gemma
A-GU 30	nos tibi humiliter servientes petimus ut ab hostis nequissimi mille mille nis fraudibus defendas
CH-EN 1003	nos [missing] humiliter servientes ut ab hostis antiqui mille millenis fraudibus defendas petimus
CH-EN 102	nos tibi humiliter servientes ut ab hostis antiqui mille millenis fraudibus defendas petimus
Stuttgart 95	nos tibi humiliter servientes ut ab hostis antique mille millenis fraudibus defendas petimus

The four major Engelberg adaptations have been given in bold. The first, *glorificantes* is a minor change. The second, a displacement of “petimus,” is also a consistent variation, however it too carries no major interpretive implications. The final change sees the word “subplectentes” substituted for “subnectentes.” Both mean roughly the same thing, to tie together; however, “subnectentes” means to bind and “subplectentes” means to plait or to twine. While the insinuation is the same, the implications are different. “Plectentes,” a form of the “subplectentes,” is used in the Vulgate to describe the making of the crown of thorns in both the gospel of John and Matthew.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, “plectentes” refers to the act of spinning wool into usable textiles. This references a familiar piece of iconography: Mary spinning at the Annunciation.¹⁶⁸ While “subnectentes” signifies that two separate objects are bound together, “subplectentes” intimates two separate threads joining as one to form a single strand. The image from the text is of the Virgin and Christ twining together. Using the word “subplectentes” with this image evokes the agony before the crucifixion for both Christ and Mary, Mary at the Annunciation, and also a plying together of two divine characters into a single object of devotion.

Given that Engelberg’s *Gaudendum nobis est* represents a different textual and musical tradition, where might we look to find the source, if there is one, of the second *Maria*? If this was another refrain, it would probably share the same occasion—in other words, since *Salve nobilis virga iesse* is typically associated with the Annunciation, it would be prudent to start with chants from this feast. Catherine Saucier has remarked on

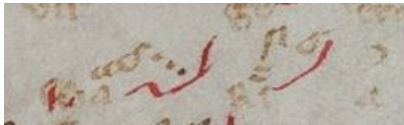
¹⁶⁷ John 19:2, Vulgate and Matthew 27:29, Vulgate.

¹⁶⁸ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 51.

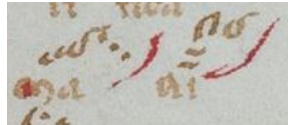
the liturgical overlap between the feasts of the Annunciation and Advent.¹⁶⁹ She has particularly noted the associations between the votive masses celebrated during Advent on Sundays and the Annunciation mass. The *Salve sancta parens* votive service mentioned in the previous chapter was associated with the liturgical period between Purification and Advent. With this connection between the liturgies of Advent and the Annunciation, the votive *Salve sancta paren* mass in Stuttgart 95 would be a good source from which to borrow.

Like the refrain from *Salve nobilis virga iesse*, it is prudent to assume any quotation from the *Salve sancta parens* mass would share both music and text. The Marian mass has surprisingly few iterations of the word “Maria.” Some of these are melodically florid. They all bear the same use of majuscule and rubrication typical for the Engelberg scriptorium. One of these “Maria”s, from the *Alleluia Sancta dei genitrix*, exhibits an identical fragment to that found in the second “Maria” phrase of *Gaudendum nobis est*, shown below in figure 3.¹⁷⁰

Figure 4.3. *Gaudendum nobis est*



Sancta dei genitrix



The alleluia verse *Sancta dei genitrix* has relatively few known concordances, and all are adiaستمatic. Karl Heinz Schlager identifies two (Schlager #222): CH-E 121 and D-M 27130; this chant also exists in A-GU 1584 and CH-EN 1003.¹⁷¹ However, yet

¹⁶⁹ Catherine Saucier, “Acclaiming Advent and Adventus in Johannes Brassart’s Motet for Frederick III,” *Early Music History* 27 (2008): 137–79.

¹⁷⁰ Karl Heinz Schlager, *Alleluia-Melodien I, bis 1100* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), 171–2.

¹⁷¹ A-GU 1584, 33v, <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.1400-1599/Ms.1584/index3.html>; CH-EN 1003, 122r, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/1003/122r>.

again, in Stuttgart 95 the “Maria” does not conform to the standard melody for this section. The musical example below (Musical Example 4) shows the “Maria” quotation from *Sancta dei genitrix*, in CH-E 121, D-M 27130, A-GU 1584, CH-EN 1003, and Stuttgart 95, respectively.¹⁷²

Musical Example 4.4. *Maria in Sancta dei genitrix*

Manuscript	MA	RI	A
CH-E 121			
D-M 27130			
A-GU 1584			
CH-EN 1003			
Stuttgart 95			

Those from CH-E 121, D-M 27130, and A-GU 1584 are fairly analogous, while the Stuttgart 95 musical content diverges. Unexpectedly, the melodic reading in Stuttgart 95 even contrasts with the version found in CH-EN 1003.





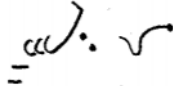


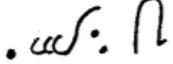


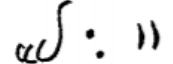


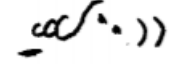

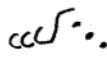
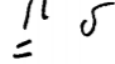

Currently, it is impossible to reconstruct *Sancta dei genitrix* using only these concordances. However, Schlager points out that this Alleluia melody is also set to the verse *Domine in virtute*, which appears in the Graduale Romanum.¹⁷³ In the transcription below (Musical Example 5), the neumes and text for *Sancta dei genitrix* have been paired

¹⁷² CH-E 121, 358, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0121/358/0/Sequence-974>; CLM 27130, 73v, [http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00041813/images/index.html?id=00041813&seite=152&fip=193.174.98.30&nativeno=%2F&groesser=150%25](http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00041813/images/index.html?id=00041813&seite=152&fip=193.174.98.30&nativeno=%2F&groesser=150%25;);

¹⁷³ *Graduale Romanum*, ed. Felice Anerio and Francesco Soriano, (Solesmes: Abbey of St. Pierre, 1974), 292.

with those for *Domine in virtute*. Notice that the general shape of both are fairly similar, however there is enough deviation in Stuttgart 95 to question whether the differences are a variation (i.e. through displacement or note-syllable coordination), or completely different music, likely taken from another source. The CH-EN 1003 version transmits the standard “Maria” setting found in *Sancta dei genitrix*—meaning that if this was a variant, it is only preserved in Stuttgart 95—perhaps intentionally modified—from the earlier Engelberg reading.

Musical Example 4.5. *Sancta dei genitrix* Maria compared with *Maria* phrase

Manuscript	MA	RI	A
Graduale Romanum			
CH-E 121			
D-M 27130			
A-GU 1584			
CH-EN 1003			
Stuttgart 95			

If we return to *Gaudendum nobis est*, we can recognize some clear connections between multiple different liturgical events and chants. In Engelberg, it is clear that there are musical references to both a responsory used for the Annunciation and an Alleluia used in the votive *Salve sancta parens* mass. For other communities, the doubled “Maria” quotes only the reponsory *Salve nobilis virga iesse*.

Recognition of Refrains

Before asking how this type of migrating refrain might have affected devotional observances, we must ask if there is an argument for knowledge of interconnected liturgies in these communities. Other sources also use capitalization to mark the intertextuality in *Gaudendum nobis est*. The scribes of A-KN 1012, A-WN 1890, and Stuttgart 95 all capitalize the “Maria” quotations. This use of majuscule visually highlights this melodic fragment, indicating that the scribes wanted to distinguish it. Both A-WN 1890 and A-KN 1012 date from twelfth-century Austria.¹⁷⁴ Surprisingly, CH-EN 102 does not graphically accentuate “Maria.” However, the neumeless version in CH-EN 1003, shown above, adds rubrication to the “m” found in “Maria.”

With the exception of these four sources, the “Maria” quotations are not specially marked in any way. This includes the fourteenth-century Klosterneuburg version found in A-KN 589. This absence of highlight suggests that these scribes saw no need to foreground the double “Maria” phrase. The concordances found in Klosterneuburg suggest that a melodic morsel was knowingly shared between *Salve nobilis virga iesse* and *Gaudendum nobis est*. Over time perhaps, the awareness of this commonality was lost. Furthermore, this implies that quotation might have been subtly incorporated into later liturgies or devotional practices.

Of the four sources that highlight the “Maria” phrase, CH-EN 1003, A-KN 1012, A-WN 1890, and Stuttgart 95, two of them are from well-known double cloisters with

¹⁷⁴ A-KN 1012 is from twelfth-century Klosterneuburg and several scholars have shown its ties to the women’s liturgy during that time period. See: Michael Norton, Amelia Carr, “Liturgical Manuscripts, liturgical practice, and the women of Klosterneuburg,” *Traditio* 66 (2011): 67–171. The manuscript A-WN 1890 is thought to date from the twelfth century; though its provenance is unknown, Robert Klugseder has suggested that it is from Southern Germany or Austria. “Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek-Musiksammlung 1890,” CANTUS Database, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123713>.

strong histories of large and active women's communities. Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel details the history of Engelberg as a double cloister, dating the adoption of the double house format around 1124.¹⁷⁵ She describes an expansion under Abbot Frowin (1143–1178) noting that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, the women's community was double the size of the men's.¹⁷⁶ Gilomen-Schenkel observes that Engelberg, along with only two other Swiss double monasteries, also enjoyed comparative longevity as a joint foundation, still standing as a double house in the early fifteenth century.¹⁷⁷

Klosterneuburg's history as a joint religious community is even longer, beginning sometime around 1133 and ending with the death of the last canoness in 1568.¹⁷⁸ In fact, the women's house at Klosterneuburg was so large during the thirteenth century that the *Magistra* petitioned the pope to limit the number of women allowed to enter religious life there.¹⁷⁹

Because of the scribal attention paid to the "Maria" phrases at these joint institutions with large women's communities, it seems possible that they were cognizant of the intertextuality in *Gaudendum nobis est*. Drawing back on Jennifer Salzstein's ideas, could this type of quotation might have been used to "authorize" the creation of a

¹⁷⁵ Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, "Double Monasteries in the South-Western Empire (1100–1230) and Their Women's Communities in Swiss Regions," in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, ed. Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 57.

¹⁷⁶ Gilomen-Schenkel, "Engelberg, Interlaken und andere autonome Doppelklöster im Südwesten des Reiches (11–13 Jh.). Zur Quellenproblematik und zur historiographischen Tradition," in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter*, eds. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1992), 126.

¹⁷⁷ Gilomen-Schenkel, "Double Monasteries," 64.

¹⁷⁸ Norton and Carr, "Liturgical Manuscripts, Liturgical Practice, and the Women of Klosterneuburg," 71–4.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

new antiphon like *Gaudendum nobis*, specifically by referencing another piece of liturgical music? More research must be done in order to answer such a question with any degree of confidence.

Compositio and Memory

Given our anachronistic lens, it is difficult to speak of “meaning” for medieval audiences. If the refrains were recognized, then surely they conjured a broader network of Marian festal occasions. Moreover, the texts of *Sancta dei genitrix* and *Salve nobilis virga iesse* would have heightened the meaning of *Gaudendum nobis est* in ways heretofore unimagined. Below is the text of *Gaudendum nobis est*:

Gaudendum nobis est quod Christus
mediator dei et hominum
de sanctissima virgine virginum natus
nostri naturam in sue divinitatis
sublimaverat personam ipsam
pre omnibus amemus
laudemus glorificantes hoc
sepe subplectentes
M A R I A M A R I A
totius sanctitatis
tu principalis gemma
nos tibi humiliter servientes
ut ab hostis antique mille millenis
fraudibus defendas petimus

Let us rejoice that Christ,
intermediary between God and men,
born of the holiest virgin of virgins
has elevated the nature of us
according to the person of her divinity
let us love her person, above all others
let us praise her, glorifying that
after twining always.
O Mary, O Mary
of all holiness
you, principal gem,
we, humbly serving you,
we ask that you defend the thousand by
thousandfold deceits of the ancient
enemy

Now imagine that the double “Maria” phrase called to mind the following:

Salve nobilis virga iesse
salve flos campi MARIA
unde ortum est
lilium convallium

Hail, noble rod of iesse
hail, flower of the field MARIA
from whom has been born
the lily of the valley

The implied text evokes the natural imagery found in the Song of Songs. In the case of Stuttgart 95, it foreshadows allusions found later in the series in *Speciosa facta es*.

Musically, it also recalls the first moment the melody reaches the height of its tessitura in *Salve nobilis virga iesse*. For Stuttgart 95, imagine the second Maria elicits:

Sancta dei genitrix	Holy bearer of God
virgo semper MARIA	always virgin, MARIA
intercede pro nobis	intercede for us
ad dominum deum nostrum	to the Lord, our God

This mirrors the shift in *Gaudendum nobis est* from praising Mary to beseeching her for intercession. We might then, imagine a metatext, thusly:

Gaudendum nobis est quod Christus mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine virginum natus nostri naturam in sue divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsam pre omnibus amemus laudemus glorificantes hoc sepe subplectentes	Let us rejoice that Christ, intermediary between God and men, born of the holiest virgin of virgins has elevated the nature of us according to the person of her divinity let us love her person, above all others let us praise her, glorifying that after twining always.
---	--

Salve nobilis virga iesse salve flos campi MARIA unde ortum est lilium convallium	Hail, noble rod of iesse hail, flower of the field MARY from whom has been born the lily of the valley
--	---

Sancta dei genitrix virgo semper MARIA intercede pro nobis ad dominum deum nostrum	Holy bearer of God always virgin, MARY intercede for us to the Lord, our God
---	---

totius sanctitatis tu principalis gemma nos tibi humiliter servientes ut ab hostis antique mille millenis fraudibus defendas petimus	of all holiness you, principal gem, we, humbly serving you, we ask that you defend the thousand by thousandfold deceits of the ancient enemy
--	---

To interpolate these chants demonstrates a masterful knowledge of liturgical texts, but it also shows an authoritative command of melody. If we examine the standard musical content for *Sancte dei genitrix*, it becomes apparent that a melodically-inflected “Maria” is a good musical choice for a variation: it begins and ends on the same notes, and while more melismatic, features roughly the same shape.

Scholars who write about Stuttgart 95 have a tendency to describe it as a peripheral, uspectacular witness, often punctuating its plain appearance, while fixating on certain aspects of its inventory that might modestly reflect more fashionable avant-garde musical tastes—much in the same way musicology as a discipline favors Paris over other geographic regions in the thirteenth century. Once thoroughly examined, however, Stuttgart 95 displays a remarkable propensity for collection, manipulation, and at times, outright composition. The scribe organized its corpus by genre, imposing order as she/he could. She also added *Gaudendum nobis est*, but she/he wasn’t content to simply copy—she/he used her compositional skills to create and enhance the Marian devotional refrain network. In making Stuttgart 95, the scribe was not just replicating, instead innovating while she/he worked.

Virtual Refrains

Stuttgart 95 has a number of other types of refrains that also augment devotional expression. I would like to focus on those found in the sequences *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*. In Stuttgart 95 the two are found consecutively on folios 4r and 4v, respectively. Both exhibit repetitions on the word “Maria” at the end of each verse; these reiterations serve similar musical and structural functions in each.

Andreas Haug has discussed the refrain in the new song traditions of the twelfth century. In “Ritual and Repetition: The Ambiguities of Refrains,” he describes two different types of refrain: real and virtual ones.¹⁸⁰ He defines “real refrains,” which I refer to as structural refrains, as musical and poetic structures that are self-contained within the larger structure of the chant.¹⁸¹ Virtual refrains, on the other hand, are smaller words or phrases that continue to return throughout a piece.¹⁸² Haug makes an additional distinction between these two categories; structural refrains are performative and functional, existing as a part of liturgical action, while virtual refrains are “textual/melodic artifice[s]” that were not always meant to be performed.¹⁸³ For Haug, compositional intention is a major characteristic of virtual refrains. In reference specifically to liturgical song, he goes further to differentiate these new styles of refrain, i.e. his virtual refrains, as “integrated into both the stanzaic melody and also the syntax and thematic content of each strophe.”¹⁸⁴ That is to say, that while structural refrains serve as a point of convergence, they do so as melodic and textual units separate from their verses. On the other hand, whereas virtual refrains also feature these moments of confluence, however, they are integral to their strophes.

The table below (Table 7 below) contains five of the virtual refrains found in Stuttgart 95. All of them use Mary’s name as a repetitive structure of the verses. Out of

¹⁸⁰ Andreas Haug, “Ritual and Repetition: The Ambiguities of Refrains,” in *The Appearance of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen, Mette Birkedal Bruun, Jeremy Llewellyn, and Eyolf Østrem (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 83.

¹⁸¹ Haug, “The Ambiguities of Refrains,” 83.


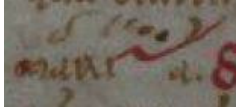


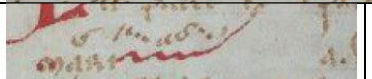
¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

these, *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis* are by far the most well known of these five pieces. Their presence in multiple manuscripts allows for an examination of the melodic function of these virtual refrains.

Table 4.7. Virtual Refrains on “Maria” in Stuttgart 95

Incipit	Folio	Rubric	Refrain	Genre
Imperatrix gloriosa	004r	Sequentia alia		Sequence
Gaude mater luminis	004v	Alia sequentia		Sequence
Ave mater qua natus est	005v	Alia sequentia de Sancta Maria		Sequence
Genitor summi	042r	None		Sanctus trope
Est pater ex patria	042v	None		Sanctus trope

Gaude mater luminis is a sequence dedicated to the Virgin. The editors of volume 54 of *Analecta Hymnica* list fifty-four different sources for this chant in three largely regional traditions.¹⁸⁵ They have also proposed that the sequence originated in the Salzburg archdiocese.¹⁸⁶ *Gaude mater luminis* also occurs in CH-EN 1003 as an addition, also paired with *Imperatrix gloriosa*. The concordances found in both *Analecta Hymnica* as well as the Cantus Database suggest a strong presence in Austrian, German, and Swiss areas, with several concordances found in double communities. These joint houses include: Seckau, Zwiefalten, Admont, Lambrecht, Klosterneuburg, and Engelberg. While

¹⁸⁵ Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister eds., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 54 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1905), Nr. 225, 358–360.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Nr. 225, 360.

I do not claim that this tradition is unique to double houses, it is of note that the sequence appears in all of the five joint institutions with long-lived women's houses.

Gaude mater luminis possesses a refrain on "Maria," found in all concordances. In the final two verses, phrase is slightly expanded, adding an exclamatory "O" before the "Maria." Throughout the sequence "Maria" repeats verbatim at the same pitch level, and serves a vital role in the musical structure. If we eliminate it, each of the verses ends either on *D* or *a*. Its purpose, then is to return the performer and listener to the finalis of *E*. This repetition very much fits into Haug's category of the virtual refrain. It is found in all variations, and most likely was conceived as simply a closing of the open verse ending.

This open-closed relationship is also present in the sequence *Ave mater qua natus est*. Like *Gaude mater luminis*, all eighteen concordances have the refrain "O Maria" at the end of each verse.¹⁸⁷ Blume and Bannister note that the melody is the same as the popular sequence *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus*.¹⁸⁸ When adapting the melody for the *Ave mater qua natus est* text, the refrain "O Maria" is used to return the line to the final note, structurally completing the musical phrase.

Gaude mater luminis can also easily be compared to *Imperatrix gloriosa*, another sequence with a refrain found in Stuttgart 95, the text of which was discussed at length in Chapter III. The edited version in *Analecta Hymnica* gives fifty-eight concordances from a variety of geographic areas.¹⁸⁹ The version in Stuttgart 95 includes a refrain on "Maria"

¹⁸⁷Ibid., Nr. 223, 370–371.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., Nr. 221, 351–353.

after each verse. While *Imperatrix gloriosa* exists in many sources, *Analecta Hymnica* has only identified eleven that share this trait with the version in Stuttgart 95.¹⁹⁰

Additionally, I have found the refrain in CH-EN 102, CH-SG 546, and D-PREk Reihe V G2.

While the repetition of the refrain “Maria” appears, relatively speaking, in few sources, there are some concordances that have a “Maria” fragment at the end of some verses. In most of these, the addition occurs in verses five and six. This holds true to concordances found in some Austrian sources. This partial “Maria” tradition is conspicuously absent from the French manuscripts like F-Pn 1139 and F-Pn 887, both from St. Martial de Limoges.

Four manuscripts have this partial “Maria” tradition, and all are either in either Germany or Austria. The first two are from Seckau: A-GU 1584 and A-GU 479, dating from the thirteenth and twelfth century, respectively.¹⁹¹ A later fifteenth-century manuscript from Seckau, A-GU 17, does not contain the added material.¹⁹² A twelfth-century gradual from St. Paul in Lavantthal, D-Sl 20, and a later, fifteenth-century German manuscript from Tegernsee, D-Mbs Cg. 716, also have this partial supplement.¹⁹³ In the pitch-readable Tergensee concordance, the utterance “Maria”

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ A-GU 1584, 45v, <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.1400-1599/Ms.1584/index3.html>; A-GU 479, 149r, <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0400-0599/Ms.0479/index10.html>; “Chants by ID: AH54221,” CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/ah54221>.

¹⁹² A-GU 17, 381r, <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0001-0199/Ms.0017/index24.html>;

¹⁹³ “Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. bibl., 2o 20,” CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123912>. D-Mbs Cgm. 716, 60v, <http://daten.digital-ammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00031110/images/index.html?id=00031110&groesser=&fip=eayaqrssdaseayaenenwxdsydxsydwen&no=14&seite=128>

returns the phrase to the finalis of the mode, shown in musical example 6, closing a phrase which might have been perceived as incomplete.

Musical Example 4.6. D-Mbs Cg. 716 *Imperatrix gloriosa*, versicle 7

Ce-li quon - dam ro-ra - ve - runt nu-bes ex quo con-cre - ve-runt con-cre-te - que

stel - la - ve-runt vir-gi-ne in - se-cu - lam ma - ri - e

This cadential fall would have the same open-closed relationship as the earlier virtual refrains, as described in Haug’s classification.

When examining Stuttgart 95, it becomes apparent that *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis* have virtually identical refrains. The example below (Musical Example 7) shows side-by-side comparisons of the repeated “Maria”’s found in Stuttgart 95’s concordances of *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*. It is particularly telling that the addition of an “O” at the beginning of the “Maria” refrain in *Gaude mater luminis* is mirrored by the addition of a new neume figure in the *Imperatrix gloriosa* refrain (strophes 7 and 8). The *Imperatrix gloriosa* refrain then returns to the original iteration of the “Maria” phrase for strophes 9 and 10.

Musical Example 4.7. Maria refrains in *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*









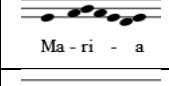
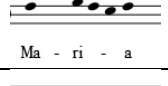
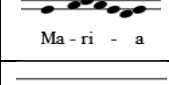
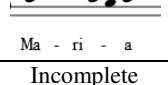
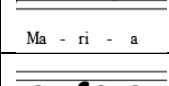
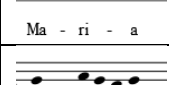

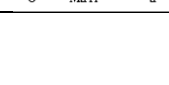
Versicles	<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i>	<i>Gaude mater luminis</i>
1) /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a
2) /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a
3	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a
4	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a
5	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a
6	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a
7	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) O Ma - ri - a
8	∫ /...) Ma - ri - a	∫ /...) O Ma - ri - a
9) /...) Ma - ri - a	
10) /...) Ma - ri - a	

There are some diastematic concordances that suggest these two are at least partially related. The musical example below (Musical Example 8), demonstrates that in sources from Preetz and St. Gall, there are actually two different refrains in these variations of *Imperatrix gloriosa*. The first begins on *b*, rises a half-step to *c*, falls step-wise to *a*, finally rising back to *b*. The second refrain has two different variations: it starts on either

F or *E*, rises to a *G*, falls stepwise to a *D*, rising to an *E*. The St. Gall concordance features a third refrain which is an exact match to the final refrain found in *Gaude mater luminis*. The same might also be true for the Preetz example, but the sequence survives fragmentarily ending partially through the sixth versicle pair.

Musical Example 4.8. Refrains in *Imperatrix gloriosa*, CH-SG 546 and D-PREk

Reihe V G2

Versicle	CH- SG 546	D-PREk Reihe V G2
1	 Ma - ri - a	 Ma-ri - a
2	 Ma - ri - a	 Ma - ri - a
3	 Ma - ri - a	 Ma - ri - a
4	 Ma - ri - a	 Ma - ri - a
5	 Ma - ri - a	 Ma - ri - a
6	 Ma - ri - a	 Ma - ri - a
7	 Ma - ri - a	Incomplete
8	 Ma - ri - a	Incomplete
9	 Ma - ri - a	Incomplete
10	 O - Ma-ri - a	Incomplete

The example in St. Gall 546 provides the strongest evidence that the two share musical refrains. The two sequences are transcribed near one another, much like the two are in Stuttgart 95 and CH-EN 1003. *Imperatrix gloriosa* appears on folios 266r–266v

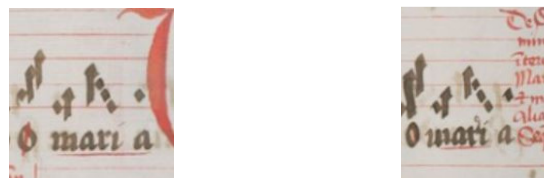
and is followed immediately by *Gaude mater luminis*, beginning on 266v. The figure below (Figure 4) shows the beginning of *Gaude mater luminis* and the very end of *Imperatrix gloriosa* in the upper right corner.

Figure 4.4. CH-SG 546, 266v Beginning of *Gaude mater luminis* and the End of *Imperatrix gloriosa*



When comparing the final “Maria” refrain from *Imperatrix gloriosa*, it is obvious that it is the same as the refrain in *Gaude mater luminis*. Figure 5 shows the two “O Maria” additions.

Figure 4.5. O Maria Refrain, *Gaude mater* O Maria Refrain, *Imperatrix Gloriosa*



While there is a slight variation at the beginning, either starting on *D* or *E*, the two are identical after these slight differences. Even though the St. Gall 546 concordance is much later than the version found in Stuttgart 95, the similarities between the refrains in *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis* in Stuttgart 95 suggest that they are similar.

The “Maria”’s found in Stuttgart 95’s version of *Gaude mater luminis* certainly embody the idea of the virtual refrain, while those in *Imperatrix gloriosa* exhibit some of the ambiguity that Andreas Haug speaks of. The virtual refrain is defined by the complete incorporation of words and music into the structure of the strophe as well as by the intentionality in the joint composition of strophe and refrain. The “Maria” phrases in *Imperatrix gloriosa* exist somewhere between a virtual refrain and a structural refrain. They certainly are incorporated both in text and melody, and they have the open-close relationship between the main verse and the invocation to the Virgin. However, it is clear that “compositionally,” these were added at a later time, and only incorporated in certain traditions.

More importantly, these refrains are another example of intertextuality in the corpus of Stuttgart 95’s primary music collection. I do not believe this to be a coincidence. Rather, these elements of intertextuality point to a preference for chants that are interconnected, that span the liturgical year, and the simultaneity of devotions and commemorations referencing one another.

Conclusions

Throughout this chapter I have discussed how intertextuality manifests itself in the music of Stuttgart 95. I have shown how quotations were used both in *Ex filiabus babilonis* as well as *Gaudendum nobis est*. Through the examination of both the poetic

and musical structure of *Ex filiabus babilonis*, I have suggested that the “Maria” declaration is set apart. I have also contended that the music for this bears a strong resemblance to an occurrence of “Maria” (as “Mariam”) found in the antiphon *Ingressus angelus ad Mariam*, typically used for the feast of the Annunciation. Furthermore, *Gaudendum nobis est* also features a quotation from a section of *Salve nobilis virga iesse*, a responsory also typically used for the feast of the Annunciation. Both of these suggest that these antiphons reference other liturgical services and occasions, thereby enhancing their meaning. These references also imply a preference for multivalence in terms of music, poetry, and liturgical applicability.

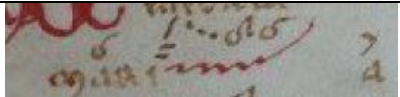
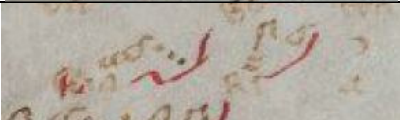
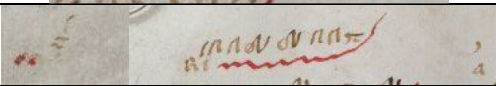
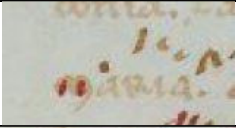

Similarly, I have also demonstrated that part of the phrase embedded in *Gaudendum nobis est* is, so far, unique to Stuttgart 95. It appears in both the second “Maria” in *Gaudendum nobis est* as well as in the verse of an alleluia chant for the Marian votive mass, *Sancta dei genitrix*. This suggests two things: 1) a knowledge of the musical sharing in the “Maria” fragment, and 2) the flexibility to alter and modify melodic traditions.

Finally, I have argued that *Gaudendum nobis est* and *Imperatrix gloriosa* share virtual refrains on the word “Maria.” They serve to melodically close the phrases in each strophe, and are poetically incorporated into the main body. While not necessarily drawn from other sources, these fragments represent small moments of intertextuality that exist in Stuttgart 95 as well as other concordances. Again, these connections would have sounded and resounded in an aural web of devotional services at Kloster Engelberg.

Above all, these musical insertions all accompany the word “Maria.” In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that scribal decorations of Mary’s name were a hallmark

of the Engelberg scriptorium. With this in mind, I would like to argue that this intertextuality should be understood as an aural decoration of the Virgin’s name, functioning as a sonic invocation to Engelberg’s patron. Like meaning in most medieval contexts, these adornments were multivalent, evoking different seasons and celebrations. While these portions of chant serve as particularly meaningful gildings of “Maria,” the mere use of melisma can also be seen as an aurally decorative act. For example, the following table (Table 8) demonstrates every occurrence of Mary’s name in Stuttgart 95’s Marian votive mass.

Table 4.8. Melismas on *Maria* in the *Salve sancta parens* Mass

Incipit	Maria
Benedicta et venerabilis	
Sancta dei genitrix	
Felix valde es sacra	
Ab hac familia	
Beata viscera	

Clearly, not every iteration of Mary’s name is decorated with extensive melisma, but there is a preference for highlighting “Maria” aurally. A similar inclination can be seen in the Marian sequences that stress the Virgin’s name through structural repetition (i.e. the use of “Maria” as a virtual refrain). The reiteration of her name at the end of every strophe in *Imperatrix gloriosa*, *Gaude mater luminis*, and *Ave mater qua natus est* emphasizes the devotional importance of Engelberg’s patron. That *Imperatrix gloriosa*

and *Gaude mater luminis* appear to share a refrain, lends credence to the idea that these melodic cadences were a special point of devotion; that they are shared, suggests a special aural recognition of this phrase as belonging to “Maria.”

Overall the musical practices described in this chapter should be seen as an extension of the devotion to Mary practiced by the inhabitants of Engelberg. Given the visual importance given to the Virgin Mother’s name, as well as the preponderance of liturgical music devoted to the house’s patrona, it seems natural that such practices would also extend to the aural realm. Through the use of intertextuality and virtual refrain, Engelberg’s community exquisitely adorned the sounding of *Maria*.

CHAPTER V

MASCULINE AND FEMININE VOICES

My dissertation has so far focused on Stuttgart 95 as a physical object and what the musical repertoire might tell us about the devotional and compositional practices in Engelberg. Chapter V addresses what this manuscript can tell us about the community and people of Engelberg, and how their musical practices might have influenced their institutional and individual identities. Here, I argue that localized liturgical practices should be understood as reflections of institutional identity. Moreover, I contend that musical liturgies reflect a larger discourse that both condemns and defends the double monastery organization.

In Chapter III, I addressed at length the evocative symbolism of Mary and Christ in the texts of the *Canticum canticorum*. Many of the chants in Stuttgart 95 feature the allegorical relationship between Bride and Bridegroom. These, however, are not the only appearance of masculine and feminine *dramatis personae* in the devotional and liturgical songs of Stuttgart 95. Several chants portray biblical duos, namely the Solomonic Bride and Bridegroom, Samson and Delilah, and John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary. This chapter will contextualize three examples of chants that contain masculine and feminine duos within the context of a broader discourse on the institution of the double house. Moreover, I will argue that these specific examples can be seen as an institutional response to a larger debate about the virtue, or lack thereof, in the organization known as the double community. Finally, through the lens of Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, I will argue that liturgy and devotion should be understood as a discourse influencing gender identity. In doing so, I suggest that new methodologies, specifically

from gender theory and feminist musicology, might offer new modes of inquiry for medieval musicological scholarship.

The Medieval Case For and Against Double Monasteries

The medieval anxiety surrounding double houses was pervasive. Throughout the Middle Ages, writers continually criticized double monasteries as a nidus for sin because of the possibility of contact between men and women. Yet, as we find primary sources criticizing these monastic institutions, so too do we find sources defending them.

There is evidence for the existence of double houses as early as the sixth century.¹⁹⁴ This testimony comes from an early pronouncement (529 CE) against double communities in the *Codex Justinianus*, an updating of Roman imperial law ordered by Emperor Justinian I (482–565 CE) in the early sixth century.¹⁹⁵ For Justinian, the reason behind banning and dismantling double monasteries had everything to do with protecting the virtue of these communities.

But men shall dwell alone by themselves in single monasteries, separated from the nuns who for whatever reason have been attached to them, and alone by themselves the women (shall dwell), not mixed with men, so that all suspicion of indecent dealings shall be removed entirely.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ The early historiography of double monasteries is fraught with methodological peril. Many of the earliest nineteenth-century scholars focused largely on the Irish character of double houses and crafted a narrative primarily focused on the institution as one emerging from the “British Isles.” Such early scholarship ignores evidence of early double monasteries in Spain and Gaul, and instead favors the exoticism of the Celtic past. For an overview of this early historiography see: Catherine Peyroux, “Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1991), 2–40.

¹⁹⁵ Peyroux, “Abbess and Cloister,” 68.

¹⁹⁶ “Sed viri per se soli in singulis monasteriis commorentur separate a sanctimonialibus quae ob quam libet causam eis adgregatae sunt, et solae per se mulieres non viris commixtae, ut omnis omnino suspicio in decori commercii tollatur.” Justinianus Augustus, *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. Paul Krueger (Dublin: Apud Weidmannos, 1967), I, iii, 43.1 Translation in: Peyroux, “Abbess and Cloister,” 69.

The pronouncement is not only concerned with potential temptation provided by adjoined dwellings, but also the appearance of impropriety. For my purposes, it is important to note that Justinian advocates for the single monastery (“singulum monasterium”), with the implication that there were indeed joint communities in this period, and that they were unacceptable. Justinian continues his campaign against double houses fifteen years later in a new set of laws entitled *Novellae* (546 CE).¹⁹⁷ Here, he bans outright such institutions saying, “Moreover in no part of our republic do we permit monks and nuns to dwell in one monastery, nor (do we permit) to exist monasteries which are called double.”¹⁹⁸ Similar pronouncements come from Theodore of Tarsus, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the late seventh century; Theodore, however, permits double houses already in existence to keep their monastic way of life.¹⁹⁹

The most well-known ban on double monasteries comes in 787 CE, when the Second Council of Nicaea banned the formation of new double monasteries.

CANON XX. That from henceforth, no double monastery shall be erected; and concerning the double monasteries already in existence. We decree that from henceforth, no double monastery shall be erected; because this has become an offence and cause of complaint to many. In the case of those persons who with the members of their family propose to leave the world and follow the monastic life, let the men go into a monastery for men, and the women into a monastery for women; for this is well-pleasing to God. The double monasteries which are already in existence, shall observe the rule of our holy Father Basil, and shall be ordered by his precepts, monks and nuns shall not dwell together in the same monastery, for in thus living together adultery finds its occasion. No monk shall have access to a nunnery; nor shall a nun be permitted to enter a monastery for the

¹⁹⁷ Peyroux, “Abbess and Cloister,” 71.

¹⁹⁸ “Nullo autem republicae nostrae loco in uno monasterio monachos et monachas habitare vel duplicia quae dicuntur monasteria esse permittimus.” Justinianus Augustus, *Corpus Iuris Civillis*, vol. 3, eds. Rudolf Schoell and W. Kroll (Dublin: Apud Weidmannos, 1972), 619. Translation in: Peyroux, “Abbess and Cloister,” 71.

¹⁹⁹ Thomas Cramer, “Defending the Double Monastery: Gender and Society in Early Medieval Europe” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2011), 9.

sake of conversing with anyone therein. No monk shall sleep in a monastery for women, nor eat alone with a nun. When food is brought by men to the canonesses, let the abbess accompanied by some one of the aged nuns, receive it outside the gates of the women's monastery. When a monk desires to see one of his kinswomen, who may be in the nunnery, let him converse with her in the presence of the abbess, and that in a very few words, and then let him speedily take his departure.²⁰⁰

Here again, the ruling against double monasteries is grounded in an anxiety surrounding the close fraternization of religious men and women. Following the previous dispensation allowed by Theodore, double monasteries were allowed to remain if already in existence. What we see in all of these bans is a constant worry about the cohabitation of men and women, generally stemming from a concern about sexual propriety, whether real or imagined.

Even as these early sources ban double communities, there is evidence of a defense of these institutions. In his 2011 dissertation, Thomas Cramer argues that Aldhelm of Malmesbury's (ca. 639–709) treatise *De Virginitate* (ca. 670) should be viewed as a masterful defense of the double monastery. The most well-known of Aldhelm's writings, this early eighth-century treatise was commissioned by and addressed to the nuns of the double house of Barking. In it, Aldhelm addresses the ideas of chastity and virginity before detailing a large number of male and female saints who

²⁰⁰ “Non solum autem incauta familiaritas aliarum mulierum eis interdicitur, verumtiam a sanctimonialium habitatione prohibentur. Diffinimus minime duplex monasterium fieri: quia scandalum id, et offendiculum multis efficitur. Si vero aliqui cum cognatis mundo abrenuntiare et monasticam vitam sectari voluerint; debent quidem viri virorum adire coenobium; feminae vero mulierum ingredi monasterium. In hoc enim placatur Deus. Quae autem hactenus fuerunt dupla; secundum regulam sancti patris nostril Basilii et secundum praeceptione eius ita formentur. Non havitent in uno monasterio monachi et monachae. Adulterium enim intercipit cohabitationem: si habeat aditum monachus ad monacham, vel monacha ad monachum secreto singulariter ad collocutionem. Non cubet monachus in muliebri monasterio; neque singulariter cum monacha conuivetur: et quando necessaria vitae a parte virorum ad regulares deferuntur; extra portam haec suscipiat abbatissa monasterii feminarum cum aliqua vetula monacha. Porro si contigerit, ut aliquam propinquam suam videre voluerit monachus; in praesentia abbatissae huic confabuletur per modica et compendiosa verba, et in brevi ab ea dificedat.” “Corpus Juris Cononici (1582),” UCLA Digital Library Project, <http://digital.library.ucla.edu/canonlaw/librarian?ITEMPAGE=CJC1&NEXT>, 862–63. Henry Percival, trans., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church: Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1956), 568.

should serve as spiritual models for male and female monastics. Here, he emphasizes the cooperation between these male and female saints, thus providing moral exemplars for double communities and their respective populations.²⁰¹ Aldhelm's strategy of providing holy models to justify the existence of double communities is one also used by other later medieval writers.

No universally accepted narrative exists to explain the radical decline of double monasteries in the late eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Older sources, like Herbert Workman's 1913 *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, attribute the disappearance largely to the Viking raids and subsequent destruction of monasteries.²⁰² Jo Ann McNamara points out that historians have attributed the decline in monasteries to various invasions between ca. 700–ca. 925: the Islamic invasion in eighth-century Iberia, and the Viking raids and Magyar assaults on the Continent or in the British Isles during the ninth and early tenth century.²⁰³ Stephanie Hollis, speaking of the disappearance of double monasteries in England, states that “they were perhaps not so much regulated out of existence as allowed to perish in the invasion.”²⁰⁴ It is possible that if double monasteries were particularly susceptible to military attacks, or were allowed to decline, then the Nicaean ban prevented any new foundations from becoming established.

²⁰¹ Cramer, “Defending the Double Monastery,” 148.

²⁰² Herbert Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal: From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Friars: A Second Chapter in the History of Christian Renunciation* (London: Charles H. Kelley, 1913), 179.

²⁰³ Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 149.

²⁰⁴ Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1992), 273.

The late eleventh century saw a number of figures who would inspire or found double communities.²⁰⁵ Reform movements stirred women to commit their lives to a religious existence.²⁰⁶ The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries also saw an increased emphasis on the *cura monialium*, that is, the understanding that it was the sacred and solemn duty of religious men to provide pastoral care to women religious.²⁰⁷ In an effort to accommodate this blossoming population and encourage men to provide for women's religious needs, many reformers turned to double monasteries as an ideal organizational model.²⁰⁸

While shared communities for confessed brothers and sisters especially gained ground during the late eleventh and twelfth-century reform movements, these communities were not without their opponents. The goals of the reform focused on: 1) sharpening the distinction between the spiritual and the secular and 2) exalting the clergy over the laity, which in turn meant that women religious existed in a nebulous social space.²⁰⁹ On one hand, women represented the secular joining of men and women simply by virtue of their social existence. On the other hand, nuns and canonesses were also seen as brides of Christ, and as such, were able to provide a special means of contact with God

²⁰⁵ Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, "Women and Men in the Medieval Religious Landscape," in *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, eds. Griffiths and Hotchin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 8.

²⁰⁶ Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 65.

²⁰⁷ Griffiths and Hotchin, "Women and Men in Medieval Religious Landscapes," 8.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Griffiths, "The Cross and the *Cura Monialium*: Robert of Arbrissel, John the Evangelist, and the Pastoral Care of Women in the Age of Reform," *Speculum* 83, no. 2 (2008): 311.

unavailable to men.²¹⁰ Women were by turns elevated as a means of salvation for their male spiritual caretakers, and condemned as a path leading to damnation of the *cura*.

As in previous centuries, some contemporary voices railed against double houses.

In 1101, Pope Paschal II writes to Didacus, the Archbishop of Compostela, saying:

It is entirely unsuitable, that through your region we hear (that) monks dwell with nuns; that even at the present whereby they exist simultaneously, (they) should be separated into divided habitations a long way (apart).²¹¹

Such rumors were hardly limited to the early twelfth century, or to Spain. Jacques de Vitry's (ca. 1170–1240) lesser known treatise *Historia Occidentalis* gives evidence of women religious and men, both secular and religious, interacting in a domestic-like setting, as well as singing jointly in church and processing together.²¹² Jacques refers to Germany, the Netherlands, and parts of Belgium as being especially prone to having these shared services, and furthermore, he describes the singing women as sirens, referencing language that would become standard for describing the female voice in later medieval references.²¹³ Elizabeth Eva Leach has written about the medieval phenomenon of women as sirens, contending that, as a feminized half-fish half-bird creature, the siren

²¹⁰ Griffiths, "The Cross and the Cura Monialium," 311.

²¹¹ "Illud omnino incongruum est, quod per regionem vestram monachos cum sanctimonialibus habitare audimus; ut et qui inpraesentiarum simul sunt, divisim longe habitaculis separentur." *Patrologia Latina* 163: 80, <https://books.google.com/books?id=BRcRAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>

²¹² Lori Kruckenberg first introduced this overlooked text to musicological studies in Kruckenberg, "Hildegard and Medieval Traditions of the German Cantrix" (paper presented at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Bangor, Wales. July 24–27, 2008).

²¹³ *Ibid.* Since 2008, Kruckenberg has extended contextualization of Jacques's writings with relationship to different kinds of religious communities as well with related texts and documents, and has presented these as: eadem, "Traditions of the Medieval German Cantrix as Defined by Place, Space and Community" (paper presented at the Annual Medieval Academy of America Meeting, Knoxville, TN, April 4–6, 2013); eadem, "The Medieval Cantrix in the Latin West: Toward a European Context for *Codex Las Huelgas* and the Nuns of Burgos" (paper presented at the meeting Iberian Polyphony in the Middle Ages: New Sources, New Hypotheses. Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Musik Akademie Basel, Basel, Switzerland, 8–9 May 2015). The significance of Jacques's language is featured in her forthcoming monograph on the medieval cantrix in the German-speaking lands.

represents bestial nature, the sexual, and the feminine.²¹⁴ Sirens were viewed as sexually voracious and singing purely to please a personal, carnal desire.²¹⁵ When Jacques and other medieval authors termed these women “sirens,” there certainly was an accusation of tempting men with their voices, but there was also an implication that these vocalizations were driven by lustful, worldly priorities rather than spiritual ones.

Other rumors affecting the reputation of double monasteries had little to do with music. The example of the nun of Watton and an unknown monk (ca. 1160s), known through the writing of Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1166), reveals a widely circulated parable about the dangers of the possible contact between the sexes at double monasteries. Aelred writes,

They regarded each other caressingly The thing was first done by nods, but nods were followed by signs. Eventually the silence was broken, and they spoke of the sweetness of love. They inflamed one another; they sowed in one another the seeds of delight, the kindling of desire. He was planning debauchment, but [the nun of Watton] said afterwards that she was thinking only of love. The wicked gratification, once experienced, compelled her to repeat it. When it began happening so frequently, the sisters wondered at the sound they heard and suspected deceit. She was a special object of suspicion, as her habits had already been suspected by them.²¹⁶

From this rendezvous she becomes pregnant and their affair is found out. She is punished physically and then the community goes after the young man involved.

She, that cause of all evils, was brought in as if to a performance. They put an instrument into her hands and compelled her unwillingly to cut off his particular male parts with her own hands. Then one of those standing by seized those things

²¹⁴ Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 238–73.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Jane Patricia Freeland, trans., *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Lives of the Northern Saints* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2006), 119–20.

of which he had been relieved and flung them as they were — foul and covered with blood — into the mouth of the sinful woman.²¹⁷

The nun of Watton's story bore witness to the ways that cohabitation in double houses offered opportunities for indiscretions. Furthermore, such lapses had physical as well as spiritual consequences.

Besides these parables, official methods were used to regulate the contact these communities had. Most relevant to my current study, the Second Lateran Council of 1139 issued a directive banning joint celebrations of the liturgy between men and women. "In the same way, we prohibit nuns to come together with canons and monks in the church in the choir for the singing of the psalms."²¹⁸ Such a ban does not explicitly mention double houses, however the pronouncement would have had an effect on the musical practices, specifically the Office, as celebrated by double communities. Double houses that celebrated certain occasions or feasts jointly, that is with men and women actively participating in the singing of the liturgy together, would have been compelled to either worship in segregated spaces or to silence half of the community.

Historians have tended to argue that the Second Lateran Council's banning of the co-celebration of the liturgy in 1139 led to the decline in double houses during this period. Fiona Griffiths links the dwindling of double houses in the second half of the twelfth century, at least partially, to this decree.²¹⁹ Julie Hotchin also mentions this in

²¹⁷ Freeland, *Aelred of Rievaulx*, 119–20.

²¹⁸ "Simili modo prohibemus, ne sanctimoniales simul cum canonicis et monachis in ecclesia in uno choro convenient ad psallendum." Catholic Church, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* vol. 1 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1959), 836.

²¹⁹ Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 38.

conjunction with the short-lived nature of many double houses.²²⁰ While the Second Lateran Council certainly may have ushered in changes in women's monastic living situation, as Jacques de Vitry's history of religious orders suggests, the co-celebration of the liturgy, particularly in the Germanic regions of Europe, continued long after the ban.

Liturgical manuscripts provide ample evidence that these joint practices continued to happen, particularly in German-speaking regions of Europe. Michael Norton and Amelia Carr have surveyed several manuscripts with evidence of joint celebrations, specifically with regards to the liturgy at Klosterneuburg near Vienna.²²¹ In fact, the authors cite a later injunction at Klosterneuburg against joint processions in 1301 that seems to have been largely ignored by the inhabitants.²²² Other examples of joint services can be found at Barking, Essen, and Zwiefalten during and after their respective reforms.

Some double monasteries specifically turned to biblical sources to justify their existence. As in earlier defenses of double houses, writers offered holy models for their communities and the relationships between men and women. Contemporary medieval voices often extolled the virtues of a return to apostolic ways, specifically turning to the example of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist.

In the crucifixion story in the Gospel of John, as Christ is crucified, three women together with John the Evangelist stand at the foot of the Cross.

Near the cross stood his mother, his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus saw his mother there, and the disciple whom he

²²⁰ Hotchin, "Female Religious Life and the *Cura Monialium* in Hirsau Monasticism," in *Listen Daughters: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Constant J. Mews (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 70.

²²¹ Michael Norton and Amelia Carr, "Liturgical Manuscripts, Liturgical Practice, and the Women of Klosterneuburg," *Traditio* 66 (2011): 129.

²²² *Ibid.*

loved standing nearby, he said to her, “Woman, here is your son,” and to the disciple, “Here is your mother.” From that time on, this disciple took her into his home.²²³

The story offered a perfect allegory for the double monastery—two virgins, the Holy Mother and the disciple John, joined together by Christ and their mutual journey towards redemption.²²⁴

Griffiths has argued that medieval double monasteries drew comparisons between themselves and Mary and John in order to defend their way of life.²²⁵ In “The Cross and the Cura Monialium,” Griffiths speaks of Robert of Arbrissel and the second vita written on his life, probably written sometime near his death in 1116. Andrew, the writer of the Second Life of Robert of Arbrissel, states:

This, moreover, was his unswerving custom: wherever he had monasteries built for his nuns, he constructed them in honor of Holy Mary, ever virgin. And because St. John the Evangelist, at Christ’s command, unfailingly served that same Virgin mother as a devoted minister as long as she lived bodily in this world, wise Robert decreed that the brothers’ oratories should be dedicated in John’s honor. I think this must have been done with divine inspiration so that the brothers would rejoice to have as patron of their church the one they regarded as an example of service owed to the brides of Christ.

Often such language is attributed largely to Abelard; however, Griffiths has successfully shown that these views belong to a larger discourse about the ideal and idealized relationship between religious men and women, citing other communities and historical figures, like that of Guibert of Gembloux.²²⁶

²²³ John 19:25-27, NIV.

²²⁴ One of John the Evangelist’s saintly virtues was his virginity. This was commonly depicted in art as well as music. See: Jeffrey Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 166.

²²⁵ See Griffiths, “The Cross and the Cura Monialium;” eadem, “Monks and Nuns at Rupertsberg: Guibert of Gembloux and Hildegard of Bingen,” in *Partners in Spirit*, 145–70; and eadem, “Brides and Dominae: Abelard’s *Cura Monialium* at the Augustinian Monastery of Marbach,” *Viator* 34 (2003): 57–88.

²²⁶ Griffiths, “Monks and Nuns at Rupertsberg,” 145–70.

Roberta Gilchrist contends that Mary and John are also symbolically referenced in the physical layout of double monasteries. She argues that some double communities might have taken into account a Marian association with the north when arranging both their cloisters as well as entries into communal worship spaces.²²⁷ Dealing largely with English institutions, she suggests that some of these communities associated the Crucifixion scene with the cloisters layout: the north with Mary and the south with John the Evangelist.²²⁸ Speaking of Alcuin, she remarks that in Book III of his *De Offici*, he states that women should receive communion in the northern part of the church and men in the southern part.

And if the church itself is seen as a metaphor for the body of Christ, the women's place to the north is at his right hand. This scheme is consistent with representations of the Virgin at the Crucifixion which portray her at the right hand of the cross and John the Evangelist to the left.²²⁹

Such an allegory embedded in the physical layout of the church, would have a profound impact on the way religious men and women saw their relationships with each other. It also suggests that the story of John and Mary might have been reflected in the sacred spaces shared by both communities of a double monastery.

For the entirety of their medieval existence, double houses have faced scrutiny and criticism. Anxiety over the contact between men and women spurred various ecclesiastical figures and councils to condemn and ban double monasteries. When that failed, further prohibitions extended to the joint celebration of the Office. In response, writers and community leaders sought to preserve their institutions through the evocation

²²⁷ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archeology of Religious Women* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 141.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid., 135.

of saints and biblical figures. These holy examples presented defensible and virtuous models for sanctioned relationships between men and women religious. It is clear that the case for the double monastery had specific rhetorical strategies, which I argue, can also be seen in the music of Stuttgart 95.

Relationships and Interactions in Engelberg

Would Engelberg, the double community responsible for Stuttgart 95, have any reason to use these sorts of strategies in defense of their monastery? Engelberg, unlike many other double monasteries in the German-speaking lands, adopted the double community model at its foundation in 1126.²³⁰ Because of this, the institution would have known no other existence. Moreover, Engelberg survived as a double community for a particularly lengthy period, only separating the two sides of the house in the sixteenth century.²³¹ Besides existing as a double community for several centuries, primary sources attest to the importance of Engelberg's status as a joint foundation.

Susan Marti describes an image at the opening of CH-EN 72, a copy of the Benedictine rule both in Latin and German dating from the late 1260's.²³² The image, shown below (Figure 1), places the abbot, Waltherus abbas, in the middle, while a male monk, Chõno monachus, kneels on the left and the female member of the community, Gûta, stands on the right.²³³ Notice that the monk and nun both bear the marks of their

²³⁰ Elsann Gilomen-Schenkel, "Double Monasteries in the South-Western Empire (1100–1230) and Their Women's Communities in Swiss Regions," in *Partners in Spirit*, 55.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

²³² Susan Marti, "Double Monasteries in Images? Observations on Book Illumination from Communities in the South-Western Empire," in *Partners in Spirit*, 93–4. In some modern-day literature, Gûta is identified as "magistra," but that rank is not given in this image. The name of Chõno appears once in red, directly above his head, and again in brown ink as Chõno mo[nachus] on the margin.

²³³ CH-E 72, 1v: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0072/1v>

Benedictine vocation: the veil for the nun and the tonsured head for the monk.
 Furthermore, the abbot is handing the book to an angel, a literal reference to Engelberg's place name, or in Latin Mons angelorum (Mount of Angels). Marti makes it a point to state that other than this image, there is little iconography that specifically depicts Engelberg as a double monastery.²³⁴ Even though such iconographical evidence might be sparse, textual indications emphasize the joint nature of its community as paramount to the institution.

Figure 5.1. Folio 1v, CH-EN 72



Rolf De Kegel, one of the leading scholars on Engelberg and its scriptorium, states that the institution clearly understood itself as a double monastery and joint community of both men and women. He writes that the abbots of Engelberg, between the

²³⁴ Marti, "Double Monasteries in Images," 95.

thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, continuously identified themselves in charters as heads of a double monastery.²³⁵ This practice first appears in 1292, when Arnoldus is recognized as the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of “the mount of Angels;” yet it goes on further to indicate two halves of the cloister: men (*dominorum*) and women (*dominarum*).²³⁶ Other documents show similar indications that Engelberg consistently portrayed itself as a double house, emphasizing the importance of this organizational characteristic.

The dedication of the church is important for any monastic organization.²³⁷ CH-EN 102, created for use in the Engelberg men’s community, also marks the dedication of the church for the women’s half of the double monastery. On folio 6r (Figure 2), a later thirteenth-century hand writes, “The dedication of the church of our ladies and of the altar of Saint Peter.”²³⁸ Not only is the scribe noting the dedication of the women’s church, these women are called “our ladies.” On 6v, a similar hand indicates the dedication of the men’s church: “The dedication of our church.”²³⁹ In the calendar of CH-EN 102 various necrological entries mark the deaths of women as well

²³⁵ Rolf De Kegel, “*Monasterium, quod duplices...habet conventus*: Einblicke in Das Doppelkloster Engelberg 1120–1615,” in *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen: Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 188. “Die Engelberger Äbte haben sich in den von ihnen ausgestellten Urkunden aus der Zeit des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts immer wieder als Vorsteher eines Doppelklosters zu erkennen gegeben.”

²³⁶ Ibid.

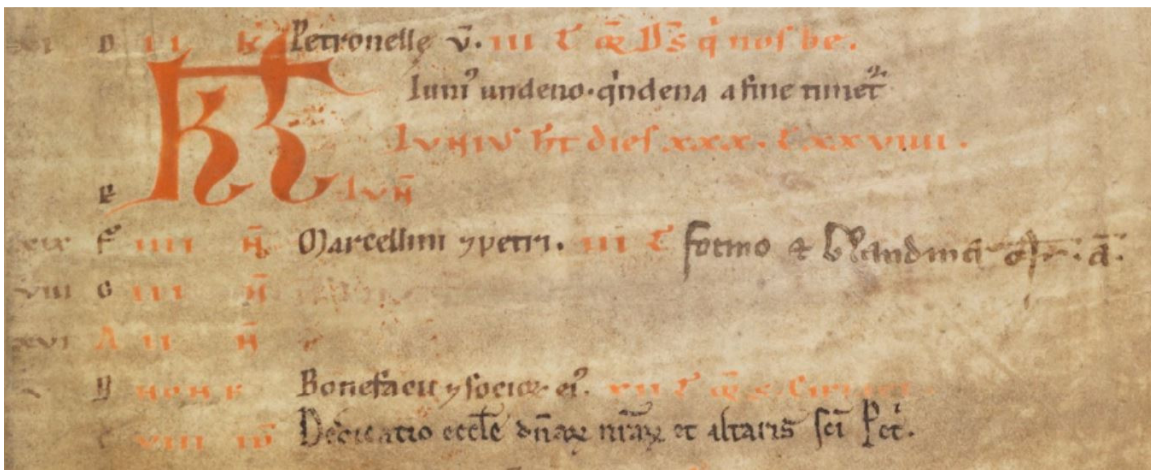
²³⁷ The feast of the dedication of the church, generally listed as *dedicatio ecclesiae* in medieval calendars and rubrics, is a yearly celebration for consecrated churches. The musical liturgies of these feasts tended to vary from institution to institution.

²³⁸ “*Dedicatio ecclesiae dominarum nostrarum et altaris Sancte Petri.*” CH-EN 102, 6r, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0102/6r>.

²³⁹ “*Dedicatio nostrae ecclesiae.*” CH-EN 102, 6v, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bke/0102/6v/0/Sequence-174>.

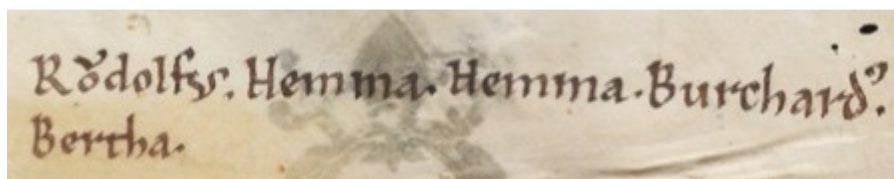
as men, although it is unclear if these women were Engelberg nuns. Whatever the case, the possessive title for Engelberg’s women as well as the indication of their church’s dedication in this manuscript is telling—CH-EN 102 as a liturgical book primarily for the men’s community, its marking, and the assumed observance, for the dedication of the women’s church shows a clear investment in the women’s liturgy, with parallel, if separate, observations and commemorations.

Figure 5.2. Dedication of the Church of Our Ladies, CH-EN 102, 6r



Women and men were also active together in the scriptorium in Engelberg. CH-EN 67 is a copy of a grammar text made between 1197 and 1223, contemporaneous with Stuttgart 95. On folio 1r, the names of five scribes appear (shown below in Figure 3): three women (Hemma, Hemma, and Bertha) and two men (Rudolfus and Burchardus).

Figure 5.3. Scribes’ Names in CH-EN 67



This evidence testifies to the occurrence of joint projects between the male and female halves of this Benedictine collective.

I have thus far collected a handful of indications where the explicit identification of the community as a double monastery played a role in their liturgical and artistic lives of its inhabitants. Engelberg artists chose to represent their entire community in a new copy of the Benedictine rule by depicting the abbot as well as the respective head of the men's and women's houses in a joint enterprise of bookmaking. Moreover, medieval documents attest to Engelberg its status as a double monastery. Finally, even Engelberg's liturgical manuscripts identify the importance of the double state, and more importantly the understood interrelationship with and connection between the men's and women's communities.

Music and Gendered Relationships

The repertoire in Stuttgart 95 provides evidence that Engelberg's liturgy also reflected the larger discourse concerning the anxieties of men and women co-mingling in double monasteries. There are several musical pieces in the original layer of Stuttgart 95 that depict male and female biblical characters and that also suggest they could have been sung by two or more musical forces (i.e. choirs, soloists, etc.). I will focus on three case studies specifically: *Samson dux fortissime*, *Flete fideles anime*, and the set of 'Song of Songs' antiphons, all of which include dialogues, both musical and textual, between male and female voiced characters. Here I argue that these pieces mirror the broader cultural discussion surrounding the double community organization, providing both models for holy behavior between men and women as well as admonitions against the danger of men and women sharing living space in a religious context.

I have selected these pieces because they stand out in several ways in Stuttgart 95. First, the set of ‘Song of Songs’ antiphons shares thematic themes that suggest they were meant to be sung as a group. This is the second of only two full services in Stuttgart 95, the other being the Marian votive mass. Each of the nine antiphons in the series is longer and more ornate than a typical antiphon. Sung together, the series would have represented a significant investment of both musical and scribal labor. Similarly, *Samson dux fortissime* and *Flete fideles anime* are also quite long. While most pieces in Stuttgart 95 are notated in a half folio, *Samson dux fortissime*’s text and music occupy almost four full folios. *Flete fideles anime*’s 12 strophes take around three folios. Any of these three pieces would dominate the service or devotional context in which they were performed. Furthermore, not only were these lengthy pieces, Stuttgart 95 often represents one of relatively few, or in fact the only, complete concordance(s) of these pieces. For example, the version of *Samson dux fortissime* found in Stuttgart 95 is the oldest known version of this chant, and transmits the poetry as well as music. Similarly, *Flete fideles anime* is often found in sources postdating Stuttgart 95, and these are either abridged or without music. All of these pieces represent a noteworthy amount of time to scribally record as well as perform, which I believe implies a telling investment by the scribe(s) and community of Stuttgart 95.

Moreover, while rubrics for these pieces do not specify exact occasions, there are indications that they could have been sung during special services. The Song of Songs service, with its Marian themes, could have been sung votively, or for any of the Marian feasts celebrated in Engelberg—all of which were higher feasts. *Samson dux fortissime*

and *Flete fideles anime* are both planctus-conductus.²⁴⁰ As planctus their texts feature lamentations for either the biblical figure of Samson or for Christ. As conductus, they could have been sung for higher feast days, most likely while processing. Conductus chants tend to celebrate the highest feasts of the Christian liturgical year. The majority commemorate the Nativity, although there are also those that address feasts to the Blessed Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist, St. Nicholas, and others. Most likely, *Flete fideles anime* would have been sung at or around Easter, while *Samson dux fortissime* could have been sung for a number of Christological feasts. Special services, particularly high feasts, certainly require more music, but they also represent probable occasions during which the men's and women's community in a double monastery might interact.²⁴¹ Moreover, these moments when the entire community might have worshipped together could offer distinct opportunities to examine how musical liturgy might have shaped and reflected the communities as well as the individuals involved.

²⁴⁰ Both *Samson dux fortissime* and *Flete fideles anime* represent hybrid genres. While identified in Stuttgart 95 by the designation *Planctus*, other scholars have identified these pieces as conductus. See, for example: CPI: Conductus Pulcriorem Invenire, <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/>. Furthermore, *Samson dux fortissime* has additionally been identified as a *Lai*. See: John Stevens, "Latin Songs: Conductus and Cantio," in *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama 1050–1350*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). 82.

²⁴¹ The *Visitatio sepulchri* represents one of the most well-known service that offered opportunities for men and women to musically interact and would have been performed during Easter. Karl Young's collection *The Drama of the Medieval Church* details the texts of 400 iterations of this liturgical drama and divides them into categories based upon the characters present. The drama features different groupings of figures who dialogue while visiting the sepulchre of Christ. Roles included: the Marys, Peter, John, the apostles as a group, an angel, as well as the resurrected Christ. Michael Norton and Amelia Carr have detailed several versions of the *Visitatio sepulchri* in which these roles are assigned according to gender. Two of these examples are found in Klosterneuburg (from both the twelfth and fourteenth centuries) another from Barking Abbey and a final one from the convent of St. George in Prague. See: Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006); Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1975); Michael Norton and Amelia Carr, "Liturgical Manuscripts, Liturgical Practice, and the Women of Klosterneuburg," *Traditio* 66 (2011): 104.

The musicologist Wulf Arlt identified several characteristics of the new musical traditions in the twelfth century.²⁴² These include an emphasis on newly-written rhymed poetry with structured patterns of syllabification, balanced phrases, and regular cadential patterns. While Stuttgart 95 is a thirteenth-century manuscript, the music within represents an intentional repertorial expansion during the twelfth century—one which prioritized the devotional needs of Engelberg’s community and reflected the larger ecclesiastic concerns of the time. All three of these pieces are representative of this push towards new musical traditions and aesthetics. *Samson dux fortissime* and *Flete fideles anime* are easily characterized as nova cantica pieces, while three of the nine antiphons, a third of the service, fit into this newly written musical tradition.

Moreover, all of these pieces are heterodox; that is, they are not part of the prescribed liturgy seen in the planned part of the manuscripts of Engelberg. As additions, they represent a subjective choice, either by individuals or the community, made twice: once as an addenda and again as a part of Stuttgart 95’s corpus. Intentionality is also implied in the repeated choice of these pieces. They were gathered and recorded in writing more than once, indicating that these pieces were in Engelberg’s repertoire for a particular purpose or reason, rather than simply by chance or whim.

Samson dux fortissime

Samson dux fortissime is a planctus-conductus found in four sources (including Stuttgart 95) and based on the sources provenances, there is no clear regional

²⁴² Arlt, “Nova cantica: Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10 (1986): 13–62; idem “Das eine Lied und die vielen Lieder: Zur historischen Stellung der neuen Liedkunst des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts,” in *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Dubowy and Sören Meyer-Eller (Pfaffenhofen: Ludwig, 1990), 113–27; and idem, “Sequence and Neues Lied,” in *La sequenza medievale: Atti del convegno internazionale, Milano, 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 3–18.

affiliation.²⁴³ It details the story of Samson and Delilah from the Old Testament Book of Judges and was subject to varied interpretations throughout the medieval period. The narrative of this chant conveys that the sinful woman in the person of Delilah could cause a holy man—here Samson—to become sinful. Two different medieval interpretations of the text, one from Isidore of Seville and another from the double monastery of Admont, help to demonstrate how *Samson dux fortissime* could offer both a textual warning about the danger women posed to holy men and a commentary on how all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God. Finally this chant features distinct ranges for different characters, suggesting that it could have been sung by more than one performing force (i.e. choirs, soloists, men, women).

Delilah, a Philistine, was married to Samson, champion of the Israelites. She was bribed to find the source of Samson's physical strength, a supernatural power given to him by God. After several rounds of questioning, he finally tells her that his strength come from his hair, which he keeps unshorn as a vow to God. Delilah cuts Samson's hair and the Philistines take a weakened Samson prisoner and gouge out his eyes. While waiting to be sacrificed to the Philistine's god, Samson is brought out to be mocked and humiliated for the entertainment of those gathered. He prays to his God for strength, and his preternatural strength returns, whereby he tears down the temple around the Philistine crowd killing all inside.

²⁴³ Stuttgart 95, 30r, http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/sammlungsliste/werksansicht/?id=6&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=96&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=64; Found in I-PLn I.B.16, 193r-195v; GB-Lbl Harl. 978, 2r, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_978_f002r; John Stevens, "Samson dux fortissime: An International Latin Song," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1, no. 1 (1992): 5.

Many medieval commentators equated Samson with Christ. Isidore of Seville interprets Samson's life as prefiguring major events in Christ's.²⁴⁴ For example, both the birth of Christ and Samson were heralded by an angel. Additionally, the death of Samson is likened to Christ's crucifixion: "Samson Salvatoris nostri mortem et victoriam figuravit."²⁴⁵ Allegorically, Samson was a victorious, savior-like figure whose struggles could symbolize Christ's persecution for the sake of mankind.

Commentary regarding the female character of Delilah was not so kind. Isidore of Seville casts Delilah as the Jewish Synagogue.²⁴⁶ "Dalila, quae Samson verticem decalvavit, Synagogam significat, quae Christum in loco Calvariae crucifixit."²⁴⁷ In Isidore's words, Delilah literally signifies those who crucified Christ, a reading found widely in later sources, like Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1070 – 1129) and the eleventh-century *Glossa Ordinaria*.²⁴⁸

While this was one of the more common allegorical interpretations of Delilah, Greti Dinkova-Bruun points out that others, such as Gottfried of Admont (d. 1165), compare Delilah more broadly to the human soul. Gottfried writes:

Many of us curse this Delilah because of her malice. But if we look at ourselves, (we will realize) that what she clearly did to Samson once, we, alas, cannot refrain from doing to our Samson, that is Christ, frequently and every day. How many times, after kisses and tokens of love, we cast him off and

²⁴⁴ Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literacy Discourse," 359.

²⁴⁵ Isidore, Bishop of Seville, *Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae in Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina* vol. 83, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Migne, 1895), vol. 111, col. 80.

²⁴⁶ Juanita Feros Ruys, *The Repentant Abelard: Family, Gender, and Ethics in Peter Abelard's Carmen ad Astralabium and Planctus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 74.

²⁴⁷ Isidori Bishop of Seville, *Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae in Patrologiae cursus completus*, vol. 112, col. 81.

²⁴⁸ Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literacy Discourse," 359.

push him away; or invoking the Philistines, that is the evil spirits, we grant them a higher station; or create numerous impious intrigues for deceiving and destroying in our hearts the lover of our soul!²⁴⁹

Dinkova-Brunn identifies Gottfried's use of language as referential to the Song of Songs in this passage.²⁵⁰ Gottfried broadly uses descriptions of physical love when discussing a positive relationship with Christ: "after kisses and tokens of love." He also calls to Christ as "the lover of our soul," a typical explication of the Bridegroom found in Song of Songs, symbolizing Christ, and in this case also symbolized by Samson.²⁵¹

This is not the only evocation of Song of Songs in Gottfried's exegesis. Earlier in his commentary, he evokes the opening verses of the Song of Songs by quoting, "Osculetur me osculo oris sui."²⁵² In the next paragraph, he positions Delilah closer to Mary, "Nonne ex Dalilis istis una, beata Dei genitrix Maria erat..."²⁵³ Throughout this commentary, Delilah is mentioned evoking both *Ecclesia* as well as Mary using the physicality of love found in the Song of Songs.

Because she is a personification of the human soul, with its contradictory impulses and its conflicting desires, Gottfried's Delilah is simultaneously good and evil, Virgin Mary and Eve, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. ...All this leads to the

²⁴⁹ Translation from: Ibid, 362. "Multi nostrum Dalilam istam propter malitiam suam detestamur. Se si nosipsos intueamur, quod illa semel uisibiliter Samsoni fecit, nos Samsoni nostro Christo frequenter fecisse et quotidie, proh dolor!, agree negare non possumus. O quotiens post dulcia oscula et foedera amoris eius ipsum abiicimus et a nobis repellimus, Philisthaeos, hoc est malignos spiritus, aduocantes eis superiorem locum damus, ad decipiendum et perdendum in cordibus nostris amatorem animae nostrae multas impietatum machinationes construimus!

²⁵⁰ Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literacy Discourse," 359. Emphasis original.

²⁵¹ Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literacy Discourse," 359.

²⁵² Gottfried, Abbot of Admont, *Homiliae Dominicales in Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina* vol. 83, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Migne, 1895), vol. 174, col. 280.

²⁵³ Ibid.

conclusion that Delilah must be seen as the bride of Christ and a symbol of his all-encompassing Church, which from the very beginning seeks to understand where his unsurpassed strength is hidden.²⁵⁴

Delilah is meant to be a less idealized, human version of the divine *Sponsa* in Song of Songs, of which Mary was the perfect exemplar. This flawed version of the feminine is particularly evident when considering the text of *Samson dux fortissime*, which focuses more on the Christological parallels of Samson.

The interpretations of Isidore and Gottfried demonstrate the multivalence of biblical stories and texts in the medieval period. It is inevitable that these variations in interpretation and meaning also carried over to an individual's understanding of biblically-derived chant texts like *Samson dux fortissime*. This in turn would lead to a multiplicity in how members of Engelberg's religious community saw themselves and their peers in relation to the biblical characters portrayed in *Samson dux fortissime*.

Samson dux fortissime is found in several sources. Stuttgart 95 offers the earliest known concordance of the piece. A second concordance, GB-Lbl Harley 978, dates from the thirteenth century and offers a diastematic version of similar length and roughly contemporary to Stuttgart 95's version.²⁵⁵ Two other concordances, I-PL Nazionale I.B.16 and D-KA St. Georgen 38, are either incomplete and unavailable to me currently or transmitted entirely without music. Musically, the version of Stuttgart 95 varies melodically somewhat from GB-Lbl Harley 978. John Stevens has noted that while he believes the melodies to more-or-less the same for a majority of the time,

²⁵⁴ Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literacy Discourse," 361.

²⁵⁵ John Stevens, "*Samson dux fortissime*: An International Latin Song," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1, no. 1 (1992): 5.

around a quarter of the melodic lines are “completely different” and that Stuttgart 95 has 28 fewer lines than that the GB-Lbl Harley 978 concordance.²⁵⁶

The version of *Samson dux fortissime* transmitted in Stuttgart 95 is syllabic with points of neumatic treatments throughout. These neumatic or more florid moments are generally missing from the GB-Lbl Harley 978 concordance. Generally when the melody in Stuttgart 95 offers compound figures in contrast to the English reading, these differences happen at the ends of lines or phrases, implying that they are cadential figures that reinforce the ending tone of the phrase. Throughout these differences, however, much of the melodic contour remains similar in these two concordances. In relation to performance, the syllabicism of the melody would mean greater text intelligibility. Additionally, the syllabic melody would not necessarily require a specialist musical force to sing and would also allow for easier coordination of a larger number of voices to sing the various voices depicted in *Samson dux fortissime*.

The music for *Samson dux fortissime* offers the suggestion that different characters are portrayed, perhaps by more than one musical force. There are three main voices in this lengthy piece. The piece begins with an introduction by a narrator, asking on the eve of his execution, why Samson has been tortured and is imprisoned. Furthermore, the narrator informs the listener that if Samson’s hair regrows, he will be saved. This narrator only enters at the beginning and again at the very end, framing the story by declaring that “For so great a victory may Samson be glorified!” The second voice is Samson’s, singing the majority of the story from his first-person point of view.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 14.

The third voice is Delilah's reported speech, entering twice: once to ask Samson the secret behind his strength and again to call the Philistines to capture him. Each of these distinct voices plays a role in the story: the initial addresser frames the story, Samson delivers not only the basic details of the plot and his own death, but also reveals the internal anguish presented by Delilah's betrayal, and as quoted speech, Delilah advances the plot through her betrayal and her call to the Philistines.

Based on the pitch matrix of GB-Lbl Harley 978, one can see that musically, each of these voices also has a distinct range and melodic purpose in *Samson dux fortissime*. The opening narration largely outlines the mode, beginning on a *G* before climbing by thirds to a *d*. This narrative voice also stays largely within this interval of a fifth, although the melody does briefly dip to the *F* below the final *G* and reach to the *e* above the *d*. Samson's voice, on the other hand, occupies a dynamic and broad range. When singing about his first encounter with bride and his initial acts against the Philistines ("Sponsa michi placuit...et combussi segetes agricolarum"), he largely recites on the highest note in the piece, the *g* one octave above the final. These opening verses from Samson's perspective span a full octave and a note, resolving to the final on *G* by the end of every strophe. This same, uppermost register of Samson's wide compass is also reserved for his quoted speech to Delilah ("Si nerveis funibus...par ero mortalibus sic aio") and for the moment when he recognizes the dire consequences of Delilah's duplicity and his subsequent capture ("Nolunt michi nolunt michi parcere/crucior vintior morior in carcere").

In the verses ("Ve tibi philistim...") where Samson denounces the Philistines, he dips to the lowest notes of the piece (*C-D-E-F-G*), – well below the 'mode 7' tessitura of

the majority of the lament, before his censure gradually climbs stepwise back to the finalis *G*. Though slightly lower than Samson's, Delilah's range is not so remarkable in terms of compass (*D-c*); rather the main pitches provide contrast and some modal ambiguity. While her reported speech does return to the finalis, much of her melodic fabric emphasizes the contrasting, extended subfinal triad of *D-F-a-c*.

With a range of an octave and a fifth, it is certainly possible for a single vocalist to perform the entire piece; however, it seems just as probable to split up the parts between singers or different choirs. Furthermore, even sung by a single vocalist, the character and timbre of the voice would change in these different ranges and would resonate in different areas of the body. The effect of such a characterization would mean that even when *Samson dux fortissime* was sung by an individual, the different "voices" in the piece would have different timbres and give the feeling of more than one performer.

The musical indications of different voices here are important for reasons other than performance practice. The devotional music in Engelberg is mirroring the co-mingling of men and women in the double house by including both Samson and Delilah as speaking characters in *Samson dux fortissime*. Even if this was not sung as a joint service with men and women or by more than one musical force *Samson dux fortissime* would have still provided a performable example of the danger of the co-mingling of men and women in the double monastery.

Flete fideles anime

Like *Samson dux fortissime*, *Flete fideles anime* is a planctus-conductus, but in this case, primarily sung from Mary's point of view. She not only focuses on the

suffering of Christ, but also describes her own pain, uniquely felt as a mother. The piece clearly details the story of the crucifixion, enumerating the many injuries and indignities Christ endured as well as the injustice of his suffering.

Flete, fideles anime	Weep, loyal souls ²⁵⁷
Flete, sorores optime Ut sint multiplices Doloris indices Planctus et lacrimae.	Weep, peerless sisters so that the complaints and tears may be the manifold tokens of grief
Fleant materna viscera Marie matris vulnera, Materne doleo, Que dici soleo Felix puerpera	May wombs of mothers weep the wounds of the mother Mary As mother I sorrow, I who am wont to be called happy child-bearer
Triste spectaculum Crucis et lancee Clausum signaculum Matris virgineae Profunde vulnerat; Hoc est, quod dixerat, Quod prophetaverat Senex prenuntius, Hic ille gladius, Qui me transverberat.	The dismal spectacle of cross and lance deeply wound the sealed enclosure of the maiden mind: this is what he had said what he had prophesied the happy harbinger— this is the long-known sword that now transpierces me.
Dum caput cernuum, Dum spinas capitis, Dum plagas manuum Cruentis digitis Supplex suspicio, Sub hoc supplicio Tota deficio, Dum vulnus lateris, Dum locus vulneris Est in profluvio,	The head bowed thorns on the head wounds in the hands fingers bleeding— when, imploring, I see them in this torment I grow all faint as the wound in the side and the place of the wound become a torrent

²⁵⁷ Peter Dronke offers a translation of the provided strophes of *Flete fideles anime* in: Peter Dronke, *Nine Medieval Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2008), 229.

Strophe 9 introduces John as an actor in this dialogue. Mary calls to him, asking him to join her lament.

Mi Iohannes, planctum move,	My John, stir up a lament
Plange mecum, fili nove,	mourn with me, new son
Fili novo federe	son by means of a new covenant
Matris et matertere,	of mother and of maternal aunt
Tempus est lamenti	it is the season of weeping
Immolemus intimas	let us offer most intimate
Lacrimarum victimas	sacrifices of tears
Christo morienti.	for the dying Christ.

In the second line she states, “Mourn with me, new son, son by means of a new covenant.” This line references the passage from the Gospel of John, where Christ gives the care of his mother to the disciple John.²⁵⁸ The commendation of Mary to John was often seen as a command to ordained men to provide pastoral care to religious women.²⁵⁹ This passage, therefore, echoes the idea of the *cura monialium*, so important in late eleventh- and twelfth-century reforms, which inspired the founding and subsequent flourishing of double monasteries.

The version of *Flete fideles anime* found in Stuttgart 95 does not have any performance indications. Other concordances of this conductus, however, do include directions for division of strophes as well as stage action for the singers. The CPI (Cantum Pulcriorem Invenire) Conductus project from the University of Southampton (UK) lists eight known concordances of this conductus, as shown in the table below (Table 1).²⁶⁰ Of those, three are available online for comparison, including D-DO

²⁵⁸ John 19:26–7, Vulgate.

²⁵⁹ Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, 219.

²⁶⁰ *Flete fideles anime*, CPI Conductus: Cantum pulcriorem invenire, [http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/#m-columnbrowser@&view\[f_Conductus\]&view\[f_Source\]&view\[f_Form\]&view\[f_SyllabicMelismatic\]](http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/#m-columnbrowser@&view[f_Conductus]&view[f_Source]&view[f_Form]&view[f_SyllabicMelismatic])

A.III.22 and D-Mbs Clm 4660. The other rubrics and information have been taken from the CPI Conductus website.

Table 5.1. Concordances of *Flete fideles anime*

Siglum	Provenance	Folio	Rubric
D-DO A.III.22	Mid 15 th century Germany	2v–3r	Maria cantat [stanza 9]; Johannes cantat [stanza 10]
D-Mbs Clm 4660	13 th century, Various	55r, 110r–111r	Item mater Domini omni ploratu exhibens multos planctus et clamat ad mulieres flentes et conquerendo valde (110r) Tunc Maria amplexetur Iohannem et cantet eum habens inter brachia (111r)
Stuttgart 95	13 th century Engelberg	23r–24v	Planctus Marie virginis
F-Pn lat. 3495	13 th century	180v (text only)	Nos ad sanctorum gloriam per ipsorum suffragia post praesentem miseriam Christi perducat gratia Amen
F-Pn lat. 4880	13 th century Fleury (?), France	85r (text only)	Not available
I-CFm Cod. CI	Late 14 th /Early 15 th century Cividale, Italy	75r, 110r	Not available
I-Pc C.55	14 th /15 th century Padua, Italy	31v	Not available
I-Pc C.56	14 th century Padua, Italy	32r	Not available

Of these concordances, only two have the long twelve-strophe text, namely Stuttgart 95 and F-Pn lat. 4880, a thirteenth-century manuscript thought to be from Fleury. More importantly, however, in these two sources as well as another two, rubrics assign actions or singing roles for particular strophes of the conductus, and two specify characters by name. The first of these, D-DO A.III.22, is mid-fifteenth-century fragmentary manuscript from a German-speaking region. Here, the scribe has indicated that Mary should sing stanza 9 and John should sing stanza 10.²⁶¹

[&view[f_StanzasTransmitted]]&constraint[f_Conductus][id][exact][]=2641|lm-informationcontrol@&view[f_Conductus]]&view[f_Source]]&view[f_Form]]&view[f_SyllabicMelisma tic]]&view[f_StanzasTransmitted]]&constraint[f_Conductus][id][exact][]=2641

²⁶¹ D-DO A.III.22, 2r–3v, <http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/1190780>.

Mary Sings

Mi Iohannes, planctum move,
 Plange mecum, fili nove,
 Fili novo federe
 Matris et matertere,
 Tempus est lamenti
 Immolemus intimas
 Lacrimarum victimas
 Christo morienti.

My John, stir up a lament
 mourn with me, new son
 son by means of a new covenant
 of mother and of maternal aunt
 it is the season of weeping
 let us offer most intimate
 sacrifices of tears
 for the dying Christ.

John sings

Salutaris noster Iesus,
 Captus, tractus, vinctus, cesus
 Et illusus alapis
 A gehenne satrapis.
 Auctor vere lucis,
 Dies nocte clauditur,
 Vite mortem patitur,
 Mortem autem crucis.

Our Jesus is hailed
 captured, dragged, bound, slaughtered
 and mocked through blows
 by the governors of hell
 the originator of true light
 day is finished with night
 suffers the death of life
 moreover the death of the cross

Though in the Stuttgart 95 text there is no explicit indication that John has a part in the lamentation, a later reading in D-DO A.III.22 designates that “John” is to respond to the request of “Mary” to join her song. Another concordance also echoes this splitting of strophes. The famous thirteenth-century ‘Carmina Burana’ manuscript, D-Mbs Clm 4660, bears a much more detailed rubric. At the beginning, the rubrics states, “Again, the mother of the Lord, bringing forth many laments amid all her tears, also cries out to the women weeping in deep mourning.”²⁶² Later in the piece, another direction is given, specifically as to the bodily actions of Mary: “Then Mary shall embrace John and sing, holding him in her arms.”²⁶³ While the performance directions from fifteenth-century

²⁶² “Item mater Domini omni ploratu exhibens multos planctus et clamat ad mulieres flentes et conquerendo valde.” Translation: Peter Dronke, *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 229.

²⁶³ Ibid.: “Tunc Maria amplexetur Iohannem et cantet eum habens inter brachia.”

manuscript are removed in time from Stuttgart 95, those from D-Mbs Clm 4660 are roughly contemporaneous. Both sets of detailed performance instructions give an idea as to how such a piece might have been used and interpreted.²⁶⁴ Namely, they suggest two individuals who respectively perform the characters of John and Mary in *Flete fideles anime*.

A Series of ‘Song of Songs’ Antiphons

I have already discussed the *Canticum canticorum* antiphon series at great length in earlier chapters. Returning to them once more, I will identify an implicit musical conversation between two parties: one male and the other female. Here I argue that music was intentionally left out for two of the antiphons in the series, both from the Bride’s perspective. This missing neumatation from the perspective of a single character suggests an antiphonal musical practice incorporating call-and-response between musical forces which are divided into the parts of the Bride and Bridegroom.

Table 2 shows the Song of Songs antiphons, their narrative voice, and the biblical source of their texts. Those with asterisks, *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem*, are missing neumes in Stuttgart 95. There are very few pieces in Stuttgart 95 without music, however with the exception of *Nigra sum sed formosa*, the chants presenting the perspective of the Bride are lacking neumatation. The spacing in the text of both *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem* clearly leaves room for the musical

²⁶⁴ The *Carmina Burana* manuscript’s provenance is still uncertain, even after much scholarly inquiry. Originally attributed to the double monastery of Benediktbeuren, that theory has fallen out of favor. Recent literature has suggested a number of locations, including Augustinian houses at Seckau and Neustift as well as Trento in the circle of Emperor Friedrich II. See Gundela Bobeth, “Wine, Women, and Song? Reconsidering the *Carmina Burana*,” trans. Henry Hope in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song*, eds. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 83–4.

material to be added. This raises the question, why leave these specific pieces without musical material?

As I have argued in previous chapters, Stuttgart 95 is a manuscript full of intentionality. Chants are gathered and largely organized by genre. Mary’s name is capitalized and visually highlighted in an intentional display of Marian devotion. Similarly, musical quotations from a variety of services purposely created an interconnected web of liturgy and devotion. While it might seem that neumes in this service were left out by chance or circumstance, I would like to argue that instead they were intentionally left blank.

Table 5.2. Quotation of Song of Songs in the ‘Song of Songs’ Antiphon Series

Incipit	Narrative Voice	Folio	Material Use of ‘Song of Songs’
Ex filiabus babilonis		49v	
Gaudendum nobis est		50r	
Mandragore dederunt	Bride	50r	Song of Songs 7:13
Indica michi quem	Bride and Friends	50v	Song of Songs 1:6-7
Speciosa facta es	Mostly Bridegroom’s perspective	50v	Broadly Song of Songs language with some newly written material
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	Mostly Bridegroom’s perspective	50v	Song of Songs 7:6-7, 4-5
Equitatu meo	Bridegroom’s Perspective	51r	Song of Songs 1:8
Arte mira		51r	

Incipit	Narrative Voice	Folio	Material Use of 'Song of Songs'
Nigra sum sed formosa	Bride's Perspective	51r	Song of Songs 1:4-5 (beginning only)

There are many reasons a piece might not have been neumed. The simplest explanations include unnotated exemplars, time constraints, coordination of different exemplars, or different sets of priorities for copyists. The scribe could have skipped the pieces at one point with the intention to notate later, and then never had the chance to return to them.

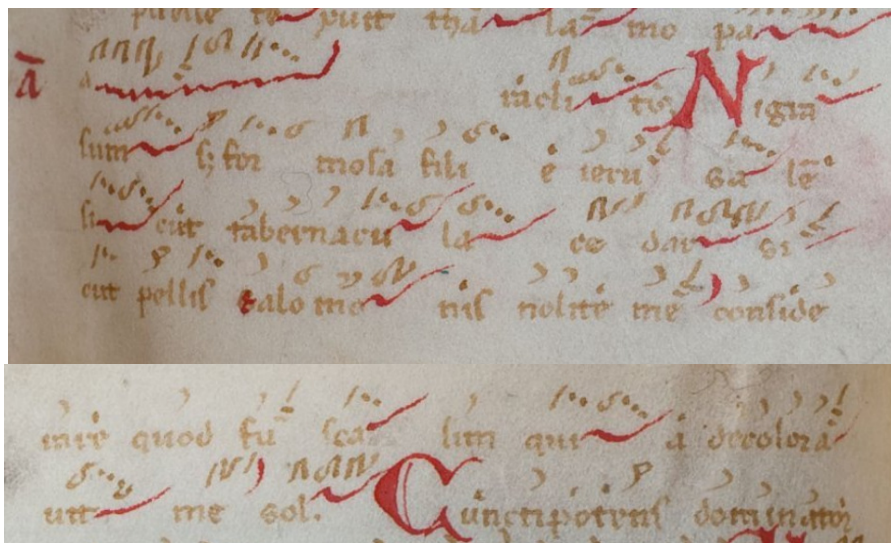
There may have been musical reasons for prioritizing the neumatization of other antiphons in this series over these two. As I described in Chapter II, the original layer of Stuttgart 95 appears to have been used and consulted for a time—possibly as a performance or consultation source—as it contains later corrections and additions to music as well as text. As a performance source, neumatization might not be needed for the singer or singers consulting this source, if, for instance, two or more groups were alternating singing responsibilities. I would like to suggest that the neumatization for *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem* was not completed because they represent the narrative voice of the Bride, a different vocal character from other pieces in this series.

Why, then, is *Nigra sum sed formosa* provided neumatization, given that it is also from the Bride's perspective? I surmise that this final antiphon acted as a kind of 'tutti' or 'chorus', a point of musical unification, rather than a final statement from the

Bride. Three pieces of evidence support this: 1) musical texture, 2) textual interpretation, and 3) narrative structure of the series as a whole.

Musically, *Nigra sum sed formosa* is relatively less melismatic than some antiphons in the set. On average, *Nigra sum* tends to present neumatic in texture with certain figures being more ornate (Figure 4). Furthermore, the few florid instances appear to be repeated formulas or patterns. This decrease in note-to-text ratio suggests that it was easier to sing and coordinate among several singers, and thus perhaps was more in keeping with a chant for the *schola* or larger groups of singers.

Figure 5.4. Nigra sum sed formosa, 51r & 51v



From a textual perspective, the multivalent meaning of *Nigra sum* meant that its speaking voice was often attributed to the human soul. Here, the feminine refers to *anima*, or the soul, rather than simply the character of Mary. In such a context, this last antiphon becomes a kind of concluding chorus where the majority of forces could come in, rather than a final statement from the Bride. As a chorus, *Nigra sum* allows each individual participant to sing as the soul, representing the human condition.

Not only are there multiple narrative voices, these different perspectives also occur in different narrative spaces. Specifically, there are diegetic and non-diegetic narrative voices in the Song of Songs antiphons. Both of these terms are used in the study of opera, musical theatre, and film music. Diegetic refers to music that occurs within the world of characters in a story.²⁶⁵ Non-diegetic music occurs outside of this narrative framework and is therefore heard by the audience but not by the actors in the story. By classifying each of the antiphons as one of these two categories, it becomes apparent that there is an organization and symmetry to the Song of Songs antiphons. Namely, the non-diegetic voices frame the diegetic musical conversation between the Bride and the Bridegroom.

Structural symmetry in the antiphon series as a whole suggests that *Nigra sum* should be set apart from *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem*. The set of antiphons begins with *Ex filiabus babilonis* and *Gaudendum nobis est*—two pieces that introduce the series with a non-diegetic narrative voice, that is, a narrator who is not a character in the story being told. Both of these antiphons address Mary by her name, and petition her for favor. *Arte mira*, the next to last antiphon, is also clearly non-diegetic.

Arte mira miro consilio	Through wondrous craft, through wondrous counsel
querens ovem suam summus opilio	The highest shepherd seeking his sheep
ut nos revocaret ab exilio	in order that he might recall us from exile
locutus est nobis infilio	spoke to us in his son
qui nostre sortis uncam	who, about to fight,

²⁶⁵ See: G rard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980); Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Robynn J. Stilwell, "The Fantastical Gap Between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 184–202.

sine sorde tunicam
pugnaturus induit
quam puella texuit
thalamo paraclitus

put on a tunic without dirt
unique of our sort
which the paraclete wove in the girl's
marriage bed

Here, the narrative voice draws us from the conversation between the Bride and Bridegroom occurring in *Mandragore dederunt/Indica michi quem* and *Quam pulchra es et quam decora/Equitatui meo* to invoke the Incarnation. The marriage bed the Bride and Bridegroom shared thus become the same one in which the holy spirit impregnated Mary, who gave sinless flesh to Jesus, who could then help redeem humanity, as shepherd] This further serves to add meaning to an already complex text by relating Mary and Christ not only as lovers, but also as Mother and Son.

To further emphasize this shift from individual voices to a chorus, this antiphon introduces the third-person plural; this could also extend to the following piece. In this context, *Nigra sum* becomes both a diegetic and a non-diegetic voice. While the text is sung from the Bride's narrative voice, *Nigra sum* also exists externally from the story, providing outside testimony to the grace and redemption present because of Mary and Christ's connection as Bride and Bridegroom as well as Mother and Son.

A fourth non-diegetic piece separates the Bride's songs from those of the Bridegroom. *Speciosa facta es* begins as a text that seems to come from the Bridegroom, using language specific to the Canticum canticorum, as discussed in earlier chapters. However, in the fourth line, the narrative shifts from the allusion of Mary as the Bride in the Song of Songs to an explicit naming of the Bride as the mother of God and the most blessed Queen. These texts function as narration outside of the actual conversation between Bride and Bridegroom, and are thus non-diegetic.

Speciosa facta es et suavis
in delitis virginitatis

You are made beautiful and sweet
in the delights of virginity

sancta dei genitrix quam videntes
 filie Sion vernantem in floribus
 rosarum et lilium convallium
 valley,
 beatissimam predicaverunt
 et regine laudaverunt eam

the holy mother of God whom
 the daughters of Zion, seeing blossoming
 with flowers of roses and of lily of the
 valley,
 proclaimed most Blessed
 and praised her as “Queen.”

The table below (Table 3) shows the pieces separated into their diegetic and non-diegetic categories. Through this reading, it becomes clear that the missing music is for the diegetic pieces from the Bride’s voice (*Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem*).

Table 5.3. Diegetic and Non-Diegetic Pieces in the Song of Songs Antiphon Series

Incipit	Folio	Diegetic or Non-diegetic	Biblical Source
Ex filiabus babilonis	49v	Non-diegetic	
Gaudendum nobis est	50r	Non-diegetic	
Mandragore dederunt	50r	Diegetic	Song of Songs 7:13
Indica michi quem	50v	Diegetic	Song of Songs 1:6-7
Speciosa facta es	50v	Non-diegetic	Broadly Song of Songs language with some newly written material
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	50v	Diegetic	Song of Songs 7:6-7, 4-5
Equitatu meo	51r	Diegetic	Song of Songs 1:8
Arte mira	51r	Non-diegetic	
Nigra sum sed formosa	51r	Non-diegetic	Song of Songs 1:4-5 (beginning only)

If this service was antiphonal, it could also explain the presence of *Gaudendum nobis est* and *Ex filiabus babilonis* in both CH-EN 102 and Stuttgart 95. Recall the intertextuality found in *Gaudendum nobis est*. The phrase “MARIA, MARIA” is stylistically more florid than the rest of the chant content. *Gaudendum nobis est* is often entirely syllabic, with some neumatic moments. The single point of melismatic texture comes at this “MARIA, MARIA” portion. This change in musical character as

well as its special place as a refrain-like quotation could indicate a change in musical forces. The same intertextuality found in *Ex filiabus babilonis*, along with its odd musical structure, could similarly suggest a shift between choirs. Moreover, *Mandragore dederunt* and *Indica michi quem* were not prioritized because only one of the musical forces performed them.

Below, table 4 (Latin) and table 5 (English) demonstrate a single possibility (of many) for the division of parts. Stuttgart 95 has no rubrics indicating performance practice; given that, it is impossible to say with certainty exactly how this series was performed. I am suggesting that the chants of this votive service could have been divided up between two groups—that is, sung antiphonally. It seems logical that the more melismatic pieces were sung by specialists, while the more neumatic pieces provided opportunities for a wider variety of skill levels. While the voices and perspectives are masculine and feminine, I am not suggesting that the two musical forces must be divided along gender lines. As in other pieces, even the depiction of male and female voices sung by heterosocial choirs would have reflected the nature of co-mingling in Engelberg's double house.

Table 5.4. Separation of Parts Among Musical Forces in Latin

Choir 1 (Masculine)	Choir 2 (Feminine)
<p>1) Ex filiabus babilonis virgo dei mater filia Conregnas in celorum thronis exaltata super omnia De profundo fecis et miserie Educ nos desolatos gratie</p> <p>Conniserans nobis in hac vita Fetida</p>	<p>Maria Stella maris fulgida</p>
<p>2) Gaudendum nobis est quod Christe mediator dei et hominum de sanctissima virgine virginum natus nostri naturam in sue divinitatis sublimaverat personam ipsam pre omnibus amemus laudemus glorificates hoc sepe subplectentes</p> <p>totius sanctitatis tu principalis gemma nos tibi humiliter servientes ut ab hostis antique mille millenis fraudibus defendas petimus</p>	<p>M A R I A M A R I A</p>
<p>3)</p>	<p>Mandragore dederunt odors suos in portis nostris omnia poma nova et vetera dilecte mi servavi tibi</p>
<p>4)</p>	<p>Indica michi quem diligent anima mea ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie ne vagari incipias post greges sodalium tuorum si ignores te o pulchra inter mulieres egredere et abi post vestigial gregum et pasce edos tuos iuxta tabernacula pastorum</p>
<p>5) Speciosa facta es et suavis in delitis virginitatis</p>	<p>sancta dei genitrix quam videntis filie Sion vernantem in floribus rosarum et lilium convallium beatissimam predicaverunt et regine laudaverunt eam</p>
<p>6) Quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima indelitiis statura tua assimilate est palme ubera tua botris capud tuum ut carmelus collum tuum sicut tueris eburnean</p>	

videamus si flores parturient
si floruerut mala punica
ibid abo tibi ubera mea

7) Equitatu meo incurribus pharionis
Pharionis assimilavi te amica mea

8)

Arte mira miro consilio
querens ovem suam summus opilio
ut nos revocaret ab exilio
locutus est nobis infilio
qui nostre sortis unicam
sine sorde tunicam
pugnaturus induit
quam puelle texuit
thalamo paraclitus

Both Choirs

9)

Nigra sum sed formosa
filie Ierusalem
sicut tabernacula cedar
sicut pellis salomonis
nolite me considerare quod fusca
sim quia decoloravit me sol

Table 5.5. Separation of Parts Among Musical Forces in English

Choir 1 (Masculine)	Choir 2 (Feminine)
<p>1) Out of the daughters of Babylon Virgin, mother of God, daughter You co-reign on the heavenly throne exalted above all From the depths of sediment and misery Lead us out, the desolate, to grace</p> <p>Commiserate with us in the midst of this fetid life</p>	<p>O Mary gleaming Star of the sea</p>
<p>2) Let us rejoice that Christ intermediary between God and man born of the holiest virgin of virgins has elevated the nature of us according to the person of her divinity let us love her person, above all others let us praise her, glorying that, after twining always</p> <p>of all holiness you, principal gem, us, humbly serving you, we ask that you defend the thousand by thousandfold deceits of the ancient enemy</p>	<p>O M A R Y O M A R Y</p>
<p>3)</p>	<p>The mandrakes give forth their fragrance in our doors all fruits; new and old, my lover, saved for you</p>
<p>4)</p>	<p>Tell me, you whom my soul loves, where you shepherd, where you rest at midday. lest I begin to wander after the flocks of your companions? If you do not know, you most beautiful among women, go out and go after the tracks of the flock and graze your lambs near the shepherds' tents</p>
<p>5) You are made beautiful and sweet in the delights of virginity</p>	<p>You the daughters of Sion The holy mother of God whom you saw blossoming with flowers of roses and lily of the valley they proclaimed her most Blessed and praised her, "Queen."</p>
<p>6) How beautiful you are, how fair, My love, daughter of delights Your very form resembles a date-palm</p>	

and your breasts, grapes
your head rises upon you like Carmel
your neck like a tower of ivory
Let us see if the flowers are flowering
if the pomegranates are blossoming
there I will give you my breasts

7) I have my cavalry to Pharaoh's chariots
And you my beloved to

8) Through wondrous craft, through
wondrous counsel
the highest shepherd seeking his sheep
in order that he might recall us from
exile
spoke to us in his son
who, about to fight,
dressed with a tunic unparalleled of our
lot without dirt
which the paraclete wove in the girl's
marriage bed

Both Choirs

9) I am black but I am beautiful
daughters of Jerusalem
as the tents of Cedar
as the Curtains of Solomon
Do not consider me, that I am brown
Because the sun has changed my color

In an envisaged performance, I suggest the following: Choir 1 opens with a non-diegetic narration, noting how the Virgin came forth from the “daughters of Babylon,” reminding the listener of the original sin carried by the women who bore Mary. Choir 1 goes on to ask for help in order to be lifted out the “dregs and misery.” At this point, Choir 2 enters identifying Mary as the “star of the gleaming sea.” The first choir then enters again, calling upon their patroness for pity and protection. They then move to *Gaudendum nobis est*, praising both Christ and Mary and rejoicing in their union. The second choir interjects again, singing the double *Maria* phrase. Choir 1 responds once more with a supplication to the Virgin for protection. Up to this point, all of the music has been from a non-diegetic perspective, however as Choir 2 sings, the Bride’s diegetic voice enters. As Mary, the second choir sings of the fruits she has saved for her lover, Christ. They go on to ask Christ where he shepherds his flock. Choir 1 answers, briefly commenting on the beauty of the virginity of Mary. At this point, the non-diegetic voice returns with Choir 2 praising the Virgin. The first force commences the Bridegroom’s perspective, complimenting Mary’s splendor and likening her to Pharaoh’s horses. The second force returns to a non-diegetic voice, reminding listeners of the salvation achieved through the unification of Mary and Christ. Finally, all singers join together singing as *Anima* and rejoicing that they are redeemed through Christ and Mary’s union both as Bride and Bridegroom as well as their relationship as Mother and Son.

All three of these examples — namely *Samson dux fortissime*, *Flete fideles anime*, and the set of ‘Song of Songs’ antiphons — share dialogues between masculine and feminine voices as well as clues that they could have been sung by more than one musical force. All of them represent male and female *dramatis personae* from Biblical stories.

They all imply — through the absence of musical notation, expansive musical range, or concordance rubrics — the possibility for divided musical labor among different performing forces. These antiphonal musical practices are well-known to scholars of medieval music, and would not have been out of place in any religious setting of the period. And while there is not direct evidence, through rubrics or other performance directions, it does seem possible that, given both the historical evidence of men and women in the German-speaking lands singing together and Engelberg's organization as a double monastery, these pieces could have been sung in joint religious services. I think this most plausible for the antiphon set, given its lengthy chants from both the Bride and Bridegroom's perspective. While *Flete fideles anime* could have been sung jointly, and provide the most likely occasion during which the communities would have been joined (i.e. Easter), this feast could have easily been celebrated in the women's half of the community and, if John did in fact sing through a male voice in the Engelberg version, his part could have been performed by one of the ordained men required for the administration of the sacraments in the women's community. *Samson dux fortissime* seems to have the most ambiguous celebration. Its range could fit within a single vocalist's range, though it seems likely that music could also have been split between different performers. However, because of where the tessitura of these different figures falls in the human voice, even a single performer would be able to distinctly characterize these different parts. It also seems particularly telling that in addition to the 'dialogues' between different personae in each piece, *Samson dux fortissime* and *Flete fideles anime* also each represent a long lament from either the male or female perspective with short interjections from the opposite gender. This could suggest parallel, if not co-celebrated,

musical traditions and liturgies within Engelberg. Without further evidence, these pieces can only offer possible performance options; however, these pieces do seem to provide at least the opportunity for joint services and the coming-together of the larger Engelberg community.

The music discussed presents unique opportunities to examine the intersection of ecclesiastic discourse, musical performance, and gender in the context of Engelberg's double house organization. While there are other pieces that display the presence of male and female personae; the *Sponsa/Sponsus* theme is particularly prevalent in Stuttgart 95, the antiphons, *Samson dux fortissime*, and *Flete fideles anime* are musically distinct from these others, offering indications of multiple parts for different performing forces. Additionally, these different voiced characters sing from the first-person perspective — a characteristic not commonly found in liturgical chant. Moreover, while all of the pieces in Stuttgart 95 represent a personal, subjective choice by being included in the codex's flexible nonstandard corpus, the music discussed herein is particularly ambiguous both in occasion and liturgical use.

There are no concrete ties between the larger ecclesiastic conversations condemning and defending double monasteries and the liturgies of a Swiss double monastery in the thirteenth-century. Given the nature of musical “composition” in this period, it seems unlikely that a first-hand account will definitively tie these two together. However, it seems plausible that even if there was not conscious, direct causality, that the discourse — specifically the use of paired, gendered exemplars that offered either models or admonitions — influenced the creating, collection, notation, and ultimately performance of pieces like the ‘Song of Songs’ antiphon set, *Samson dux fortissime*, and

Flete fideles anime. Moreover, the antiphonal musical practices highlight these masculine and feminine voices allowing performers' musical labor (i.e. the entwining of their voices) to act as a sonic representation of the co-mingling of men and women, found in Engelberg.

Liturgy and Gender as Performance

Now, I turn to how these liturgies as performances might act as a discourse to influence the gender of Engelberg's inhabitants. I contend that liturgy both reflects and acts as a gendered discourse to influence both community and individual identity.

Judith Butler has advocated that gender is a performative act. In a paradigm-shifting passage in *Gender Trouble*, she writes:

As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is repeated. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation. Although there are individual bodies that enact these significations by becoming stylized into gendered modes, this "action" is a public action.... Gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*. The effect of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self.²⁶⁶

Here Butler argues that gender is essentially a reified construct that is built through the performance of socially accepted norms. This reification is then "written on the body" through repetition that gives the appearance of a biologically determinative "gender."

For Butler, however, performative gender does not simply mean gender is a theatrical role to put on as a costume or to express a stable interior gender identity. This idea of a stable interior "woman" or "man" is largely based on the idea of biological

²⁶⁶ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge Press, 1990), 140.

determinism: a belief that like sex (a distinction between male and female based on biological factors) gender (a distinction between men and women based on social factors) is innate, inherent, and immutable.²⁶⁷ For Butler, however, gender identity as a stable construct is a fiction.

Gender cannot be understood as a role which either expresses or disguises an interior self, whether that self is conceived of as sexed or not. As performance is performative, gender is an act, broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own interiority.²⁶⁸

Performative acts cohere to retroactively create a gendered subject. This is a point about Butler's work that has often been misinterpreted.²⁶⁹ Specifically, Butler has railed against an interpretation in which gender performativity is like "get[ting] up in the morning, look[ing] in my closet, and decid[ing] which gender I want to be today."²⁷⁰ For Butler, gender performativity is instead more of a social conversation continually negotiated and mediated by larger forces. These forces remain incredibly difficult to subvert: "I think it's inevitable that there's no position outside power."²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ The idea of sex as a "simple" biological definition has been questioned in scholarly literature, particularly as we begin to reclaim identities lost to archaic medical practices and silenced by social shaming (i.e. intersex). Dr. Anne Fausto-Sterling, as a professor of biology and gender studies, has been particularly central to problematizing this simplistic notion of sex. See: Ann Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough," *The Sciences* March/April (1993): 20–24; eadem, "The Five Sexes Revisited," *The Sciences* July/August (2000): 18–23; eadem, *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories about Women and Men* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); and eadem, *Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

²⁶⁸ Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 279.

²⁶⁹ Butler, "The Body You Want: Liz Kotz Interviews Judith Butler," interview by Liz Kotz, *Artforum* 31, no. 3: 82–9.

²⁷⁰ Butler, "The Body You Want," 82–9.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Critical to Butler's theory is that the gendered subject is an "act" that has been shaped and guided by larger, hegemonic forces that are historically specific.

The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again.²⁷²

These acts, most importantly are repetitive. Because they are shaped by hegemonic, historical "scripts," these scripts are continually reinforced and naturalized through new performances. These scripts are also idealized versions that are unreachable; gender becomes an "impersonation" of idealized constructions rather than an objective gender to inhabit.²⁷³

For Butler, subversion of these hegemonic naturalizations may take place. Subversive performativity often takes the form of parody and imitation. To be subversive, a performative act must both "mime and displace" hegemonic scripts.²⁷⁴ By imitating normative performative gender and then displacing conventions, gender subversion highlights the performative act of gender as impersonation rather than an immutable, gendered self.²⁷⁵

Religious identity, what it means to be holy and devout, and the expression of this interiority are, like gender, influenced by broader ecclesiastic and societal forces. Like gender, it is also reified through a set of private and public rituals specific to historical and social contexts that offer opportunities for conformity and resistance. Expressions of

²⁷² Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 272.

²⁷³ Butler, "The Body You Want," 82-9.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 125.

devotion were different based on monastic order and geographic location, just to name two factors. And while religious identity was distinct from gender as a social categorization, in the medieval period these identities were most certainly intersectional, creating interdependent, overlapping modes of signification. So that while religiosity differed depending on whether the agent was a Benedictine or an Augustinian, the expression of religious identity also differed according to the gendered binary — according to whether an individual wore the tonsure or the veil.

I would like to suggest that liturgy and devotional practice should be considered a discourse that helps to shape gender. Like other discourses, the nature and shape of liturgical practices are decided by larger societal and institutional—here ecclesiastical—forces. However, while medieval liturgy did have some standardized elements, liturgy itself was flexible as related to the religious interests and concerns at the local, diocesan, or ordo levels. This malleability, and the dissonances it illuminates, can help identify how local communities saw themselves.

By treating liturgy and devotional practices as discourse, we can recognize how they reinforce gendered discourses. Liturgy in monastic contexts was a repetitive act. The mass and the hours of the Divine Office were a chain of commemorative rituals, enacting patterns of repetition in daily, seasonal, and yearly liturgical cycles, all of which would differ based on geographic locality, religious order, and in-house preferences. Yet music from liturgical and devotional traditions was not only confined to the church or chapel; chants seeped into individual memory and worship, creating different meanings based on separate but linked contexts.

Not only was it a repetitive act, it was also an embodied one. Performance of liturgy, either Mass or Office, involved singing as well as heightened text recitation. Liturgy and devotional practices, precisely because of their embodied, repetitive nature fit Butler's description of "an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*."²⁷⁶

Susan McClary has discussed music as an embodied practice at length, reinforcing both the historicity of the body and music's place in ruling and shaping the gendered body.

Given the interdisciplinary activity now focused on the body, the time would seem ripe for examining music from this perspective...But historians have come to realize that the body itself has always been a contested category, that its experiences differ radically according to time, place, social class, gender, ethnicity, and much else...Moreover, music does not just reflect: it also shapes. It serves as one of the principal media by means of which we come to know our bodies (available kinetic vocabularies, cultural modes of erotic pleasure, and so on). Consequently, there is no immutable bedrock—either the body or music—upon which to base a clear linear history. Yet the very interactive relationship between music and the body only raises the stakes, making it all the more pressing that we start addressing the medium and its influence on social identity.²⁷⁷

Here, McClary contends that music shapes the body as well as gendered identities, and that the interaction between music and the body offers an important locus for the study of identity. Scholars like McClary, Suzanne Cusick, and Judith Peraino have applied Butler's theory of gender performativity to medieval and early modern vernacular

²⁷⁶ Emphasis mine. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 140.

²⁷⁷ Susan McClary, "Music, Pythagoreans, and the Body," in *Choreographing History*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 83–4.

musics; however, there has been no application of Butler's theory of performativity to the medieval musical practice of liturgy.²⁷⁸

How might gender theory help us ask new questions about the place of music in medieval religious lives? If we accept that liturgy and devotion served as ways for communities to know themselves and their collective, then how might the performance of intricate public and private rituals, in which individuals find their body and its movement controlled through prescribed music and rubrics, influence identity? Moreover, in the case of Engelberg, how does the possibility for the entwining of male and female voices illuminate both the sanctity and danger of the double monastery community? In short, gender theory opens a new set of questions to pursue that could shed light on the nature of religious devotion in contexts like that of Engelberg.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have detailed the relationship between male and female exemplars in several musical selections from Engelberg and a centuries-long history of discourse on the status of double monasteries in medieval society. Critics expressed an anxiety about contact between men and women in double houses, even attacking the legitimacy of such communities through morality tales. In response, apologists defended the validity of their institutions by providing examples of holy men and women interacting in a common life thereby acting as exemplars for sanctified relationships.

²⁷⁸ Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Suzanne Cusick, "Performing/Composing/Woman: Francesca Caccini Meets Judith Butler," in *Musics and Feminisms*, eds. Sally Macarthur and Cate Poynton (Sydney: Australian Music Centre, 1999), 87–98; eadem, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Judith Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 33–76.

I have also argued that Engelberg was distinctly invested in its organization as a double monastery. Evidence of this exists in iconography as well as primary accounts from the medieval period. The men's house even marked the celebration of the dedication of the women's church—going so far as to call the women's community “our ladies.” Thus, I view these examples as overt investments in Engelberg as a double monastery.

Stuttgart 95 features several pieces that include both masculine and feminine voices. *Samson dux fortissime*'s musical ranges for three different characters also seem to suggest the possibility of shared musical labor. The conductus *Flete fideles anime* is, in the lengthy version found in Stuttgart 95, a prolix lamentation told largely from Mary's perspective. Other contemporary sources, however, reveal a performance practice that included John singing or being “on-stage” with a vocalist portraying Mary. The antiphon series depicts the Bride and Bridegroom from the *Canticum canticorum*. Missing neumatation, from two antiphons portraying the Bride's perspective, also may suggest an antiphonal performance practice. Here, I contend that these pieces should be seen as a reflection of a larger discourse about the dangers and virtues of the double monastery.

Finally, I have argued that liturgy should be seen as part of a larger discourse that affects the performative gender identities of those who practice it. Given that Butler defines gender as a repetitive stylized act, liturgy, as a practice repeated at various intervals—daily, weekly, seasonally, and annually—becomes part of the discourse that defines what a man or a woman should be in this specific historical, geographic, and social context—medieval Latin Christendom, German-speaking lands, Benedictine, Blasien-reform, double communities, and Engelberg. By asking new questions from

different methodologies, we open the door to inquiry about the meaning and impact of liturgy and musical performance to medieval monastic contexts.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has set out to provide the first full-scale musicological study of a thirteenth-century song book (folios 4r–83v) of Stuttgart 95, a manuscript formerly thought to be from the abbey of Weingarten. In this examination, it has become clear that rather than a single unified corpus of Latin songs, the musical portion of Stuttgart 95 is composed of three separate layers that are best understood as separate entities. This delineation between writing campaigns indicates that the earliest musical project (folios 4r–67v) likely constitutes a nearly intact collection, with only one to two folios missing from the beginning. The song repertoire in the first layer is partially comprised of addenda found in other Engelberg liturgical manuscripts and entered at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, shortly before the manufacture of Stuttgart 95. I have focused, in particular, on the first layer of its musical corpora, arguing that the earliest stratum in this composite manuscript points to the double cloister of Engelberg as the likely medieval provenance.

As a collection of addenda, the songs in Stuttgart 95 reveal that musicians in Engelberg were actively collecting pieces honoring the Virgin Mary, the community's patron. I have discussed the consistent use of majuscule and rubrication to call attention visually to the name of Mary amidst its surrounding text. I have also identified other saints — including Katherine, Nicholas, and Blaise — whose names were treated in a similar manner. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that Mary along with these additional saints had liturgical ties to the double house of Engelberg; Mary was the monastery's

patron, and the additional figures were either especially venerated at Engelberg or were the namesakes for dedicated altars or chapels in joint community's churches.

I have contended that the music of Stuttgart 95 reflects a tradition of 'decorating' Mary's name aurally by musical means, as in the case of melismatic migrating refrains used as either concluding elements or interpolations in antiphons and sequences. I have identified an intertextual melismatic refrain set to a double statement of *MARIA* in the antiphon *Gaudendum nobis est*. In this example, I have shown that the music and text are shared with another double *MARIA* phrase found in *Salve nobilis virga iesse*. Moreover, while most concordances of *Gaudendum nobis est* reproduce the entirety of the phrase found in *Salve nobilis virga iesse*, Engelberg's setting chooses different music for the second *MARIA* in the phrase. This second *MARIA* shares text and music with *Sancta dei genitrix*, an alleluia found in Stuttgart 95's Marian votive mass. This splicing together of short melodic-textual tags from different chants to create a distinct refrain appears to be unique to Stuttgart 95, and would suggest that the creator of the codex exhibited flexibility in the use, re-use, borrowing, and copying of music and text from other chant traditions. The sounding of Mary's name is also found in a migrating refrain present in both *Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Gaude mater luminis*. They serve similar melodic purposes, closing the phrases, and are textually incorporated into the main body of the strophes. Musical connections between different liturgical occasions and seasons would have been a powerful aural touchstone that invoked and inspired a rich, multivalent devotional tradition in Engelberg.

Finally, I have asserted that liturgical music in Stuttgart 95 is a reflection of institutional identity, and that it served as a mirror of a larger discourse concerning the

co-mingling of men and women religious of Engelberg. I began by examining the long tradition of rhetorical attacks on and defenses of double monasteries. Those who condemned double monasteries tended to focus their anxiety on the contact between masculine and feminine halves of the double house. Writers justifying the legitimacy of such communities habitually put forward saintly pairs of men and women as models of holy male-female contact. Moreover, I have shown that Engelberg was invested in its identity as a double monastery, as shown overtly through iconography, medieval writings, and entries in calendars and the liturgies of its manuscripts. Furthermore, as I have shown, pieces depicting masculine and feminine *dramatis personae* act as subtle hallmarks of this monastic identity. Finally, I have argued that the set of ‘Song of Songs’ antiphons, the planctus-conductus *Samson dux fortissime* and the conductus *Flete fideles anime* suggest that in certain contexts, these musical pieces could have been sung between divided musical forces or musical characterizations.

I have centered my inquiry on human agency, on what seemingly ambiguous primary sources can reveal about musical practices, and on how those performances might have affected individual and community subjective experiences. Over twenty years ago, Suzanne Cusick called for musicologists to “think from women’s lives.”²⁷⁹ She argued that “we are likely to understand the whole fabric of... musical life better when we incorporate in our view...a multiplicity of angles.”²⁸⁰ To that end, I have consciously turned to the *multiplicity of angles* used in ethnomusicological studies, and in particular to this subdiscipline’s fundamental questions about people, communities, and how music

²⁷⁹ Suzanne Cusick, “‘Thinking from Women’s Lives’: Francesca Caccini after 1627,” *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (1993): 484–507.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 502.

affected daily lived experiences. My investigation has offered more questions than answers; however, it is my hope that these questions will inspire new angles and methodologies that might help us explore medieval liturgical music.

Several important subjects connected to this dissertation await future research. The second two musical layers of Stuttgart 95 (folios 68r–79v, and folios 80r–83v, respectively) have yet to be explored in detail. Determining the provenance of these two later sections might offer insight into when and where the different campaigns were written and joined to the gatherings of the first campaign. Additionally, an appraisal of other liturgical manuscripts from Kloster Engelberg will allow more to be said about the devotional practices of the communities. This line of inquiry will likely involve not only digitized medieval books currently available, but also sources housed in the abbey library and the archives not yet digitized and/or catalogued, and which have not been generally available to outside scholars.

Similarly, an assessment of the liturgical manuscripts from or now housed in Muri, Hermetschwil, and Sarnen would greatly help contextualize Engelberg's musical practices. Another possible project, the history of the monophonic Marian votive mass, would offer broader insight into the development of votive services as well as localized devotional traditions. A deeper investigation into the use of intertextual refrains in liturgical music would allow scholars to identify new and potentially profound connections between different chants, and may provide a new understanding of the multivalent nature of liturgical music. An examination of the musico-liturgical traditions of double monasteries is needed, in particular that of St. Blasien communities (to which Engelberg belonged) so that we might recognize a broader context for their larger

liturgical traditions. Finally, feminist musicology offers new avenues of exploration by providing new historical and methodological questions as well as new approaches to the interpretation of primary sources connected to double communities.

Stuttgart 95 stands as a portrait of musical traditions and local identity in Engelberg's double house. Yet we are only beginning to understand the tales it has to tell: stories from individuals long dead, but not silenced. Through a combination of established methodologies and more recent approaches and questions, this study has sought to hear voices from the past, and find paths of inquiry we thought were lost to time.

APPENDIX

COMPLETE INVENTORY OF STUTT GART 95

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Salve mater salvatoris...configura glorie	1	sequence	4r	Folio not present
Imperatrix gloriosa	2	sequence	4r	Item. Sequentia alia
Gaude mater luminis	3	sequence	4v	Alia Sequentia
O dulce flagrans	4	trope	5r	
Letabundus exultet fidelis	5	sequence	5r	Alia Sequentia
Ave mater qua natus est	6	sequence	5v	Alia Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Ave preclara maris stella	7	sequence	6r	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Virgine Marie laudis intonet	8	sequence	7r	Alia Sequentia
Veni virgo virginum	9	sequence	7v	Sequentia de Sancta Maria
Rex regum dei agne	10	sequence	8r	In paschali tempore Sequentia
Mane prima sabbati	11	sequence	9r	Sequentia In paschali tempore
Veni sancte spiritus et emitte	12	sequence	9v	De Sancto Spiritu Sequentia
Verbum dei deo natum	13	sequence	9ar	Folio not present
Plausu chorus letabundo	14	sequence	9ar	Sequentia
Qui sunt isti qui volant	15	sequence	10v	De apostolis Sequentia
Salve proles Davidis	16	sequence	11r	De Sancta Maria Sequentia
Ave spes mundi	17	sequence	11v	
Verbum bonum et suave	18	sequence	12v	
Virgines caste virginis	19	sequence	12v	Sequentia de virginibus
Virginalis turba sexus	20	sequence	14v	Sequentia Undecium milium virgines
Sancte sion assunt	21	sequence	15v	In dedicatione Sequentia
Laude christo debita	22	sequence	16r	De Sancto Nicolao Sequentia
Sanctissime virginis votiva	23	sequence	17v	De Sancta katherina
Laudemus creatorem qui fortis	24	sequence	18r	De Sancta Cruce Sequentia
O amor deus deitas	25	conductus	18v	Conductus
O si michi rethorica	26	conductus	20v	De Sancta Maria Carmen
O quam formosa	27	conductus	22r	
Flete fideles anime	28	planctus-conductus	23r	Planctus Marie virginis
Ave dei pia genitrix	29	conductus	24v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Ecce venit de Syon	30	conductus	25r	
Dies ista colitur	31	conductus	25v	Carmen de Sancta Maria
Audi chorus organicum	32	conductus	26r	Aliud Carmen
In conflictu nobili	33	conductus	27r	Conductus
Austro terris influente	34	conductus	27v	
Qui sub dione militas	35	conductus	28r	
Pater ingenitus	36	conductus	28v	
Fregit ddam interdictum	37	conductus	29r	
Audi mundi domina	38	conductus	29v	
Samson dux fortissime	39	planctus-conductus	30r	Planctus Sampsonis
Veri floris sub figura	40	conductus	31v	
Olim fuit argumentum	41	conductus	32v	Conductum
Si quis in hoc artem	42	conductus	32v	
Latex silice	43	conductus	32v	
Crucifigant omnes	44	conductus	33r	
Regi psallens hec contio	45	Benedicamus trope	33r	
Dic Christi veritas	46	conductus	33v	
Bulla fulminante	47	conductus	33v	
Respondit caritas	48	conductus	33v	

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Venit angelus ad Mariam virginem	49	antiphon	34r	antiphona
Salve mater salvatoris	50		34r	versus super alma redemptoris
Fas legis prisce	51		34v	In parasceve
Ve quomodo sunt oculi	52	lamentation	34v	lamentatio
Omnes audiatis	53		35v	
Ecce dies triumphalis	54	trope	36v	In dedicatione
Kyrie eleyson. Firmator sancte	55	Kyrie trope	36v	In summis festiva
Kyrie eleyson. Ave nunc genitrix	56	Kyrie trope	37r	Aliud
Kyrie eleyson. Cunctipotens genitor	57	Kyrie trope	37r	Aliud
Kyrie eleyson. Pater cuncta qui gubernas	58	Kyrie trope	37v	
Rex virginum amator	59	Kyrie trope	37v	
Kyrie Fons bonitatis	60	Kyrie trope	38r	
Inmense celi conditor	61	Kyrie trope	38v	
Kyrie eleyson. Orbis factor rex eterne	62	Kyrie trope	39r	
Rex deus eterne sine principio	63	Kyrie trope	39v	
Ad decus ecclesie	64	trope	39v	In dedicatione
Hec est sponsa summi regis	65	trope	40v	Epistola
Sanctus. Divinum misterium	66	Sanctus trope	41v	
Sanctus. Genitor summi	67	Sanctus trope	42r	
Sanctus. Est pater ex patria	68	Sanctus trope	42v	
Agnus dei qui. Celitus informans	69	Agnus Dei trope	42v	
Agnus dei. Vulnere mortis	70	Agnus Dei trope	43r	
Agnus dei. Maria videns angelum	71	Agnus Dei trope	43r	
Agnus dei. Vite donatur mortis	72	Agnus Dei trope	43r	
Agnus dei. Danielis prophetia	73	Agnus Dei trope	43v	
Festivali melodia	74	Benedicamus trope	43v	Benedicamus
Mater dei creditur	75	Benedicamus trope	44r	Aliud
Quem prophetaverunt prophete	76	Benedicamus trope	44r	Benedicamus
In laude matris hodie	77	Benedicamus trope	44v	
Verum sine spina Maria est lilium	78	Benedicamus trope	44v	
Ave virgo virginum carnis dei	79	Benedicamus trope	44v	
Exultemus et cantemus domino	80	Benedicamus trope	45r	
Stirps yesse floruerat	81	Benedicamus trope	45r	
Rex deus deorum	82	Benedicamus trope	45v	
Puer natus in bethlehem	83	Benedicamus trope	46r	
Gaude plebs digna	84	Benedicamus trope	46r	
Sinagoga confunditur	85	Benedicamus trope	46v	
Templum hoc pacificus	86	Benedicamus trope	46v	
Ecce patent iuda	87	Benedicamus trope	46v	
Innixum scale dominum	88	Benedicamus trope	47r	
Celestis ut agmina	89	Benedicamus trope	47r	
Pudore femineo	90	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus
Surrexit christus a mortuis	91	Benedicamus trope	47v	Benedicamus
Spiritus sanctus apostolis consolator	92	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Deus in adiutorium	93	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Virgo dulci pullulans	94	Benedicamus trope	48r	Benedicamus
Procedens a throno spiritus	95	alleluia	48v	
Veni sancte spiritus	96	alleluia	48v	
Vox exultacionis	97	alleluia	48v	
Alleluia. Salve virga florens aron	98	alleluia	49r	
Alleluia. Virga yesse floruit	99	alleluia	49r	
Alleluia Viri galilei quid admiramini	100	alleluia	49v	
Alleluia Dorsa eorum	101	alleluia	49v	
In hac sacra dei	102	Benedicamus trope	49v	
Ex filiabus babilonis	103	antiphon	49v	antiphona
Gaudendum nobis est	104	antiphon	50r	antiphona
Mandragore dederunt	105	antiphon	50r	antiphona

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Indica michi quem	106	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Speciosa facta es	107	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Quam pulchra es et quam decora	108	antiphon	50v	antiphona
Equitatu meo	109	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Arte mira	110	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Nigra sum sed formosa	111	antiphon	51r	antiphona
Cunctipotens dominator	112	Kyrie trope	51v	
Indictione tua	113	Benedicamus trope	52r	
In hoc festo meste meste	114	Benedicamus trope	52r	
Bene vox pia	115	trope	52r	
O vite via o mater pia	116	Benedicamus trope	52v	
Johannes postquam senuit	117	Benedicamus trope	52v	
Voce resonantes	118	Gaudeamus trope	52v	
Spiritus et alme orphanorum	119	Gloria trope	53r	
Precelsa seclis colitur	120	sequence	53v	de Sancto Vincento
Sanctorum vita virtus	121	sequence	54r	de Sancto Blasio Sequentia
Grates deo et honor sint	122	sequence	55r	Sequentia de Sancta Ara(m)
Benedictio trine	123	sequence	56r	De Sancta trinitate
Quem ethera et terra	124	sequence	56v	
Dilectus meus clamat	125	antiphon	57r	antiphona
Hospitati dedit egro	126	sequence	57r	
Hodie cantandus est nobis puer	127	trope	57r	Inatale domini
Hodie totus orbis letabundus	128	trope	57v	In resurrectione
Domum quam edificat	129	trope	57v	In dedicatione
Psallite regi nostro	130	sequence	58r	In decollatione Sancti Johannis Baptiste
Qui benedici cupitis	131	sequence	59r	Sequentia de Sancto Benedicto
Missus ab arce	132	trope	59v	
Gloria pie trinitati honor	134	versus		
O decus ecclesie	133	trope	60r	
Alleluia Dulcis mater	134	alleluia	60v	
Alleluia Non vos me elegistis	135	alleluia	60v	
Salve sancta parens	136	introit for the Marian mass	60v	de sancta Maria
Benedicta et venerabilis	137	gradual for the Marian mass	60v	Graduale
Alleluia Sancta dei genitrix	138	alleluia for Marian mass	60v	
Felix valde es	139	offertory for the Marian mass	60v	Offertorium
Recordare virgo	140	offertory for the Marian mass	60v	Offertorium
Ab hac familia tu propicia	141	offertory prosula	61v	versus
Beata viscera	142	communion for the Marian mass	61v	Communio
Pater summe pietatis	143	communion for the Marian mass	61v	Communio
Dum sanctificatus fuero	144	introit for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	De Sancto Spiritu Officium
Beata gens cuius	145	gradual for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	Graduale
Alleluia Sancti spiritus	146	alleluia for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	
Emitte spiritum tuum	147	offertory for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	Offertorium
Spiritus ubi vult	148	communion for the Holy Ghost mass	62r	Communio
Adorate deum—Dixit in agelis	149	introit for the Angel Mass	62v	De Angelis Officium
Benedicite domino	150	gradual for the Angel Mass	62v	Graduale
Alleluia Confitebor tibi	151	alleluia for the Angel mass	62r	
Inmittitt angelus domini	152	offertory for the Angel Mass	62r	Offertorium
Dico vobis gaudium est	153	communion for the Angel	62r	Communio

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
		Mass		
Alleluia Maria virgo ora pro populo	154	alleluia	63v	
Gloria	155		65r	In summis festium
Alleluia Isti sunt due olive	156	alleluia	65v	
Due vere sunt olive	157	sequence	65v	
In exitu israhel	158		66r	
Alleluia Tres sunt qui testimonium	159	alleluia	67r	
Laus deo patri	160		67r	
Dilectus deo et hominibus	161	sequence	67r	
Conditor alme siderum	162	hymn	67v	
Dole Sichem impie	163	Benedicamus trope	68r	
Benedicamus voci voto	164	Benedicamus trope	68v	
Cordis devoti affectu	165	Benedicamus trope	68v	
Benedicamus Domino	166	Benedicamus trope	68v	
Bene voce sonora	167	Benedicamus trope	68v	
Petre claviger regni celorum	168	Benedicamus trope	68v	
Psallentes laudem dei	169	Benedicamus trope	69r	
Ad filium summi patris	170	Benedicamus trope	69r	
Salve virgo maria orta de stirpe	171	Benedicamus trope	69r	
Salve gemma splendida	172	Benedicamus trope	69v	
O quam sacrum quam divinam	173	Benedicamus trope	69v	
Benedicamus flori orto	174	Benedicamus trope	69v	
Exceptivam actionem	175	conductus	70r	
Fons indeficiens pietatis	176	Agnus Dei trope	70v	
O summa potentia	177	antiphon verse	70v	
Virgo mater ecclesie	178	antiphon verse	71r	
Salve dulcis memorie	179	antiphon verse	71r	
Psalle plebs fidelis	180		71r	
Congaudeat turba fidelium	181	hymn	71v	
Ad cantum leticie	182	Benedicamus trope	71v	
Frigescente caritatis	183	conductus	72r	
O clericorum optime	184		72v	
Fraude ceca desolato	185	conductus	73r	
Cogito plus solito	186		73r	
Vale tellus valet socii	187		73r	
Audi tellus audi magni	188		73v	
Surrexit christus hodie	189	hymn	74r	quat
Hec est sancta sollempnitas	190		74v	
In klangore nuntiemus	191	Benedicamus trope	74v	
Voce resonantes	192	Gaudeamus trope	74v	
Benedicamus. Sanctificatus deo domus	193	Benedicamus trope	75r	
Ave pangamus singuli	194	Benedicamus trope	75r	
Puer natus hodie o concio cantus est	195		75v	
Narum regem laudat orbis terrarum	196	Benedicamus trope	75v	
Tu qui es vita vera	197	Benedicamus trope	76r	
Trinum deum in personis	198	Benedicamus trope	76r	
Agnus. Eructavit cor meum	199		76v	
Johannes postquam senuit	200	Benedicamus trope	76v	
Summi regis nativitas	201		76v	
In hoc festo meste mesto	202	Benedicamus trope	77r	
O vite via o mater pia	203		77r	
Rumore letalis	204		77v	
O liliium convallium	205	Benedicamus trope	78r	discantum
Verbum patris hodie	206	Benedicamus trope	78r	
Benedicamus hoc templum	207		78v	
O ve sic dicant misere	208	trope	78v	

Title	No.	Genre	Folio	Rubric
Ingressus Jhesus dominus	209	trope	78v	
Salve regina misericordie. Quae genuisti regem regum	210		79v	
Crimen avaritie	211		80r	
Exultandi et letandi tempus	212		80r	
Benedicamus	213		80v	Alia Benedicamus Domino
Surge amica mea	214	antiphon	80v	
Manus eius tornatiles	215	antiphon	80v	
Ecce tu pulcher es dilecte	216	antiphon	81r	
Osculetur me osculo	217	antiphon	81r	
Dies ista colitur	218	conductus	81r	
Revirescit et florescit	219	conductus	81v	
Heu mundi vita quare me delectas	220		82r	

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