"SECUNDUM RUBRICAM ROMANAM"
REFORM LITURGY OF SUBIACO-MELK

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Izvleček: "Melška reforma" se nanaša na oživitev benediktinskega reda v južni Nemčiji in Avstriji. Reforma s središčem v Melku je bila rezultat koncila v Konstanci (1414–1418). Njeni statuti poudarjajo strogo upoštevanje redovnih pravil, monastične discipline in liturgične renovacije. "Koral melške reforme" predstavlja različico rimske frančiškanske koralne tradicije.

***Ključne besede:** monastična reforma Melka, liturgija, rimska frančiškanska tradicija, južnonemška tradicija*

Abstract: The "Melk Reform" refers to the revival of the Benedictine order in southern Germany and Austria which had Melk as its centre, and came about as a result of the Council of Constance (1414–1418). The reform statutes emphasize strict adherence to the rules of the order, monastic discipline and liturgical renovation. The "Melk Reform chant" represents a variant of the Roman Franciscan chant tradition.

***Keywords:** monastic reform of Melk, liturgy, Roman Franciscan tradition, south German tradition*

The Problem

"Incipit breviarium secundum rubricam romanam" – many liturgical manuscripts from Benedictine monasteries of the Melk reform from the mid-fifteenth century onwards begin with either these words or similar ones. According to Joachim Angerer's[1] studies on the influence of the monastic reform of Melk to the liturgy, they refer to the liturgical tradition of the Roman Curia and the reformed liturgical practice of a large number of

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[1] Angerer, *Liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung*; Angerer, *Lateinische und deutsche Gesänge*.

south German and Austrian Benedictine monasteries. Angerer's observation implies that a centuries-old regional chant tradition, mostly influenced by Hirsau, was abandoned within a relatively brief period of time. Angerer's argument that the monasteries so readily abandoned their prior practices rests solely on the existence of liturgical instructions found in *consuetudines* visitation reports and in other such documents. However, as the following analysis of the mass and office manuscripts will show, instructions in these kinds of sources do not necessarily reflect actual liturgical practice.

A large number of mass and office sources relating to the Melk[2] chant reform have survived: breviaries, antiphonaries, missals, graduals, processionals, diurnals and nocturnals. In ideal cases, the hymnals contain square notation. For some monasteries, *libri ordinarii* without music have also survived.[3] The saints' calendars represent a mixed Italian-German tradition. The liturgical composite manuscripts known as *pharetra* ("quivers") are regarded as a Melk speciality; these have survived in large numbers. *Pharetrae* presumably represent the earliest attempts to establish the new chant tradition in the monasteries to be reformed. These collections include many short, relatively simple chants, such as versicles, short responsories (*responsoria brevia*), invitatory psalms and antiphons, and frequently also tonaries[4] and the *Officium defunctorum*, thus representing the basic liturgical framework of the *Opus Dei*. They are unusual not least because comparable manuscripts were not common prior to the reform. The centuries-old south German tradition rendered the notation of these familiar chants unnecessary.

In the course of its development over hundreds of years, the liturgical chant of the Roman Church had always been open to innovation although these innovations rarely affected the essence of the chant. An extensive basic repertory was transmitted more or less uniformly across the different regions and traditions of the Roman Church, but the chant melodies do show clear regional and institutional variants. Individual dioceses, groups or individual monasteries also added chants to the repertory – to parts of the liturgy that were not filled in the older tradition (for example, Alleluia verses in the mass), compositions for new feast days (mainly proper offices for saints) or additions to the extant repertory (such as tropes and sequences). Independent of these additions, different institutions preserved for centuries regional or order-specific customs. For this reason, until the fifteenth century, many Benedictine monasteries in southern Germany and Austria had a remarkably uniform liturgical tradition, influenced by Hirsau. A largely consistent chant repertoire and "German" melodic variants are typical of this tradition, so it is all the more surprising that Angerer paints such a gloomy picture of the situation before the onset of the reform (1418).[5] He writes of a decline of liturgical practice and great differences in liturgical customs. Yet the dozens of manuscripts I have studied reveal instead

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[2] In the following, the term "Melk" will be used both for Melk monastery as well as the reformatory movement of Melk. Liturgical manuscripts following Melk liturgy need not have been created or used in Melk.

[3] Printed *liturgica* containing Melk liturgy: *Diurnale Benedictinum congregationis Mellicensis*, Augsburg: Erhard Rathold, 1488; *Breviarium Benedictinum Mellicense*, Nuremberg: Georg Fuchs, 1500; *Missale Benedictinum Mellicense*, Nuremberg: Georg Fuchs, c. 1499.

[4] Angerer, *Lateinische und deutsche Gesänge*, 29–72 ("Das Tonar von Subiaco-Melk").

[5] Ibid., inter alii 32–44.

a consistent image of the *Opus Dei* influenced by Hirsau, even at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The Melk reform and "Melk reform chant"

The term "Melk reform"[6] refers to the reform of Benedictine monastic life in south Germany and Austria following the Council of Constance (1414–1418) and the Benedictine synod of Petershausen (1417) with Melk as its centre. Duke Albrecht V of Austria (1397–1439) summoned Austrian and Bavarian Benedictines from the reformatory monasteries in Subiaco (Sacro Speco and Santa Scolastica) to Melk under the leadership of the new abbot Nikolaus Seyringer († 1425).[7] He also charged theologians from the University of Vienna with the visitation of the Austrian monasteries, and introduced and made compulsory the *Consuetudines Sublacenses*, the same rules governing life in the monasteries of Subiaco, which followed the *Regula Benedicti* strictly.[8] After the decline in monastic discipline in the first half of the fourteenth century, the monasteries of Subiaco emerged as an important centre of Benedictine reform in Italy under the Olivetan-influenced[9] abbot, Bartholomew of Siena (1362–1369). During the fifteenth century, Subiaco had a strong influence on Benedictine monasteries in Austria and Germany.[10] Strictly speaking, we are dealing not with the monastic reform of Melk, but the reform of Subiaco-Melk.

The monastic reform of Subiaco-Melk began faltering in the years after the Council of Constance and the Benedictine synod of Petershausen, and many monasteries struggled under the exceedingly strict Sublacensian rules. Only during and after the Council of Basel (1431–1449) did the reform movement gain impetus, and it was during this second phase that a uniform liturgy and chant referring to Rome and the papacy were imposed. Melk's spokesperson at the Council of Basel, Martin of Senging, demanded in his 1439 *Petitio* that:

> In order to achieve "Uniformitas," it is advisable that all Benedictine monasteries celebrate the same office as the monasteries Sacro Speco and S. Scolastica, who follow the Roman rubrics. Rome is the head of the Church and besides, the other orders of the Carthusians, Cistercians and Mendicants have also adopted the Roman custom.[11]

Apart from Senging apparently being ignorant of the fact that neither the Carthusians

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6 Angerer [i.a.], ibid.; Angerer, *Breviarium*; Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*, part. 125–149 ("De divino officio").

7 In the 15th century predominantly German and Austrian monks lived in the monasteries of Subiaco.

8 Angerer, "Reform von Melk," 281–288.

9 The Olivetan Congregation (OSB) was founded in 1322 by Bernardo Tolomei close to Siena; it became the main driver of Benedictine reform in Italy. Subiaco did not join this congregation, but adapted parts of its reform.

10 Dell'Omo, "Subiaco."

11 Cit. according to Angerer, *Liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung*, 127.

nor the Cistercians sang the office according to Roman custom, it is clear that he referred to Rome and the Sublacensian monasteries as authorities solely in an effort to create a new, uniform liturgy. The attempt was unsuccessful: in the second half of the fifteenth century, the monasteries were even more inconsistent in their liturgical practices than before 1418. Ultimately, Roman custom was not adopted wholesale. So was the *rubrica romana* simply a means to an end? This is the question that will concern us now as we turn our attention to the most important stations or revisions of so-called Melk reform chant, as well as sources of the reform's mother abbeys in Subiaco.[12]

First stage of revision: the adoption of the "rubrica romana" in Subiaco

After the ebb in the tide of reform movements in the twelfth century, the Roman Curia sought to increase the pace of monastic reform based on the model of Cluny. Beginning with Pope Innocent III († 1216), the Benedictines were called upon to hold annual general synods along the lines of the Cistercian Order (founded in 1098). A little more than century later in 1336, Pope Benedict XII († 1342) issued an important decree on monastic reform, the so-called *Benedictina*, which formed the basis for the reformed *Consuetudines* of the fourteenth century. The Benedictine *Congregatio Sanctae Mariae montis Oliveti* in Tuscany, for example, a new foundation with no earlier tradition of its own, adopted the *rubrica romana* under these conditions.

In the first years of his pontificate, Pope Innocent III had had the liturgy of the papal court restructured in the early thirteenth century. For lack of sources we can only guess at the origins of the *Ordo Curiae*, but it probably combined different traditions. Shortly afterward, in 1223, the newly founded Franciscan order took over the Roman Curia's chant. Significantly for our purposes, the order's liturgical manuscripts typically contain the heading *secundum ordinem curiae romanae* and the oldest Franciscan breviaries are exact copies of papal ones.[13] These Roman developments, together with demands to follow the *rubrica romana*, had important consequences for the reception of the Roman-Franciscan repertory in the Italian reform abbeys of Monte Oliveto and Subiaco.[14]

The adaptation of the *secular* Roman-Franciscan office to *monastic* use required

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[12] Klugseder, *Quellen für das Offizium*, part. Chapter 3.5.1 ("Heiligenkalendarien: Quellen für die Kalendar-Synopse Subiaco-Melk") and Chapter 5 ("Die liturgischen Handschriften für das Offizium II. – Die Tradition von Subiaco-Melk"); see also the internet resources cited in Note *.

[13] Klugseder, *Quellen für das Offizium*, 26–28 and 111–113.

[14] An overview of the liturgical sources from the Subiaco monasteries is provided in Klugseder, "Auswirkungen der Melker Reform." Sources that follow the directions of the *rubrica romana* and were obviously produced in or for the Sublacensian monasteries date to around or after 1400. The missals Cod. XLV (47) and CCXLV (250), with some restrictions also Cod. CXXXIII (137) and XXXII (34) (mid- to late 14th century) follow a tradition that was originally Roman or Roman-Franciscan. The mass manscripts were adapted for use in Subiaco, either by additions noted at the edges of pages or, as in Cod. CCXLV (250), with an additional liturgical *Ordo*. These manuscripts presumably represent the beginning of the adoption of the Roman liturgy. The liturgical tradition of the Sublacensian monasteries, influenced by Rome and passed on to Melk, thus only established itself in Subiaco about twenty years before the Melk reform.

enlargements of various kinds. On high feast days, for example, the Benedictine tradition of the night office required twelve responsories and thirteen antiphons, but the Roman-Franciscan liturgy supplies only nine responsories and nine antiphons. Although the monastery of the Olivetans adopted and expanded the repertory of the *Ordo Curiae*,[15] the monks at Subiaco added chants from their earlier repertory, not from the Roman. Some rubrics (directions for liturgical performance and all non-musical elements of the breviary, like readings and prayers) were changed as part of this adaptation. Offices for three of Subiaco's local saints were also added: Abbot Maurus; Scolastica, Benedict's sister; and the martyr Placidus, one of Benedict's followers. Although the Sublacensian breviaries contain quotations from the *Ordo Curiae*, we can no longer speak of an adoption of the *rubrica romana* in the Office. Corrections made to sources for the Mass are much less extensive. The Temporale was taken over from the prior tradition without any major changes, although masses for some typical Sublacensian Benedictine feast days were added to the Sanctorale.

The night office for St. Andrew the Apostle may serve as an example of the procedure for adapting the Roman-Franciscan tradition in Subiaco. (See Table 1, columns 4 and 6.) Notice that the nine antiphons and eight (rather than nine) responsories of the secular *cursus* form the basis, and that these chants were distributed across the first two nocturns of the monastic office. The missing four antiphons and five responsories were taken from Subiaco's earlier monastic tradition; the concordances of three responsory verses suggest an older, Cluny-influenced Benedictine tradition. The example of the adaptation of the Office for St. Andrew is representative of a very large part of the office repertory and shows the significant editorial changes made clearly. As further analysis will show, the newly established Roman-Sublacensian office tradition was subjected to further revisions when it was taken over by Melk.

Second stage of revision: the adoption of the "rubrica romana" in Melk

After the introduction of the reformed *Consuetudines* (Sublacensian Rule) in 1418, it took a further two decades before Roman-Sublacensian reform chant established itself in the monasteries following the Melk Observance. Some reformers – first and foremost Abbot Nicolaus Seyringer – had been conventuals in one of the Subiaco monasteries for a few years, where they became acquainted with the new liturgical practice partly based on the *rubrica romana*. It was surely only with much effort that southern German and Austrian monks were convinced to follow a stricter way of life. To also insist on celebrating the *Opus Dei* in an unfamiliar manner would no doubt have been counterproductive: liturgical music is a supremely emotional experience, and cannot simply be exchanged following rational arguments. Thus the adoption of the Italian chant in the monasteries north of the Alps was a relatively late development.

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[15] The missing chants in the Olivetan Temporale were taken from the repertory of the weekdays that followed in the *Ordo Curiae*. Additions to the feast days in the Sanctorale were primarily taken from the *Commune Sanctorum*.

Table 1: Repertory overview for St. Andrew the Apostle.*

			Roman Franciscan	Concordances	CAO	Subiaco
M	I		Regem apostolorum dominum	CEMVHRDSL	cao1125	←
M	A	1.1	Vidit dominus Petrum et	CBEMVHRDFS	cao5413	←
M	A	1.2	Venite post me dicit dominus	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao5357	←
M	A	1.3	Relictis retibus suis secuti	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao4607	←
M	A	1.4				Roman A 2.1
M	A	1.5				Roman A 2.2
M	A	1.6				Roman A 2.3
M	R	1.1	Dum perambularet dominus	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao6554	←
M	V	01	Erant enim piscatores et ait	BEHRDFS	cao6554a	←
M	R	1.2	Mox ut vocem domini	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao7182	←
M	V	01	Hic est qui pro Christi amore		cao7182z	←
M	R	1.3	Doctor bonus et amicus dei	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao6484	←
M	V	01	Salve crux pretiosa quae in	CBEMVHDFL	cao6484a	←
M	R	1.4				Roman R 2.1
M	V	01				Roman V 2.1
M	A	2.1	Dignum sibi dominus	CBEMHRFSL	cao2221	Roman A 3.1
M	A	2.2	Dilexit Andream dominum in	CBHRDFS	cao2229	Roman A 3.2
M	A	2.3	Biduo vivens pendebat in	CBMVHRDFSL	cao1739	Roman A 3.3
M	A	2.4				*Christus me misit ad istam*
M	A	2.5				*Ego si patibulum crucis*
M	A	2.6				Videns Andreas crucem cum
M	R	2.1	Homo dei ducebatur ut	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao6868	Roman R 2.2
M	V	01	Cumque ducerent eum ut	BVHRDFSL	cao6868a	Roman V 2.2
M	R	2.2	O bona crux quae decorem et	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao7260	Roman R 2.3
M	V	01	Beatus Andreas expansis		cao7260z	Roman V 2.3
M	R	2.3	Expandi manus meas tota diem	CBEMVHRDFS	cao6698	Roman R 3.1
M	V	01	Deus ultionum dominus deus	CBEMVHDFS	cao6698a	Roman V 3.1
M	R	2.4				Venite post me faciam vos
M	V	01				Cum perambularet dominus
M	A	3.(1)	Non me permittas domine	CBEMVHRDFSL	cao3923	*Domine Jesu Christe magister*
M	A	3.2	Andreas vero rogabat populum	E	cao1397	
M	A	3.3	Recipe me ab hominibus et	CBEMVHRDFS	cao4575	
M	R	3.1	Oravit sanctus Andreas dum	CERDFSL	cao7335	Cum vidisset beatus Andreas
M	V	01	Tu es magister meus Christe	CERDFSL	cao7335a	*O bona crux diu desiderata et*
M	R	3.2	*Videns crucem Andreas*	CEMVL	cao7855	*Venite post me faciam vos*
M	V	01	*O bona crux quae decorem et*		cao7855z	*Dum perambularet dominus*
M	R	3.3				*Beatus Andreas de cruce*
M	V	01				*Quoniam tu es protector meus*
M	R	3.4				*Dilexit Andream dominus in*
M	V	01				*Biduo vivens pendebat in*

Concordances	CAO	Melk	Hirsau
		←	Adoremus victoriosissimum
		C.S.	←
		C.S.	←
		C.S.	←
		C.S.	*Unus ex duobus qui secuti*
		C.S.	*Christus me misit ad istam*
		C.S.	*Ego si patibulum crucis*
		←	←
		←	←
		←	Subiaco R 2.4
		←	Subiaco V 2.4
		←	Roman R 1.2
		←	Roman V 1.2
		Rom. R 2.1	Roman R 2.1
		Rom. V 2.1	Roman V 2.1
		C.S.	*Salve crux quae in corpore*
		C.S.	Roman A 3.3
		C.S.	*Beatus Andreas orabat dicens*
CBEMVHRDFSL	cao1795	C.S.	*Andreas Christi famulus*
CBEMVHR FSL	cao2586	C.S.	Roman A 2.1
CBEMVHRDFSL	cao5383	C.S.	Roman A 2.2
		Rom. R 2.2	Roman R 1.3
		Rom. V 2.2	*Cum vero pervenisset ad*
		Rom. R 2.3	Subiaco R 3.1
		Rom. V 2.3	*Exspecta me sancta crux*
		Rom. R 3.1	*Salve crux quae in corpore*
		Rom. V 3.1	*O bona crux quam diu*
CMVRDL	cao7835	Sub. R 2.4	Roman R 2.2
CMVRDL	cao7835a	Sub. V 2.4	*Salve crux quae in corpore*
EMVRDFSL	cao2352		Subiaco A 2.6
CHRFS	cao6378		←
F	cao6378b		←
CMVRDL	cao7835		Roman R 2.3
CMVRDL	cao7835a		*Et non audivit populus meus*
CVDFS	cao6197		*Vir iste in populo suo*
CVF	cao6197a		*Pro eo ut me diligerent*
CBEMVHRDFSL	cao6451		Subiaco R 3.4
F	cao6451d		Elegit eum dominus et

* Columns 1–3 show the order of chants in the night office (M = Matins, I = Invitatory, R = Responsory, V = Responsory verse, A = Antiphon, 1.x first Nocturn, 2.x second Nocturn, 3.x third Nocturn). Columns 4–6 list chant incipits for the Roman *cursus* with CAO (*Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*) numbers (CAO) and concordances. A breviary from St. Anna in Munich (D-Ma 12 Cmm 1), probably copied at the beginning of the 13th century in central Italy, serves as a comparative source from the Roman-Franciscan tradition (column 4). The diurnal, CH-Zz Rh. 128, created in 1497 represents the liturgy of Subiaco, influenced by the *rubrica romana* (column 6). Melk (column 8) is represented by an antiphonary from SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (D-Mbs Clm 4302), and Hirsau (column 9) by the Zwiefalten antiphonary (D-KA Aug. perg. 60). A left-facing arrow indicates a match with the *rubrica romana* in the same position. If the traditions in the night office vary, column 7 (Subiaco) indicates the place in the Roman order (e.g. Rome A. 2. 1). Chant incipits in *italics* are restricted to one tradition and thus do not form part of further transmission. Places marked in light grey are not included in the respective tradition.

Three manuscripts in the Melk monastery library, produced during the first decades of the fifteenth century, reveal an older liturgical practice based on Hirsau. Cod. 931, a processional with Gothic notation, was copied not long after 1400. Cod. 565, a large--format missal created in the second or third decade of the fifteenth century, also reflects the Hirsau liturgy; it contains an extensive sequentiary and several tropes. The Requiem mass in this missal however includes the sequence *Dies irae*, which was part of the Subiaco-Melk reform – older south German sources do not contain this item. Cod. 293, a missal created around 1430, represents a pinnacle of splendour very much antithetical to inspectors' demands for liturgical books following the Roman custom, for this large--format choirbook contains a rich collection of tropes and sequences. It is certain that it and the other missal, Cod. 565, were used in Melk – note proper chants for St. Koloman and the Melk Feast of Dedication on the third Sunday after Easter.

As previously mentioned, the decrees of the Council of Basel were responsible for introducing the *rubrica romana* and the subsequent adoption of an Italian liturgical tradition. The Breviary-Temporale Cod. 280, copied in the 1440s, is the oldest reform Office book at Melk. It mirrors the Sublacensian office order exactly and thus contains none of the changes subsequently made in Melk.[16] This codex, written in a very careless cursive hand, is probably a direct copy of a Sublacensian exemplar. It includes many comments, leading one to suspect that it was rarely used in the liturgy.

From the late 1430s, monasteries that followed the Melk observance adopted the reform chant. As mentioned above, the Italian tradition differs from the south German mainly in its choice and order of chants as well as its melodic variants. As will be discussed, not only were office antiphons and responsories affected by the changes, but also the psalm tones, versicles, brief responses and lectionary tones. The highest authority, represented by Rome in general and Subiaco in particular, was needed to carry out this difficult project, which met with little enthusiasm.

The Roman-Sublacensian chant transmission and the rubrics were subjected to yet further revision at Melk. Thus the Sanctorale-Proprium of the office was reduced. Nocturn antiphons of saints' feasts such as St. Andrew, St. Nicholas and St. Agnes were replaced by chants from the *Commune sanctorum*. The example of the office for St. Andrew (Table 1, columns 8 [Melk] and 9 [Hirsau]) shows clearly how this was done. In Melk, the repertory did not need to be expanded for monastic use and so it deviated from the newly arranged Roman tradition in Subiaco. The office Temporale could, moreover, be taken over without any major changes. The size of the Sanctorale was however much reduced: the number and liturgical importance of saints' feast days, and the number of proper chants, were all reduced. As can be seen among chants in honour of St. Andrew the Apostle, the night office was limited to two Nocturns. Moreover, the Nocturn antiphons were taken from the *Commune sanctorum* with proper antiphons being omitted.

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[16] The oldest reform manuscript containing Melk liturgy known to me is a diurnal from Mondsee monastery (A-Wn Cod 4071), which was probably created around 1437 (cf. Klugseder, *Quellen zur mitteralterlichen Musik*, 14).

Table 2: Office Sanctorale (night office) in Subiaco and Melk.[17]

Feast	Subiaco	Melk
Andreae	13 A, 12 R	A. CS, 8 R
Nicolai	13 A, 9 R + 3 R CS	A. CS, 8 R
Conceptio Mariae	12 A + 1 A CS, 12 R	different, here not available
Luciae	3 R + 2 R CS	←
Mauri	12 A, 5 R	only Vespers and Lauds
Agnetis	13 A, 8 R	8 R
Conversio Pauli	CS, V + L	←
Purificatio Mariae	13 A, 12 R	←
Agathae	13 A, 12 R	1 A, 8 R
Scholasticae	1 A, 4 R	←
Cathedra Petri	CS, V + L	V + L
Gregorii	13 A, 4 R + 1 CS	4 R + 2 CS
Benedicti	R 1.1: Fuit vir vitae venerabilis	R 1.1: Florem mundi periturum
Annuntiatio Mariae	2 A, 12 R	←
Philippi, Jacobi	no night office, V+L available	←
Inventio crucis	1 A, 4 R	←
Inventio Michaelis	4 R	missing
Joannis Baptistae	13 A, 12 R	←
Joannis, Pauli	no night office, V+L	←
Petri, Pauli	2 A, 12 R	←
Pauli	13 A, 12 R	←
Visitatio Mariae	R 1.1: Surgens Maria gravida	R. 1.1: Dixit dominus ad Abraham
Mariae Magdalenae	4 R + 8 R CS	←
Annae	13 A, 12 R	missing
Vincula Petri	1 R	missing
Ad Nives	6 R + CS	missing
Laurentii	13 A, 12 R	←
Assumptio Mariae	2 A + 10 A CS, 10 R + 2 R CS	←
Decoll. Jo. Bapt.	4 R	←
Nativitas Mariae	1 A CS, 10 R + 2 R CS	←
Exaltatio crucis	no night office, V+L	←
Michaelis	13 A, 12 R	←
Placidi	13 A, 12 R	missing
Omnium sanctorum	13 A, 3 R + 9 R CS	←
Martini	13 A, 12 R	←
Caeciliae	13 A, 10 R	1 A CS, 8 R
Clementis	4 R + 1 R CS	←
Katharinae	R 1.1: Nobilis et pulchra prudens	missing

[17] A left-facing arrow indicates a match with Subiaco in the same position. Feasts of the *Commune sanctorum* lacking proper chants are not included. Sources: Subiaco (CH-Zz Rh. 128), Melk (D-Mbs Clm 4302). Abbreviations: A = Antiphon, R = Responsory, CS = *Commune sanctorum*, V = Vespers, L = Lauds.

In order to show the significant differences with the earlier Hirsau tradition, the Zwiefalten Antiphonary D-KA Aug. perg 60 is presented in Table 2 as a further comparative source. The table also demonstrates the relative sizes of the office Sanctorale (night office) in Subiaco and Melk.

The repertory analyses above have shown the changes that the Roman *Ordo* underwent on its journey to Melk. Marked differences between the Italian and the south German/Hirsau traditions have also become clear. The melodies of the office chants have not yet been examined, but analyses of melodic variants can be undertaken only where sources with musical notation exist. No Curial sources with musical notation from the time of Innocent III's *Ordo* survive, but we may assume that the Franciscan order adopted texts as well as chant melodies from Curial graduals and antiphonaries. Comparisons with the Olivetan transmission, which was based on the Roman-Franciscan tradition, should also prove useful.

No complete notated liturgical office manuscripts from Sacro Speco and Santa Scolastica survive from the time of the reform. Thus it is impossible to ascertain how the Roman-Franciscan melodies were adapted, or to what extent the abbeys' own earlier traditions were retained. The situation at Melk is similar. Apart from some partial antiphoners, no completely notated office books survive. Here, we may resort to musical manuscripts from monasteries that followed the Melk reform, which have survived in greater numbers.

To anticipate one result of my forthcoming analysis: the transmission of melodies in monasteries that adopted the Melk reform chant is highly consistent, and no divergences worthy of mention can be discerned. We may thus assume that these versions of the melodies were sung in this form in Melk. If divergences from the Roman-Franciscan tradition emerge, then the place the change occurred – Subiaco or Melk – cannot be identified.

In my Ph.D. thesis,[18] I dealt extensively with the different melodic variants of the south German and Italian traditions. To do this, I produced an antiphon synopsis with 137 chants of the office Temporale, taken from eighteen office manuscripts from Italy and southern Germany. The interdependence of the traditions was shown using a statistical method based on one-hundred representative samples. As expected, the two main groups (south German and Italian traditions) clearly differ, while the differences within the groups are smaller.

The south German sources show a very uniform melody tradition. The Italian group is less self-contained than the south German. Accordingly, one may assume that antiphonaries of Italian origin represent local, individual traditions. There is moreover no evidence of a homogenous Italian Benedictine tradition. Two Benedictine antiphonaries, Lucca 601 (Pozzeveri OSBCam) and Val. C5 (San Sisto Rom OSB), and the reformed Roman chant influenced by the two Benedictine reform movements of Monte Oliveto and Subiaco-Melk differ to a surprising degree. Analyses of the emergence of the monastic traditions of Monte Oliveto and Subiaco-Melk have proven their affinity to the Franciscan and origin in the Curial tradition.[19] These relationships can be shown in greater detail using the melody synopsis. The three sources differ markedly from Lucca 601 and Val. C5. While

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[18] Klugseder, *Quellen für das Offizium*, 138–158 (antiphon synopsis).
[19] Cf. Column chart.

the Franciscan and Olivetan traditions show a correspondence of close to 90%, there is a clear difference between these reform traditions and Melk; here, the correspondence is only 70% on average. The low number of shared melody variants reveals the Sublacensians' selective adaption to the south German chant tradition.

An analysis of the chant repertory and the melody comparison presented here show how fundamentally different liturgical practices were before and after the introduction of Melk reform chant. As will be shown in the next section, this reformed chant was by no means able to establish itself in all the monasteries visited or reformed by Melk. Many of them were ready to submit to stricter rules, but the centuries-old south German chant tradition proved to be more resistant than would have pleased the reformers.

Column chart: Relations to the Melk tradition in D-Mbs Clm 4303.
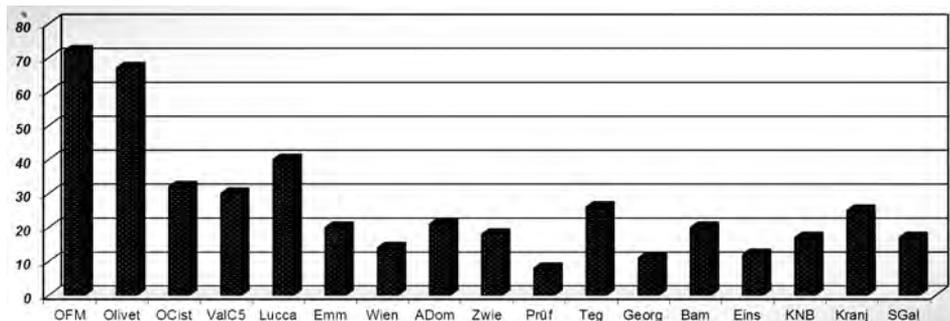
Italian group:
Melk   SS. Ulrich and Afra, Augsburg OSB, D-Mbs Clm 4303, 1459)
OFM   Franciscans (Central Italy, D-Ma 12° Cmm1, s13i)
Olivet   Olivetans (Monte Oliveto, I-MOe lat. 1003, s15)
[OCist   Cistercians (Aldersbach, D-Mbs Clm 2766, 1452]
ValC5   Benedictines (San Sisto Roma, I-Rv C5, s12)
Lucca   Camaldolese (Pozzeveri, I-Lc Cod. 601, s12i)

South German group:
Emm   St. Emmeram, Regensburg (OSB, D-Mbs Clm 14.086, 1596)
Wien   ? (OSB, A-Wn Cod. 1890, 1200ca)
ADom   Cathedral church, Augsburg (DK-Kk 3449 I-XVII, 1585ca)
Zwie   Zwiefalten (OSB, D-KA Aug. perg 60, s13-14)
Prüf   Prüfening Regensburg (OSB, D-Mbs Clm 23.037, s12s)
Teg   Tegernsee (OSB, D-Mu 2° cod. 176, 1443)
Georg   St. Georgen (OSB, D-KA St. Georgen 6, s14)
Bam   Cathedral church, Bamberg (D-BAs 25, s13)
Ein   Einsiedeln (OSB, CH-E 611, s14i)
KNB   Klosterneuburg (CanA, A-KN 1010, s12m)
Kranj   Parish church, Kranj (Sl-Lna 18, 1491)
SGal   St. Gallen (OSB, CH-SG 390 and 391, c.1000)

The adoption of Melk reform chant in monasteries following the Melk Observance

Joachim Angerer assumes that the Melk reform influenced eighteen Austrian and about thirty south German (Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg) Benedictine monasteries.[20] Meta Niederkorn-Bruck cites around one hundred monasteries that where influenced by Melk.[21] My analysis of liturgical practice is based on a broad range of sources, including information from nearly all Austrian and twelve south German monasteries. The manner in which the reform chant was adopted will now be described, taking selected south German communities as an example. A tabular overview of all Austrian Benedictine monasteries is found in Table 3.[22]

Melk reform chant was adapted quite differently in the individual monasteries that submitted to the reform. Melk use was taken over with only minimal changes at SS. Ulrich and Afra.[23] Only a few offices for the feast days of local saints were added. A large number of liturgical books, most of them splendidly illuminated, have survived at these monasteries. They correspond exactly to Melk models and provide a reliable transmission of the melodies. This example also clearly shows that the adoption of the Melk *Ordo* coincided with the introduction of square notation: at SS. Ulrich and Afra, German Gothic line notation was used until the mid-fifteenth century. The oldest reform manuscripts (1459) contain square notation, but at the end of the century there is a return to Gothic notation.[24]

It was however to take until 1459 for various visitations to persuade the Augsburg monks to give up their own tradition and adopt the Melk use. (The monks had been admonished by Abbot Kaspar Ayndorffer of Tegernsee following a visitation in 1457; he criticised that they adhered to the old chants and ignored the *rubrica romana*.[25]) The adoption of Melk liturgical practice is reflected just as clearly but less extensively as in Augsburg, in sources from the monasteries of Benediktbeuern, Ebersberg, Lorch, Ottobeuren and Weihenstephan. Several antiphoners with significantly reduced repertories that follow Melk rules more or less exactly have also survived from Neresheim, which was included in the Kastl reform. These manuscripts, which are today preserved in the Thurn und Taxis court library in Regensburg, are late, having been created only in the sixteenth century.

Although Angerer claims that the venerable reform monastery of Hirsau was influenced by the Melk reform, as far as liturgy is concerned it appears to have followed the Bursfeld tradition.[26]

In the case of Niederaltaich,[27] the evidence of surviving fifteenth-century sources

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[20] Angerer, *Liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung*, map appendix "Die Reformen von Bursfeld, Kastl und Melk."

[21] Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform.*

[22] A detailed account of the analysed sources from these monasteries is presented in Klugseder, "Auswirkung der Melker Reform."

[23] Klugseder, *Quellen für das Offizium.*

[24] A similar situation can be observed in Melk monastery. But by no means all reformed monasteries adopted square notation.

[25] Angerer, *Liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung*, 135.

[26] D-As 8° Cod. 94, breviary and calendar from Hirsau with Bursfeld liturgy.

[27] Klugseder, "Liturgische Traditionen."

argues against an adoption of Melk reform chant and an orientation toward the liturgical use of the Cistercians.

Although the paucity of sources precludes an evaluation of musical practice at Ettal monastery with any certainty, we may infer the liturgy used there from notes in visitation records. In a 1442 visitation report for Ettal, Johannes Schlittbacher, the great Melk reformer, denounced the excessive use of tropes and sequences – subsequently, tropes were banned from the repertory and the number of sequences reduced to five. Schlittbacher refers here to Melk practice, which included one sequence for Easter, two for Whitsun, one for Corpus Christi and a final one for the Requiem mass.[28] Clearly the monks of Ettal had no access to Melk chant books, for otherwise they would probably not have accepted the inspector's objections so unquestioningly: at just this time, a choral missal created in the 1430s and used at Melk virtually overflowed with Introit tropes and sequences. Once again, then, one finds a striking difference between rule books and visitation reports on one hand and liturgical sources on the other.

The many sources surviving from Melk's "model monastery" and reform centre, Tegernsee, present a confusing picture of liturgical practice.[29] Although there is influence of the Melk liturgy, it is marginal at best. Stated most simply, the old Hirsau-influenced liturgical practice was retained. The repertory was rearranged in a few places, but the chant melodies remain mostly unchanged. Obviously, Tegernsee monastery struggled to adopt a new liturgical tradition. Where other monasteries such as SS. Ulrich and Afra, Lorch or Ebersberg were completely successful, Tegernsee's reform was piecemeal. The *responsoria prolixa* and antiphons continued to be sung in the south German manner. It seems highly unlikely that they were accompanied by "Italian" psalmody.

A lesser-known, splendidly illuminated two-volume gradual from Petershausen monastery, probably copied after 1450 – kept today in the library of Göttweig monastery with shelfmark 7/8 (221) – reveals a similar situation to that of Tegernsee, where Melk reform chant is only partially adopted. Although this monastery hosted the Benedictine synod in 1417, was unable to bring itself to take completely accept the Melk reform: the Temporale was adapted to Melk use, but the melodies of the earlier south German tradition were retained. Melk liturgical influence is evident in the Alleluia verses after Easter and Whitsun, but it is also evident that only those chants that already formed part of the earlier tradition retained their melodies. By contrast, newly added chants were notated with the variants characteristic of Melk use, but newly added Introit and Gradual psalm verses were set to old psalm and verse models. The Sanctorale also contains a large proportion of south German "remnants" along with Melk reform material.

The foregoing examples illustrate the different ways various monasteries adopted the new chant practice. We can only imagine how strong the resistance to the reformers in individual monasteries must have been.

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[28] The requiem sequence *Dies irae dies illa* (AH 54–178) was hardly used in south Germany before the reform. The presence of this sequence is thus a first indicator of a liturgy possibly influenced by Melk.

[29] Klugseder, "Quellen aus dem Benediktinerkloster."

Table 3: Overview of Austrian Benedictine monasteries inspected by "Melk" in the fifteenth century.[30]

Monastery	Melk visitations*	*Consuetudines / Caeremoniale*	Melk liturgy	Hirsau liturgy	relevant liturgical sources
Admont	1451	yes		yes	
Altenburg	1418	yes	?	?	
Garsten	1419, 1451		?	?	
Gleink	1419, 1451		?	?	
Göttweig	1418 etc.	yes	yes		~ 6
Kleinmariazell	1418, 1423		yes		5
Kremsmünster	1419	yes	partly	yes	3
Lambach	1419			yes	3 (s16x)
Melk	1418, 1451	yes	yes		~ 33
Michaelbeuern	1434, 1451		yes		4
Millstatt	yes, but the monastery was abolished already in 1469		?	?	1
Mondsee	1435, 1451	yes	yes		~ 60
Nonnberg	1451	yes	partly	yes	2
Salzburg St. Peter (Frauen + Männer)	1431, 1451	yes	yes		more than 100
Sankt Georgenberg	1451, 1454	yes	yes		2
Sankt Lambrecht	1435, 1451			St. Blasien	
Sankt Paul i. L.	1452		?	?	
Seitenstetten	1419, 1431, 1448, 1451	yes	yes		~ 8
Vienna Schottenstift	1418, 1452	yes	yes		~ 10

Conclusion

Attempts at introducing the *rubrica romana* and the related new chant repertory north of the Alps were only partially successful. Reference to Rome and the Roman Curia were intended to affirm authority rather than refer to a particular repertory. The *Ordo Curiae*, newly compiled around 1200, was changed markedly by the many revisions made as it travelled over the Alps. The Italian chant tradition, which may well have sounded strange and foreign to south German and Austrian ears, was simply one more impediment to its reception, which was limited to only some of the monasteries reformed by Melk. Many other monasteries in these regions retained an earlier tradition mainly influenced by Hirsau,

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[30] Information about visitations is based on Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*.

or took the Cistercian Order as their example. The acquiescence of the last traditionalists was forced only in the wake of the Council of Trent.

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BENEDIKTINSKA "MELŠKA REFORMA" IN NJENE LITURGIČNE POSLEDICE

Povzetek

Z izrazom "melška reforma" označujemo oživitev benediktinskega reda v južni Nemčiji in Avstriji. Reforma s središčem v Melku je bila rezultat koncila v Konstanci (1414–1418) in benediktinske sinode v Petershausenu. Avstrijski vojvoda Albrecht V. (1397–1493) je v Melk poklical avstrijske in bavarske benediktince iz reformiranega samostana Subiaco v Italiji ter jim za voditelja in opata postavil Nikolausa Seyringerja. Albrecht je teologe dunajske univerze zadolžil za vizitacije avstrijskih samostanov ter kot obvezna vpeljal t. i. *Consuetudines Sublacenses*, pravila, ki so urejala življenje samostanov v Subiacu (Sacro Speco in Santa Scolastica) ter strogo sledila *Pravilom* sv. Benedikta (*Regula Benedicti*). Od 14. stoletja si je Subiaco pridobil sloves zgleda samostanov in preko povezav z Melkom je lahko imel velik vpliv na benediktinske samostane Avstrije in južne Nemčije. Če smo natančni, je melška reforma pravzaprav subiaško-melška reforma.

Statuti reforme poudarjajo dosledno upoštevanje redovnih predpisov, monastične discipline in liturgične renovacije. Intenziven študij redovnih pravil in siceršnje ukvarjanje z njimi, njihovo pisanje in avtorstvo, povezave z mnogimi samostani, ki so se utrjevale z vzajemnimi vizitacijami in obiski, ter končno redni stiki z dunajsko univerzo so v Melk zanesli zgodnji humanizem. Melška reforma je zajela vso Avstrijo in južno Nemčijo. Njen vpliv je bilo mogoče čutiti daleč zunaj meja benediktinskega reda.

Razprava predstavlja rezultate obsežne študije liturgičnih rokopisov iz samostanov, ki jih je dosegla subiaško-melška reforma. Analiza je na prvem mestu osredotočena predvsem na repertoar ter na melodije oz. na melodične variante spevov oficija in maše. "Melška" koralna tradicija je postavljena v primerjavo z južnonemškimi in italijanskimi viri, da bi tako še jasneje ponazorila povezave in pogoje, ki vplivajo na uveljavitev repertoarja.

Omenjene študije so pokazale, da t. i. melški reformirani koral predstavlja variacijo rimske koralne tradicije, preoblikovane v več stopnjah revizije. Od rimske liturgije se ne oddalji popolnoma niti v svojih rubrikah, koralnih melodijah niti v liturgičnih besedilih. Oznako *secundum rubricam romanam* si moremo tako bolj kakor definicijo specifičnega repertoarja razlagati kot izjavo avtoritete. Referenca na avtoriteto rimske liturgije in Subiaca, izvornega benediktinskega samostana, tako oblikuje del "propagandne kampanje."

Avtorjeve raziskave so pokazale, da želene enotnosti v liturgični praksi znotraj "melških" samostanov ni bilo mogoče doseči. Velika homogenost v praznovanju *Opus Dei* naj bi ustvarila neke vrste korporacijsko identiteto za observantske samostane. Melška tradicija z italijanskimi vplivi je le deloma nadomestila liturgijo Hirsaua, ki se je v enotni tradiciji prenašala skozi 12. stoletje v mnogih južnonemških in avstrijskih samostanih. Namesto iskane enotnosti je nastal pisan skupek (*patchwork*) benediktinskega korala.