

MELODIC VARIANCE IN ANGLO-SAXON PONTIFICALS

by

Brayden Olson

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
March 2020

© Copyright by Brayden Olson, 2020

*For my Mother and Father, Kathleen and Gary A. Olson, whose love and guidance I will  
always treasure.*

## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	v
List of Figures .....	vi
Abstract .....	vii
List of Abbreviations Used .....	viii
Acknowledgements .....	x
Chapter 1 : Introduction .....	1
Pontificals: Development, Contents, and Characteristics .....	3
An Introduction to the Sources .....	5
Canterbury Connections & Assignment Debates .....	8
Alternative Attributions of the Dunstan Pontifical .....	11
The Anderson and Samson Pontificals: Palaeographic Background .....	13
Alternate Attributions of the Anderson and Samson Pontificals .....	16
Musical Notation in the Sources .....	17
‘Breton’ Notation .....	18
‘Anglo-Saxon’ Notation .....	21
Obstacles, Limitations, and Advantages .....	23
Methodology: Overcoming Obstacles .....	24
Chapter Outlines .....	26
The Significance of this Thesis .....	28
Chapter 2 : The Anderson and Samson Pontificals .....	30
Sources .....	32
Limits of this Analysis .....	34
The Classification of Variants .....	35
Sanctum est verum lumen & Fundamenta templi .....	37
Melodic Variance in the Anderson Pontifical .....	43
Melodic Variance in the Samson Pontifical .....	46
The Musical Traditions of Eleventh-Century Worcester .....	50
Summative Remarks .....	54
Chapter 3 : Three Case Studies .....	56
<i>Mane Surgens Jacob</i> : Connections Between Canterbury and Exeter .....	57
<i>Aedificavit moyses</i> and Changes at Turn of the Century Christ Church .....	63
<i>Firmetur manus tua</i> : Chronological Complications .....	71

<i>Firmetur manus tua</i> in the Anderson Pontifical .....	76
Connections to Ælfric's Ordination in the Anderson Pontifical .....	78
Summative Remarks .....	83
Chapter 4 : Conclusion.....	85
Bibliography .....	88
Appendix 1 : Manuscripts Cited .....	94

## List of Tables

<b>Table 1.1</b> Attributions of the Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson Pontificals.....	9
<b>Table 1.2</b> ‘Breton’ neume forms in the Dunstan Pontifical .....	19
<b>Table 1.3</b> ‘Anglo-Saxon’ neume forms in the Anderson and Samson Pontificals.....	22
<b>Table 2.1</b> English and continental sources consulted in this study .....	33
<b>Table 2.2</b> Variance in 21 antiphons in the Anderson Pontifical organised by source concordance .....	44
<b>Table 2.3</b> Variance in the Samson Pontifical organized by source concordance.....	48
<b>Table 3.1</b> Sources that include or notate <i>Firmetur manus tua</i> .....	75
<b>Table 3.2</b> Musical scribes in main body of the Anderson Pontifical .....	77

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1.1</b> Houses affiliated with the Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson Pontificals.....	10
<b>Figure 1.2</b> Decorated initials in three sources with Canterbury associations .....	12
<b>Figure 1.3</b> r+a and c+t ligatures in the Anderson Pontifical .....	14
<b>Figure 1.4</b> Scribe of the Anderson Pontifical and the Arenberg Gospels .....	15
<b>Figure 1.5</b> <i>Ornaverunt faciem templi</i> : pitch space and NHLS.....	25
<b>Figure 2.1</b> Variant on <i>mirabile</i> .....	38
<b>Figure 2.2</b> Variant on <i>lucem</i> .....	39
<b>Figure 2.3</b> Variants in Anderson’s neumatation of <i>Sanctum est</i> organised by source concordance .....	40
<b>Figure 2.4</b> Variants in Samson’s neumatation of <i>Sanctum est</i> organised by source concordance .....	41
<b>Figure 2.5</b> <i>Caeli</i> variant in <i>Fundamenta templi hujus</i> .....	42
<b>Figure 2.6</b> Decorated initials in Worcester and Canterbury manuscripts .....	53
<b>Figure 3.1</b> <i>Discens</i> variant in the <i>Mane surgens Jacob</i> .....	58
<b>Figure 3.2</b> Items in Leofric's Booklist.....	60
<b>Figure 3.3</b> Text derivation of <i>Aedificavit moyses</i> .....	65
<b>Figure 3.4</b> Opening of <i>Aedificavit Noe</i> and <i>Aedificavit moyses</i> .....	66
<b>Figure 3.5</b> Melodic instability in <i>Aedificavit moyses</i> .....	67
<b>Figure 3.6</b> Variant passage in <i>Aedificavit moyses</i> .....	69
<b>Figure 3.7</b> Forms of <i>pes</i> in the Anderson Pontifical .....	78
<b>Figure 3.8</b> <i>Alleluia</i> extension in the Anderson Pontifical .....	78
<b>Figure 3.9</b> Dates of royal and archiepiscopal ordinations between 988 and 1066.....	83

## **Abstract**

The study of music at Anglo-Saxon Canterbury has been called “the most unstudied and most important outstanding issue in the history of early musical notation in England” (Rankin and Gullick, 2009). This thesis examines three Anglo-Saxon pontificals with controversial attributions linked, in some way, to manuscript production at Christ Church, Canterbury. Using a new methodology developed by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy (2009, 2016), I examine melodic variance in these pontificals in order to determine where they received their musical notation. Using this analysis, I have been able to more precisely date one of these pontificals and uncover evidence of a musical transition at eleventh-century Canterbury. Considering the attribution debates that have surrounded these manuscripts and the small number of extant sources from this time, this study aims to affirm the value of music in the medieval book as a means to contribute to debates about origin and provenance.

## List of Abbreviations Used

For a complete list of manuscripts cited in this thesis and their abbreviations see Appendix 1.

<i>Anderson Pontifical</i> ( <i>AndP</i> )	London, British Library Additional MS 57337
<i>Canterbury Pontifical</i> ( <i>CanP</i> )	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 146
<i>Dunstan Pontifical</i> ( <i>DunP</i> )	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin MS 943
<i>Exeter Pontifical</i> ( <i>ExeP</i> )	London, British Library Additional MS 28188
<i>Handlist</i>	Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, <i>Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a bibliographical Handlist of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
<i>Magdalen Pontifical</i> ( <i>MagP</i> )	Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin MS 226
<i>PalMus XI</i>	Solesmes, <i>Antiphonale missarum sancti Gregorii, X. siècle: codex 47 de la Bibliothèque de Chartres</i> , vol. 11. Abbaye de Saint Pierre de Solesmes: Solesmes, 1912.
<i>PalMus XII</i>	Solesmes, <i>Codex F. 160 de la bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Worcester, Antiphonaire monastique</i> , vol. 12. Abbaye de Saint Pierre de Solesmes: Solesmes, 1922.
<i>PalMus XVI</i>	Solesmes, <i>L'antiphonaire du Mont-Renaud: antiphonaire de la messe et de l'office, Xe siècle. Collection privée</i> , vol. 16. Abbaye de Saint Pierre de Solesmes: Solesmes, 1955.
<i>Samson Pontifical</i> ( <i>SamP</i> )	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 146
<i>Robert Benedictional</i> ( <i>RobP</i> )	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Y.7 (olim 369)

*Winchester Troper*  
(*WinT1*)

Cambridge, Corpus Christ College MS  
473

*Winchester Troper*  
(*WinT2*)

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 775

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to extend the warmest of thanks to my thesis advisor, Dr. Jennifer Bain. This work would have not been possible without her input, patience, encouragement, and support. I would also like to thank Dr. James Maiello, Dr. Kurt Markstrom and Professor Richard Burlison of the University of Manitoba for fostering an interest in early music and encouraging me to pursue this degree. Additionally, I would like to thank Rebecca Maloy and Margot Fassler for their words of encouragement.

I would like to thank my mother, Kathleen Olson, for her continued support from the home front. I would also like to thank several individuals whom I am unable to thank in person, Gladys King, Gary A. Olson, and Jeff Bishop. I'm sure you all would be interested in my research and would be proud of me. As well, I would like to thank my roommates, Kevin and Andrea, whose input and tolerance have been of tremendous value.

Additionally, I would like to thank the document delivery department at the Killam Library for going above and beyond in the acquisition of hard-to-find sources. I would like to similarly thank Daryl Green at Magdalen College, and Andrew Hankinson at the Bodleian Library. I would also like to thank the Fountain School for their generous financial support during this degree.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the work of the many anonymous scribes who prepared, wrote, illuminated, bound, and glossed these manuscripts. Although your names have not come down to us, your contributions have not gone unrecognised. In this regard, I quote the scribe of Aldhelm's *De Laudibus virginitatis*, copied at Christ Church, Canterbury ca. 1000:

*Nauta, rudis pelagi ut sevis ereptus ab undis,  
In portum veniens, pectora laeta tenet;  
Sic scriptor, fessus calamum sub colle laboris,  
Deponens habeat pectore laeta quidem.*

A sailor, rescued from the savage waves of the rough sea,  
Coming into the harbor, has a happy heart;  
So too may a scribe, tired under the mountain of labour,  
Laying down the quill, have a happy heart, indeed.

-Scribe of Cambridge, Corpus Christ College MS 326

## Chapter 1 : Introduction

To work with the earlier English and north French sources is not a merely parochial occupation, for behind each and every neume looms the endlessly fascinating question of how the copyist of a particular manuscript should have come to record that particular version of a chant, at that point in a historical development stretching back centuries before music was written.<sup>1</sup>

-David Hiley

While discussing the close relationship shared by the eleventh-century Cosin Gradual (GB-Dru Cosin V.v.6) and four other sources, K.D. Hartzell posits that their relationship may reflect “a pre-1066 state of affairs.”<sup>2</sup> Continuing, he notes that “this hypothesis suffers, of course, from the disadvantage of treating the Anglo-Saxon church as a homogeneity, when we know that it was nothing of the kind.”<sup>3</sup> Although Hartzell avoids depicting the Anglo-Saxon church as homogeneous, he is careful to note that this narrative, because of its simplicity, is an easy trap to fall into especially when discussing the relationship between post-conquest sources and those before 1066. This pitfall, however attractive, indirectly draws attention to one of the major obstacles in the study of Anglo-Saxon plainchant and the field of Anglo-Saxon studies as a whole: source survival.

Of the surviving pre-conquest sources that contain music, approximately one-third are connected to Winchester.<sup>4</sup> As a result, manuscripts like the two Winchester Tropers (GB-Ccc MS 473 and GB-Obl Bodl. 775) received much attention over the past sixty years.<sup>5</sup> This focus, although completely warranted, has left other centers of manuscript

---

<sup>1</sup> David Hiley, “Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986): 80.

<sup>2</sup> K.D. Hartzell, “An unknown English Benedictine gradual of the eleventh century,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 138.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Emma Hornby, “Interactions between Canterbury and Brittany,” in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell*, eds. Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 47.

<sup>5</sup> Hartzell, “English gradual,” 131. As Hartzell notes, the two Winchester tropers constitute one of the largest repertoires of *organa*.

production, like Canterbury, underrepresented in musical scholarship. With the considerable number of surviving sources seeming to emanate from Winchester, it would be easy to assume that Canterbury followed its musical practices. The survival of a comparatively large number of notated Anglo-Saxon pontificals, several associated, in some way, with pre-conquest Canterbury, offers a means to interrogate this assumption. In fact, these pontificals contain more examples of English musical notation than any other liturgical book in England during the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>6</sup> Although the music found in pontificals has not received the same attention from scholars that other liturgical books have enjoyed, further examination of their musical content may be fruitful, especially when extant sources are relatively few; moreover, because of their idiomatic organisation, pontificals offer a unique window into local practice and, therefore, are well-suited for use in a study of regional melodic variance.<sup>7</sup>

In this thesis, I examine melodic and notational variance in three Anglo-Saxon pontificals whose origins have been attributed to several English ecclesiastical centres. Although their musical contents have received occasional notice from scholars, their melodies have not been examined in much detail or featured in debates concerning source attribution; this thesis is the first comprehensive study of the melodic variance in these books with the precise goal of determining where each manuscript received its notation. Using a new methodology developed by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy in several significant studies of Old Hispanic Chant, it is the goal of this study to examine the conflicting attributions these sources have received, to reassess their provenance, and to

---

<sup>6</sup> Susan Rankin, "Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at Late Anglo-Saxon Worcester," in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, eds. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 346.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Kozachek, "The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music Liturgy & Ritual," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995), 4.

shed light on the musical practices of the institutions that either created or subsequently owned these three manuscripts.

In this chapter I begin by introducing the pontifical as a genre of liturgical book, examining its derivation, function, and general characteristics. Following this discussion, I introduce the three pontificals by briefly exploring their origins and outlining their conflicting attributions based on varying palaeographical, liturgical, and artistic evidence. I subsequently assess the musical notation in these manuscripts and identify several problems these notations present for this study. I then present my methodological models, concluding with an overview of chapters 2 and 3 and a broad discussion of the significance of this thesis.

#### Pontificals: Development, Contents, and Characteristics

A pontifical is a class of liturgical book containing various materials related to the ceremonial duties of a bishop. Unlike some liturgical books which are organised chronologically around the liturgical calendar, graduals and antiphoners respectively contain the musical materials for the performance of the Mass and Office throughout the year, pontificals are instead organised thematically; as such, they often contain Masses, Offices, and other consecration services, but only as they relate to the duties of a Bishop. The dedication of a church, the consecration of a cemetery, the ordination of the orders of the church, the consecration of monks and abbots, and the coronation of monarchs make up the standard repertory of the pontifical in its mature form.<sup>8</sup> Further reflecting its thematic function, pontificals are sometimes bound together with benedictionals, a collection of eucharistic prayers pronounced by a bishop at Mass throughout the year,

---

<sup>8</sup> David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 324.

organised into *sanctorale* and *temporale* cycles.<sup>9</sup> This is true of all three sources I examine in this thesis—all three manuscripts contain a pontifical and benedictional. It is important to note that, since pontificals tend to reflect the needs of a given Bishop at a given location, they can include a diversity of local rites.<sup>10</sup> Professions of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the consecration of the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Archbishop of York (or vice versa) are two examples of uniquely English rites.

Pontifical rites, whether regional or standard, are generally made up of three elements:<sup>11</sup>

- (1) *ordines*/rubrics, i.e. the description of ceremonial actions;
- (2) prayers spoken by the bishop and his officiates;
- (3) music to be performed by the choir.

Although not all pontifical rites use plainchant in a significant way, the church dedication ceremony features a large number of antiphons, in some cases more than thirty, to accompany the large number of elaborate ceremonial actions that make up a church dedication service.<sup>12</sup> The complete body of music required for the dedication of a church, including its Mass, Office, and dedication ceremony can include over seventy pieces of plainchant.

The development of the pontifical was probably motivated by the desire to have related materials placed in the same book.<sup>13</sup> The rubrics and musical texts found in pontificals likely derive from earlier ordinals: volumes dedicated to the description of ritual actions performed during liturgical ceremonies. Several volumes of the collection

---

<sup>9</sup> Richard A. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8.

<sup>10</sup> Marie A. Conn, “The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals: An Edition and Study,” (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993), 356.

<sup>11</sup> Conn, “Dunstan and Brodie,” 340.

<sup>12</sup> Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 42.

<sup>13</sup> Conn, “Dunstan and Brodie,” 340.

known as the *Ordines Romani* bear witness to the development of the church dedication rite; the earliest of these volumes were likely compiled by Carolingian liturgists throughout the eighth century.<sup>14</sup> At the time of this eighth-century compilation, the rites of the *Ordines Romani* merged with native Gallican *ordines*.<sup>15</sup> The later *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, compiled in Mainz in the mid-tenth century, expanded upon the *Ordines Romani* by adding substantial supplements derived from earlier German *ordines*.<sup>16</sup> The prayers found in pontificals, however, do not originate from *ordines*, rather, they were imported from sacramentaries, a related genre of liturgical book dedicated exclusively to prayer formularies.<sup>17</sup> The combination of rubrics, prayers, and musical texts ultimately resulted in the mature, tenth-century form of the pontifical.<sup>18</sup> The corpus of Anglo-Saxon pontificals that are the focus of this study, having been written or augmented between *ca.* 960 and *ca.* 1100, predate the standardising influence of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*. The rubrics, prayers, and musical texts of these English pontificals broadly represent a fusion of native Anglo-Saxon materials, including blessings for several English saints and several distinctly Anglo-Saxon melodies, with the *Ordines Romani* and sacramentary prayers found in continental books.<sup>19</sup>

### An Introduction to the Sources

While the extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon pontificals numbers more than a dozen, the present study focuses on three manuscripts that have controversial origins. Despite the

---

<sup>14</sup> Kozachek, “Dedicating Churches,” 6.

<sup>15</sup> Conn, “Dunstan and Brodie,” 364.

<sup>16</sup> Kozachek, “Dedicating Churches,” 22.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>18</sup> Conn, “Dunstan and Brodie,” 341.

<sup>19</sup> Kozachek, “Dedicating Churches,” 298.

existence of several attributions, each manuscript can be connected, in some way, to Christ Church, Canterbury:

- (1) The Dunstan Pontifical (*ca.* 960-993) [F-Pn Lat. MS 943]
- (2) The Anderson Pontifical (*ca.* 1000) [GB-Lbl Add. MS 57337]
- (3) The Samson Pontifical (early 11th century) [GB-Ccc MS 146]

The following discussion briefly summarises the contents of each of these manuscripts, their provenance, and their connections to Christ Church, Canterbury.

The primary layer of the Dunstan Pontifical (fols. 7r-154v) has been attributed to Christ Church during the archiepiscopate of Dunstan (960 to 988). Evidence for this assignment includes a letter recounting Dunstan's journey to Rome to receive his ceremonial vestments from Pope John VII and similarities between the frontispieces in the Dunstan Pontifical and Dunstan's Classbook (GB-Obl Auct. MS F. 4.32), the latter written at Glastonbury during Dunstan's tenure as Abbot.<sup>20</sup> By 993, however, the manuscript was housed at Sherborne. A list of Sherborne bishops with a *terminus ante quem* of 1011, a letter from an Archbishop to Bishop Wulfsgie III of Sherborne (993 to 1002), and a writ by Æthelric (Bishop of Sherborne 1002 to *ca.* 1011) all attest to the pontifical's tenure there between 993 and 1011.<sup>21</sup> These additions resulted in the manuscript being attributed to Sherborne for much of the twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> In the past three decades, the attribution of Dunstan has reverted to Canterbury following a publication by Jane Rosenthal, noting the above connection to Dunstan's Classbook and

---

<sup>20</sup> *Handlist*, 430 (no. 538). See Mildred Budney, "'St. Dunstan's Classbook' and its Frontispiece: Dunstan's Portrait and Autograph," in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, eds. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 137-141.

<sup>21</sup> Patrick Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 39.

<sup>22</sup> Jane Rosenthal, "The Pontifical of St. Dunstan," in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, eds. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 143.

the inclusion of the consecration of one archbishop by another, a rite that only an archbishop could perform.<sup>23</sup>

Although the Anderson Pontifical is incomplete in its present state, there is some evidence that it was composed at Canterbury around the turn of the eleventh century. Glosses in a southeastern dialect of Old English, visible in the Kentish spelling of *storcellan* (as opposed to the West-Saxon *storcyllan*), added soon after the manuscript was written, suggest that it spent time at an institution in the southeast of England, likely one of the Canterbury minsters, either Christ Church or St Augustine's.<sup>24</sup> Its script similarly suggests a Canterbury origin.<sup>25</sup> Although the manuscript saw further use in the eleventh century, its history after its compilation is completely unknown until the eighteenth century, during which time it was owned by Hugh Anderson (d. 1749), minister of Drainie, Morayshire, whose name is inscribed on fol. 1r. Finally, in 1970, Anderson was discovered in the stables of Brodie Castle in a carton of books.<sup>26</sup> Despite suffering rodent and water damage, the book is mostly complete and in good condition, although it is missing at least two folios before fol. 1, several throughout, and more than ten after fol. 144.<sup>27</sup>

The Samson Pontifical, the third manuscript in this study, has a more complex history. The middle layer of the manuscript, 'Samson B' (pp. 61-318), may have been written at Christ Church, Canterbury in the early eleventh century, as suggested by its script and the organisation of the hair and flesh sides of the parchment in a

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Peter A. Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut c.990-c.1035* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 75.

<sup>25</sup> David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 77.

<sup>26</sup> Conn, "Dunstan and Brodie," vi.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 13-4.

characteristically Insular Hair-Flesh-Hair-Flesh pattern.<sup>28</sup> The manuscript received two supplements, ‘Samson A’ (pp. 1-60) and ‘Samson C’ (pp. 318-330), at Worcester cathedral during the episcopate of Bishop Samson, from 1096 to 1112.<sup>29</sup> An inscription on proclaiming obedience to “Samsonis episcopus” and several references to *Wigorensis* (Worcester) throughout ‘Samson A’ are evidence of the manuscript’s tenure at Worcester around the turn of the twelfth century.<sup>30</sup> Although complete in its present state, Samson also suffered considerable damage, possibly even before it arrived at Worcester.<sup>31</sup>

### Canterbury Connections & Assignment Debates

**Table 1.1** displays the attribution history and known scribal affiliations of the Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson Pontificals. A map of these affiliations has also been provided in **Figure 1.1**. Although each of these manuscripts demonstrate some link to Canterbury, origins elsewhere have been suggested, with some proving controversial. Conclusions drawn from palaeographical and liturgical inquiries have resulted in each manuscript being attributed to several English houses. While the palaeographical and physical evidence suggests an origin for all three manuscripts at Christ Church, Canterbury, some have assigned Dunstan to Sherborne or Exeter based on liturgical and

---

<sup>28</sup> T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), xx. Samson can be more accurately segmented into six parts, although I have chosen to segment it into three: the two outer sections (A and C excluding endleaves) and the earlier middle portion (B) which is of contested origin. See Susan Rankin and Michael Gullick, Review of *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* by K.D. Hartzell, *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 277.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Handlist*, 292 (no. 366). Hemming of Worcester, the subprior of Worcester Cathedral, active until c.1096, wrote portions of these supplements. See Neil R. Ker, “Hemming’s Cartulary: A Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, eds. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, and R.W. Southern eds., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 49-75.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

scribal connections. Other scholars, focusing on their liturgical contents, have asserted that Anderson and Samson were written at Winchester.

<i>MSS</i>	<i>Attrib. by Script</i>	<i>Attrib. by Artwork</i>	<i>Attrib. by Liturgy</i>	<i>Attrib. by Other Text</i>	<i>Scribal Affiliations</i>
<i>Dunstan</i> Lat. 943	Ca Ex	CaCC	CaCC	Sher	Ccc 57 (CaCC/Ab) Auct. F.4.32 (Glas) Lbl 37517 (CaA/Wes) Llp 149 (CaCC/Ex) EXcl 3507 (CaCC/Ex) Bodl. 718 (CaCC/Ex)
<i>Anderson</i> Lbl 57337	Ca		CaCC Win Dur	Ca	Pml 869 (CaCC)
<i>Samson</i> Ccc 146	CaCC <sup>(B)</sup> Wor <sup>(A &amp; C)</sup>		CaCC Win		<u>A &amp; C</u> H: Cul Kk.3.18 (Wor) H: Ccc 391 (Wor) Ccc 9 (Wor) Cotton Nero E/1 (Wor)

Ab = Abingdon	H = Hemming of Worcester (active s. xi <sup>2</sup> )
Ca = Canterbury	Sher = Sherbourne
CaCC = Christ Church, Canterbury	Wes = Westminster
CaA = St Augustine's, Canterbury	Win = Winchester
Du = Durham	Wor = Worcester
Ex = Exeter	A, B, C = 'Samson A', 'B', and 'C'
Glas = Glastonbury	

**Table 1.1** Attributions of the Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson Pontificals



**Figure 1.1** Houses affiliated with the Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson Pontificals

## Alternative Attributions of the Dunstan Pontifical

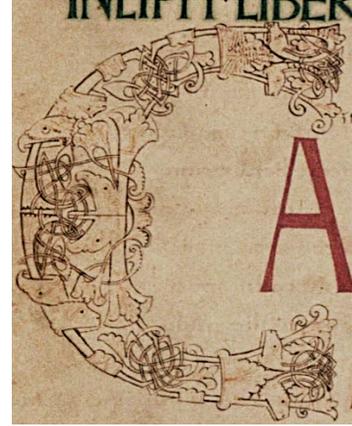
Besides the account of Dunstan's journey to Rome added to the Dunstan Pontifical and the parallels between its frontispiece and Dunstan's Classbook, there are further palaeographic connections to Canterbury. The primary layer of Dunstan is written in English Square miniscule, a script whose name derives from its square aspect which appears in many tenth-century English sources and, unfortunately, is not local to one centre.<sup>32</sup> The hand of Dunstan's text scribe, however, resembles that of The Bosworth Psalter (GB-Lbl Add. MS 37517), a manuscript connected with a Benedictine community, possibly one of the Canterbury minsters (Christ Church or St Augustine's) or Westminster.<sup>33</sup> Its script and decorated initials also resemble those in The Abingdon Collection (GB-Ccc MS 57) and a late-tenth-century copy of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* (GB-Obl MS Auct. F. I. 15), both of which have Canterbury associations;<sup>34</sup> the decorated initials in these three books are shown in **Figure 1.2**. These connections, of course, do not conclusively suggest a Canterbury origin for Dunstan; however, considering the other connections the manuscript has to its eponymous archbishop, these similarities do bolster such an attribution.

---

<sup>32</sup> David Dumville, "English Square Miniscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases," *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 143.

<sup>33</sup> Jessie Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597-c.1000* (Woodbridge: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014), 193. *Handlist*, 221 (no. 291) and David Dumville, "On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts," *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1991): 45.

<sup>34</sup> *Handlist*, 51, 427 (no. 41 and 534) and Richard Gameson, "The origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry," *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 175-6.



---

*Dunstan Pontifical*  
F-Pn Lat. MS 943, fol. 10r

*Abingdon Collection*  
GB-Ccc MS 57, fol. 97v

*De consolatione philosophiae*  
GB-Obl MS Auct. F. I. 15

---

**Figure 1.2** Decorated initials in three sources with Canterbury associations

Although the Sherborne additions in the *Dunstan Pontifical* led to the widespread attribution of the manuscript to that house for much of the twentieth century (an attribution that has since reverted to Christ Church), other connections have also been noted. Patrick Conner has suggested, because of scribal similarities to manuscripts with an Exeter association, that *Dunstan* may have been written there.<sup>35</sup> He notes that the principal scribe of *Dunstan* also wrote Exeter MS 3507 and MS Bodley 718.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, *Dunstan*'s text scribe also added glosses to Lambeth Palace MS 149, which was bequeathed to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric (Bishop of Exeter 1050-72) in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>37</sup> These connections are significant, although not airtight. The books cited by Conner are not conclusively attributable to Exeter; each manuscript also demonstrates some connection with Christ Church, Canterbury.<sup>38</sup> David Dumville notes that an association with Exeter is not necessarily proof of an origin there.

---

<sup>35</sup> Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, 43-47.

<sup>36</sup> *Handlist*, 203, 460 (nos. 258 and 591).

<sup>37</sup> Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, 47 and *Handlist*, 407 (no. 506).

<sup>38</sup> Gameson, "The Exeter Book," 178.

For example, Bishop Leofric of Exeter (1050-72) obtained numerous books from other ecclesiastical centers, including Canterbury.<sup>39</sup>

### The Anderson and Samson Pontificals: Palaeographic Background

The palaeographical background of the Dunstan Pontifical is certainly complex, due in no small part to the inherent difficulty in attributing examples of Square minuscule to one house over another. This background does, however, provide solid evidence in favour of a Christ Church attribution. Fortunately, localising the script of Anderson and Samson is more conclusive. Both books are written in a style of Anglo-Caroline minuscule that can be firmly attributed to Canterbury, called ‘Style II’ by T.A.M. Bishop.<sup>40</sup>

The development of Anglo-Caroline minuscule coincided with a renewed interest in Benedictinism and monastic learning in tenth-century England. Continental contact with the Benedictine houses of Fleury, Ghent, and Corbie may be behind the importation of the continental Caroline minuscule. Whatever its origins, the dissemination of Anglo-Caroline minuscule is generally divided into four styles, although only the first two are relevant to this discussion. ‘Style I’, favoured at houses reformed by Bishops Æthelwold (Bishop of Winchester 964-83) and Oswald (Bishop of Worcester 961-92), is mostly devoid of Insular letter-forms found in the earlier Square minuscule.<sup>41</sup> ‘Style II’ is found in houses associated with Archbishop Dunstan, specifically the two Canterbury minsters, and is a hybrid of earlier Insular elements and continental Caroline minuscule.<sup>42</sup> Two

---

<sup>39</sup> David Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 83.

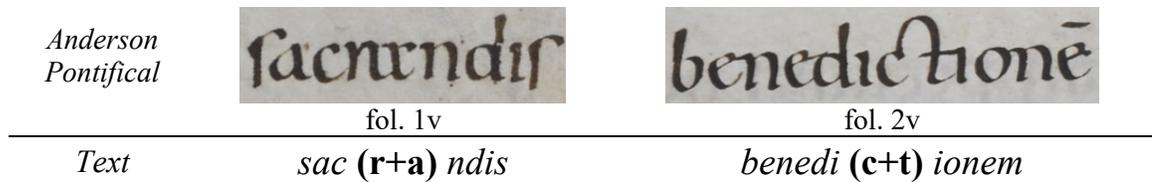
<sup>40</sup> Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, xxi.

<sup>41</sup> Billett, *The Divine Office*, 305.

<sup>42</sup> T.A.M. Bishop, “Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts Part VII: The Early Minuscule of Christ Church Canterbury,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1963): 418 and Billett, *The Divine Office*, 306.

“house-variants” also emerged within the ‘Style II’ group at the two Canterbury minsters, discernible in the use of ligatures: Christ Church scribes more frequently ligate **r+a**, while St Augustine’s scribes more frequently ligate **c+t** and **r+t**.<sup>43</sup>

Anderson and ‘Samson B’, with their mix of Insular and Caroline letter-forms, clearly belong to the ‘Style II’ group, making a Canterbury origin highly likely.<sup>44</sup> Despite this, an examination of the ligatures in the two manuscripts does not allow us to determine at which Canterbury minster these two pontificals were written. The scribe of Anderson frequently uses both the **r+a** (Christ Church) and **c+t** (St Augustine’s), as shown in **Figure 1.3**, but does not use **r+t** (St Augustine’s). Based on these ligation patterns Anderson could have been written at either of the two Canterbury minsters.<sup>45</sup> The same pattern obtains in ‘Samson B’, using both **r+a** and **c+t** but not **r+t**; ligation is altogether less frequent in Samson than Anderson. This evidence again is inconclusive, suggesting that ‘Samson B’ could have been written at either Christ Church or St Augustine’s.



**Figure 1.3** **r+a** and **c+t** ligatures in the Anderson Pontifical

Based on their palaeographical characteristics alone, although they suggest an origin at Canterbury, Anderson and Samson cannot be localised to one Canterbury minster; however, other features suggest these two books were written at Christ Church,

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 3. These features are outlined in Billett, *The Divine Office*, 306.

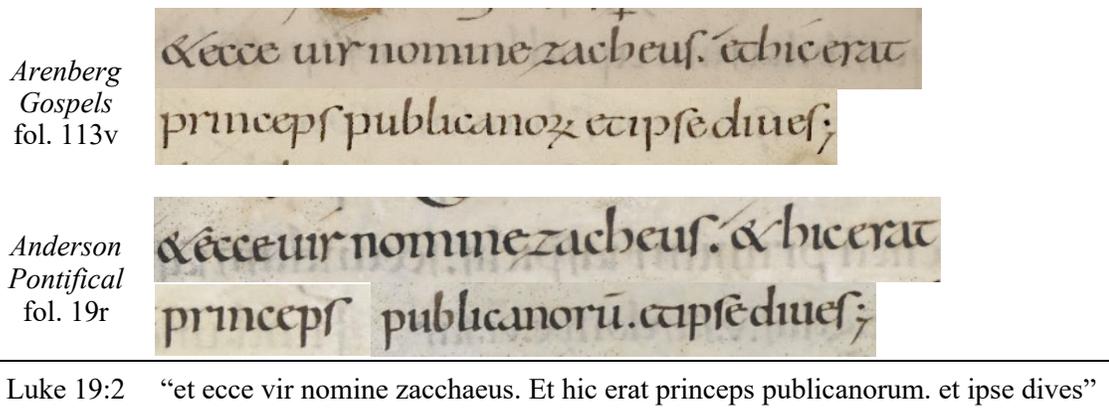
<sup>44</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 72 and 77.

<sup>45</sup> Conn, “Dunstan and Brodie,” 13.

specifically. Both books are clearly pontificals and were obviously intended for use by a bishop as such. This leaves Christ Church—the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury—as the only plausible option. Furthermore, these two books, like Dunstan, include additional material for the consecration of an archbishop by another archbishop.<sup>46</sup> Since this addition would be effectively useless at any ecclesiastical centre other than Christ Church or York, this suggests that Anderson and Samson were probably written at Christ Church.<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore, the text scribe of Anderson also wrote *The Arenberg Gospels* (US-NYpm MS 869), another late-tenth century product of the Christ Church scriptorium.<sup>48</sup>

**Figure 1.4** shows a portion of the Book of Luke found in both Anderson and Arenberg. Even a cursory glance at this example suggests that both manuscripts are the work of the same scribe. Since Arenberg was probably written at Christ Church, it is highly likely that Anderson was as well.<sup>49</sup>



**Figure 1.4** Scribe of the Anderson Pontifical and the Arenberg Gospels

<sup>46</sup> Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 238.

<sup>47</sup> This does not occur in the episcopal ordination in the Robert Benedictional (F-R MS Y.7/369 fols. 144v-150v).

<sup>48</sup> *Handlist*, 621 (no. 864); T.A. Heslop, “The Production of De-luxe manuscripts and the patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 169.

<sup>49</sup> The drawings of the four evangelists in Arenberg share characteristics with the artwork in the Utrecht Psalter (NL-Uu MS 32), known to have been in England sometime before 1000 and was influential on manuscript illumination at Christ Church.

## Alternate Attributions of the Anderson and Samson Pontificals

Despite evidence suggesting that Anderson and Samson were written at Christ Church, Canterbury, connections to other houses have also been highlighted by scholars, with both sources receiving Winchester attributions instead. These attributions have been accepted to varying degrees throughout much of the twentieth century until the present day.

A Winchester origin for the Anderson Pontifical was first advanced by Andrew Prescott in 1987. Since the benedictional portion of the Anderson pontifical is “a relatively straightforward copy of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold” (GB-Lbl add. 49598), written at Winchester between 971 and 984, “the Anderson Pontifical was probably compiled there rather than at Canterbury.”<sup>50</sup> T.A. Heslop, although he agrees that Anderson was probably written at Christ Church, prefers a later date for its compilation, either 1022 or 1023, based on the inclusion of a short litany for St Bartholomew, whose relics were acquired and subsequently gifted to Christ Church by Queen Emma.<sup>51</sup> Marie Conn notes a connection to Durham based on the presence of a benediction for the feast of St Cuthbert. Anderson, however, cannot be attributed to Durham because of this, since this blessing is simply a re-worded version of the blessing for St Vedastus included in the Æthelwold Benedictional:<sup>52</sup>

<b>Æthelwold:</b> “Deus fundator...qui beatum vedastum...”	(St Vedastus)
<b>Anderson:</b> “Deus fundator...qui beatum cuthberchtum...”	(St Cuthbert)

---

<sup>50</sup> *Handlist*, 228 (no. 301). Andrew Prescott, “The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals,” *The British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 123.

<sup>51</sup> Heslop, “Cnut and Emma,” 169-170. Martin Rule, ed., *Eadmeri Historia novorum in Anglia* (London: Longman & Co, 1884), 107-10. Nicholas Orchard notes, however, that short litanies for St Bartholomew also occur in the two manuscripts from Exeter that have no direct connection to Canterbury. See Nicholas Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2002), I. 76.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 75 and Conner, “Benedictionals,” 135.

The attribution of the Samson Pontifical to Winchester was first advanced by Neil R. Ker in 1957 because it records blessings for several saints venerated there, notably SS Ælfheah I, Swithun, and Æthelwold.<sup>53</sup> Andrew Prescott also attributes Samson to Winchester because its benedictional, like Anderson, is based on The Æthelwold Benedictional.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, although Helen Gittos acknowledges a textual similarity between it and other Canterbury pontificals, she notes that it diverges at points from Anderson and Dunstan, the most obvious being a tendency to abbreviate rubrics.<sup>55</sup> Nicholas Orchard also prefers a Winchester origin, noting that Samson shares materials with GB-Ccc MS 422, a sacramentary/ritual copied at Winchester in the 1060s, although he also acknowledges that a Christ Church manuscript likely served as a model for Samson.<sup>56</sup> This Winchester origin seems to have been generally accepted, with David Dumville and Laura M. Sole being notable exceptions, the former arguing that the Winchester elements belong to Samson's prehistory.<sup>57</sup>

### Musical Notation in the Sources

With this tangle of attributions and scribal associations, one would be forgiven for being unaware of the presence of music in these manuscripts altogether, even though these books make up a significant portion of the extant English music from this period.<sup>58</sup> Although the music in these books has been examined periodically over the past sixty

---

<sup>53</sup> Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 51 (no. 37). Anderson also includes a blessing for St Swithun yet is never attributed to Winchester on this basis. In my view, the attribution of Samson to Winchester based on such inclusions is by no means conclusive.

<sup>54</sup> *Handlist*, 228 (no. 301). Prescott, "Benedictionals," 130.

<sup>55</sup> Gittos, *Sacred Places*, 228.

<sup>56</sup> Orchard, *Leofric Missal*, I. 75.

<sup>57</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 72 and L.M. Sole, "Some Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert *Liturgica*: The Manuscript Evidence" *Revue Bénédictine* 108 (1998): 134-35.

<sup>58</sup> Rankin, "Liturgical Music," 346 and Rankin, *Winchester Troper*, 23.

years, their melodies have not been explored in much depth. This is, of course, because the notations in these sources present several obstacles for such a study: the music in Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson is written in more than one type of musical script and, like their textual counterparts, these scripts cannot be uniformly localised or dated. In this section I introduce these musical scripts by summarising their background and stylistic features. I subsequently examine the obstacles these notations present by defining what these notations can (and cannot) tell us about where these manuscripts were neumed. This discussion is indebted to foundational studies by Thomas Kozachek and Susan Rankin.<sup>59</sup>

### ‘Breton’ Notation

Two styles of musical notation prevail in pre-conquest English manuscripts: ‘Breton’ and ‘Anglo-Saxon.’ The Dunstan Pontifical is written only in ‘Breton’ script; its neume repertory is displayed in **Table 1.2**. As its name implies, ‘Breton’ notation is generally localised (in tenth-century at least) to Brittany, although it saw a wider continental use in the previous century.<sup>60</sup> This musical script was brought to England by Breton monks and clerics fleeing Scandinavian and Norman raids in the early tenth century.<sup>61</sup> William of Malmsebury records further contact between Brittany and England citing a letter from Radbod, prior of Dol Cathedral, gifting the bones of several Breton Saints (SS Senator, Paternus, and Scubilion) to King Æthelstan (927-39) who was a

---

<sup>59</sup> Susan Rankin, “Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Musicologie Médiéval: Notations-séquences. otations et séquences: actes de la Table ronde du C.N.R.S. à l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, 6-7 septembre 1982*, ed. Michel Huglo (Paris: H. Champion, 1987); 129-44; Rankin, “Liturgical Music,” 325-348; Thomas Kozachek, “Tonal neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Pontificals,” *Plainsong and Medieval music* 6 (1997): 119-141; Rankin, *Winchester Troper*, (Chs. 2-6).

<sup>60</sup> Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 99.

<sup>61</sup> Hornby, “Brittany and Canterbury,” 50.

renowned collector of relics.<sup>62</sup> Such gifts would have likely been accompanied by Breton clerics and books and would have ensured the introduction of Breton music and notation.<sup>63</sup> In the mid to late-tenth century, examples of ‘Breton’ notation in England seem to cluster around the two Canterbury minsters, although by the early eleventh century it was replaced by the more widespread ‘Anglo-Saxon’ script.<sup>64</sup>

	<i>Simple Forms</i>	<i>Liquescent</i>	<i>Extended Forms</i>
<b><i>one note</i></b>			
<i>punctum</i>	·	◌◌	 <i>Punctum + oriscus</i>
<i>tractulus</i>	—		
<i>virga</i>	√		 <i>virga strata</i>  <i>bivirga</i>
<i>oriscus</i>	◌		
<i>bi-punctum</i>	◌◌		
<b><i>two notes</i></b>			
<i>pes</i>	√√	◌√◌	 <i>pes sub.</i>
<i>clivis</i>	√◌	◌	
<b><i>three notes</i></b>			
<i>torculus</i>	√◌◌		 <i>torculus res.</i>
<i>porrectus</i>	√	√◌	 <i>porrectus fl.</i>
<i>scandicus</i>	√◌◌		 <i>scandicus fl.</i>  <i>scandicus fl. res. liq.</i>
<i>climacus</i>	◌◌◌		 <i>more notes</i>  <i>climacus res.</i>
<i>pressus</i>	√◌◌◌ <sup>65</sup>		

**Table 1.2** ‘Breton’ neume forms in the Dunstan Pontifical<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> N.E.S.A. Hamilton, ed., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque* (London: Longman & Co., 1870), Ch. 249, 399-400.

<sup>63</sup> David Dumville, “Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peaceable: Æthelstan, First King of England,” in David Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 157.

<sup>64</sup> Rankin, “Neumatic Notations,” 131.

<sup>65</sup> Regularly corresponds to a *pressus* in ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and ‘Sankt Gallen’ neumations.

<sup>66</sup> *fl.* = flexus; *qui.* = quilisma; *res* = resupinus; *sub.* = subbipunctis

Amongst the characteristic features of ‘Breton’ notation, groups of descending notes (*climacus* and derived compounds) often appear as a series of vertically oriented dots and slashes, . The signs for a single note (*virga*) and for two ascending notes (*pes*) tend to be written on an acute angle, anywhere between 10° and 45° to the right: , , and . The signs for two descending notes (*clivis*) and the gapped *torculus* tend to appear as a slanted line followed by a descender that curves slightly inward:  and .

Furthermore, some specialised neumes transmit specific performance information with visually distinct signs. Although the information encoded in such signs is rarely unique (they reflect general musical tendencies) their calligraphic appearance is distinctive.<sup>68</sup> One such neume is a *punctum* characteristic of ‘Breton’ notations written at Canterbury, which Thomas Kozachek has termed the tonal ‘bi-punctum.’ When compared to staffed sources, this neume regularly corresponds to *E-F* or *B-C*, therefore signalling the location of the semitone.<sup>69</sup> The exact function of this neume, however, is unclear: this neume regularly corresponds to both semitones and does not consistently correspond to only one side of the semitone. These complications notwithstanding, although the meaning of this sign is not unique (some continental notations use similar signs to relay semitonal information) its calligraphic appearance here is uniquely English, written .<sup>70</sup> Kozachek dates the earliest appearance of this neume at late-tenth-century Canterbury, noting that it saw sporadic use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

---

<sup>67</sup> Rankin, *Writing Sounds*, 99.

<sup>68</sup> Rankin, *Winchester Troper*, 29.

<sup>69</sup> Kozachek, “Tonal Neumes,” 123.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 119. In Solange Corbin, *Die Neumen* (Köln: A. Volk, 1977), 107, Corbin notes the appearance of a “crescent-shaped punctum” in musical notations of the Abbey of Fécamp (citing F-Pn Lat. 1928 fol. 172v), later called the ‘Fécamp mi-neume’ in Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 388.

### ‘Anglo-Saxon’ Notation

The second, more widespread musical English script is ‘Anglo-Saxon’ notation. This notation shares characteristics with notations written in northern France, at Corbie specifically, which may have been a model on which this notation was based.<sup>71</sup> This similarity is not surprising as contacts between Winchester and Corbie are recorded in the twelfth-century Abingdon Chronicle.<sup>72</sup> Although the notation theoretically could have originated from this or any number of continental contacts, by the late-tenth century ‘Anglo-Saxon’ notation appear in the works of nearly every major English scriptorium, including the two Canterbury Minsters.<sup>73</sup>

**Table 1.3** displays the repertory of neumes in the Anderson and Samson pontificals. Unlike ‘Breton’ notation which is often written around 45°, ‘Anglo-Saxon’ notation is written nearer 90°, most evident in the simple forms of the *clivis*  and *climacus* .<sup>74</sup> Other distinguishing neumes include cursive forms of the *porrectus* , *torculus resupinus* , *climacus* , and *pes subbipunctis resupinus* , although these cursive forms are not unique to ‘Anglo-Saxon’ notation.<sup>75</sup> Other forms do carry specialised meanings and, although the meanings themselves are not uniquely English, their calligraphy is. For example, although ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and ‘Sankt Gallen’ notations

---

<sup>71</sup> Kozachek, “Tonal Neumes,” 123.

<sup>72</sup> Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 129.

<sup>73</sup> Rankin, *Winchester Troper*, 24.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

use a special form of *torculus* to convey a slowing in melodic movement, they are calligraphically distinct from one another, written  and , respectively.<sup>76</sup>

	<i>Simple Forms</i>	<i>Liquescent</i>	<i>Extended Forms</i>			
<b>one note</b>						
<i>punctum</i>	•					
<i>virga</i>			<i>virga strata</i>	<i>bivirga</i>	<i>stropha</i>	<i>iacens</i>
<i>oriscus</i>	∟					
<b>two notes</b>						
<i>pes</i>		! 	<i>pes stratus</i>	<i>pes sub.</i>	<i>pes sub. res.</i>	<i>qui. pes</i>
<i>clivis</i>						
<b>three notes</b>						
<i>torculus</i>			<i>torculus res.</i>	<i>torculus res. fl.</i>	<i>slow torculus</i>	
<i>porrectus</i>			<i>porrectus fl.</i>			
<i>scandicus</i>		! 	<i>qui. scandicus</i>	<i>scandicus fl.</i>	<i>scandicus sub.</i>	<i>more notes</i>
<i>climacus</i>			<i>more notes</i>	<i>climacus res.</i>		
<i>pressus</i>						
<i>trigon</i>	∴					
<b>other forms</b>						
						

Table 1.3 ‘Anglo-Saxon’ neume forms in the Anderson and Samson Pontificals<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Dom Eugène Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1982), 48. This pitch-clarifying *punctum* in the earlier Winchester Troper (GB-Ccc MS 473) closely resembles the ‘Fécamp mi-neume’ mentioned above. For discussion of the ‘slow’/‘long’ *torculus* see Rankin, *Winchester Troper*, 32.

<sup>77</sup> *fl.* = flexus; *qui.* = quilisma; *res.* = resupinus; *sub.* = subbipunctis. The notation in Anderson does not use the slow *torculus*, *trigon*, or the cursive forms of *porrectus* and *torculus resupinus*.

### Obstacles, Limitations, and Advantages

Certain aspects of these notations present challenges to a study of regional melodic variance: first of all, these notations cannot be uniformly localised. The Anderson and Samson Pontificals are written primarily in ‘Anglo-Saxon’ notation and, since this musical script was used at almost every English house between the mid-tenth and late-eleventh centuries, their notation could have theoretically been written anywhere. The lack of any discernable house style only adds to this ambiguity. Furthermore, in all three manuscripts, although the texts of chants are written in a smaller hand, this spacing does not necessarily imply that the texts were intended to receive notation, only that they were intended to be sung, making the notations difficult to precisely date. This page layout was inherited from sacramentary manuscripts, used as far back as the eighth century, where a smaller hand is used to distinguish the sung texts from spoken prayers and rubrics.<sup>78</sup>

Although Anderson and Samson are written mostly in ‘Anglo-Saxon’ notation, Dunstan contains only ‘Breton’ neumes, which is rarer in English sources and more localised. Most surviving English examples of ‘Breton’ script cluster around the two Canterbury minsters: ‘Breton’ neumes furnish a preface in The Leofric Missal, a book augmented at Christ Church during Dunstan’s archiepiscopate, and chants for the Offices of SS Cuthbert, Benedict, and Guthlac in GB-Lbl MS Harley 1117, a late-tenth-century Christ Church miscellany.<sup>79</sup> It is, therefore, probable that Dunstan was neumed at Christ Church, Canterbury between 960-993, especially considering the comparatively large

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 23. This argument first appeared in Rankin, “Neumatic Notations,” 131.

<sup>79</sup> Orchard, *Leofric Missal*, 156-7. Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 406-7. *Handlist*, 349 (no. 427).

number of other links it has to that centre.<sup>80</sup> Kozachek's semitonal 'bi-punctum' also links Dunstan's notation to the musical sphere of Canterbury: the earliest use of this 'bi-punctum', a sign unique to Canterbury sources, is in the Dunstan Pontifical.<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, the presence of 'Breton' notation above a notated preface in Anderson and several psalm incipits in 'Samson B' suggest a connection to Canterbury, although this has been mostly ignored by those who favour Winchester attributions.<sup>82</sup>

### Methodology: Overcoming Obstacles

These obstacles aside, perhaps the most obvious difficulty in undertaking a study of the melodies in these books is that their notation is adiaستمatic, meaning they do not encode pitch consistently along the vertical axis. Although the neumes display melodic information, they do not record the pitches of individual notes, only that a note is some degree higher or lower than what preceded it. For example, while a *climacus*  $\text{f}^{\cdot}$  certainly represents three descending notes, its placement in the gamut and intervallic structure is unclear in adistematic notations. Furthermore, these notations do not record melodic movement between neumes, since the neumes themselves are not heightened in a consistent manner.<sup>83</sup> **Figure 1.5** displays the opening of the antiphon *Ornaverunt faciem templi* from the Anderson Pontifical. This passage, besides displaying traces of diastemy

---

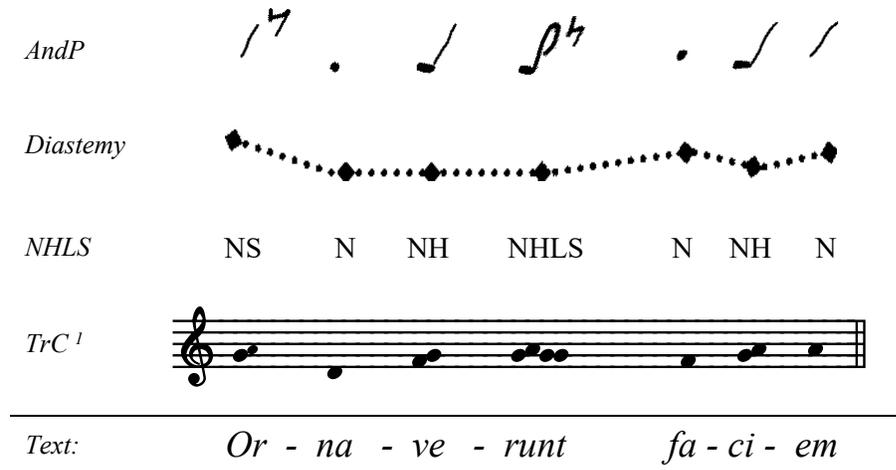
<sup>80</sup> Susan Rankin disagrees with this assessment because at least one notated addition in Dunstan was added later in conjunction with a "stately Anglo-Caroline hand", possibly at Sherborne. See Rankin, "Neumatic Notations," 141 and Rankin, "Liturgical Music," 347. Breton neumes are also found in two other Canterbury books: V-CVbav MS 204 and GB-Lbl Cotton MS Vitellius A XIX (fol. 89r); see *Handlist*, 324, 661 (nos. 401, 913).

<sup>81</sup> Kozachek, "Tonal Neumes," 140-1. As noted by Emma Hornby, the presence of Breton neumes in a fragment of a cantatorium tenuously associated with Sherborne (GB-SB MS 173) may weaken Kozachek's assertion that Dunstan was neumed at Canterbury. See Hornby "Canterbury and Brittany," 51.

<sup>82</sup> Rankin, "Liturgical Music," 347.

<sup>83</sup> Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 334.

on *ornaverunt*, does not use vertical space to display the relationship between neumes in any significant way.



**Figure 1.5** *Ornaverunt faciem templi*: pitch space and NHLS

Although the lack of pitch-specific notation has prevented a focused examination of the melodies in these pontificals, a methodology developed by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy in the study of Old Hispanic Chant allows these melodies to be converted into a more accessible format.<sup>84</sup> In this thesis I apply this methodology to the melodies in the Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson Pontificals and compare their melodic content with those of other English and continental centres. This methodology assigns each note a value: H meaning higher than the previous note, L meaning lower, S meaning same, and N meaning unknown or neutral.<sup>85</sup> **Figure 1.5** also renders the opening of *Ornaverunt faciem templi* using this methodology. By comparing the melodic reading in Anderson to a later pitched version, we can see that they are probably recording the same melody: of

<sup>84</sup> See Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013); “Fixity, Flexibility, and Compositional Process in Old Hispanic Chant,” *Music and Letters* 97 (2016): 547-74; “Melodic dialects in Old Hispanic Chant,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* (2016): 32-72.

<sup>85</sup> Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 19-20, 95.

the thirteen notes in this example (including the *orisci* on *ornaverunt*) Anderson's melody is completely compatible with the later version.

In addition to the NHLS methodology, I also provide palaeographical context for the notations in these books when necessary. This type of palaeographic work is indebted to Susan Rankin who has led the study of early English sources in recent years. I have already introduced much of this methodology in the above discussion of notation.

Although, since I am concerned with the provenance of these books, I do not examine the complexities of semiology as much as their calligraphic forms; I use this methodology primarily to distinguish the hands of individual scribes.

### Chapter Outlines

In chapter 2 of this thesis I examine the concordances of melodic variants in the Anderson Pontifical using a dataset of 21 antiphons from the church dedication *ordo*. I compare the melodies in these antiphons to those in: the Dunstan Pontifical, the source I have chosen to represent earlier Christ Church practices; the Robert Benedictional (F-R MS Y.7/369), a pontifical of the late-tenth or early-eleventh century associated with New Minster, Winchester; to several later English manuscripts; and to continental sources. This study finds that, although Anderson displays a preference for Winchester melodic variants not found in Dunstan, Anderson also retains a number of variants from Dunstan, suggesting that it might have been written at Christ Church. The preference for Winchester variants is consistent with changes occurring at Christ Church at the turn of the eleventh century: palaeographic changes attest to a shift in practice at Christ Church

towards that of Winchester. The elevation of Winchester bishops to the see of Canterbury is the likely cause of this shift, either directly or indirectly.<sup>86</sup>

In chapter 2, I also examine melodic variants in the earliest layer of the Samson Pontifical using the same set of 21 antiphons and the same comparative sources. This study finds that Samson and Anderson were probably not written at the same house: Samson's melodies retain more Canterbury variants than Anderson and it does not rely as heavily on Winchester variants. Since this runs counter to the changes occurring at Church Christ at this time (as visible in Anderson), Samson was probably neumed at Worcester, where the book spent much of the eleventh century. Samson's continental melodies show a more even split between Canterbury and Winchester variants than Anderson. The retention of these Canterbury variants may suggest that these earlier melodic readings were imported during Archbishop Dunstan's tenure as Bishop of Worcester and these melodic variants were then retained well into the eleventh century. Furthermore, an examination of 9 Insular antiphons in Samson suggests that, like other aspects of manuscript production at Worcester, musical practices were highly variable.

In chapter 3, I examine variants and chants not included in the dataset of 21 chants that nonetheless provide clues as to the origin and provenance of these pontificals. First, I posit that a textual variant in the antiphon *Mane surgens Jacob* may suggest that the Anderson Pontifical, the provenance of which is unknown until the early eighteenth century, moved to Exeter in the late eleventh century, as one of the many books collected by Bishop Leofric of Exeter. Although the presence of a single variant is not conclusive evidence in and of itself, similarities between Anderson and the Exeter Pontifical (GB-

---

<sup>86</sup> David Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 1993) 146-7.

Lbl MS add. 28188) and an examination of Leofric's Booklist (GB-Obl MS D.2.16 fols. 1r-2v and GB-EXcl 3501 fols. 1-7) suggest that such an Exeter provenance is at least possible.

In this chapter I also examine melodic variants in the antiphon *Aedificavit moyses*, an Insular antiphon unique to Canterbury's church dedication *ordo*. Melodic instability in Anderson's neumatation of this antiphon suggests that changes were occurring at Canterbury during this time, and that the scribe who neumed this antiphon in Anderson may have been unfamiliar with the antiphon. Finally, I examine the coronation antiphon *Firmetur manus tua*. Although tracing the transmission of this antiphon provides little to go on, the inclusion of an *Alleluia* extension for Eastertime in Anderson's margin may suggest that this antiphon was neumed for the episcopal ordination of Ælfric on Easter Day 995, placing the compilation of Anderson some time before 995, possibly for Æthelgar or Sigeric, between 988-994. This is perhaps the most conclusive musical evidence for more precisely dating one of these sources. These case studies are followed by a brief fourth chapter where I summarise the conclusions reached in this thesis, comment on the field of Anglo-Saxon plainchant, and discuss further avenues of exploration.

### The Significance of this Thesis

As noted in Michael Gullick and Susan Rankin's review of K.D. Hartzell's 2006 *Catalogue*, "the notation of books made in Canterbury is at one and the same time both the most unstudied and most important outstanding issue in the history of early musical notation in England."<sup>87</sup> In light of the comparatively small number of surviving Anglo-

---

<sup>87</sup> Michael Gullick and Susan Rankin, Review of *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* by K.D. Hartzell, *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 280.

Saxon liturgical manuscripts and the significant amount of music in these books, it seems inadvisable to leave the music of these books unexplored, especially considering the debates that have surrounded them over the past century and the importance of these manuscripts to the field at large: these pontificals contain some of the earliest (if not the earliest) examples of notated English music. Furthermore, the music in these books has not figured in previous debates in a major way, despite being just as relevant as their paleographic, artistic, and liturgical contents, with previous studies remaining mostly confined to musicological circles. While I cannot hope to rectify this situation in this thesis, I hope to demonstrate the value of musical evidence in re-examining the origin and provenance of medieval sources.

## Chapter 2 : The Anderson and Samson Pontificals

This chapter examines melodic variance in the Anderson and Samson Pontificals that provide clues as to where each manuscript received its musical notation. Of the three sources in this study, Anderson is the manuscript we know the least about. Besides its later history being completely unknown until the eighteenth century, assigning Anderson to an ecclesiastical centre has proved divisive for liturgists and palaeographers; it has been assigned to either Old Minster, Winchester or Christ Church, Canterbury. Furthermore, since its discovery in the stables of Brodie Castle in 1970, the musical content of Anderson has not been the subject of a study in its own right. More specifically, besides foundational work by Thomas Kozachek situating it within broader trends, Anderson's music has never been compared against other English sources of a similar pedigree with the express purpose of clarifying where it was neumed. Not unlike the Anderson Pontifical, conflicting palaeographic and liturgical evidence has resulted in the Samson Pontifical receiving several attributions to either Canterbury, Winchester, or Worcester, although it was verifiably at Worcester by the late eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

Following a brief introduction to this methodology using the church dedication antiphon *Sanctam est verum lumen*, I examine regional source concordances from 21 antiphons shared amongst four Anglo-Saxon pontificals using the NHLS methodology developed by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy. Variants in the Anderson Pontifical suggest that, although it shows clear signs of Winchester influence, Anderson retains some variants found in Dunstan, which was likely written and neumed at Christ Church. At Christ Church during this time, the increasing influence of Winchester's liturgical

---

<sup>1</sup> David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 72.

practices affected a transition away from earlier practices likely imported from Brittany.<sup>2</sup> Melodic variants found in Dunstan's neumations attest to the existence of this earlier tradition at tenth-century Canterbury. Anderson, written a generation after Dunstan, retains some of these earlier variants but also transmits many from the Robert Benedictional, written at New Minster, Winchester, suggesting that Anderson was neumed at Canterbury during this time of transition towards a music practice more influenced by those of Winchester.

Following the discussion of Anderson's variants, I use the same sources and antiphons to explore melodic variance in the Samson Pontifical. This examination finds that, although the Samson Pontifical was likely written at Canterbury around or after 1000, the majority of its notation was probably added at Worcester, where the manuscript spent much of the eleventh century. When compared to the Dunstan, Anderson and Robert Pontificals the proportionality of melodic concordances is different from all three other sources, suggesting it received its notation at neither Canterbury nor Winchester. Furthermore, the melodic tradition in the Samson Pontifical is less Winchester-centric than the Anderson Pontifical, displaying a more even distribution of Winchester and Canterbury variants, although a higher degree of melodic instability is also visible, especially in the nine antiphons of Insular origin; this melodic division and increase in melodic instability is consistent with a neumation at Worcester. Previous scholarship on artistic production at Worcester suggests that the scriptorium was more variable than

---

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of these earlier melodic practices see Emma Hornby, "Interactions Between Brittany and Canterbury," in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, eds. Emma Hornby and David Nicholas Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 56-58.

other English houses and that it lacked a distinct artistic identity, instead relying on the imitation of styles of other English centres of manuscript production.<sup>3</sup>

### Sources

Representative Canterbury and Winchester sources are essential to the success of this analysis. I have chosen the Dunstan Pontifical, being the earliest notated English pontifical associated with Christ Church, to represent mid-tenth-century practices at this house prior to the influx of Winchester practices. Dunstan, likely written *ca.* 960 to 993, is the earliest English pontifical that can be linked to Canterbury. Of the three manuscripts, Dunstan has received most attention from scholars, most of whom attribute it to Christ Church. Furthermore, the presence of Breton musical notation throughout Dunstan, considered a hallmark of tenth-century Canterbury books, indicates that it probably received most of its notation at Christ Church before its move to Sherborne.<sup>4</sup>

The Canterbury Pontifical (GB-CCC MS 44), dating from after 1020, represents later melodic developments at Canterbury between 1020 and 1050, just prior to the Norman conquest. To represent the practices of Winchester, I have chosen the Robert Benedictional (F-R MS Y.7/369).<sup>5</sup> A combined pontifical *cum* benedictional furnished with Anglo-Saxon neumes, Robert was likely written at New Minster, Winchester in the late-tenth or early-eleventh century, possibly for Æthelgar, Bishop of Winchester (964-*ca.* 988) and later Dunstan's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury (988-990).<sup>6</sup> To

---

<sup>3</sup> Richard Gameson, "Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, eds. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 233.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Kozachek, "Tonal Neumes in Anglo-Saxon Pontificals," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997): 129.

<sup>5</sup> For a text edition of this manuscript see H.A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1903).

<sup>6</sup> Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 280-1. and Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 87-88. David

represent later English melodic readings I consulted several later English manuscripts written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, as well as numerous continental sources to represent European versions spanning the tenth to thirteenth centuries. These English and continental sources are listed in **Table 2.1**<sup>7</sup>

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>RISM Siglum</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Date</i>
<b><i>Later English Sources</i></b>			
<i>Canterbury Pontifical</i>	GB-Ccc MS 44	Ca(A?)	Mid 11th
<i>Cosin Gradual</i>	GB-Dru Cosin V.v.6	CaCC	Late 11th
<i>Magdalen Pontifical</i>	GB-Omc MS Lat. 226	Ca	Early 12th
<i>Trinity College Pontifical</i>	GB-Ctc MS B.9.10	Ca	Late 12th
<i>Worcester Antiphoner</i> <sup>8</sup>	GB-WO MS F.160	Wor	Mid 13th
<i>Lansdowne Pontifical</i>	GB-Lbl Lansdowne MS 451	?London?	Early 15th
<b><i>Continental Sources</i></b>			
<i>Harker Antiphoner</i>	CH-SGs MS 391	St Gall	Mid 10th
<i>Mont-Renaud Antiphoner</i>	Private Collection <sup>9</sup>	Noyon	Late 10th
<i>St Taurin Breviary</i>	F-Pn MS Lat. 12601	Amiens	Late 11th
<i>St Maur Antiphoner</i>	F-Pn MS Lat. 12044	St Maur-des-Fossés	Early 11th
<i>St Denis Antiphoner</i>	F-Pn MS Lat. 17296	St Denis	Mid 12th
<i>Rouen Pontifical</i> <sup>10</sup>	F-Pn MS Lat. Nov. Acq. 306	Rouen	Mid 12th
<i>Sens Pontifical</i>	F-Pn MS Lat. 934	Sens	Late 12th
<i>Paris Breviary</i>	F-Pn MS Lat. 15182	Paris	Early 13th
<i>Amiens Pontifical</i>	F-AM MS 186	Amiens	Mid 13th

**Table 2.1** English and continental sources consulted in this study

Dumville believes a dating prior to *ca.* 1020 to be impossible on palaeographical grounds. See David Dumville, “On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10 (1991): 53.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Kozachek’s transcriptions of melodies in Lansdowne, Magdalen, and Amiens were consulted in lieu of full access to MSS. See Thomas Kozachek, “The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy & Ritual,” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995), 419-505.

<sup>8</sup> Facsimile in *PalMus XII*.

<sup>9</sup> Facsimile in *PalMus XVI*.

<sup>10</sup> This MS contains several chants that are not natively French but of Anglo-Saxon origin. This is fascinating in and of itself, suggesting that transmission between Rouen and England is not one way, or at least that by this point Rouen had an English pontifical in their possession. Despite this, the Anglo-Saxon chants in the Rouen MS are not considered in the following dataset.

### Limits of this Analysis

Although Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson contain over one hundred pieces of plainchant per book, only half of these chants contain musical notation; furthermore, there are only twenty-eight concordances with notation. Although I examined and compared all notated chants in these manuscripts to continental and English sources, I placed several limits on the dataset I present in this chapter, limiting it to twenty-one chants. This dataset excludes melismatic genres like alleluias, graduals, offertories, and responsories, because, although each of these genres are evenly represented in all of the pontificals, they are too melismatic to produce clear results. I also excluded chants that were either missing or unnotated in the Robert Benedictional. If a chant is partially notated in one or more sources, only the portion of the chant that is included in all sources is considered for the dataset. For example, only the opening phrase of *Ingrederere benedicte domini* is notated in Samson. In this case, only this portion found in all sources was included. If a source includes a word or phrase not found in other sources, this word or passage has been excluded, as it would artificially increase the number of unique variants in that source.

Finally, there is an instance where damage to a page in Anderson (fol. 9r) has cut off the openings of two antiphons, *Domine ad te dirigatur* and *Ecce odor filii mei*. Fortunately, the openings of these antiphons were recorded elsewhere as notated incipits (in the margin fol. 35v) which I used to supply the missing portions; however, these incipits did not provide all the missing neumes. In these two instances, the words that were not supplied by the incipits were omitted from the other sources. Similarly, chants on fol. 1 in Anderson are severely faded, likely because the book was protected by only a limp vellum binding. Although most of the notation on fol. 1 is readable, portions of the

antiphons *Pax huic domui* (notation on *pax* and *excelsa*) and *Benedic domine domum...venientium* (on *gloriae* and *tuae*) are too degraded to be read. The same is true of two antiphons in Samson: several passages in *Lapides pretiosi* (on *omnes*, *turres*, and *aedificabuntur*) and *O quam metuendus* (on *porta*) are too faded to be read. In these cases, the illegible portions have been excluded from the dataset in all sources.

### The Classification of Variants

This thesis, of course, is not the first to tackle the classification of melodic variants. David G. Hughes grouped variants into two categories: ‘trivial’ and ‘substantive.’ The following subcategories of ‘trivial’ are as follows:<sup>11</sup>

- (1) Variants that involve only the use of an ornamental neume;
- (2) Variance in rhythmic notation;
- (3) Variance in recitational passages;
- (4) Filling-in of thirds;
- (5) Redistribution of notes among syllables;
- (6) Variants that involve the semitone pairs *E-F* and *B-C*.

Hughes correctly notes that, since some notations do not precisely encode pitch, some categories (specifically nos. 4, and 6) are not visible in earlier notations. Hughes goes on to note that minor variants often appear randomly, “due to their trivial nature”, while ‘substantive’ variants are rarer and almost always regional.<sup>12</sup> There is some ambiguity in Hughes’s characterisation of melodic variance, however: although he notes that minor variants often appear randomly, he also cites examples where ‘trivial’ variants are distributed regionally.<sup>13</sup> It is for this reason that, in this thesis, I am not making a hard distinction between ‘trivial’ and ‘substantive’ variants, although some are certainly more

---

<sup>11</sup> David G. Hughes, “Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 383-4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 382, 400.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.

significant than others: changes in melodic direction,  $\dot{\curvearrowright}$  (NHH/*scandicus*) vs.  $\dot{\curvearrowleft}$  (NLL/*climacus*), are more significant than say the elongation of a figure by a single note,  $\curvearrowright$  (NH/*pes*) vs.  $\dot{\curvearrowright}$  (NHH/*climacus*). Similarly, a more elaborate variant such as  $\curvearrowright^m$  (NHLHL/*torculus res. fl.*) vs.  $\curvearrowright$  (NH/*pes*) is likely more significant than the previous two, although they both contain the same opening contour; however, melodically incompatible ones, like  $\curvearrowright$  (NL/*clivis*) vs.  $\curvearrowleft$  (NHLH/*torculus res.*), which are both more elaborate and involve a change in direction are likely more significant still. The distinction between trivial and substantive, therefore, is clearly gradient not binary as in Hughes's categorisation. In fact, most variants discussed in this thesis are those which Hughes would classify as trivial. The guiding principle for the classification of variants in this study is their distribution not their melodic impact. The significance of such variants should not be underestimated: as noted by David Hiley, "the importance of comparison of musical variants cannot be overestimated. Not only do they act as a litmus test for the relationships between sources, they constitute valuable evidence as to the mode of transmission of chant."<sup>14</sup> If we are to acknowledge that a given neumatation reflects the performance of a chant at a given institution, then all variants are substantive and subject to geographic distribution, as they reflect the inherited practices of an ecclesiastical centre at a given point in time.<sup>15</sup>

I have, however, retained some elements of Hughes's classification system in this thesis. I have not counted the variable occurrence of ornamental neumes (liquescence, quilisma, and oriscus) as a distinct variant because they do not impact the melodic

---

<sup>14</sup> David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 338.

<sup>15</sup> Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: coming to know medieval song and how it was made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 159.

contour. For example, if one source records a two-note descent with a *clivis*  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\prime}$  (NL) and another with a *pressus*,  $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\prime}$  (NSL), I have not counted this as a distinct variant, as the latter example likely indicates a repercussion of the first pitch or a special vocal effect.<sup>16</sup> The function of such ornamental neumes in Anglo-Saxon notation is worthy of study in its own regard; unfortunately, this is outside the scope of this thesis.

### *Sanctum est verum lumen & Fundamenta templi*

Before I present the findings of my larger study of 21 antiphons in the Anderson Pontifical, I would like to examine variance in two chants, *Sanctum est verum lumen* and *Fundamenta templi hujus*, to illustrate how this analysis functions and what kinds of information can be drawn from this analysis. The church dedication antiphon *Sanctum est verum lumen* is sung during the procession with relics from the relic site to the church; this designation, however, is unique to English sources. In continental manuscripts, this antiphon occurs most frequently in the Offices of All Saints, Saint Maurice, and the Common of Several Martyrs.<sup>17</sup> *Fundamenta templi*, in most Anglo-Saxon *ordines*, is one of the three chants assigned to the lustration of the church exterior.

At two points of melodic divergence in *Sanctum est*, Anderson consistently records variants found in a Winchester source, while Samson alternates between Winchester and Canterbury. **Figure 2.1** displays the first point of variance in *Sanctum est* rendered using the NHLS methodology. On the penultimate syllable of *mirabile*, labelled ‘variant A’, Anderson and Samson follow Winchester, recording a variant from the

---

<sup>16</sup> Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 359.

<sup>17</sup> Kozachek, “Dedicating Churches,” 273. It is interesting to note that the peculiar function of this antiphon in English pontificals seems to have bled over into later Sarum antiphoners: a thirteenth-century Sarum antiphoner from Barnwell (GB-Cu Mm.ii.9) and a fourteenth-century Sarum antiphoner of Welsh origin (GB-AB 20541 E). both manuscripts use this antiphon during the Feast of Relics, at Vespers.

Robert Benedictional (NH/*pes*). This variant is also recorded in The Worcester Antiphoner.<sup>18</sup> On the same syllable, Dunstan records a four-note figure (NHLL/*pes subbipunctis*) labelled ‘variant B’. This variant is also recorded in the continental St Maur Antiphoner. Of course, although it is inadvisable to claim that adiaستمatic neumations are exactly identical with one another, ‘variant B’ is likely one of Hughes’s ‘type 4’ variants, the filling-in of a third. Dunstan probably fills the third between *G-E* with descending stepwise motion, *F-G-F-E-E*, as recorded in St Maur.<sup>19</sup>

<i>MSS</i>	<i>Variant A</i>	<i>NHLS</i>	<i>MSS</i>	<i>Variant B</i>	<i>NHLS</i>
<i>SamP</i>		NH N NH...			
<i>AndP</i>		NH N NH...			
<i>RobP</i>		NH N NH...	<i>DunP</i>		NH N NHLL...
<i>Wor160</i>		NH S LH...	<i>St. Maur</i>		NH S LHLL...

**Figure 2.1** Variant on *mirabile*

Although a single variant in one chant is hardly conclusive, a pattern begins to emerge upon examination of other variants in *Sanctum est*. **Figure 2.2** displays another variant, on the final syllable of *lucem*; the source agreement here is slightly different. Anderson, again following Robert, records a *virga strata* (NS), while Samson instead follows Dunstan, recording a descending figure, (NLL/NSLL). Interestingly, Robert,

<sup>18</sup> *PalMus XII*, 398.

<sup>19</sup> Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 21.

Dunstan, and Anderson, despite recording different melodic contours, all use an *oriscus* at the same point in the melody. This may potentially suggest a familial relationship between Canterbury and Winchester sources. Unfortunately, because the precise function of the *oriscus* is unclear, this line of inquiry can be taken no further without succumbing to speculation.<sup>20</sup> Despite this, what is clear from these two small examples, is that at these two points of melodic divergence, Anderson consistently records variants found in a Winchester source, while Samson alternates between variants recorded in Winchester and Canterbury books.

<i>MSS</i>	<i>Variant A</i>	<i>NHLS</i>	<i>MSS</i>	<i>Variant B</i>	<i>NHLS</i>
<i>AndP</i>		NH NS	<i>SamP</i>		NH NLL
<i>RobP</i>		NH NS	<i>DunP</i>		NH NSLL
<i>Wor160</i>		NH SL	<i>St Maur</i>		NHL LLL

**Figure 2.2** Variant on *lu- cem*

When the melody of *Sanctum est* is examined in its entirety, a clearer picture emerges. **Figure 2.3** shows melodic variance in the Anderson's version of *Sanctum est* organised by source concordance. The first column ('Robert') records the number of instances where Anderson agrees with Robert, while the second and third columns ('Dunstan' and 'Samson') record the number of times Anderson agrees instead with Dunstan and Samson. The final three columns record the number of variants that agree with a later English source (dating from after *ca.* 1020), a continental source (but not an

<sup>20</sup> Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 359.

English one) or are unique to Anderson only. For instance, in the previous examples Anderson recorded two variants that agree with Robert (on *mirabile* and *lucem*), these variants would be counted as two concordances in the ‘Robert’ column.

<i>Source</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Dunstan</i>	<i>Samson</i>	<i>Later English</i>	<i>Cont.</i>	<i>Anderson Only</i>
# of shared variants (13)	7	5	0	0	0	1
%	53%	38%	0%	0%	0%	8%

**Figure 2.3** Variants in Anderson’s neumatation of *Sanctum est* organised by source concordance

The Anderson Pontifical, rather than recording only Winchester variants, contains elements of both Winchester and Canterbury: of the 13 points of variance in *Sanctum est*, Anderson agrees with Robert 7 times (53%) and Dunstan 5 times (38%). A single variant unique to Anderson only is also present, NLL on *laetantur*. Although variants from Dunstan are less prominent than those of Robert, the fact that they appear at all is significant. These variants do not occur at all in Robert, the only Winchester pontifical from this period that contains a significant amount of notation. Although conclusions should not be based on the analysis of a single chant, this would preliminarily suggest that Anderson was written at a location that felt the influence of both Winchester and Canterbury.

*Sanctum est* appears rather different in the Samson Pontifical, as **Figure 2.4** demonstrates. Anderson and Samson do not consistently use the same variants, nor do they use them in similar proportions. Of the 12 points of variance recorded in Samson’s version of *Sanctum est*, 7 (58%) agree with Dunstan, while 5 (41%) agree with the Robert. These figures are an exact reversal of the proportions in Anderson, which relies more heavily on material from Robert (12% more) than Dunstan (20% less). Bearing in mind that this is only a single chant, these numbers initially suggest that Anderson and

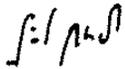
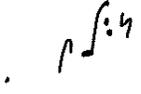
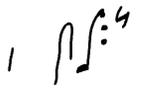
Samson may have received their notation at different ecclesiastical centres since they record a different version of the same melody.

<i>Source</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Dunstan</i>	<i>Anderson</i>	<i>Later English</i>	<i>Cont.</i>	<i>Samson Only</i>
# of shared variants (12)	5	7	0	0	0	0
%	41%	58%	0%	0%	0%	0%

**Figure 2.4** Variants in Samson’s neumatation of *Sanctum est* organised by source concordance

While the patterning of variants in the Anderson Pontifical’s version of *Sanctum est verum lumen* shows a preference for Winchester variants, variance in the church dedication antiphon *Fundamenta templi hujus* show Anderson instead aligning with Dunstan and later Canterbury books almost exclusively. Significantly, rather than the ‘trivial’ variants that characterise *Sanctum est*, one variant in *Fundamenta* is ‘substantive’ and appears to be highly regional, as displayed in **Figure 2.5**. This variant shows Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson recording a melisma that is noticeably different from the version in Robert, which records the more or less standard continental melisma shown in St Maur.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Besides St Maur this variant is recorded in the Rouen Pontifical, StG 391, two Norman sources (A-Gu MS 239 and V-CVbav Vat. Lat. 4746), and several English books: the Egberht Pontifical (F-Pn Lat. 10575), the Cosin Gradual, and Longleat, Library of the Marquess of Bath, Vol. 13, Shelf XXV. Kozachek, “Dedicating Churches,” 453-5.

<i>MSS</i>	<i>Variant A</i>	<i>NHLS</i>
<i>RobP</i>		NHLLH NLS NHL
<i>St Maur</i>	 <i>cae- li</i>	NHLL HLS LHL
----- <i>Variant B</i>		
<i>AndP</i>		N NL NHLLS
<i>SamP</i>		N NL NHLLS
<i>DunP</i>		N NL NHLLS
<i>MagP</i>	 <i>cae- li</i>	N SL HHLL

**Figure 2.5** *Caeli* variant in *Fundamenta templi hujus*

Although my search has not been exhaustive, the version of this melisma in Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson is less common than Robert’s version. Its inclusion in these three books suggests that these sources are drawing on the same musical tradition—a tradition not recorded in a Winchester source. Tellingly, this variant occurs in only one other source, the Magdalen Pontifical (GB-Omc MS Lat. 226), a twelfth-century product of one of the Canterbury minsters, either Christ Church or St Augustine’s.<sup>22</sup> In fact, this variant is only found in sources that demonstrate some connection to Canterbury. Although the presence of a single variant is not sufficient evidence for the wholesale attribution of Dunstan, Anderson, and Samson to Canterbury, the presence of this variant

<sup>22</sup> H.A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from other English Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1910), 76 and 79.

increases the likelihood that these books were neumed at a centre that was influenced in some way by the melodic traditions of Canterbury.

### Melodic Variance in the Anderson Pontifical

Although conclusions drawn from a single chant should be viewed with caution, the picture is a little clearer when examining the larger dataset of variants in 21 shared chants. **Table 2.2** compiles the total number of shared melodic variants in the Anderson Pontifical, organised by source concordance. Upon examination, it is immediately clear that, besides displaying the irregularities of an oral tradition, the melodies in Anderson are highly similar to those of the Robert Benedictional from Winchester. Of the 99 points of variance in these 21 chants, 58% of them are so-called Robert variants. This number is higher in the nine Insular antiphons, where variants from Robert are used in these chants 63% of the time.

<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Dunstan</i>	<i>Samson</i>	<i>Later English</i>	<i>Continental</i>	<i>Anderson Only</i>
<b>Insular Antiphons (9)</b>						
<i>Ab oriente porte tres</i>	3	0	0	0	-	0
<i>Domine ad te dirigatur</i>	2	0	0	1	-	0
<i>Ecce odor filii</i>	2	0	0	1	-	1
<i>Ecce tabernaculum</i>	6	1	1	0	-	1
<i>Exsurgat deus</i>	2	0	0	0	-	0
<i>Fundamentum aliud</i>	0	1	0	0	-	1
<i>Ingredere benedicte</i>	0	1	0	1	-	2
<i>Introibo ad altare</i>	1	0	0	0	-	1
<i>Pax huic domui</i>	8	1	0	0	-	0
<b>Insular Subtotal (38)</b>	24	4	1	3	-	6
<b>%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>8%</b>	-	<b>16%</b>
<b>Continental Antiphons (12)</b>						
<i>Benedic domine...venientium</i>	6	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Benedic domine...ut sint</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Benedictus es in templo</i>	2	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Erexit Jacob lapidem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Fundamenta templi hujus</i>	0	6	0	0	0	1
<i>Lapides pretiosi omnes</i>	4	0	0	1	0	0
<i>Mane surgens Jacob</i>	5	2	0	1	2	0
<i>O quam metuendus</i>	3	0	0	2	0	0
<i>Ornaverunt faciem templi</i>	0	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Sanctum est verum lumen</i>	7	5	0	0	0	1
<i>Vidit Jacob scalam</i>	4	1	0	1	0	1
<b>Continental Subtotal (61)</b>	33	15	0	6	2	5
<b>%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>8%</b>
<b>Total Variants (99)</b>	57	19	1	9	2	11
<b>%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>8%</b>

**Table 2.2** Variance in 21 antiphons in the Anderson Pontifical organised by source concordance

When Anderson is compared to Dunstan, our constituent Canterbury source, these figures are noticeably lower, with Anderson using Dunstan variants 19% of the time, although this number is higher in continental antiphons at 25%. These are by no means insignificant figures, especially when considering the limits of this data set: not all chants were able to be considered because they are either too melismatic or not consistently notated in all sources. As noted during the case study *Sanctum est verum lumen*, that

these Dunstan variants appear at all is significant. Had Anderson's notation been added at Winchester these variants would likely not appear at all, since they are absent in the Robert Benedictional, the only extant Winchester pontifical written around the turn of the eleventh century that contains a significant amount of notation.<sup>23</sup>

The relatively low number of concordances between Anderson and Dunstan is consistent with what we know about changes at Christ Church around the turn of the eleventh century: between 988 and 1012 Æthelgar (980-988) and Ælfheah (1006-1012), both previously bishops of Winchester, were elevated to the Archiepiscopate and held that position for fourteen years, non-consecutively. Significantly, a palaeographic change coincides with their episcopates: 'Style I' Anglo-Caroline script, cultivated at houses reformed by Æthelwold, notably Winchester, gradually appears more regularly in works produced at Christ Church, eventually replacing the 'Style II' script altogether, although it continued to be written at St Augustine's until the 1040s.<sup>24</sup> This shift in practice is further attested to by the importation of Winchester books to Canterbury in the early eleventh century: several eleventh-century pontificals used at Canterbury lacked benedictional portions and at least one Winchester benedictional (F-Pnm Lat. 987) was probably imported and augmented for use at Canterbury.<sup>25</sup> Evidently, this transition extended to musical matters as well. The lower proportion of Dunstan variants in the Anderson Pontifical and the higher proportion of Winchester ones suggests that Anderson

---

<sup>23</sup> GB-Cssc MS 100 (Δ.5.15, pt. ii) contains 14 folios from tenth-century pontifical sometimes attributed Old Minster, Winchester, Ramsey, or Durham. The later provenance of the manuscript verifiably belonging to the latter. Unfortunately, the music for the church dedication does not survive in this volume. See *Handlist*, 141 (no. 155); Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 75; J. Brückmann, "Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales," *Traditio* 29 (1973): 410.

<sup>24</sup> David Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 146-7.

<sup>25</sup> David Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 92-3.

was neumed at Christ Church between 988 and 1012, during this time of transition toward a more Winchester-centric practice.<sup>26</sup>

### Melodic Variance in the Samson Pontifical

While the proportions of melodic variance in the Anderson Pontifical suggests a neumatation at Canterbury during a time of increased Winchester influence, variance in the Samson Pontifical suggests a neumatation elsewhere. The following examination concludes that Samson was not neumed at Winchester or Canterbury, rather it was probably neumed at Worcester. Furthermore, the proportions of the melodic variants in Samson suggest that musical practices were highly variable and that the house lacked a distinct musical identity, instead relying on the melodic readings of other houses like Winchester and Canterbury. These findings parallel other aspects of manuscript production at eleventh-century Worcester.

This analysis uses the same 21 antiphons cited earlier and follows the same practices, excluding elaborately melismatic chants genres and chants that are either missing or not notated in one of the four sources. Furthermore, although antiphons that are partially notated in one or more sources but fully notated in another have been included, only the portions of these antiphons that occur in all four sources are examined. However, due to Samson's additive status, chants in this dataset are only taken from the earliest section of 'Samson B', the layer of contested attribution. There are two antiphons, *Pax huic domui* and *Exsurgat deus nostri*, that are notated in both 'Samson A' (pp.1-60) and 'Samson B.' In these cases, the 'Samson A' versions have been excluded from this

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 92. My dating of the Anderson Pontifical to this period based on its melodic characteristics agrees with David Dumville's dating of the MS based on liturgical and palaeographical content. In chapter 3 of this thesis I present evidence that allows for more precision in the dating of the Anderson Pontifical, showing that Anderson likely dates from between 988 and 995.

analysis, since it is verifiably from Worcester, between 1096 and 1112. Although an examination of the differences between the ‘A’ and ‘B’ versions of these two antiphons is an intriguing avenue for exploration, it has been omitted from this discussion.

**Table 2.3** compiles the total number of variants from 21 chants in ‘Samson B’, organised by source concordance. These figures depict an altogether different situation than found in the Anderson Pontifical, suggesting that these manuscripts were not neumed at the same location. Of the 99 points of variance, ‘Samson B’ shows less influence from Winchester, recording a melodic variant found in Robert benedictional 41% of the time—17% less than Anderson’s 58%—and retains more Canterbury variants from the Dunstan Pontifical at 33%—14% more than Anderson’s 19%.

<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Dunstan</i>	<i>Anderson</i>	<i>Later English</i>	<i>Continental</i>	<i>Samson Only</i>
<b>Insular Antiphons (9)</b>						
<i>Ab oriente porte tres</i>	1	2	0	0	-	0
<i>Domine ad te dirigitur</i>	1	1	0	0	-	1
<i>Ecce odor filii</i>	2	1	0	0	-	1
<i>Ecce tabernaculum</i>	7	3	1	0	-	3
<i>Exsurgat deus</i>	2	0	0	0	-	0
<i>Fundamentum aliud</i>	1	0	0	0	-	0
<i>Ingredere benedicte</i>	0	1	0	0	-	0
<i>Introibo ad altare</i>	0	0	0	1	-	4
<i>Pax huic domui</i>	5	1	0	0	-	5
<b>Insular Subtotal (44)</b>	19	9	1	1	-	14
<b>%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	-	<b>32%</b>
<b>Continental Antiphons (12)</b>						
<i>Benedic domine...venientium</i>	1	4	0	0	0	0
<i>Benedic domine...ut sint</i>	1	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Benedictus es in templo</i>	0	3	0	0	0	0
<i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Erexit Jacob lapidem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Fundamenta templi hujus</i>	3	4	0	2	0	1
<i>Lapides pretiosi omnes</i>	3	1	0	1	0	0
<i>Mane surgens Jacob</i>	4	1	0	0	0	0
<i>O quam metuendus</i>	1	1	0	2	0	1
<i>Ornaverunt faciem templi</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sanctum est verum lumen</i>	5	7	0	0	0	0
<i>Vidit Jacob scalam</i>	4	2	0	2	0	0
<b>Continental Subtotal (55)</b>	22	24	0	7	0	2
<b>%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>4%</b>
<b>Total Variants (99)</b>	41	33	1	8	0	16
<b>%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>16%</b>

**Table 2.3** Variance in the Samson Pontifical organized by source concordance

Although both the Anderson Pontifical and ‘Samson B’ were likely written at Canterbury around the same time (around the turn of the eleventh century) if ‘Samson B’ had received its notation at Canterbury, one would expect it, the likely later manuscript, to transmit a similar if not slightly larger number of Winchester variants, as the influence from that centre was more routinely subsumed into Canterbury’s practice.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, if

<sup>27</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 77.

‘Samson B’ had been neumed at Canterbury *ca.* 1000, one would expect the number of Dunstan variants to decrease as this Winchester influence was incorporated. Although the figures in Anderson illustrate this transition (58% Winchester and 19% Canterbury), the fact that the opposite is true of ‘Samson B’ (41% Winchester and 33% Canterbury) suggests that it did not receive its notation at Canterbury. Furthermore, although it has been suggested on liturgical grounds that ‘Samson B’ was written at Winchester, the high number of concordances with Dunstan precludes this possibility, as it does with Anderson.<sup>28</sup> Since these variants do not appear at all in the Robert Benedictional and ‘Samson B’ includes more of these variants than Anderson, a Winchester origin is unlikely.

There is only one logical conclusion, then: although the text of ‘Samson B’ was probably written at Canterbury, its notation was probably not added there; the proportions of its melodic variants, are a complete reversal of those in Anderson, the earlier of the two books. Since an origin at Winchester can be ruled out on similar grounds (because Dunstan’s variants are not found in Robert), the Samson Pontifical likely received its notation elsewhere. The only reasonable suggestion is that ‘Samson B’ received the majority of its notation at Worcester, as the later provenance of the manuscript clearly belongs to that centre; several references to Bishop Samson (Bishop of Worcester, 1096-1112) and *Wigornensis* in ‘Samson A’ attest to its residence at that house in the late eleventh century.

Although these proportions point to a neumatation at Worcester, it is presently difficult to tell whether the notation in ‘Samson B’ was added between 1096 and 1112,

---

<sup>28</sup> This origin was first advanced by Neil Ker on the basis of liturgical texts in Neil R. Ker. This theory was maintained by J. Brückmann and Mildred Budney, and more recently by Nicholas Orchard.

when the manuscript received its A and C sections, or before this time. However, since the scribes who provided the notation for the later sections ('A' and 'C') did not provide the notation for 'Samson B' section, the notation in 'Samson B' may have been added earlier.<sup>29</sup> There is at least some musical evidence in 'Samson B' that supports a pre-1096 neumatation. Similarities between the notation in 'Samson B', specifically in the masses for the dedication and re-consecration of a church (pp.84-7 and pp.96-8), and the notation in the Wulfstan Portiforium (GB-Ccc MS 391), written at Worcester in the 1060s, may suggest that 'Samson B' was neumed in the 1060s. 'Samson B' and the Wulfstan Portiforium both occasionally use the looped forms of the *porrectus*, *torculus resupinus*, written  and . This is not conclusive, however, as this looped form, although uncommon, is found in both the Lanalet Pontifical (F-R MS A.27/368), another early-eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon pontifical of uncertain origin, although it may have been written in the Southwest of England; and the first Winchester troper (GB-Ccc MS 473).<sup>30</sup>

### The Musical Traditions of Eleventh-Century Worcester

Despite being unable to provide a more precise date for this notation, further insights can be gained about the nature of the musical traditions at eleventh-century Worcester. The proportionally large number of 'Samson only' variants transmitted in Samson's Insular melodies parallels other aspects of manuscript production at Worcester.

---

<sup>29</sup> The hands that notated 'Samson A' and 'C' do appear periodically in 'Samson B', usually as marginal additions. The hands of 'Samson A' and 'C', however, did not provide the notation for the body proper of 'Samson B.'

<sup>30</sup> Susan Rankin, "Some Reflections on Music at Late Anglo-Saxon Worcester," in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, eds. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 342 and Alejandro Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, Vol.1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 62. Lanalet has been alternatively assigned to St Germans or Wells, although its later provenance belongs to Crediton. Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 86 and *Handlist*, 667 (no. 992).

**Table 2.3** also shows melodic variance in the 9 Insular antiphons. These melodies in ‘Samson B’ contain a larger number of variants unique to only that manuscript, at 32%; a twofold increase over Anderson’s 16% in the same 9 antiphons. If we are to understand a given neumatation of a chant as a representation of a performance, then performance of these melodies was more variable at Worcester than at Canterbury or Winchester.<sup>31</sup>

A lack of standardisation has been noted in other aspects of manuscript production at Worcester, where stylistic variance in manuscript production seems to have been the rule rather than the exception.<sup>32</sup> Regarding the notational practices at eleventh-century Worcester, Susan Rankin notes that a lack of concern for detail is discernible in the hands of scribes who seemed content to rely on the oral tradition for performance details, often paying little attention to vertical pitch space.<sup>33</sup> This lack of concern for detail extended to melodies, as well, accounting for the high number of variants in Samson’s Insular melodies that are unique to Samson alone.

When the more variable Anglo-Saxon antiphons are omitted from the larger dataset, leaving only the 12 continental antiphons, a remarkably even distribution of Canterbury and Winchester variants is visible in Samson’s melodies, also shown in **Table 2.3**. This distribution further parallels other aspects of manuscript production at Worcester. In these melodies, the Samson Pontifical transmits 22 (40%) variants found in the Robert benedictional (Winchester), and 24 (44%) found in the Dunstan Pontifical (Canterbury). These figures, again, are in remarkable contrast to those of the Anderson

---

<sup>31</sup> Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 159.

<sup>32</sup> Gameson, “Book Production at Worcester,” 228. Gameson insightfully acknowledges the presence of a circular argument inherent in the conception of Anglo-Saxon house-style. Generally, the diverse output of an ecclesiastical centre appears more standardised than it actually is and is based on the notion that a scribe’s output would belong to only one institution.

<sup>33</sup> Rankin, “Music at Worcester,” 342-43.

Pontifical, which, in the same 12 antiphons, transmits Winchester variants 54% of the time and Canterbury variants 25% of the time.

Besides demonstrating that the Anderson and Samson Pontificals could not have been neumed at the same house, the even distribution of Winchester and Canterbury variants in the Samson Pontifical parallels other aspects of manuscript production at the Worcester scriptorium. Richard Gameson notes that Worcester, lacking the concentrated initiative of any particularly talented scribes, relied instead on creating a pastiche of the style of other houses, namely Canterbury and Winchester.<sup>34</sup> Gameson also notes that this is especially evident in the illuminated initials of a late-eleventh-century *passional* (GB-Lbl Cotton MS Nero E.1, fol. 55v) produced at Worcester, shown in **Figure 2.6**.<sup>35</sup> When compared to a tenth-century copy of Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis* (GB-Lbl Royal 5 E XI fol. 7), produced at Canterbury a generation earlier, the similarities are striking. Both place a lion's head midway up the stem of the *R*, an eagle's head in the bowl, and decorate the lower legs with foliage and foxes' heads. This retention of Canterbury-style decoration parallels musical practices: melodic variants from the Dunstan Pontifical were retained at Worcester well into the eleventh century, despite having been replaced at Canterbury by Winchester versions of the same melodies.

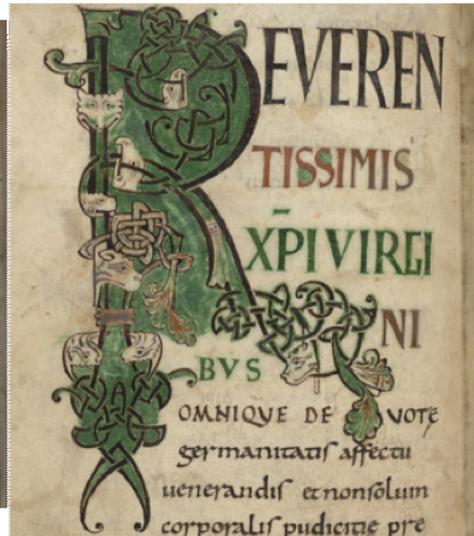
---

<sup>34</sup> Gameson, "Book Production at Worcester," 231-33.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 220 and pl. 8.



*Passional*  
Late-eleventh-century Worcester.  
(Cotton MS Nero E 1/1 f.55v)



*De laudibus virginis*  
Late-tenth-century Canterbury  
(Royal 5 E XI f.7v)

**Figure 2.6** Decorated initials in Worcester and Canterbury manuscripts

It is an attractive proposition to suggest that these earlier melodies may have been brought to Worcester during Dunstan's tenure as bishop of Worcester between 957 and 959. This would then suggest that the melodic versions present in the Dunstan Pontifical are not Canterbury versions *per se*, but rather vestiges of the musical practices of Glastonbury during Dunstan's abbacy between 940 and *ca.* 957 and that these melodic readings were subsequently imported to Worcester and Canterbury before finally being neumed in the Dunstan pontifical.<sup>36</sup> These connections, however tenuous, would certainly account for the higher percentage of variants shared between the Dunstan and Samson Pontificals. It is similarly likely that these melodic versions survived at Worcester because Worcester did not experience the same regularising force in the form of

<sup>36</sup> The precise date that Dunstan ceased to be Abbot of Glastonbury is not known; he may have relinquished this position when he became bishop of Worcester in 957. See David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera C.M. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940–1216*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), I, 50.

Archbishops from Winchester that Canterbury did in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries.

### Summative Remarks

Variance in a data set of 21 chants recorded in the Anderson, Dunstan, Samson, and Robert Pontificals suggests that the Anderson Pontifical, although it contains a considerable number of variants present in the Robert Benedictional (56%), also contains a significant number of variants found in Dunstan Pontifical (21%) but not in Robert. This strongly suggests that the Anderson Pontifical received its notation while still at Canterbury, as these variants would not be present at all had the manuscript been neumed at Winchester. Rather than suggest an origin at Winchester, the high proportions of Winchester variants in the Anderson Pontifical are completely consistent with changes occurring at Canterbury in late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries: two Winchester bishops, Æthelgar and Ælfheah, held the position of Archbishop of Canterbury for fourteen years, nonconsecutively. Because of this, it is likely the Anderson Pontifical was neumed at Canterbury during their tenure, between 988 and 1012. This date range agrees with previous assessments made by David Dumville based on palaeographic evidence.

Although the textual portion of ‘Samson B’ was likely written at Canterbury in the first half of the eleventh century, its notation certainly belongs to Worcester, where the manuscript was extensively revised in the late eleventh century. The proportionality of melodic variants in the ‘Samson B’ shows a melodic tradition that is distinct from that of Anderson, Dunstan, and Robert, ruling out the possibility that it received its notation at either Canterbury or Winchester. Furthermore, although dating this notation of ‘Samson B’ with any more precision than between 1060 and 1112 is not possible, this study does provide some insight into the musical practices of Worcester during this time. The high

number of unique variants ('Samson Only') in the Samson Pontifical's Insular melodies parallel similar findings regarding scribal practices at eleventh-century Worcester, which seems to have been more variable than other centres. Similarly, the retention of a large number of Canterbury variants parallel artistic developments at Worcester which relied on subsuming the influence of other centres of manuscript production like Canterbury and Winchester. Moreover, the retention of these Canterbury variants may suggest an earlier origin for the melodies of the Dunstan Pontifical. The melodies in the Dunstan Pontifical may represent the melodic practices of Glastonbury that were imported to Worcester and later to Canterbury during Dunstan's tenure as bishop and Archbishop of both houses in the middle of the tenth century.

### Chapter 3 : Three Case Studies

Admittedly, the numbers in Chapter 2's dataset do not tell the whole story, as they emphasise certain variants and obscure others. Furthermore, almost half of the notated chants in these manuscripts are omitted from this dataset due to inconsistent notation and differing rites. This chapter presents and examines textual, notational, and melodic variants in three antiphons excluded from the previous dataset. These antiphons provide further clues as to where they received their notation and their subsequent provenance after they were written.

First, I examine the church dedication antiphon, *Mane surgens Jacob*. A text variant in this antiphon, present in only the Anderson, Dunstan, and Exeter Pontificals, suggests that these manuscripts are closely related to each other. Besides connecting Anderson and Dunstan to Canterbury, this text variant may suggest that Anderson moved to Exeter during the episcopate of Leofric in the late eleventh century. This hypothesis is supported by previous research which notes the similarities between Canterbury's church dedication rite, present in the Anderson pontifical, and that of Exeter. Following this examination, I discuss melodic variance in Anderson's neumatation of the dedication antiphon *Aedificavit moyses*. Variants in this antiphon suggests that musical practices changed at Canterbury in the late-tenth and early-eleventh century. The setting in the Anderson Pontifical transmits a greater number of variants unique to Anderson only, suggesting that the scribe was unfamiliar with the melody, and may have been from Winchester, where this melody was not used in the church dedication service. Finally, I examine the English coronation antiphon, *Firmetur manus tua*, with the aim of more precisely localising the neumatation and manufacture of the Dunstan and Anderson Pontificals. I argue that, although this antiphon certainly had other uses, the chronology

of its secondary use in episcopal and archiepiscopal ordinations rules out its appearance in the Dunstan Pontifical for anything but a coronation. Furthermore, because copies of the coronation *ordo* outside Canterbury never include notation, this increases the likelihood that Dunstan's *ordo* was neumed specifically for a coronation, as a bishop from any other ecclesiastical centre would never conceivably consecrate an English monarch.<sup>1</sup> Finally, and perhaps most significantly, although dating the notation in the Anderson Pontifical is more difficult than that of Dunstan, the inclusion of an Easter *Alleluia* extension suggests that Anderson was used for the elevation of Ælfric as Archbishop of Canterbury on Easter day, 995.

#### *Mane Surgens Jacob: Connections Between Canterbury and Exeter*

The church dedication antiphon, *Mane surgens Jacob*, assigned to the unction of the altar in most English and continental dedication *ordos*, displays a unique point of textual and melodic concordance where the word, *discens*, appears in the antiphon's text:

**Text Variant A:** ...*votum vovit domino vere locus*...

**Text Variant B:** ...*votum vovit domino **discens** vere locus*...

This variant, displayed in **Figure 3.1**, is present in only three English sources written between *ca.* 960 and *ca.* 1072: Anderson, Dunstan, and the Exeter pontifical (GB-Lbl Add. MS 28188, fol. 21v).<sup>2</sup> Because this text variant first occurs in the Dunstan Pontifical, this suggests that two remaining sources were derived from the same, tenth-

---

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that there is one recorded instance of a bishop from outside Canterbury presiding over a coronation. Bishop Maurice of London crowned Henry I on August 5th, 1105; during this time, Archbishop Anselm had been exiled by William Rufus in 1097.

<sup>2</sup> This variant also occurs in one later English source, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.vi.1, a fifteenth-century pontifical later owned by Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York (1507-1511). Although the connection to this later source is unclear, this variant is clearly uncommon, if not unique to these three pontificals in England during the tenth and sixteenth centuries. See W.G. Henderson, *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Publications of the Surtees Society 61 (Durham: Andrews, 1875), 127.

century Canterbury dedication *ordo*. Both the Dunstan and Anderson Pontificals neume this word identically (NH N/*pes+punctum*), strengthening the connection between these two sources. Since this variant does not occur in the Robert Benedictional’s version of the dedication *ordo*, this leaves Canterbury as the logical place of origin for the Anderson Pontifical, since *discens* is part of the manuscript’s original text layer.



**Figure 3.1** *Discens* variant in the *Mane surgens Jacob*

The presence of the same variant in the Exeter pontifical, which unfortunately contains no notation, complicates matters; however, this concordance may indirectly illuminate the subsequent provenance of the Anderson Pontifical, suggesting that it may have moved to Exeter. It is known that, during his tenure as bishop of Exeter between 1050 and 1072, Leofric amassed a substantial number of books, approximately sixty-six, including several imported from Canterbury, for use at Exeter.<sup>3</sup> For example, the Leofric missal, believed to have been imported from the northeast of France between 890 and 923

<sup>3</sup> Susan Rankin, “From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 100-102.

and supplemented at Canterbury during the last quarter of the century, was subsequently moved to Exeter during Leofric's episcopate. An *ex libris* on fol. 1r, possibly in Leofric's own hand, attests to this movement:

“Hunc missalem Leofricus episcopus dat ecclesie sancti petri apostoli in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suorum.”

(Bishop Leofric gives this missal to the Church of Saint Peter the Apostle in Exeter for the service of his successors).<sup>4</sup>

Since the only other appearance of *discens* in this antiphon outside Anderson and Dunstan is the Exeter pontifical, it is possible that Leofric acquired a pontifical from Canterbury, possibly Anderson, in the late eleventh century that recorded this text variant and that this Canterbury manuscript was consulted during the manufacture of the Exeter pontifical.

A careful examination of Leofric's booklist (GB-Obl MS D.2.16 fols. 1r-2v and GB-EXcl 3501 fols. 0-7) hints at the existence of a pontifical or benedictional that remains unaccounted for at Exeter in the late eleventh century; this missing manuscript could be the Anderson Pontifical. Leofric's donation list, surviving in two contemporary copies, bequeaths numerous liturgical manuscripts and ecclesiastical furnishings to Exeter cathedral.<sup>5</sup> The contents of this booklist, shown in **Figure 3.2**, notes that Leofric donated one *deorwyðe blestingboc* (valuable blessing book) and three other (*oðre*),

---

<sup>4</sup> F.E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the episcopate of its first bishop, A.D. 1050-1072; together with some account of the Red book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and a few other early MS service books of the English Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), 1. It has been argued by Richard Lapidge that, because the verb *dat* is in the present tense, the manuscript may have moved to Exeter during Leofric's lifetime. The Leofric missal has a complex history, receiving several substantial additions throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries. Nicholas Orchard convincingly argues in his 2002 edition of the Leofric Missal that it was likely in Canterbury by 930 and was subject to alteration during Dunstan's archiepiscopate (960-988). For a summation of these arguments see Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 72-7 and 136-8.

<sup>5</sup> The latter version was originally part of GB-Cu MS li.2.11. For a text edition see Michael Lapidge, “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. Mary P. Richards (London: Routledge, 1994), 132-139.

presumably less valuable blessing-books, to Exeter's cathedral library. The term *blestingboc* likely describes a pontifical, benedictional, or a combined pontifical-benedictional. Although the analogous term *halgungboc* suggests a semantic distinction between a pontifical (*halgungboc*) and a benedictional (*blestingboc*), these two words seem to be used interchangeably, as *halgungboc* is used to describe at least one surviving combined pontifical-benedictional, GB-Lbl Claudius A. iii. Finally, the use of *blestingboc* in Leofric's booklist must describe at least one pontifical, since Leofric would have certainly required one for his duties as bishop.<sup>6</sup>

<i>Manuscripts Containing Music</i>	<i>Other Liturgical Manuscripts</i>	
<b>2 full mass-books</b>		1 collectary
2 full songs-books		2 mass epistolaries
1 antiphonary for the nocturnal hours		2 (likely Gallican) psalters
1 gradual		1 Roman psalter
1 troper		1 English gospel
2 office hymnals		2 summer Office books
<b>1 valuable pontifical/benedictional</b> ( <i>deorwyðe bletsingboc</i> )		1 winter Office book
<b>3 other pontificals/benedictionals</b> ( <i>oðre</i> )		1 full homiliary for Winter and Summer
Possible Source Correspondences		
<i>1 valuable pontifical/benedictional</i>	<i>3 pontifical/benedictionals</i>	<i>2 Mass-books</i>
Exeter pontifical	Ramsey Pontifical; Vitellius E. XII; <b>?Anderson pontifical?</b>	Leofric Missal

**Figure 3.2** Items in Leofric's Booklist

While the valuable blessing-book referred to in the booklist is likely the Exeter Pontifical, assigning extant Exeter sources to the remaining three *oðre* blessing-books is problematic. One of these could be the Ramsey Pontifical (GB-Lbl Cotton Vitellius A. VII), an eleventh-century pontifical that contains additions by Exeter scribes, although its

<sup>6</sup> Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 131.

attribution to Exeter is not entirely certain, as an argument for a attribution to Ramsey in the 1030s has been made, as well.<sup>7</sup> Two other manuscripts, the Leofric Missal and Cotton Vitellius E. XII, since they both contain pontifical elements and Exeter additions, are also candidates for the three *oðre* books. It is, however, more likely that the Leofric Missal is one of the two *fulle mæssebec* (full mass-books) referred to in the booklist.<sup>8</sup> If the Leofric Missal was indeed considered one of the mass-books cited in the booklist and not one of the *oðre* books, this would leave one manuscript, a third *oðre* pontifical *cum* benedictional, unaccounted for. Therefore, it is possible that Anderson, whose movements are unknown after 1000, was one of the *oðre* books given to Leofric and used at Exeter during the compilation of the Exeter pontifical.

Admittedly, the occurrence of a single word in a single antiphon does not make a convincing argument for placing the Anderson Pontifical at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate; however, liturgical evidence also supports this claim. Patrick Conner suggests that "[the Exeter pontifical] may have been copied from another book which derived directly or indirectly from the tradition of Æthelwold's own benedictional from Winchester."<sup>9</sup> The Anderson Pontifical fits the bill in this respect, as the benedictional portion of the Anderson Pontifical is based on Æthelwold's benedictional.<sup>10</sup> Further similarities arise between the Anderson and Exeter pontificals in the structure of the

---

<sup>7</sup> David Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 64.

<sup>8</sup> Susan Rankin, "From Memory to Record," 112. In her appendix, Rankin lists the Leofric missal as a "missal and pontifical." It could, therefore, correspond to one of the four manuscripts in Leofric's donation list. In the body of her text, however, she notes that the Leofric missal likely corresponds to one of the two full mass books.

<sup>9</sup> Patrick Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 43.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Prescott, "The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals," *The British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 121. The Exeter pontifical adds 170 new blessings to its benedictional portion; I speculate that this could have been the impetus for creation of a new pontifical for Exeter.

church dedication *ordo*: the dedication *ordo* in the Exeter Pontifical is a revised version of the Canterbury *ordo*.<sup>11</sup> For example, both the Anderson and Exeter pontificals use virtually identical rubrics to introduce *Mane surgens Jacob*:<sup>12</sup>

**Exeter:** “Finita oratione mittat iterum oleum similiter sicut prius canendo hanc antiphonam.”

(With the prayer having been finished, let [the celebrant] similarly throw the oil, just as before whilst singing this antiphon.)

**Anderson:** Finita oratione mittat iterum oleum similiter sicut prius.

(With the prayer having been finished, let [the celebrant] similarly throw the oil, just as before.)

Thomas Kozachek, also observing these similarities, notes that both pontificals use the antiphon *Aedificavit moyses* for the second unction of the altar.<sup>13</sup> This antiphon is absent in Winchester sources of the dedication *ordo*, specifically the Robert Benedictional, but is found in the Dunstan Pontifical, betraying the Canterbury lineage of the dedication *ordos* in the Anderson and Exeter Pontificals. Furthermore, both Anderson and Exeter include an uncommon rubric for the unction of the church walls, should they be made of wood:<sup>14</sup>

**Exeter:** “Si vero lignea fuerit canatur hanc antiphonam.”

(But if the church is wooden, this antiphon should be sung.)

**Anderson:** “Si vero lignea fuerit. Hec canatur. antiphona.”

(But if the church is wooden, this antiphon should be sung.)

This rubric is absent from Canterbury sources that predate and postdate the Anderson Pontifical, the Dunstan and Canterbury Pontificals (GB-Ccc MS 44), respectively, which

---

<sup>11</sup> Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 228-30.

<sup>12</sup> GB-Lbl Add. 28188 fol. 21v and GB-Lbl Add. 57337 fol. 7v.

<sup>13</sup> Kozachek, “The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy & Ritual,” PhD diss., Harvard University, 319. Kozachek notes, however, that the Anderson and Exeter pontificals assign different antiphons for this action: Anderson assigns *Qui regis Israel intende*, while the Exeter assigns *Vidit Jacob scalam*.

<sup>14</sup> GB-Lbl Add. 28188 fol. 23r and GB-Lbl 57337 fol. 8v.

suggests that Anderson or a remarkably similar Canterbury pontifical was consulted during the compilation of the Exeter Pontifical.<sup>15</sup>

The inclusion of *discens* in *Mane surgens Jacob*, as well as further liturgical similarities, increase the likelihood that the Anderson Pontifical or another remarkably similar early-eleventh-century pontifical from Canterbury was used as a model during the creation of the Exeter's revised dedication *ordo*. Unfortunately, this theory cannot be advanced further in this thesis, as the Exeter pontifical contains no notation. Furthermore, since the Anderson Pontifical's first gathering is imperfect (missing several folios in its present state), there is no hope of finding a smoking gun, like an Exeter *ex libris*.

Unravelling the later provenance of the Anderson Pontifical may come from further palaeographic study of one of the many glosses in the Anderson Pontifical. I observe that the hand that wrote the glosses for the ordination of a bishop (fols. 46r-50r) bears a resemblance to the style of Anglo-Caroline script, described by T.A.M. Bishop as the "Exeter norm."<sup>16</sup> This is especially evident in the formation of the *g* on fol. 47r, where the initial stroke of the bowl is at an acute angle, and the ampersand on fol. 46r, which features a final tick on its last stroke.<sup>17</sup> I cannot, however, advance this theory further in this thesis without significant digression.

#### *Aedificavit moyses* and Changes at Turn of the Century Christ Church

The church dedication antiphon *Aedificavit moyses*, although not included in the earlier dataset, is unique to the Canterbury *ordo* and, therefore, depicts the nature of the melodic changes occurring at turn of the century Canterbury hinted at by the earlier

---

<sup>15</sup> Kozachek, "Dedicating Churches," 319.

<sup>16</sup> T.A.M. Bishop, "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part II and III: manuscripts Connected with Exeter," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1955): 192-9.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Lapidge, "Ealdred of York and MS Cotton Vitellius E XII" in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 465.

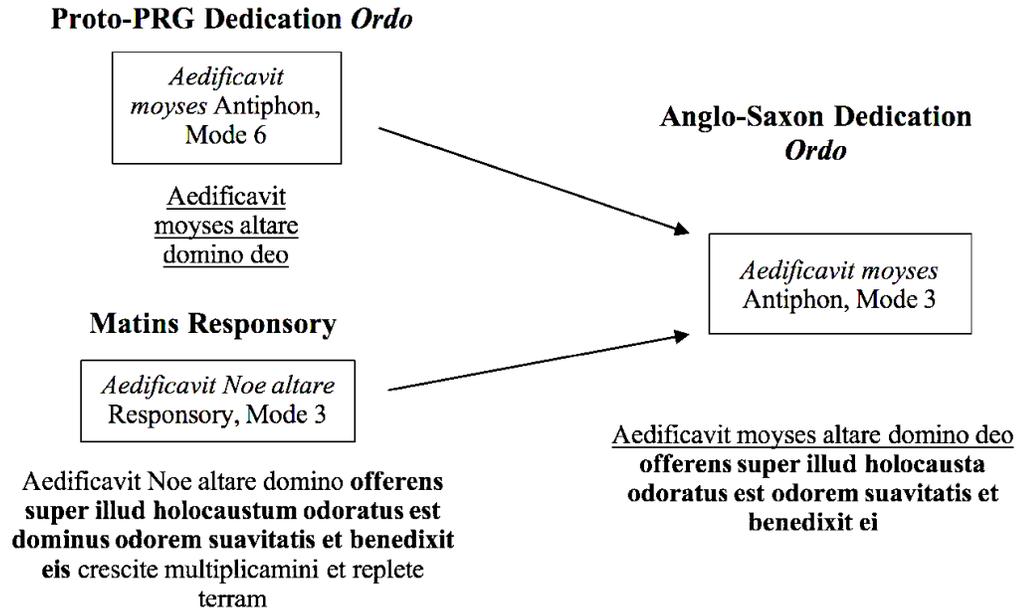
dataset. Several variants in Anderson's version of *Aedificavit moyses* occur only in Anderson, which may suggest that the scribe who notated it was unfamiliar with the melody and, therefore, may have been from Winchester. Melodic patterns in this antiphon show a disconnect between the Dunstan Pontifical, which transmits earlier variants, and the Canterbury Pontifical (GB-Ccc MS 44) where different variants are recorded. Anderson and Samson, however, seem stuck in the middle of this transition, retaining some elements from Dunstan, while also clearly resembling the later version in the Canterbury Pontifical.

Although the melody of *Aedificavit moyses* appears in only English sources, its text and liturgical function has continental connections; the derivation of the text is shown in **Figure 3.3**. An antiphon with the same opening text, *Aedificavit moyses altare domine deo*, first appears in a collection of proto-Romano-Germanic *ordines* where it is similarly used for the unction of the altar, albeit with a mode 6 melody in pitched sources.<sup>18</sup> The Anglo-Saxon antiphon augments this text by fusing it with the text of the mode 3 Matins responsory, *Aedificavit Noe altare*, used on Quinquagesima and Sexagesima Sunday.<sup>19</sup> The text of this responsory makes up the rest of the Anglo-Saxon setting: "...offerens super illud holocausta odoratus est dominus odorem suavitatis et benedixit ei."

---

<sup>18</sup> Kozachek, "Dedicating Churches," 29.

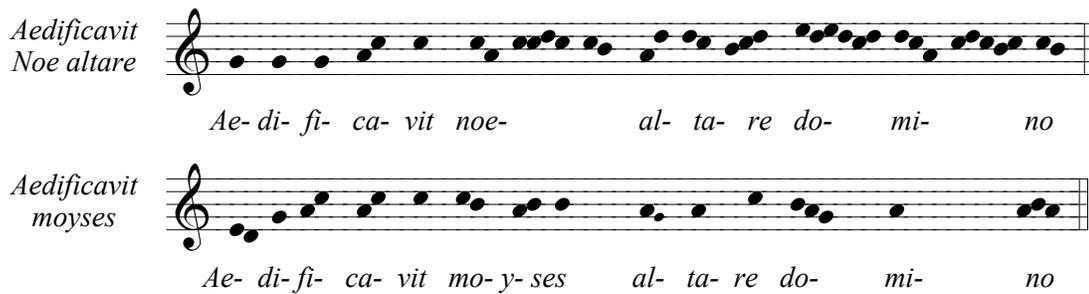
<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 308. This responsory is used for the church dedication night office in a twelfth-century antiphoner (I-Far) written in Florence. This may suggest a connection between the Italian and Anglo-Saxon dedication *ordos*. For further connections between the Anglo-Saxon church dedication repertory and Italy see *Ibid.*, 336-7.



**Figure 3.3** Text derivation of *Aedificavit moyses*

This fusion seems to have extended to music as well, as the melody of the Anglo-Saxon *Aedificavit moyses* and *Aedificavit Noe altare* share some melodic characteristics; the openings of the continental responory and Anglo-Saxon antiphon are displayed in **Figure 3.4**. This could, however, be because the Anglo-Saxon antiphon and this responory are both in mode 3, confirmed by a pitched version present in a fifteenth-century English pontifical (GB-Lbl MS Lansdowne 451). These similarities notwithstanding, the two melodies are melodically distinct from one another.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 307.



**Figure 3.4** Opening of *Aedificavit Noe* and *Aedificavit moyses*<sup>21</sup>

**Figure 3.5** records twenty-two syllables from *Aedificavit moyses*, the section of the melody that contains the most melodic variance. Of the four adiastematic sources, Anderson (AndP) contains the most instability (i.e. unique variants and missing pitches): of the 50 syllables in this chant, 6 (12%) are either unique to or completely absent in Anderson. This number is lower in the other sources: Dunstan (DunP) contains 4 (8%) unique variants, Samson (SamP) contains 2 (4%) and the Canterbury Pontifical (CanP) contains none.

<sup>21</sup> Pitched version of *Aedificavit Noe* transcribed from F-Pn MS Lat. 15181, fol. 210r; pitched version of *Aedificavit moyses* transcribed from GB-Lbl MS Lansdowne 451 by Thomas Kozachek. See Kozachek, “Dedicating Churches,” 420 (Example 3).

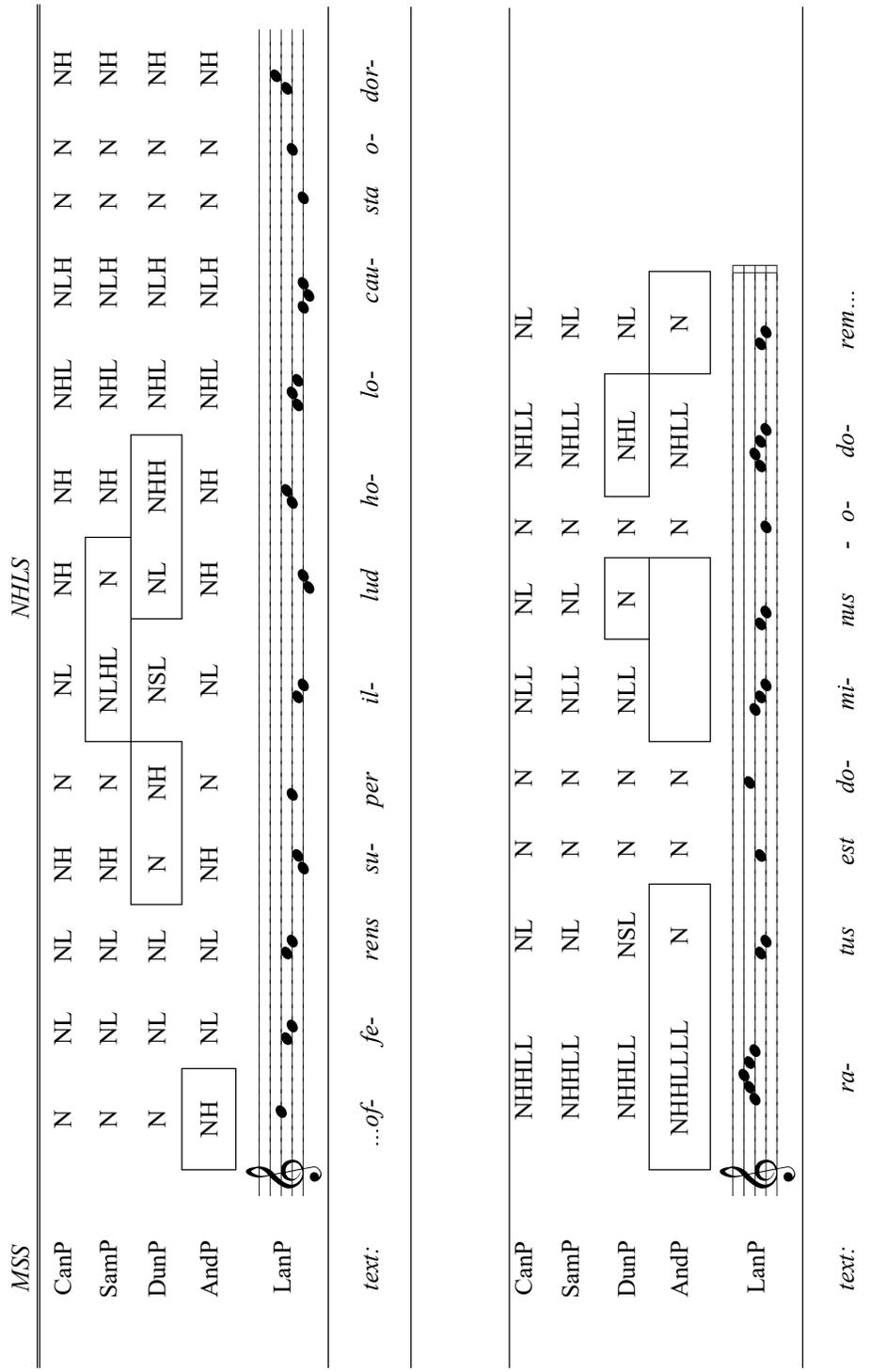


Figure 3.5 Melodic instability in *Aedificavit moyses*

Although these numbers are small and the variants are slight, usually a difference of one or two notes, the concentration of variants in Anderson is made more significant when compared to other, uniquely English melodies in these sources. Other Anglo-Saxon antiphons show a higher degree of stability than *Aedificavit moyses*, suggesting that this instability is not merely a hallmark of a wholly unstable musical tradition. For example, in the Insular antiphon *Ab oriente porte tres*, included in the earlier dataset, Anderson transmits no unique melodic variants. In fact, Anderson's setting of this antiphon is completely identical to the version recorded in the Robert Benedictional written at Winchester. In total, of the nine Insular antiphons shared between Anderson and Robert, Anderson displays its Winchester stripes by transmitting variants from the Robert Benedictional 63% of the time. In *Aedificavit moyses*, however, an Insular antiphon unique to the Canterbury dedication *ordo*, the scribe of Anderson is more prone to instability, transmitting unique variants and leaving out notation, as he did on penultimate and final syllables of *dominus*.

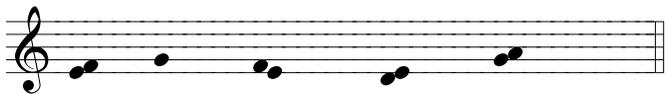
The melodic instability in *Aedificavit moyses* suggests that the antiphon may have been neumed by a Winchester scribe writing at Canterbury who would have been unfamiliar with this Canterbury antiphon. Moreover, this situation is entirely consistent with the changes occurring at Canterbury in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Bishops Æthelgar and Ælfheah, upon their elevation to the role of Archbishop of Canterbury, were likely accompanied by scribes from Winchester, evident from the increased influence of 'Style I' Anglo-Caroline script Canterbury sources from this period.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that, while transcribing from a performance or recalling an earlier

---

<sup>22</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 104-5.

one, the scribe, being unfamiliar with the melody of this antiphon, recorded as much of the antiphon as he could either discern or recall.

Further examination of *Aedificavit moyses* shows signs of a broader transition occurring at Canterbury in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. These changes, likely caused by the influence of Winchester at Canterbury, manifest in the uneven transmission of the following passage in *Aedificavit moyses*, as shown in **Figure 3.6** where an earlier melodic reading in the Dunstan Pontifical is replaced with a different one in the Anderson, Samson, and Canterbury Pontificals. On *super illud holocausta*, Dunstan encodes a variant melody, while Anderson and Canterbury record another. Samson mostly agrees with the reading in Anderson and Canterbury, although a unique variant is transmitted in Samson on *illud* (*porrectus flexus*/NLHL), suggesting that this section of *Aedificavit moyses* was particularly unstable.

<i>Source</i>	<i>NHLS</i>				
<i>DunP</i>	N	NH	NSL	NL	NHH
<i>AndP</i>	NH	N	NL	NH	NH
<i>SamP</i>	NH	N	NLHL	N	NH
<i>CanP</i>	NH	N	NL	NH	NH
<i>LanP</i>					
<i>text:</i>	..su-	per	il-	lud	ho- (locausta)

**Figure 3.6** Variant passage in *Aedificavit moyses*

After the compilation of the Dunstan Pontifical (*ca.* 960-993), and during the compilation of Anderson Pontifical (*ca.* 1000), this melody was changing. The first variant on *super* is likely a case of syllabic redistribution in Dunstan, confirmed in the Lansdowne Pontifical as *E-F-G*. All versions except Samson agree on a two-note descent (NL/clivis) on *illud*, although Dunstan encodes this descent with a pressus (NSL). Dunstan also records a two-note descent (NL/clivis) on *illud*, where the other sources record a two-note ascent (NH). Dunstan's variant on here may be a case of semitonal ambiguity, since the pitched version shows the melody hovering around the *E-F* semitone on *illud*.<sup>23</sup> The final syllable, *holocausta*, is elongated by one note (NHH vs. NH) in Dunstan only. Although these variants are slight, there is melodic uncertainty in this passage: the later readings mostly agree with one another, but not with Dunstan. In total, of the 48 syllables in this chant that contain notation, Anderson agrees most with the later version in the Canterbury Pontifical, at 92%, and least with the earlier version in Dunstan, at 85%. There was a change in this melody around the turn of the century and that change was sustained in several eleventh-century sources.

In short, Dunstan records an earlier, tenth-century version of *Aedificavit moyses*, while the Canterbury Pontifical records a later, mid-eleventh-century version. Both Anderson and Samson are influenced by this later version, but they transmit a larger number of unstable/unique variants, suggesting that a change in practice was underway. This melodic transition is most evident in the decreasing number of unique variants and omissions when the sources are organised chronologically, showing a melody in the

---

<sup>23</sup> David G. Hughes, "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 384.

process of becoming stable: Anderson (988-1012) records 6 (12%), Samson (after 1000) records 2 (4%) and the Canterbury Pontifical (after 1020) records none.

This then begs the question: what caused this instability and melodic change? This inquiry leads, yet again, back to Winchester. If Winchester scribes had moved with Æthelgar and Ælfheah between 988 and 1012, the variable neumatation in the Anderson Pontifical could be the result of scribes in the process of learning an unfamiliar melody. Alternatively, although this melody is not recorded in sources attributable to Winchester, it is possible that the later version recorded in the Anderson, Samson, and Canterbury Pontificals are vestiges from a Winchester setting of *Aedificavit moyses* that does not survive in notated sources.

#### *Firmetur manus tua*: Chronological Complications

The coronation antiphon *Firmetur manus tua* provides perhaps the most compelling means by which the provenance of these manuscripts, especially the Anderson and Dunstan Pontificals, might be untangled. This antiphon has never been the subject of study in its own right; therefore, the following discussion represents the first major attempt to unravel its history.<sup>24</sup> An elaborate processional antiphon used to accompany the entrance of the monarch into the cathedral, *Firmetur manus tua* first appears in the second recension of the English coronation *ordo*, found in several English pontificals throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>25</sup> This antiphon, however, is not

---

<sup>24</sup> Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007), 65.

<sup>25</sup> Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 44. This antiphon also occurs in later recensions of the coronation *ordo*, labelled III and IV. For developments in later recensions of the English coronation see Andrew Hughes, "Antiphons and Acclamations: The Politics of Music in the Coronation of Edward II, 1308," *The Journal of Musicology* 6 (1988): 150-168 and Andrew Hughes, "Origin and Decent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 197-213.

limited to use in the coronation rite: it also appears fully notated for the episcopal and archiepiscopal ordinations, recorded in the first Winchester tropers (GB-Ccc MS 473, fol. 53v), the Canterbury Pontifical (GB-Ccc MS 44, p.255), and the Anderson Pontifical (as a marginal gloss on fol. 48v).<sup>26</sup> This antiphon, when it appears in the coronation *ordo*, is only fully notated in sources with links to Christ Church, Canterbury. Since only the Archbishop of Canterbury or York could crown an English monarch, a bishop from another ecclesiastical centre would have had no need of this service or this antiphon, unless it was neumed in the coronation but intended for use in an ordination. Although the text of the coronation *ordo* is found in sources outside Canterbury, it was likely copied because the source from which it was copied also included it.

The versions of *Firmetur manus tua* in the Dunstan and Anderson Pontificals are difficult to localise; however, the inclusion of an *Alleluia* extension in the margin of the Anderson Pontifical suggests that *Firmetur* was used during Eastertime. The only candidate for such an Easter ordination is the ordination of Ælfric, elected on Easter day, 995. Based on this evidence it is possible to more precisely date the creation of the Anderson Pontifical to sometime before this ordination, between 988 and 994. Furthermore, since the hand that notated the *Alleluia* extension also added the text for it, this addition can be linked to Canterbury paleographically.

In his 1995 article, “Tonal neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Pontificals”, Thomas Kozachek briefly discusses *Firmetur manus tua*, stating the following:

---

<sup>26</sup> The version in Ccc 473 is the organal voice of a two-voice setting at the fourth. See Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 40 and Susan Rankin, “Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Early Organum,” in David Hiley and Susan Rankin eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 60-99.

*Firmetur manus tua* had other applications...and could conceivably have been neumed in the Dunstan Pontifical for a purpose other than the apparent one. In later pontificals *Firmetur manus tua* is found in the *ordo* for ordination of a bishop or Archbishop. Though absent in the version of the rite in the Dunstan Pontifical, the antiphon was indicated as a marginal addition in the late tenth-century Anderson Pontifical...and was incorporated into the ordination rite transmitted by [Ccc MS 44]...The antiphon seems also to have been sung for the reception of a bishop as well: an organal voice for *Firmetur manus tua* appears on fol. 53v of [Ccc MS 473], under the heading ‘In Aduentu Episcopi’ ...Given the infrequency of royal coronations, the antiphon could have been neumed in the Dunstan Pontifical as a record for consultation on some other occasion. There are, however, no marginal notes in the manuscript that indicate it was used for anything but a coronation.<sup>27</sup>

Kozachek is completely correct in his assessment of the situation; it is, of course, entirely possible that *Firmetur manus tua* was neumed in the Dunstan and Anderson Pontificals in the coronation *ordo* but intended for use in another service. I, however, believe it is more a question of probability rather than possibility: when *Firmetur manus tua* is fully notated in the coronation *ordo*, it is invariably in a manuscript associated with Canterbury.

To assess the transmission of this chant I have compared it to fifteen English and French sources that transmit *Firmetur manus tua*, either in the coronation *ordo* or for a rite concerning a bishop or Archbishop, either his arrival (“in adventu episcopi”), his ordination (“ordinatio episcopi”), or his enthronement (“intronizatio archiepiscopi”); These liturgical assignments are summarised in **Table 3.1**.<sup>28</sup> Between 960 and *ca.* 1150 this antiphon is fully notated six times, three times in copies of the coronation *ordo* and another three in rites for an episcopal or archiepiscopal ordinations. Significantly, the three fully notated versions of this *Firmetur manus tua* are in a source with a Canterbury

---

<sup>27</sup> Kozachek, “Tonal Neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Pontificals,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997): 130.

<sup>28</sup> Three other copies of the English coronation *ordo* exist in the Leofric missal (GB-Obl Bodl. MS 579), the Egberht Pontifical (F-Pn Lat. MS 10575), and the Lanalet Pontifical (F-R MS A.27/368); however, these manuscripts transmit the first recension *ordo* that does not include *Firmetur manus tua*.

association, potentially linking it to an actual performance of the Coronation rite. Between 960 and *ca.* 1150 it appears fully notated in the Dunstan (DunP), Anderson (AndP), and Magdalen Pontificals (MagP), all of which have connections to Canterbury. Dunstan's version is notated using Breton neumes, which has historically been linked to Canterbury; furthermore, as discussed in chapter 2, Anderson contains a significant amount of melodic material also found in the Dunstan Pontifical, thus linking it to Canterbury. The Magdalen Pontifical (MagP) can also be linked to Canterbury because it includes rites that would either only be performed by an Archbishop or were to be performed in his presence: the consecration of the bishop's hands by the Archbishop, "Consecratio manuum episcopi ab archiepiscopo", and the profession of a monk is to be made "in presentia domni N. archiepiscopi."<sup>29</sup> It seems rather coincidental that, between 960 and *ca.* 1150, when *Firmetur manus tua* appears fully notated in the coronation *ordo*, it is in a manuscript associated with Canterbury: the only ecclesiastical centre outside of York that would feasibly require the music for the coronation.

---

<sup>29</sup> H.A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from other English Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1910), 76, 79.

Mss.	Date	Provenance	Coronation <i>ordo</i> [Recensions II & III]		Rites concerning a bishop or archbishop	
			Text/incipit only	Fully notated	Text/incipit only	Fully notated
DunP	c.960-990	CaCC		×		
RobP	c.1000	WiNM	×			
AndP	988-1012	CaCC		×	×	
SamP	c.1000	CaCC/Wor	×			
WinTr1	1020-1040	WiOM				×
CanP	after 1020	Ca(?A?)	×		×	×
WinTr2	1040-1060	WiOM				×
ClaudP2	after 1050	Ca/York	×			
DublP	c.1098	Ca/Dublin	×		×	
MagP	after 1100	Ca		×		
ClaudP3	1100-1050	Ca	×			
BekP	c.1100	Wi/Ca	×			
RonP	c.1150	Rouen	×			
GlaswP	c.1150	Ca/Glasgow	×			
MichP	c.1150	Mt-St-M	×			

**Table 3.1** Sources that include or notate *Firmetur manus tua*

Following the same logic, it is likely that *Firmetur manus tua* was included but not notated in other copies of the coronation because a Bishop of Winchester (RobP) or Worcester (SamP), and certainly of Rouen (RonP) or Mont-Saint Michel (MichP), would never have conceivably consecrated an English monarch. The text of the coronation was probably included in the Robert, Rouen, and Mont-Saint Michel manuscripts because it was included in a book from which they were copied. Furthermore, although the text of ‘Samson B’ was probably written at Canterbury, and therefore probably intended for an Archbishop, the Samson Pontifical, as discussed above, almost certainly received the majority of its notation at Worcester. A bishop of Worcester would have had no need for the coronation rite, as he, too, would never conceivably crown an English monarch.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> It is initially curious that the Dublin (DublP) and Douai Pontificals (BekP), respectively associated with two famous Archbishops, Anselm (1093-1109) and Thomas Becket (1162-1070), do not notate *Firmetur manus tua*. There is, however, a simple explanation for this: neither Anselm nor Thomas Becket crowned an English monarch. Anselm was elevated to the office of archbishop during the Reign of William Rufus (1083-1100), who had been previously been

### *Firmetur manus tua* in the Anderson Pontifical

Localising *Firmetur manus tua* in the Anderson Pontifical presents additional difficulties, as the manuscript is written primarily in Anglo-Saxon neumes. Unlike Breton script, Anglo-Saxon notation is common to most ecclesiastical centres in England throughout the mid-tenth and eleventh centuries. The additional lack of any definable notational house-style means that the notation in the Anderson Pontifical could have theoretically been added almost anywhere in England.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, although the text proper of Anderson certainly dates from *ca.* 1000, it is possible that the notation for *Firmetur manus tua* could have been neumed for use in an episcopal ordination, as Kozachek suggests.

There is some palaeographic evidence that may link Anderson's version of *Firmetur manus tua* to the hand of a bishop or Archbishop. The notational history of the Anderson Pontifical has been called "exceptionally complex", with as many as three layers of notation existing on a single page and marginal additions made by the hands of at least three glossators.<sup>32</sup> Excluding glosses, I count as many as seven musical hands in Anderson with the majority of the notation written by three main scribes; the locations and characteristics of these hands are listed in **Table 3.2**. Significantly, the hand of the scribe that notated *Firmetur manus tua* occurs nowhere else in the manuscript: this hand notates only this one antiphon. The hand of this scribe, written on an almost vertical axis,

---

crowned by Lanfranc, Anselm's predecessor, in 1087. Anselm was in exile when Henry I was crowned at London by Bishop Maurice in 1100. Similarly, Thomas Becket was elevated to the role of Archbishop in 1162 during the reign of Henry II, who had been crowned in December 1154. Becket did not live to preside over the coronation of the next monarch, being assassinated in 1170.

<sup>31</sup> K.D. Hartzell, "An Eleventh Century English Missal Fragment in the British Library," *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989): 71.

<sup>32</sup> Kozachek, "Dedication Churches," 328. Textual glosses in Anderson's ordinations of minor church orders are examined in Sarah Larratt Keefer, "Looking at the glosses in London, Bl Additional 57337 (The Anderson Pontifical)," *Anglia* Vol. 116 (1998): 215-222.

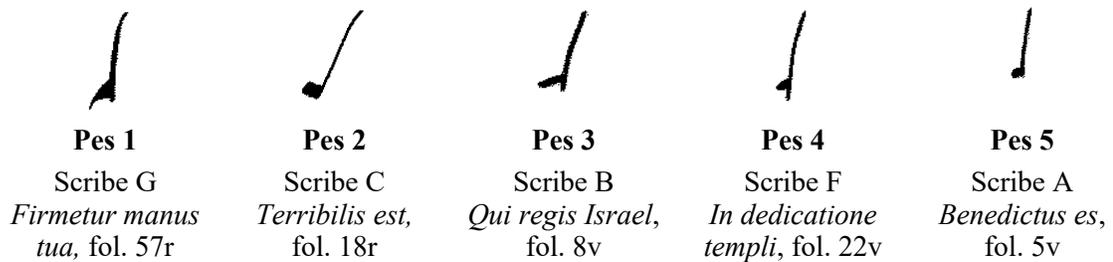
can be distinguished by abnormally thick feet present in the *pes*, *torculus*, and *porrectus*, terminating with sharp downward taper, labelled **Pes 1** in **Figure 3.7**. Although the inconsistent placement of pes feet is a common stylistic feature of Anglo-Saxon notation, **Pes 2-5** all place their feet differently, the particular form of these feet distinguishes this hand of this scribe from others in the Anderson Pontifical.<sup>33</sup> Since this hand notates only *Firmetur manus tua*, an antiphon for the coronation *ordo* in a demonstrably Canterbury manuscript, this may be the hand of the Archbishop for whom this manuscript was written or a bishop who came into the possession of this manuscript at a later date.<sup>34</sup>

<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Folio</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
Scribe A	Fols. 1r-2v, 5r-6v, 7r-9r	Small neumes; vertical axis.
Scribe B	Fols. 2v, 5r, 8v, 18r, 67v-68v	Proficient hand; reminiscent of CCC 44; almost vertical axis; frequent <i>episema</i> on final stroke of <i>clivis</i> .
Scribe C	Fols. 11r-11v, 17r-18r	Final strokes often hook to the left; angles slightly to the right.
Scribe D	Fols. 17v	Shaky hand; ink running and somewhat blotchy.
?Scribe E?	Fol. 20r	Small hand; uneven flow of ink; resembles both A and D.
Scribe F	Fols. 22v, 23r, 23v, 24v, 25v, 28r, 29r	Ascenders consistently run below feet; generally angular aspect and vertical axis.
Scribe G	Fol. 57r	Wedge-shaped feet which taper downward; almost vertical axis.

**Table 3.2** Musical scribes in main body of the Anderson Pontifical

<sup>33</sup> Hartzell, “An Eleventh-Century English Missal Fragment,” 72.

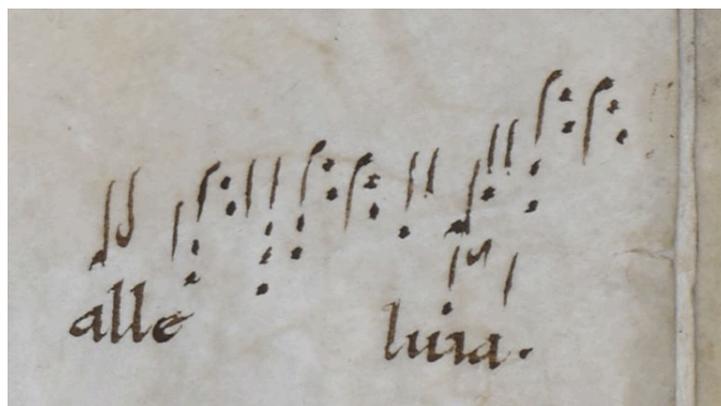
<sup>34</sup> Although the formation of these neumes may be distinct within the Anderson Pontifical, similar forms are found in other sources I have consulted. This style of pes appears periodically in the Samson Pontifical in *Benedic domine domum* (p.73), *Aedificavit moyses* (p.79), and *Ab oriente porte tres* (p.84), all likely the work of one scribe.



**Figure 3.7** Forms of *pes* in the Anderson Pontifical

### Connections to Ælfric's Ordination in the Anderson Pontifical

There is, however, another reason why this scribe notated only this one antiphon in the Anderson Pontifical: it may have been required for use at a specific event. Perhaps the most significant evidence in Anderson's fully notated version of *Firmetur manus tua* is the presence of an *Alleluia* extension for Eastertide written in the margin; this extension is shown in **Figure 3.8**. The presence of this extension makes it possible to more precisely date the neumatation of this antiphon in Anderson and to suggest an occasion for which this antiphon may have been neumed. This evidence, however, leads away from the coronation *ordo*, instead towards the episcopal ordination of Ælfric in 995.



**Figure 3.8** *Alleluia* extension in the Anderson Pontifical (fol. 57r)

Because the date of Easter is variable, *Alleluia* extensions are often added to antiphons for feasts that may occur during Eastertide:<sup>35</sup> An *Alleluia* termination is added to all antiphons, responsories, Matins invitatories, and to all versicles and their responds during Eastertide (similar extensions and interpolations also occur in Mass chants during Eastertide).<sup>36</sup> Since the date of a coronation or an episcopal ordination is variable, it makes sense that an Easter *Alleluia* extension would be provided for *Firmetur manus tua*, since either a royal coronation or episcopal ordination could occur during Eastertide. Confirming this *Alleluia*'s association, the rubric "de sancto pasche" accompanies the sequence for Easter day that proceeds *Firmetur manus tua* in the second Winchester troper (Obl Bodl. 775, 181v-182r), *Jubilans concrepa paraphonista*.<sup>37</sup> This version of *Firmetur manus tua*, likely dating from the 1050s, includes the same *Alleluia* extension from *Anderson* and, since no additional rubric falls between it and the preceding sequence, this suggests that this *Alleluia* is associated with Easter, specifically.<sup>38</sup>

The presence of this *Alleluia* extension in *Firmetur manus tua* was first noticed by Andrew Hughes in his examination of the musical items for later recensions of the

---

<sup>35</sup> Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for the Mass and Office*, 154-5. and Andrew Hughes, *Style and Symbol: Medieval Music, 800-1453* (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1989), 296.

<sup>36</sup> Adrian Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London: Burns, Oates, and Washburn, 1920), 344-45.

<sup>37</sup> The case of "Pasche" is ambiguous. It could be the medieval form of the gen./dat. sg. (-ae); however, this would not agree with the proposition "de", which takes the ablative. It is, therefore, more likely a scribal error, probably intended to be the ablative. singular "Pascha."

<sup>38</sup> Susan Rankin, "Making the Liturgy: Winchester Scribes and their Books" in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2005), 37-43. In my opinion, it is likely that this version in the second Winchester troper (Gb-Obl MS 775) may have been provided for an episcopal ordination or a rite pertaining to a bishop, although there is no rubric to clarify this. Since *Firmetur* has no other recorded association beyond coronations and ordinations, it seems the most likely option, especially given that the organal voice for *Firmetur* in the first Winchester troper (Ccc 473, fol. 53v) appears with the rubric "In Adventu Episcopi." It is, however, possible that the version in Ccc 473 was neumed for the coronation of Edward the Confessor which took place at Winchester in 1042, since Claudius Pontifical II (GB-Lbl Cotton Claudius A III fol. 9v), possibly written for Archbishop Eadsige, contains only an unnotated rubric for *Firmetur*. See Dumville, *Liturgy and History*, 92.

English Coronation *ordo*.<sup>39</sup> Hughes notes that it may be possible to determine for which coronation or ordination a manuscript was used, based on the presence of this *Alleluia* extension. Hughes states, however, that copies of the second recension do not include this *Alleluia* extension. Believing its earliest occurrence to be in the Magdalen Pontifical, he writes that it may be possible to determine for which event the Magdalen Pontifical was used.

Significantly, the earliest occurrence of this extension is not in the Magdalen Pontifical: the same *Alleluia* extension occurs as a marginal addition next to *Firmetur manus tua* in the Anderson Pontifical, predating its inclusion in the Magdalen Pontifical by more than a century.<sup>40</sup> It is possible, therefore, to apply Hughes's theory instead to the Anderson Pontifical to determine the occasion for which *Firmetur manus tua* may have been neumed. Assigning a precise date to a coronation or ordination is problematic, to say the least, as specific dates are not often supplied in the surviving chronicles. There is, however, one event with a precise date that stands out: an addition to MS F of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle (Cotton MS Domitian A VIII, fol. 61r) provides details concerning the election of Archbishop Ælfric in 995 following the death of Archbishop Sigeric, stating that Ælfric was elected on Easter day:

“dccccxcv. Her was ateowod comete (þ ys se sexode) se steorra. 7 Siric arcebisceop forþferde 7 Ælfric. Wiltunscire bisceop wearð gecoren (on Easterdæi on Ambresbyri. fram Æðelrede cinge. 7 fram eallan his. witan.)” 995.  
Here...Archbishop Sigeric died and Ælfric, Bishop of Wiltshire, was chosen on Easter day at Amesbury by King Æthelred and his entire witan.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Hughes, “Fourth Recension Coronation,” 206.

<sup>40</sup> Susan Rankin, in her edition of the first Winchester troper (Ccc MS 473), does not mention the appearance of this antiphon in the Anderson or Dunstan pontificals, although she does note its appearance in the Canterbury Pontifical (Ccc MS 44). See Rankin, *The Winchester Troper*, 66.

<sup>41</sup> In the Julian calendar Easter day would have fallen on April 21st. Although I consulted the original source, I also consulted the following print editions of MS F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: John Earle, ed., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel: With Supplementary Extracts*

It is conceivable, then, that *Firmetur manus tua* was neumed in the Anderson Pontifical for the elevation of Ælfric on Easter day 995, thus necessitating the inclusion of an *Alleluia* extension appropriate for Easter time. Consequently, this would place the creation of the Anderson Pontifical sometime before Ælfric's ordination, during the archbishopate of Sigeric or Æthelgar, between 988 and 994, conflicting with T.A. Heslop's later dating of the manuscript to 1022 or 1023.<sup>42</sup>

While localising *Firmetur manus tua* in Anderson to Easter day 995 is certainly an attractive prospect, especially considering it would allow us to more precisely date the creation of the Anderson Pontifical to within a span of eight years, between 988 and 994, this theory is not without its problems. Because Anglo-Saxon neumes cannot be conclusively localised to a specific region in England, Anderson's version *Firmetur manus tua* and its *Alleluia* extension could have been theoretically added anywhere. Luckily, this *Alleluia* extension can be localised to Canterbury using its text: The text of the *Alleluia* is spaced to fit its notation and is written in the same light brown ink as the *Alleluia*'s notation; this same scribe also notated the rest of *Firmetur manus tua*. Altogether this suggests that the notation for the antiphon, its *Alleluia* extension, and the text of the extension were written by the same scribe. The script used to write *Alleluia* is an 'Style II' Anglo-Caroline hand, evidenced by the use of a single-compartment Insular **a**. Furthermore, the **l** consists of an ascender with a wedge to the left, which may also suggest the scribe had an Insular background.<sup>43</sup> These Insular features would likely not

---

from the Others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), 128. Peter S. Baker, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 8. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 89.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Kozachek also suggests that the Anderson Pontifical may have been written for Archbishop Sigeric (990-94) based on the presence of Breton neumes in the MS. See Kozachek, "Tonal Neumes", 133; T.A. Heslop, "The Production of De-luxe manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma," *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 169-70."

<sup>43</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 24.

occur in a “Style I” source and, since ‘Style II’ is localisable to the two Canterbury minsters, this suggests that the notation for *Firmetur manus tua* and its respective *Alleluia* extension were written while the Anderson Pontifical was still at Christ Church.

This evidence aside, it is possible that Anderson’s version of *Firmetur manus tua* was neumed for another occasion whose date has not come down to us, as there are several ordinations and coronations that cannot be as accurately dated as Ælfric’s. For example, the Anderson Pontifical could have theoretically been neumed for Sigeric’s coronation: the ordination of Archbishop Sigeric cannot be dated with more precision than 989 or 990 and, therefore, could have theoretically occurred during Eastertime.<sup>44</sup> Other ordinations, however, can be more conclusively ruled out because they did not occur during Easter; dates of all royal coronations and archiepiscopal ordinations between 988 and 1066 are listed in **Figure 3.9**. Ælfheah, for example, was probably ordained as Archbishop of Canterbury on November 16th, 1006.<sup>45</sup> The only other coronation or ordination known to have taken place during Easter is the coronation of Edward the Confessor at Winchester in 1054. It seems unlikely that a pontifical written half a century earlier would have been used for this purpose. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out. These complications aside, the only archiepiscopal ordination known to have occurred during Easter time between 988 and 1012 is Ælfric’s, which, at this time anyway, remains the most likely occasion for which Anderson’s version of *Firmetur manus tua* received its notation.

---

<sup>44</sup> Michael Swanton, ed. and trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 125.

<sup>45</sup> Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 262.

<i>Archbishop</i>	<i>Date of Ordination</i>	<i>Monarch</i>	<i>Date of Coronation</i>
Æthelgar	988	Sweyn	1013
Sigeric	989/90	Æthelred (second reign)	1014
<b>Ælfric</b>	<b>Easter 995 (Apr. 21)</b>	Cnut	1017
Ælfheah II	?November 16th, 1006?	Harold Harefoot	1035
Lyfing	1013	Harathacnut	1040
Æthelnoth	1020	<b>Edward</b>	<b>Easter 1054 (Apr. 3)</b>
Eadsige	1038	Harold	Jan. 6th, 1066
Robert	Mar. 1051 (“Midlent”)		
Stigand	1052		

**Figure 3.9** Dates of royal and archiepiscopal ordinations between 988 and 1066

### Summative Remarks

In short, a text variant in the antiphon *Mane surgens Jacob*, may shed light on the later provenance of the Anderson Pontifical. This variant, also recorded in the Dunstan and Exeter Pontificals, may suggest that Anderson may have moved to Exeter during the Episcopate of Leofric (1050-1072) where it was consulted in the compilation of the Exeter pontifical. This hypothesis is supported by liturgical concordances between the Anderson and Exeter pontificals and by the contents of Leofric’s donation list which records items to be donated to Exeter cathedral upon his death. This is an exciting avenue for further exploration and may rely on palaeographical similarities between the Exeter Pontifical and the marginal glosses in Anderson.

The inclusion in the Anderson Pontifical of the church dedication antiphon *Aedificavit moyses*, an antiphon unique to the Canterbury *ordo*, similarly suggests that Anderson was neumed at Canterbury. Melodic instability in Anderson’s version of this antiphon demonstrates that changes were taking place at Canterbury at the turn of the century: a transition away from a tenth-century version, recorded in the Dunstan Pontifical, toward a more stable eleventh-century one, as recorded in the Canterbury Pontifical. Furthermore, the changes and instability in this antiphon invariably point to

the influence of Winchester: because the melodic setting in the Anderson Pontifical contains the largest number of unique variants, this may suggest that a Winchester scribe neumed this antiphon, as he would have been unfamiliar with its melody.

Finally, although it is possible that *Firmetur manus tua* may have been neumed in the coronation *ordo* but intended for use in episcopal and archiepiscopal ordinations, this antiphon appears fully notated for the coronation *ordo* in Canterbury sources only, preliminarily strengthening a connection to a performance of a coronation. Although the version of *Firmetur manus tua* in the Anderson Pontifical is not easily localisable, due to the additive status of the source and the ubiquity of its musical script, the hand of the scribe that notated *Firmetur manus tua* is distinctive and does not occur elsewhere in the manuscript. The distinctiveness of this hand may suggest that *Firmetur manus tua* was indeed neumed for a specific event. The inclusion of an Easter termination in Anderson's version of *Firmetur manus tua* allows for more precision in determining this occasion, as it must have occurred during Eastertime. Although no royal coronations were recorded at Easter time between 988 and 1012, it is recorded in MS F of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle that Ælfric was elected as Archbishop of Canterbury on Easter day 995. It is entirely possible, that *Firmetur manus tua* was neumed in the Anderson Pontifical for this occasion. This would place the creation of the Anderson Pontifical sometime before this date, during the tenure of either Æthelgar or Sigeric, between 988 and 994. This date range, although not without its problems, is at present the most precise date range provided for the Anderson Pontifical, which before this time has been broadly dated to *ca.* 1000.

## Chapter 4 : Conclusion

My goal for this thesis was to use the melodic variants in these three pontificals to determine where they received their notation, aiming to contribute to ongoing debates that have surrounded these manuscripts over the past century. Although not conclusive, the data I presented in Chapter 2 suggests the following: first, palaeographic changes, the result of movement of scribes between Winchester and Christ Church, Canterbury, are visible in the music of the Anderson Pontifical. While Anderson retains some melodic characteristics of the Dunstan Pontifical, the high number of variants shared between Anderson and the Robert Benedictional suggest that Winchester's musical practices were influencing those of Christ Church. On the other hand, the Samson Pontifical contains different proportions of variants from Dunstan and Robert, while also containing more variants unique to Samson only. Samson's patterns of melodic concordances are also distinct from Anderson, suggesting they were not written at the same ecclesiastical centre. Taken altogether, this evidence points toward a neumatation elsewhere, probably at Worcester, where Samson spent much of the eleventh century. Furthermore, Samson's musical contents parallel other aspects of manuscript production at Worcester, where variation seems to have been the rule rather than the exception. Additionally, the retention of variants from the Dunstan Pontifical may have resulted from earlier contact with the musical tradition recorded there, perhaps during Dunstan's tenure as Bishop of Worcester in the mid-tenth century. Based on this evidence, it is highly probable that Samson received most (if not all) of its notation at Worcester.

In chapter 3, I examined several variations that, although not considered in Chapter 2's dataset, nonetheless provide some clues as to origin and subsequent provenance of these manuscripts. A textual variant unique to Anderson and Dunstan's

setting of *Mane surgens Jacob* not only connects these two sources to each other, but hints at a connection to the Exeter Pontifical, where this text variant is also found. It is possible, then, that Anderson was brought to Exeter and consulted during the compilation of the Exeter Pontifical. Although mostly conjectural, other similarities between Anderson and Exeter suggest that Anderson, or a remarkably similar pontifical that transmits a distinctly early-eleventh-century Canterbury recension of the church dedication *ordo*, was used during the compilation of the Exeter Pontifical.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, this thesis has uncovered evidence which narrows the dating of the Anderson Pontifical to a span of eight years. an Easter *Alleluia* extension was provided in the margin of the processional antiphon *Firmetur manus tua*, an elaborate processional antiphon used for coronations and episcopal ordinations. Since the only ordination or coronation known to have taken place on Easter is the ordination of Archbishop Ælfric in 995, Anderson's version of *Firmetur manus tua* may have been neumed for this service. This would date the compilation of the Anderson Pontifical sometime before 995 and as early as 988.

In the study of plainchant, we are often left with more questions than answers. For example, although I consulted several continental sources throughout this thesis, the relationship between English ecclesiastical centres and continental houses before 1066 remains mostly obscure, resembling little more than a patchwork of seemingly random concordances. Although the Dunstan Pontifical contains melodic variants that suggest it is drawing on a musical tradition not practiced at other English houses, it is unclear if these variants point to the survivance of a Breton melodic tradition in Anglo-Saxon England; in this thesis anyway, the trail seems to end at Glastonbury, a monastic house

associated with Breton practices. Comparing the Dunstan Pontifical to surviving Breton pontificals is the next logical step moving forward.

Broadly speaking, if these sources tell us anything at all, they speak to the pluralistic and gradient nature of early medieval musical practices. Relationships between sources are often messy and are rarely ever one-to-one. This is, however, precisely what makes these sources so fascinating: these sources speak to interrelatedness of cultural traditions and the messiness of the human experience. The vast number of monks and scribes who compiled these sources were not just scratches on a page, but temporarily occupied a space within a complex culture of manuscript production. Their contribution to our history, however small it might appear in the big picture, deserves recognition and exploration.

## Bibliography

- Baker, Peter S., ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 8. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000.
- Bannister, H.M. *Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latine, Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi Consilio et opera curatorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, vol. XII. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1913.
- Billett, Jessie. *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597-c.1000*. Woodbridge: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014.
- Bishop, T.A.M. "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part II and III: Manuscripts Connected with Exeter," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1955): 185-99.
- . "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part IV: Manuscripts Connected with St Augustine's, Canterbury," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1957): 323-36.
- . "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part VI: Manuscripts Connected with St Augustine's Canterbury, Continued," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959-63):412-23
- . "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts Part VII: The Early Minuscule of Christ Church Canterbury," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3 (1959-63): 413-23.
- . *English Caroline Minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Brückmann, J. "Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales," *Traditio* 29 (1973): 391-458.
- Budney, Mildred. "'St. Dunstan's Classbook' and its Frontispiece: Dunstan's Portrait and Autograph," in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, edited by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, 103-42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.
- . *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christ College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997.
- Carley, James P. "Two Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey," *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987): 197-212.
- Cardine, Dom Eugène. *Gregorian Semiology*. Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1982.
- Conn, Marie A. "The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals: An Edition and Study." PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993.
- Conner, Patrick. *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- Corbin, Solange. *Die Neumen*. Köln: A. Volk, 1977.
- Dumville, David N. "English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases," *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987): 147-79.

- . “On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10 (1991): 40-57.
- . *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.
- . “Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peaceable: Æthelstan, First King of England,” in David Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival*, 141-71. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.
- . *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism A.D. 950-1030*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- . “English Square Miniscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 133-64.
- . “English Libraries Before 1066: Use and Abuse of the Manuscript Evidence,” in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, edited by Mary P. Richards, 169-219. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Earle, John., ed. *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel: With Supplementary Extracts from the Others*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892.
- Fischer, Rupert. “Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, cod. 47,” *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 28 (1999): 73-89.
- Fortescue, Adrian. *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described: in accordance with the rubrics of liturgical books, the decrees of the congregation of sacred rites, the Code of Canon Law, and approved Authors. Containing all such ceremonies as may occur in a parish church, the rules for pontifical functions and directions for the administration of sacraments with plans and diagrams by the author and with a preface by his eminence Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster*. London: Burns, Oates, and Washburn, 1920.
- Frere, W.H., ed.. *The Winchester Troper: From MSS. of the tenth and eleventh Centuries with Other Documents Illustrating the History of Tropes in England*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894.
- Gameson, Richard. “Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, edited by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, 194-243. London: Leicester University Press, 1996.
- . “The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135-185.
- Gittos, Helen. *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Gneuss, Helmut and Michael Lapidge. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a bibliographical Handlist of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Gneuss, Helmut. “Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology,” in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies*

- Presented to Peter Clemons on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, 91-141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- . “Addenda and Corrigenda to the *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003) 293-305.
- Gullick, Michael and Susan Rankin. Review of *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*, by K.D. Hartzell. *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 262-285.
- Haines, John. “A Musical Fragment from Anglo-Saxon England,” *Early Music* 36 (2008): 219-29.
- Halmo, Joan. “A Sarum Antiphoner and Other Medieval Office Manuscripts from England and France: Some Musical Relationships,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002): 113-26.
- Hamilton, N.E.S.A., ed. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*. London: Longman & Co., 1870.
- Hartzell, K.D. “An Eleventh Century English Missal Fragment in the British Library,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989): 45-97.
- . “An Unknown English Benedictine Gradual of the Eleventh Century,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 131-44.
- . *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006.
- . “A Fragment of a Tenth-Century English Sacramentary,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 46 (2017): 259-70.
- Helsen, Kate. Inga Behrendt, and Jennifer Bain. “A Morphology of Medieval Notations in the Optical Neume Recognition Project,” *Arti Musices* 2 (2017): 241-266.
- Henderson W.G. *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Publications of the Surtees Society 61. Durham: Andrews, 1875.
- Heslop, T.A. “The Production of De-luxe Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 151-195.
- Hiley, David. “The Norman Chant Traditions—Normandy, Britain, Sicily,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980): 1-33.
- . “Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986): 57-90.
- . *Western Plainchant*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . “Changes in English Chant Repertories in the Eleventh Century as reflected in the Winchester Sequences,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 16 (1994): 137-53.
- . “What Dunstan Heard the Angels Sing: Notes on a Pre-Conquest Historia,” in *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60*, edited by Janka Szendrei and David Hiley, 105-115. Hildesheim: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995.

- . Review of *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music*, by K.D. Hartzell, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 19 (2010): 208-13.
- Holschneider, Andreas. *Die Organa von Winchester*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968.
- Hornby, Emma and Rebecca Maloy. *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.
- . “Fixity, Flexibility, and Compositional Process in Old Hispanic Chant,” *Music and Letters* 97 (2016): 547-74.
- . “Melodic dialects in Old Hispanic Chant,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* (2016): 32-72.
- Hornby, Emma. “Interactions between Canterbury and Brittany,” in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell*, edited by Emma Hornby and David Maw, 47-65. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010.
- Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval manuscripts for the Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- . “Antiphons and Acclamations: The Politics of Music in the Coronation of Edward II, 1308,” *The Journal of Musicology* 6 (1988): 150-68.
- . *Style and Symbol: Medieval Music, 800-1453*. Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1989.
- . “Origin and Decent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation,” in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, edited by János M. Bak, 197-213. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Hughes, David G. “Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 377-404.
- Huglo, Michel. “La Domaine de la Notation Bretonne,” *Acta Musicologica*, 35 (1963): 54-84.
- Kay, Richard., ed. *Pontificalia: A repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals*. Kansas: University of Kansas Libraries, 2007.
- Keefer, Sarah Larratt. “Looking at the glosses in London, Bl Additional 57337 (The Anderson Pontifical),” *Anglia* Vol. 116 (1998): 215-222.
- Ker, Neil R. “Hemming's Cartulary: A Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii,” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, edited by R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, and R.W. Southern, 49-75. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948.
- . *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Keynes, Simon. *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

- Knowles, David, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera C.M. London., eds. *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940–1216*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Kozachek, Thomas. “The Repertory for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music Liturgy & Ritual.” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995.
- . “Tonal Neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Pontificals,” *Plainsong and Medieval music* 6 (1997): 119-41.
- Lapidge, Michael. *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*. London: Hambledon Press, 1993.
- . “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, edited by Mary P. Richards, 87-167. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Legg, J. Wickham., ed. *Three Coronation Orders*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1900.
- . *English Coronation Records*. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1901.
- Leroquais, Abbé V. *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. Paris: Mâcon, 1937.
- Orchard, Nicholas. *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols. Woodbridge: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2002.
- Pfaff, Richard A. *The Liturgy in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Planchart, Alejandro. *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Pratt, David. “The making of the Second English Coronation *Ordo*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 46 (2017): 147-258.
- Prescott, Andrew. “The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals,” *The British Library Journal* 13 (1987): 118-58.
- Rankin, Susan. “From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 97-112.
- . “Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Musicologie Médiéval: Notations-séquences. otations et séquences: actes de la Table ronde du C.N.R.S. à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 6-7 septembre 1982*, edited by in Michel Huglo, 129-44. Paris: H. Champion, 1987.
- . “Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Early Organum,” in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, edited by David Hiley and Susan Rankin, 60-99. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- . “Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at Late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,” in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, edited by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, 325-348. London: Leicester University Press, 1996.
- . *The Winchester Troper*. Early English Church Music 50. London: Stainer & Bell, 2007.

- . “Calligraphy and the Study of Neumatic Notations,” in *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, edited by John Haines, 47-62. *Musicalia Medii Aevi* 1, Turnhout: Brepolis, 2011.
- . *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Rosenthal, Jane. “The Pontifical of St. Dunstan,” in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, edited by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown eds, 143-63. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.
- Rule, Martin., ed. *Eadmeri Historia novorum in Anglia*. London: Longman & Co, 1884.
- Sole, Laura M. “Some Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert *Liturgica*: The Manuscript Evidence” *Revue Bénédictine* 108 (1998): 104-44.
- Stevenson, Joseph., ed. *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Stokes, Peter A. “The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,” *The Review of English Studies, New Series* 63 (2012): 529-550.
- . *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut c.990-c.1035*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014.
- Swanton, Michael., ed. and trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Treitler, Leo. *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Tselos, Dimitri “English Manuscript Illustration and the Utrecht Psalter,” *The Art bulletin* 41 (1959): 137-49.
- Warren, F.E. *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the episcopate of its first bishop, A.D. 1050-1072; together with some account of the Red book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and a few other early MS service books of the English Church* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883.
- Wilson, H.A. *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*. London: Harrison & Sons, 1903.
- . *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from other English Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century*. London: Harrison & Sons, 1910.

## Appendix 1 : Manuscripts Cited

<i>Siglum</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Saec.</i>
CH-P 18	<i>Bellelay Gradual</i>	?N. France/S. Belgium?	xii <sup>ex</sup>
CH-SGs MS 388	<i>St. Gall 388 / StG 388</i>	St. Gall	x, xiii, xiv
CH-SGs MS 391	<i>Hartker Antiphoner / StG 391</i>	St. Gall	x <sup>med</sup>
F-AM 186	<i>Amiens Pontifical</i>	Amiens	xiii <sup>med</sup>
F-CHRM MS 47	<i>Chartres 47 / Ch 47</i>	?Brittany?	x - xi
[ <i>PalMus XI</i> ]			
F-DOU MS 67	<i>Thomas Becket Pontifical / BekP</i>	?Winchester?	xii
[ <i>Leroquais I, pp.148-155</i> ]			
F-Pn MS Lat. 934	<i>Sens Pontifical / SenP</i>	Sens	xii <sup>2</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 943	<i>Dunstan Pontifical / DunP</i>	?CaCC?/?Ex?/Sherborne/France/Paris	x <sup>med</sup> , x <sup>ex</sup> /xi <sup>in</sup> , xi - xvi
F-Pn MS Lat. 987	<i>Winchester Benedictional</i>	?Wi?/?CaCC?	xi <sup>1</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 10575	<i>Egbert Pontifical / EgbP</i>	?Wor?	x <sup>2</sup> /xi <sup>in</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 17296	<i>St. Denis Antiphoner</i>	St. Denis	x <sup>med</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 17335	<i>Noyon Pontifical / NoyP</i>	Noyon	xii <sup>ex</sup> /xiii <sup>in</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 12044	<i>St Maur Antiphoner / Lat. 12044</i>	Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	xii <sup>1</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 12601	<i>St. Taurin Breviary</i>	Amiens	xi <sup>ex</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 14832	<i>Mont-St. Michel Pontifical / MishP</i>	Mont-Saint Michel	xii <sup>ex</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. 15182	<i>Paris Breviary</i>	Paris	xiii <sup>in</sup>
F-Pn MS Lat. Nov.Acq.306	<i>Rouen Pontifical / RonP</i>	Rouen	xii <sup>med</sup>
F-R MS A.27 (olim 368)	<i>Lanalet Pontifical / LaIP</i>	?Ca?/Wells/Cornwall	xi <sup>in</sup>
F-R MS Y.7 (olim 369)	<i>Robert Benedictional / RobP</i>	Wi(?NM?)	x <sup>ex</sup> /xi <sup>in</sup>
GB-AB 20541 E	<i>20541 Antiphoner</i>	St. David's	xiv <sup>med</sup> - xvi <sup>ex</sup>
GB-Ccc MS 44	<i>Canterbury Pontifical / CanP</i>	Ca(?A?)Ely	xi <sup>1</sup> , xi <sup>med</sup>
GB-Ccc MS 57	<i>MS Ccc 57</i>	CaCC/Abingdon	x <sup>ex</sup> - xi <sup>in</sup>
GB-Ccc MS 79	<i>London Pontifical / LonP</i>	St. David's/Wor/London	xvi <sup>ex</sup> /xv <sup>in</sup>
GB-Ccc MS 146	<i>Samson Pontifical / SamP</i>	?WiOM?/?CaCC?/Wor	xi <sup>in</sup> , xi <sup>2</sup>
GB-Ccc MS 390	<i>Wulfstan Portiforium</i>	Wor	xi <sup>2</sup>
GB-Ccc MS 473	<i>Winchester Troper / WinT1</i>	WiOM	x <sup>ex</sup> /xi <sup>in</sup> , xi <sup>2</sup> , xvi

<i>Signum</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Saec.</i>
GB-Ctc MS B.9.10	<i>Trinity College Pontifical / TreP</i>	Ca / Ely	xii <sup>ex</sup> , xii <sup>2</sup>
GB-Ctc MS R.17.1	<i>Eadwine Psalter</i>	CaCC	xii <sup>med</sup>
GB-Cu MS Ff. 6.1	<i>York Pontifical / YorP</i>	York	xv
GB-Cu MS Mm.2.9	<i>Barnwell Antiphoner</i>	Barnwell	xliii
GB-Dru Cosin V.V.6	<i>Cosin Gradual / CosG</i>	CaCC/Durham	xj <sup>ex</sup> , xii, xiii, xv
GB-EXcl MS 3507	<i>Exeter 3507</i>	CaCC/Ex	x <sup>2</sup>
GB-Lbl Add. MS 28188	<i>Exeter Pontifical / ExeP</i>	Ex	xi <sup>2</sup>
GB-Lbl Add. MS 49598	<i>Æthelwold Benedictinal</i>	WiOM	x <sup>2</sup>
GB-Lbl Add. MS 57337	<i>Anderson Pontifical / AndP</i>	?WiOM?/?CaCC?/Morayshire	x <sup>ex</sup> /xi <sup>in</sup> , xviii <sup>in</sup>
GB-Lbl Add. MS 57517	<i>Bosworth Psalter</i>	Ca(?A?)?Wes?	x <sup>ex</sup> - xi <sup>in</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Claudius A III; 31-86; 106-150	<i>Claudius Pontifical I / ClaudP1</i>	Wor/York	x/xi, xi <sup>1</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Claudius A III; 9-18; 87-105	<i>Claudius Pontifical II / ClaudP2</i>	Ca/York	xi <sup>2</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Claudius A III; 19-29	<i>Claudius Pontifical III / ClaudP3</i>	Ca	xii <sup>in</sup> - xii <sup>med</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Domitian A VIII; 30-70	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle / MS F</i>	CaCC	xi <sup>ex</sup> - xii <sup>in</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Nero I/1	<i>Worcester Passional</i>	Wor	xi <sup>2</sup> - xii <sup>1</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Tiberius B VIII/1	<i>Glasgow Pontifical / GlaswP</i>	Ca/Glasgow	xii <sup>med</sup> , xiv <sup>1</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Vitellius A VII	<i>Ramsey Pontifical / Ramp</i>	Ex	xi <sup>med</sup>
GB-Lbl Cotton MS Vitellius E XII	<i>Vitellius E XII</i>	Germany/Exeter/York	xi <sup>1</sup> , xi <sup>2</sup>
Gb-Lbl Harley MS 603	<i>Harley Psalter</i>	CaCC	xi <sup>1</sup>
GB-Lbl Lansdowne MS 451	<i>Lansdowne 451 / LanP</i>	?London?	xv <sup>in</sup>
GB-Lbl Royal 5 E XI	<i>De laudibus virginitalis</i>	Ca	x <sup>ex</sup> - xi <sup>in</sup>
GB-Ljp MS 149	<i>De adulterinis coniugiis</i>	SW England/Ex	x <sup>2</sup> , xi <sup>in</sup>
GB-Obi MS Auct. D. 2. 16	<i>Leofric's booklist (fols. 1-2v)</i>	Landevennec/Ex	x <sup>2</sup> , xi <sup>2</sup>
GB-Obi MS Bodl. 579	<i>Leofric Missal</i>	N.E. France/?CaCC?/Devon/Ex	ix <sup>ex</sup> - x <sup>in</sup> , x <sup>2</sup> , xi <sup>2</sup>
GB-Obi MS Bodl. 718	<i>Bodley 718</i>	CaCC/Ex	xi <sup>in</sup> , xi <sup>ex</sup>
GB-Obi MS Bodl. 775	<i>Winchester Troper / WinT2</i>	WiOM	xi <sup>med</sup>
GB-Omc MS Lat. 226	<i>Magdalen College Pontifical / MagP</i>	Ca/?Hereford?	xii <sup>1</sup> , xiv - xvi

<i>Signum</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Saec.</i>
GB-WO MS F. 160 (olim 1247) [ <i>PalMus</i> XII]	<i>Worcester Antiphoner</i>	Wor	xiii <sup>med</sup>
I-Far [no call number]	<i>I-Far Antiphoner</i>	Florence	xii
IRL-Dtc MS 98	<i>Dublin Pontifical / DubIP</i>	Ca	xi <sup>ex</sup>
NL-Uu MS 32	<i>Utrecht Psalter</i>	?Reims?Hautvilliers?	ix <sup>1</sup>
US-NYpm MS 869	<i>Arenberg Gospels</i>	CaCC/Köln	x <sup>ex</sup> , xii
Private collection [ <i>PalMus</i> XVI]	<i>Noyon/Mont-Renaud Antiphoner</i>	Corbie/Noyon/Mont-Renaud	x <sup>med</sup> , xi <sup>in</sup>

Legend: ? \_\_\_ ? = disputed or conflicting assignment

- A = St. Augustine's, Canterbury
- Ca = Canterbury
- CC = Christ Church, Canterbury
- Ex = Exeter
- Wes = Westminster
- Wi = Winchester
- WiOM = Old Minster, Winchester
- WiNM = New Minster, Winchester
- Wor = Worcester