

LITURGICAL AND MUSICAL PROPERIZATION OF MODE 2 INVITATORIES IN THE AUTUMN MATINS

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Izveček: Analiza dveh enkratnih invitatorijskih antifon (*Laudabilem virum*, *Adaperiat Dominus cor*) za jesenski del oficija med letom razkriva poseben niz proprijskih invitatorijev v 2. modusu z bibličnimi besedili. Ti se pojavljajo kot geografsko razpršeni primeri v oddaljenih srednjeveških obredih. Namen študije je zbrati posamezne povezane speve in najti razmerja med njihovo uporabo tako, da bi pri tem pojasnila okoliščine te nenavadne glasbene in liturgične properizacije, ki povezuje jesenski temporal in cikle oficijev sanktorala.

Ključne besede: gregorijanski koral, Oglej, oficijski viri, proprijski invitatorij, jesenski čas

Abstract: An examination of two unique invitatory antiphons (*Laudabilem virum*, *Adaperiat Dominus cor*) in the autumn *per annum* office reveals a special set of mode 2 invitatories, which also adapt proper (scriptural) texts. These appear as geographically scattered instances in various medieval rites. This study sets out to collect individual related pieces and find relationships among their uses by clarifying the circumstances of this remarkable musical and liturgical properization, which creates coherence between the autumn *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* office cycles.

Keywords: Gregorian chant, Divine Office, *Aquileia*, proper invitatories, autumn *per annum*

In the 13th–14th-century office sources of the North Italian patriarchate of *Aquileia*, two remarkable choices are assigned to the folios, which list the *per annum* chants after the Feast of Trinity. Both of these – the invitatory *Adaperiat Dominus cor* for the Maccabees history in October and the invitatory *Laudabilem virum* to accompany the responsory series for the history of the Prophets – appear at the bottom of the margins in a later hand.¹

To set two individual, proper invitatories at these points seems very strange, as medieval office rites – in line with general practice – did not prescribe proper chants for the *per annum* Matins, apart for the great responsories in summer and autumn. Meanwhile other types of Matins chants, such as the antiphon to the Psalms, versicle and hymn (if

¹ See for example I-Go A (*Antiphonarium aquileiense*, 13th c., Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario Teologico Centrale, Ms. A): fols. 351v, 357r.

it is presented) were chosen from a common collection of items – a restricted number of pieces for *per annum* Sundays and weekdays. One further element besides the proper responsories, a seasonal invitatory² lent some individuality to this sparse selection. So the general principle of dividing the year into two separate parts (*pars hiemalis* and *pars estivalis*) – clearly illustrated by the use of two *per annum* invitatories – combined with another important system of arrangement in the summer *per annum*: the great responsories were organised into individual groups by highlighting the most momentous parts of the scriptural lessons for the day.³

Prescribing surplus invitatory antiphons relating to the scriptural texts in October and November, as seen above, seems at first sight to be a feature peculiar to Aquileia, as if its chant-book editors sought to enrich their *per annum* repertoire by using a genre that generally represents the “winter–summer” division of the year.⁴ They achieved this by liturgical properization of invitatories that gave priority to the content of the scriptural text.⁵

The Aquileian manuscripts confirm that these two special invitatories were new additions to the repertoire. In the Cividale breviaries of the 11th–12th centuries,⁶ *Laudabilem virum* is a marginal insertion. I-CFm XLI,⁷ I-CFm XLIII contain only incipits, while San Daniele breviary presents the *Laudabilem* in German neums.⁸ Turning to the

² A winter and a summer one.

³ In line with general practice for selecting and arranging chants, the structure of the winter–spring *per annum* Matins is more modest in Aquileia either (see Gilányi and Kovács, *CAO-ECE Aquileia*, 112–118). After Epiphany, the books list the simplest, and perhaps most archaic version of the *per annum* arrangement: responsories *de psalmista*, common antiphons to the Psalms, and a seasonal (winter–spring) invitatory antiphon (*Praeoccupemus faciem*). This structure is varied from the Lenten period onwards by the reading of the *scriptura occurrens*, for which proper, scriptural responsory chants are prescribed. In the summer–autumn *per annum* period, the reading of the scriptural *historiae* continues and the Matins is supplied with proper responsories and a new summer–autumn invitatory (*Regem magnum adoremus*). Bible readings after Trinity Sunday: the Book of Kings and the Book of Wisdom in August, the Books of Job, Judith and Esther in September, Maccabees in October, and the Prophets (Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets) in November.

⁴ Cf. *invitorium hiemalis*, *invitorium estivalis*.

⁵ In early times, Matins was probably sung with responsories and antiphons of Psalm texts: some studies suggest that the scriptural *historiae* were added to the liturgy in a later phase of development, possibly in the 8th–9th c. See Alfonso, *Responsori biblici*; Maiani, “Readings and Responsories.”

⁶ Cividale was a collegiate chapter of the Aquileian cathedral using a variant of the main office rite. Three manuscripts belong to this early Cividale source group: Breviarium notatum from San Daniele (abbr. San Daniele breviary), 11th–12th c., San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana, Ms. 4 (I-SDF 4), see Baroffio, “Importante libro liturgico”; Breviarium notatum aquileiense (used in Cividale), 12th c., Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. XCI (I-CFm XCI); Breviarium notatum aquileiense (used in Cividale), 12th c., Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. XCIII (I-CFm XCIII). All three manuscripts have full Sanctoriale and Temporale parts.

⁷ I-iphonarium civitatense, 14th century, Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. XLI (I-CFm XLI). Temporale only.

⁸ German neums were probably replaced by square notation during the 13th century in Aquileia (see I-GO A). This can give an approximate date of marginal insertion in San Daniele breviary.

14th–15th-century Cividale sources, I-CFm XLIV⁹ also lists them in the margin, but I-CFm LVII¹⁰ has them in the main text: this is the earliest case of them appearing in the main *corpus* in Aquileia. Although the cathedral antiphoners of the 13th–14th centuries (I-Go A, I-Go B¹¹) already place both invitatories with their melodies at the bottom of the folios, the chants gained fixed positions in the Aquileian office rite only at the end of the 15th century (see *Breviarium Aquileiense*, printed breviary from 1496; SI-Lna 19).¹²

Clarifying the roots and origins of these meant investigating the invitatories in other European rites. It soon became clear that *Laudabilem virum* is not a chant peculiar to Aquileia: the databases CANTUS¹³ and CAO-ECE¹⁴ both show results in other, Central European places in Austria, Hungary and Poland (Table 1).

Table 1: Occurrence of the invitatory antiphon *Laudabilem virum*.

CANTUS	A-SF XI 480, A-VOR 287, A-Wda C-10, DK-Kk 3449 80 VIII, SI-Lna 19 (olim 19), TR-Itks 42 (Salzburg-Passau, Augsburg, Aquileia, Hungary)
CAO-ECE	Esztergom: SK-BRm EC Lad. 2, SK-BRm EC Lad. 6, A-Su II 11, RO-AIR I 110, A-Wn 1481, Breviarium Strigoniense impr. GW 5469, A-Wn 1829, F-Pn Lat 8879, US-NYpm M.A.G. 7, SK-Sk Ms. Mus. No. 2, RO-AIR II 46, H-Bmnm 63.74.1. C, H-Bmnm 63.84. C, RO-AIR III 94. J, RO-Brbn I.F.69 Transylvania-Várad: I-Rvat 8247 Kalocsa-Zagreb: I-Rvat Ottob. Lat. 667 Salzburg-Passau: Breviarium Pataviense impr. GW 5425, A-Wn 1863, A-Gu 2 Aquileia: I-GO A, I-GO B, Breviarium Aquileiense impr. GW 5258, I-SDF 4, I-CFm XCI, I-CFm XCIII, I-CFm XLI, I-CFm XLIV
Other results	Krakow: PL-KK 48, PL-KK 1375, PL-KK 1508

Although the invitatory *Laudabilem* can be found in the 11th–12th-century Cividale sources,¹⁵ it is not presented in the office of the contemporary Salzburg-Passau rite,¹⁶ which had a close liturgical link with Aquileia in the 11th–13th centuries.¹⁷ This assigns

⁹ Antiphonarium civitatense, 14th–15th c., Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. XLIV (I-CFm XLIV). Temporale from Pascha, full Sanctorale.

¹⁰ Antiphonarium civitatense, 14th–15th c., Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LVII (I-CFm LVII). Full Sanctorale and Temporale.

¹¹ Antiphonarium aquileiense, 13th–14th c., Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario Teologico Centrale, Ms. B (I-Go B).

¹² The item can be documented in the main repertoire only from the 15th c. in the patriarchate: f. 41r in the antiphoner of Kranj (Ljubljana, Nadškofijski arhiv, Mss. 18 and 19; see Snój and Gilányi, *Antiphonarium ecclesiae parochialis urbis Kranj*), and in a printed Aquileian breviary (*Breviarium Aquileiense*, Venice, 1496, GW 5258).

¹³ Online: CANTUS; older version: <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>, accessed March 1, 2013.

¹⁴ See Gilányi and Kovács, *CAO-ECE Aquileia*, 264–267, online: <http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cao-ece/cao-ece.html>, accessed March 1, 2013. The chant is absent from CAO (Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*).

¹⁵ Actually in a later hand.

¹⁶ See Salzburg Ordinary, 12th c. (A-Su II. 6), Augustinian antiphoner, 12th c. (A-KN 1012).

¹⁷ In the 11th–13th cc. Aquileia fell under the jurisdiction of the Salzburg church, led by German patriarchs.

simple *de psalterio* chants for the Matins in November. Confirmation of the occurrence or absence of *Laudabilem* is impossible over a period of about a century for lack of a surviving source from the 13th-century cathedral rite of Salzburg, which might have listed a summer Temporal.

As stated before, the 13th-century I-Go A and I-Go B do not list the invitatory *Laudabilem virum* in the main corpus of the books, although the chant is included in the sources at the bottom of the folio of Prophets, with its proper melody appended in oversized square notation. Study of the script and notation suggest, by the way, that the additional inscriptions are not much later than the main text.

Three main observations can be made from the facts considered so far:

1. The earliest documentation of the invitatory antiphon *Laudabilem virum* presumably appeared in the territory of Aquileia (see the later additions in the San Daniele breviary).
2. The chant was not known elsewhere in the 12th–13th century, even in sources for the Salzburg rite of a similar age.
3. The invitatory was a fixture in the Aquileian repertoire by the end of the 15th century.

The difference between the early sources of Cividale and Salzburg in inserting the *Laudabilem virum* is all the more remarkable because Cividale (as an integral part of the Aquileian office tradition) used a liturgy quite similar to that of Salzburg in the early years. Here the addition of *Laudabilem* in the Cividale sources might turn out to be far more than an accidental curiosity, for it could be typically an element of an independent Aquileian office rite that came to be called the *ritus aquilegiensis* in later liturgical books. The theory on the Aquileian origin of the chant is weakened by the unknown dating of the inscriptions in the early Cividale books and the fact that first appearances of the melody in a staff notation can be found in the Augustinian antiphoners A-Vor 287 from the first half of the 14th century and A-SF XI 480 (antiphoner, Regensburg) from somewhat later, which might suppose a South German composition. All in all, our findings considered here do not serve enough evidence to decide the question of origin.

Use of the melody in South German territories is confirmed by other examples from Augsburg and Passau as well.¹⁸ *Laudabilem* occurs in 14th-century Hungary in the Istanbul Antiphoner,¹⁹ representing the rite of Esztergom.²⁰ Presumably the *Laudabilem virum* invitatory was not yet known in Hungary in the 12th–13th centuries: it is absent from the Codex Albensis,²¹ Breviarium Strigoniense (Hr-Zu MR 67) and Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense (CZ-Ps DE I 7). After the 14th century a widespread use can be attested from Esztergom to Transylvania, but not in the dioceses of Kalocsa and Zagreb,²² or in the liturgical practice of the Hungarian Pauline order,²³ which usually omits it.

¹⁸ A-DK Kk 3449 80 VIII, A-Wda C 10.

¹⁹ TR-Itks 42.

²⁰ The *terminus post quem* of the chant's occurrence is 1360 (based on the dating of the antiphoner). See Szendrei, *Istanbul Antiphonal*.

²¹ A-Gu Ms. 211. See Falvy and Mezey, *Codex Albensis*.

²² It can only be found in the I-Rvat Ottob. Lat. 667 (a breviary from Kalocsa, 1479). See Kovács, *CAO-ECE Kalocsa-Zagreb*, 155.

²³ The Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit may have preserved an early state of the Esztergom

Elsewhere the chant can only be found in Krakow, with a breviary of 1375 as its earlier source.²⁴ This early Polish occurrence could be explained by strong Hungarian influence at the time.²⁵ Occurrences from the 15th century onwards indicate eventual integration of *Laudabilem virum* into the office rite of Krakow. Yet the invitatory is absent from the offices of other Polish dioceses (Płock, Wrocław) and to my knowledge in the Czech lands.

The chant itself is not one of the usual Gregorian invitatory antiphons:²⁶ it has a more elaborate and supple melody (Example 1). This is divisible into two lines both ending on d, which keep dividing further into two half-lines. The sudden beginning in the second line at a pitch of a–c is a musical idea typical of all the local variants.

Example 1

Invitatory antiphon *Laudabilem virum* in Aquileia (I-Go A, f. 351v).

Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis

quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin.

Laudabilem has survived in a version distinctive in each region (Example 2), except in the formula of the closing half-line, which is uniform everywhere. In the patriarchate, two melodic versions of the varied first and third half-lines can be distinguished: those of the cathedral of Aquileia and the collegiate church of Cividale, the most striking difference being in the first half-cadence, on g in the former and d in the latter (Example 2, lines 2–3).

Based on paleographical inspection, such an invitatory melody is encoded in German neums found as an additional inscription in the San Daniele breviary (line 1), whose certain elements seem very similar to the notated *Laudabilem* version in Salzburg of

rite, which would explain the absence of the invitatories *Laudabilem* and *Adaperiat* in Paulite sources (HR-Zu MR 8, A-GÜ 1/28, H-SOáv sine signatura, A-GÖ 439, Pauline Breviarium, Venice, 1530).

²⁴ SK-PREsvk (Prešov, Štátna vedecká knižnica), without siglum.

²⁵ Although Krakow and Hungary were closely tied throughout the Middle Ages, the 14th century was outstanding in this respect. The Polish Piast dynasty died out in 1370 with the death of Casimir III, and by prior at Visegrád in 1339, the Hungarian King Louis the Great of Anjou was crowned in Krakow as the new monarch of Poland. Besides several other unknown details, this fact might explain how Hungarian liturgical books and chants of the Anjou era got to Krakow, and how certain liturgical elements established in the liturgy of it. Nevertheless, the insertion of some chants into the liturgy might have been the consequence of a personal decision, maybe with the bishop of Krakow, Florian Morsko (1367–1380) in the background, but the contribution of others is also possible.

²⁶ See Dobszay and Szendrei, *MMMA, Antiphonen*, no. 2101.

Example 2

Melodic versions of invitatory *Laudabilem virum*.

1. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis in ex-cel-sis*

2. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin.*

3. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin.*

4. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

5. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

6. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

7. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

8. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

9. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

10. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

11. *Lau-da-bi-lem vi-rum a-do-re-mus in al-tis quem vi-dit se-de-re He-ze-chi-el su-per a-las che-ru-bin. in ex-cel-sis*

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|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. I-SDF 4 | Cividale, 11–12th c. |
| 2. I-Go A, B | Aquileia, 13–14th c. |
| 4. SK-PREsvk, no siglum | Krakov, 1375. |
| 3. I-CFm LVII | Cividale, 15th c. |
| 5. PL-Kk 48 | Krakov, 15th c. |
| 6. TR-Itks 42 | Istanbul Antiphoner, 14th c. |
| 7. SK-BRmEC Lad. 6 | Esztergom, 15th c. |
| 8. RO-Brbn I.F. 69 | Esztergom, 14th c. |
| 9. A-Vor-287 | Vorau, Augustinian, 14th c. |
| 10. A-Gu 2 | Salzburg, 15th c. |
| 11. A-Wda C-10 | Passau, 14th c. |

two centuries later (see Example 2, line 10). Of the musical variants of the invitatory, however, the Krakow version is the most conspicuous (Example 2, lines 4–5), with its ornate, textually modified first line quite different from the others.

The invitatory antiphon *Laudabilem virum* was used in 14th-century Hungary in two melodic variants. The Istanbul Antiphoner (Example 2, line 6) contains a unique form that omits the word “sedere” from the text and closes the first half of line 2 on e against d. The 14th-century variant found in the RO-Brbn I.F. 69²⁷ (Example 2, line 8) is almost identical with the late Hungarian melody, the 15th-century chant from Esztergom²⁸ (Example 2, line 7): only musical elaboration of the words “adoremus in altis” shows some significant differences. Both melodies in the Salzburg books are syllabic versions compared with the invitatories of the other rites, and only superficial musical differences can be observed among them. It can be concluded from the melodic analysis that the invitatory antiphon *Laudabilem virum* proves fairly uniform over the South German territories, whereas significant local variants appear in the other Central European rites.

The invitatory *Adaperiat Dominus cor*²⁹ for Maccabees always occurs in Aquileia together with the *Laudabilem virum* for the Prophets, and they can be assumed to have spread within the same geographical and institutional circle. Study of the transmission of *Adaperiat Dominus cor*, however, gives a different picture. It can be documented sporadically in some Western and North European rites (England,³⁰ Scandinavia,³¹ Italy³²), but from Central Europe only in Aquileia and Hungary³³ (Table 2). This sparse pattern of occurrence is remarkable as the two pieces were found together in Aquileia and Hungary exclusively – most of the 15th-century office sources from Esztergom include *Adaperiat* as well as *Laudabilem*.³⁴ Like *Laudabilem*, it is missing from the 13th-century Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense (CZ-Ps DE I 7) and Breviarium Hr-Zu MR 67,³⁵ but present in the Istanbul Antiphoner and RO-Brbn I.F.69 of the 14th century. This occurrence in Hungary can be explained more simply in terms of the intense and continuing dynastic and cultural relations with Italy in the Middle Ages.³⁶ It has been noted that the first documentation of *Adaperiat* is in Italian sources, in Monza and Benevento (12th century). Other examples

²⁷ Breviarium Notatum, preserved in Braşov, Transylvania. The source contains a special office-composition of Transylvanian, Saxon and other Hungarian (Kalocsa, Esztergom) liturgical elements.

²⁸ SK-BRm EC Lad. 6.

²⁹ CAO, no. 1002; MMMA, no. 2091.

³⁰ 13th c.: “Penpont” and “Barnwell” antiphoners (GB-Ab 20541 E, GB-Cu Mm.ii.9).

³¹ 15th c.: Nidaros, Linköping. Gjerløw, *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae; Breviarium Linkopense* impr. 1493, GW 5373.

³² Antiphoners from the 12th c.: I-AO 6 (Aosta), I-BV 20 (Benevento), I-MZ 15/79 (Monza), I-VAM 114 (Venice, San Marco).

³³ The same European spread can be seen for the *Beati qui lege* antiphon series of the Hungarian *per annum* Sundays in the Matins. See Szendrei, “‘Laetabitur deserta.’”

³⁴ Dobszay, *Corpus Antiphonarum*, 116.

³⁵ Unlike the *Laudabilem*, it is unknown in Transylvania-Várad diocese.

³⁶ Though Italian ties were always significant in medieval Hungary, they became especially strong in the mid-14th century during the reign of Louis the Great of Anjou, who led several campaigns to Italy to win the Neapolitan Anjou throne.

emerge in Aosta in the 13th century, and in sources from San Marco, Venice, and Aquileia cathedral in the 13th–14th centuries. The item, however, is not to be seen as a fixed element in the Italian chant repertoire, as it was not, for example, used in Cividale before the 15th century. Yet it was widely known in the late medieval rites of Nidaros and Linköping and, as we have seen, in Esztergom, as an important piece for the *Historia Maccabeorum*.

Table 2: Occurrence of invitatory antiphon *Adaperiat Dominus cor*.

CANTUS	GB-AB 20541 E, GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, I-Ao 6, I-BV 20, I-MZ 15/79, SI-Lna 19 (olim 18), TR-Itks 42 (England, Italy, Hungary)
CAO-ECE	Esztergom: SK-BRm EC Lad. 2, SK-BRm EC Lad. 5, SK-BRm EC Lad. 6, A-Su II 11, H-Efkö I. 3 (Vol.2), HR-Zu MR 67, RO-AIR I 110, A-Wn 1481, Breviarium Strigoniense impr. GW 5469, A-Wn 1829, F-Pn Lat 8879, US-NYpm M.A.G. 7, SK-Sk Ms. Mus. No. 2, RO-AIR II 46, H-Bmnm 63.74.1. C, H-Bmnm 63.84. C, RO-AIR III 94. J, RO-Brbn I.F.69 Kalocsa-Zagreb: HR-Zu MR 43, HR-Zu MR 46, HR-Zu MR 104, H-Bn Clmae 343, H-Bn Clmae 446, I-Rvat Ottob. Lat. 667, Breviarium Zagradiense impr. GW 5517 Aquileia: I-GO A, I-GO B, Breviarium Aquileiense impr. GW 5258, I-SDF 4, I-CFm XCI, I-CFm XCIII, I-CFm XLI, I-CFm XLIV.
Other results	Scandinavia: <i>Ordo Nidrosiensis</i> , Linköping breviary impr. GW 5373. Italy: I-VAM 115

In musical terms, *Adaperiat Dominus cor* invitatories typically have two half-lines ending on e and d (Example 3). The first half of the melody stays in the range of c–f; while the second unit reaches h–c’ of a fourth or fifth higher. The closing formula corresponds with the opening: both move around d in a narrow range of a minor third, and step down to c before the final d note.³⁷

Example 3

Invitatory antiphon *Adaperiat Dominus cor* in Aquileia (I-Go A, f. 351v).

Ad-a-pe - ri-at Do-mi-nus cor ne - strum in le - ge su - a

et in per - cep - tis su - is et fa - ci - at pa-cem.

³⁷ It needs to be mentioned here that the Kranj Antiphoner has an unusual version of *Adaperiat* compared with the other variants from Aquileia or any other rite. This version recomposes the original mode 2 chant using strange steps and melodic elements. Apart from these changes, identification of the chant’s mode seems to be problematic due to an erratum (a supposed absence of a clef-change) in the closing formula. Nevertheless, a musical analysis reveals the original contours of the chant and confirms the mode 2 tonality. For further tonal anomalies of the *per annum* chants in the Kranj Antiphoner see Gilányi, “Usual Chant.”

All in all, the chant's scattered occurrences amount to a constellation of results that needs further consideration. Since the regions where the two invitatories were used do not coincide in the most cases, this special method of broadening the *per annum* repertoire with proper invitatories cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon. The need then was to focus on the autumn chant repertoire as a whole, by surveying as much as possible of the source material available online and on microfilm. The investigation has revealed an unusual circumstance: *Historia Maccabeorum* and *Historia Prophetarum* assign several invitatories, which differ from rite to rite, but are typical of the rite in question. Observed alongside the liturgical positions of these autumn items was an important general characteristic of a mode 2 melody, a rare tone for Temporale invitatories.³⁸

Our findings were these: *Laudemus Dei filii* was prescribed in a Venetian San Marco antiphoner³⁹ on the folios of the Prophets, but the chant is unknown in the CANTUS and the CAO-ECE databases. The same applies to the unique Maccabees invitory *Magnum admirabilem Dominum*, found as a late inscription in the 12th century antiphoner of the Florence Cathedral (I-Far), nevertheless the final e note rather indicate mode 4. The invitory opening the Matins for the Prophets, *Regem Christum adoremus*, is only known from a single 15th-century printed breviary from Zagreb (H-Bn Inc. 800⁴⁰). Another piece in the series, the *Seraphin stabant* is found in a 15th-century Hungarian breviary from Esztergom (A-Wn 1812), but its origins and connections have also been impossible to trace so far.⁴¹ On the other hand, *Laudemus Deum nostrum*, found in Esztergom in the 15th century (SK-BRm EC Lad. 3) also appears elsewhere: many Italian and Franciscan sources prescribe it in Sanctorale as well (e.g. the feasts of St Martin, Gregory and the Conversion of St Paul). In addition, the invitatories *Laudemus nomen Domini* and *Vidi Dominum sedentem* is a Scandinavian rarity, while the *Deus rex caelestis* and *Laudemus nomen Domini* has been documented exclusively in English sources.⁴²

To sum up, the presence of the two Aquileian proper invitatories in the Matins of the autumn *per annum* is not unique or isolated: these chants seem to be items in a virtual series of proper invitory antiphons, which can be collected singly from different rites. Apart from the common genre and assignation of the chants – they all appear in autumn, in the offices for Maccabees, the Prophets, and occasionally Job – there is also a musical link between them. This melodic correspondence has, on further inspection, served as a base.

Outstanding number of mode 2 invitory antiphons has been found in the offices of the autumn Sanctorale as well, mainly in North French (Norman, Lorraine) sources⁴³ where the Matins often assigns proper composition in mode 2 for the feasts of individual

³⁸ Aquileia presents only two mode 2 invitatories (*Surgite vigilemus*, *Regem regum Dominum*) of the subtotal 43 Temporale items. Mode 2 invitory antiphons are regarded as new additions to the invitory repertory. See Steiner and Falconer, "Invitory," 514.

³⁹ I-VAM 114. See Cattin, *Musica e Liturgia*.

⁴⁰ Presumably in mode 2.

⁴¹ Unfortunately, there is no melodic notation in the manuscript.

⁴² The *Sarum* rite manuscripts assign *Laudemus nomen Domini* in the History of Job.

⁴³ F-R 261 (OSB, Jumièges, 12th–13th-c. ant.), F-R 244 (OSB, Fécamp, 12th–13th-c. brev. not.), F-R 245 (OSB, 13th-c. ant.), F-R 248 (OSB, 13th-c. ant.), F-CA 38 (Cambrai cathedral, 13th-c. ant.), F-AS 893 (Arras, 14th-c. ant.).

saints, instead of a usual *commune sanctorum* piece.⁴⁴ Some relevant invitatories of the North French (mainly Benedictine) antiphoners from the 12th–13th centuries are these: the Feast of Firminus, bishop and martyr – *Adoremus Salvatoris*;⁴⁵ Michael the Archangel – *Cuncta agmina*;⁴⁶ All Saints – *Regem regum Dominum*; Benignus, martyr – *Martyris egregii recolentes*;⁴⁷ Vitonus, Bishop of Verdun – *Regem sempiternum pronis*;⁴⁸ Martin, confessor – *Martinus ecce migrat*;⁴⁹ the Octave of Martin – *Supernum regem Dominum*;⁵⁰ Maxellendis, virgin and martyr – *Auctorem virginitatis*;⁵¹ Elizabeth – *Corde psallamus supplici*;⁵² Cecilia, virgin and martyr – *Christum venerantes*.⁵³ This series can be complemented by invitatories from Italian and English sources, e.g. Minias, martyr – *Laudemus Dominum in martyrio*;⁵⁴ Martin – *Martinus episcopus migravit*;⁵⁵ *Beatus Martinus migravit*.⁵⁶ There has to be noted that many mode 2 Sanctoreale chants prove to be compositions of an abundantly ornate late melodic style.⁵⁷

Mode 2 Sanctoreale invitatories in the Norman territories are especially remarkable: apart from some *de communi* items, almost every Sanctoreale office chooses this tone for invitatory melodies in October and November. Although this noticeable collection of mode 2 autumn melodies may suggest a possible Norman origin and transmission of the series, this supposition is weakened by the absence of *Adaperiat Dominus cor* from North French sources. Moreover the autumn Temporale in France does not contain any proper mode 2 invitatories at all.⁵⁸ But if the transmission was not Norman, how can the presence of *Adaperiat Dominus cor* for Maccabees in England and Scandinavia be explained?

Perhaps another approach is needed here. As we have seen, *Adaperiat* can be traced in 12th-century Italian sources and appear later (in the 13th century) in England and Scandinavia. Could there have been an Italian influence on the territories conquered by the Normans? Light on the question might be shed by the fact that a monastic reform supervened in 11th-century Normandy. Demands for innovation of the order had arisen:

⁴⁴ *De commune* invitatories were usually sung here in Central Europe, e.g. in the South German rites.

⁴⁵ In the *CANTUS Database*: in four French sources as a *commune* chant, while F-AS 893 places the invitatory in the Feast of the Holy Innocents.

⁴⁶ See additionally: Verona, Ivrea, Piacenza (I-PCsa 65), Firenze (I-Far), Saint-Maur-des-Fossés (F-Pn lat. 12044), Paris (F-Pn lat. 15182), Anglia (Barnwell and Penpont antiphoners), Krakow OCar (PL-Kkar 1, Rkp 12, 15).

⁴⁷ Only in Rouen.

⁴⁸ A prevalent mode 2 Sanctoreale-invitory, transferred to 9 November in Arras.

⁴⁹ A generally known item.

⁵⁰ Only in Rouen.

⁵¹ F-CA 38.

⁵² F-CA 38.

⁵³ Penpont and Barnwell antiphoners, St. Amand ant. (F-VAL 114), Cambrai ant. (F-CA 38).

⁵⁴ I-Far.

⁵⁵ I-Far.

⁵⁶ I-AO 6.

⁵⁷ See e.g. inv. *Martinus episcopus migravit*.

⁵⁸ Apart from the *Ploremus coram* invitatory in mode 7 appearing in the *Historiae Prophetarum* in Rouen and Fécamp in the 12th–13th c. (F-R 261, F-R A 190). The invitatory is borrowed from the Lenten period.

open-minded reformers from Lorraine, Burgundy and Italy were needed to accomplish it. In Richard II's time, Italian monks were brought into Normandy in 1001, of whom William of Dijon (William Volpiano) was commissioned to renew the Benedictine liturgy of Fécamp. The reorganization of Fécamp monastery then served as a model for other newly founded Benedictine houses.⁵⁹ Having arrived from Cluny, William had personal experience of reforms, although there is no evidence that Italian elements were established in the Benedictine liturgy itself.⁶⁰ Yet looking at the invitatory series characteristic of the autumn Sanctoreale in Norman monasteries, an editorial decision associated with him may be indicated. This Sanctoreale set clearly resembles the Italian autumn invitatories of the Temporale, but incorporates a wider selection of items: apparently the French editors preferred to augment the Sanctoreale with their own works (on their own feast days), perhaps to avoid exact imitation of an Italian model.

As for England and Scandinavia, there may have been many Italian monks arriving in Normandy with the intention of reforming the church in the Norman provinces. Presumably these could have arrived in England and Scandinavia with the Norman conquerors, and then had the chance to introduce some Italian elements – maybe chants among them – into local liturgies revised by the Normans.

Several historical and musical points await clarification, of which the most important is probably whether it is possible to determine an archetype of this virtual collection of the autumn invitatories. Further inspection of *Adaperiat Dominus cor*, which is prevalent in a wider geographical circle, different from that of *Laudabilem* – whose occurrence can only be explained by local efforts – may provide important information on the origin of this mode 2 invitatory group. Analysis of *Adaperiat Dominus cor* and similar invitatories in mode 2 in the autumn suggests that the ideal candidate is the All Saints invitatory, *Regem regum Dominum*,⁶¹ which dominates all through the period. It is worth noting that *Regem regum* seems to be the earliest item among the mode 2 invitatories.⁶² The melodic analysis has revealed a close musical kinship among the chants confirming that the *Adaperiat* and other autumn invitatories of the Temporale are clear adaptations of the melody *Regem regum* (Example 4).

Textual content and liturgical environment also create a relation between *Adaperiat*, prescribed in the Temporale part, and *Regem regum Dominum* in the Sanctoreale: the message of All Saints' Feast corresponds with the thoughts on resurrection and prayer for the dead, or the sacrifice of Jewish martyrs, found in 2 Maccabees. Inter-textual references particularly may be enhanced by melodic analogies with the prominent invitatory genre

⁵⁹ Almost twenty monasteries were built there between 1035 and 1066. See Chadd, *Ordinal of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*.

⁶⁰ Interesting data on the South Italian connections of the Norman liturgy have come from David Hiley: during the occupation of Sicily, the Normans introduced their own rite there, replacing the local liturgy and leaving hardly any Italian elements in the Sicilian-Norman books. See Hiley, "Chant of Norman Sicily." The case may have been different with the Volpiano reform, because the Italian monks arrived by invitation and worked by request.

⁶¹ See this antiphon type in Dobszay and Szendrei, MMMA, *Antiphonen*, nos. 2090–2091.

⁶² In *CANTUS Database* it is seen in Tc-44.2, I-Chv.

Example 4

Melodic parallels of invitatory *Adaperiat Dominus cor.*

Ad - a - pe - ri - at Do - mi - nus cor ve - strum in le - ge su - a

Re - gem re - gum Do - mi - num ve - ni - te ad - o - re - mus

Lau - de - mus no - men Do - mi - ni quo - ni - am su - a - vis est in hy - mnis con - fi - te - mi - ni

De - us rex cae - les - tis

Lau - de - mus De - um no - strum

et in per - cep - tis su - is et fa - ci - at pa - cem.

qui - a ip - se est co - ro - na san - cto - rum in - no - cen - ti - um.

il - li qui - a ip - se est Do - mi - nus De - us nos - ter.

mi - se - re - re no - bis qui se - des in thro - no.

qui - a ip - se est Red - e - mptor om - ni - um sae - cu - lo - rum.

introducing the Matins. (In any case, mode 2 melodies are often matched with “lament” texts, as can be seen e.g. in the great responsories for Job.)

Also remarkable is the proximity of the chants’ liturgical positions: *Adaperiat* in October and *Regem regum* on All Saints’ Day, November 1. In some regions, mainly in German and Central European rites (Esztergom, Prague), *Regem regum* has been transferred to a secondary place in the office for Holy Innocents’ Day in December. Holy

Innocents was introduced by another chant in Western rites (England, Spain, France, Italy),⁶³ so that its primary place on November 1 has not been weakened. However, only in Hungary can *Adaperiat* be found in a rite where *Regem regum* was also prescribed for Holy Innocents' Day.

At this stage in the analysis, let us stop and sum the facts:

1. In the autumn *per annum* part of the Gregorian office liturgy, some individual mode 2 invitatory antiphons can be revealed, which occur in some geographically distant places in the Middle Ages.
2. Collectively they create a group, even if they show many levels of musical relations from simple tonal analogies to contrafact-adaption.
3. In their texts, all these Temporale items fit the scripture reading in the daily Matins.
4. Although the individual pieces of the set have different locations and dates, the area of their presence can be determined precisely. The properization of the *per annum* repertoire was especially intense in Italian traditions.
5. Presumably *Adaperiat* arrived in England and Hungary through Italian transmission, and then new pieces were composed locally (e.g. *Laudabilem virum* in Aquileia or Salzburg).
6. North French (mainly Benedictine) rites enriched the autumn Sanctorale with mode 2 invitatories, instead of the Temporale (for still unknown reasons).
7. Including all relevant invitatory antiphons of the Temporale and Sanctorale, altogether more than two dozen items are available for liturgical and musical analysis.

The set of autumn invitatories in an outstanding position – introducing the Matins and the whole daily worship – proves to contain not merely local novelties, but much more. The properization revealed here indicates general trends in creating medieval office structures. A tendency towards the contextual – underlined by musical analogies – achieved a uniformity of thoughts in a wider sense and on a higher level. The expanding on the subjects of death and decay over the whole autumn period, to produce a homogenous musical shape for invitatories, may reflect a conscious decision by Italian and North French compilers who reached far beyond the primary station of the construction, the rigid separation of the Temporale and the Sanctorale parts of the Divine Office. So the possibilities for musical and liturgical properization – as a device for achieving coherency – are revealed in a new light by the liturgical and musical analysis of the invitatory *Adaperiat Dominus cor* appearing in October, and its pair, *Laudabilem virum* in November.

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⁶³ Invitatory antiphon *Mirabilem Deum in sanctis*.

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LITURGIČNA IN GLASBENA PROPERIZACIJA INVITATORIJEV 2. MODUSA V MATUTINIH JESENSKEGA ČASA

Povzetek

V liturgičnih rokopisih jesenskih oficijev srednjeveškega oglejskega patriarhata izstopajo notirani vpisi invitatorijskih antifon *Adaperiat Dominus cor* in *Laudabilem virum*. Ti so nadvse primerni za temo sistematičnega liturgičnega in glasbenega preučevanja. Po eni strani se zdi dodeljevanje proprijskih spevov za čas med letom (*per annum*), za katerega je po običajni praksi predpisan le skromen izbor oficijjskih spevov, zelo nenavadno. Po drugi strani imata oba obravnavana speva izrazito kompleksni melodiji v 2. modusu, ki je pri invitatorijskih antifonah oficija temporala izjemno redek. Obenem gre za uglasbitvi pomenljivih proprijskih besedil, ki navajajo svetopisemska berila matutina (oktobrske *historiae* Makabejcev in novembrska besedila iz Knjig prerokov). Iskanje teh izjemnih jesenskih invitatorijskih antifon v obredih zunaj Ogleja je obrodilo le malo sadov: *Adaperiat* je bil nekoliko poznan v Italiji, na Madžarskem, Norveškem in v Angliji, *Laudabilem* pa v srednji Evropi. Raziskava pa je pokazala še na druge invitatorije v oficijih za makabejske brate, besedila iz Knjig prerokov (ter iz Jobove knjige), tako da je bilo mogoče iz jesenskih matutinov za čas med letom (*per annum*) različnih gregorijanskih tradicij v virtualni niz zbrati posamične invitatorijske antifone 2. modusa. Zaradi pomanjkanja neposrednih dokazov okoliščine kompozicije in razširjanja teh spevov ter scenarij, v katerem se je vse to dogajalo, ostajajo nejasni, toda domnevamo lahko, da italijanski in normanski prispevek delujeta kot povezava med temi oddaljenimi pojavljanji. Odkritje novih podatkov ob upoštevanju do sedaj znanih dejstev poraja nova vprašanja. Kakšen pomen ima dejstvo, da najstarejši primeri invitatorijev 2. modusa izvirajo iz Italije? Kako si lahko razlagamo prisotnost speva *Adaperiat Dominus cor* v oficiju Makabejcev v Angliji in Skandinaviji? Kaj pa izredno veliko število invitatorijev 2. modusa v severnofrancoskem jesenskem sanktoralu? Kateri spev bi lahko služil kot model za komponiranje tovrstnih novih spevov? In kakšni so bili pri liturgični in glasbeni properizaciji invitatorijev lahko nameni urednikov?