NOTRE DAME IN SCOTLAND:

W₁ AND LITURGICAL REFORM AT ST ANDREWS

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ABSTRACT

One of the earliest examples of Notre Dame polyphony is a manuscript that for the past forty years has been considered the product of several scribes working in St Andrews, Scotland (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelph 628 Helmst., (W1)). Twenty years ago, the discovery of two contemporary liturgical sources from St Andrews further established the origin of W1 in St Andrews during the episcopacy of William Malveisin (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 12036 and 1218). This dissertation demonstrates that the Francophile Bishop Malveisin commissioned the impressive collection of music in W1 as part of a liturgical campaign. Malveisin also built a college of secular canons, called Céli Dé because of the ancient royal Celtic religious order from which some members were recruited, to perform the grand ceremonial in W1 in order to increase the international prestige of the Scottish cathedral.

The first chapter argues that, contrary to previous assumptions, the Augustinian canons were not the recipients of W1, but rather the Céli Dé, who were aristocratic Scottish-Norman clerics with university educations. In Chapter 2, my paleographic and codicological study lays the foundation for a biography of the scribe of W1, demonstrating that one documentary scribe copied both the text and music of the whole manuscript. In Chapter 3, I trace the editing work of that scribe in the music and in the collection of polyphony and monophony providing insular ordinary tropes of various styles for the cathedral liturgy. The
fourth chapter, offering the first analysis of the antiphoner for the Céli Dé, (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 12036), finds it better suited to the Notre Dame polyphony of $W_1$ than Edward Roesner found the Uses of Sarum and York in his study.

The final chapter argues that the polyphony in $W_1$ contributed to the prestige of the new Gothic cathedral dedicated to the patron saint of Scotland, St. Andrew. This precious witness to the various ways of ornamenting the liturgy in the thirteenth century, inspired by polyphonic performances at the cathedral of Notre Dame, was produced as a testament to the great importance and power of the Apostle to the Scots.
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# NOTES ON MUSIC, TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>First Vespers of a Feast</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Second Vespers</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Matins</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lauds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1-12</td>
<td>The placement of an antiphon in Matins, Lauds or Vespers</td>
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<tr>
<td>R1-12</td>
<td>The placement of a responsory in Matins, Lauds or Vespers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v1-12</td>
<td>The placement of a verse in Matins, Lauds or Vespers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cap.</td>
<td>Reading for an Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M# and O#</td>
<td>Numbers assigned to Organum in Ludwig’s <em>Repertorium</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cao #</td>
<td>Catalogue of antiphons as in Hesbert’s <em>Corpus antiphonalium officii</em>, now expanded on the Cantus Database (Koláček, Jan, Debra Lacoste and Kate Helsen. <em>Cantus: A Database of Latin Ecclesiastical Chant.</em> (Waterloo) <a href="http://www.cantusdatabase.org">www.cantusdatabase.org</a>.)</td>
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## Manuscripts

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<th>Manuscript Code</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cu F.ii.29</td>
<td>Cambridge, University Library, Ff. ii. 29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wor. Frag.</td>
<td>Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Add. 68; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Lat. liturg. d. 20; and British Library Add. 25031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pn 1218</td>
<td>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Latin MS 1218</td>
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<tr>
<td>SGs 381</td>
<td>St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 381</td>
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<td>SGs 484</td>
<td>St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484</td>
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<td>Pn 1240</td>
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<tr>
<td>WoC F 160</td>
<td>Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, F 160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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## Manuscript references:

Apart from those listed above, all manuscript references use RISM library sigla.
Abbreviated Titles of Printed Sources of Scottish Documents:

All abbreviations for printed sources of Scottish Documents conform to those given in the List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560, published as a supplement to the Scottish Historical Review 42, 1963.

Pitch Names:


Transcriptions from manuscripts:

All transcriptions from manuscripts are diplomatic. I have used italics to indicate my own expansions of abbreviated texts.
**INTRODUCTION**

In the late twelfth century, singers in the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris practiced and codified a novel and influential kind of liturgical music: Notre Dame organum, in which the traditional Gregorian chants were embellished with harmonizing parts written in newly developing rhythmic modes. This polyphonic repertoire spread to other religious institutions, spawning new polyphonic creations and liturgical collections, while local singers maintained and revised their style at the cathedral in Paris.¹ Yet the only written records of these new compositions were copied at least fifty years after the style's inception and appear to have been copied outside of the cathedral or for exportation.²

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A key example of this phenomenon is the famous manuscript known to musicologists as \( W_1 \), the early thirteenth-century manuscript containing the new repertory of Notre Dame organum, as well as tropes for the ordinaries of the mass, and polyphony for the Lady mass. Despite the convincing arguments put forth by Edward Roesner and Mark Everist concerning the origin and destination of \( W_1 \), musicologists today still consider its provenance in St Andrews uncertain.\(^3\)


Because little is known about medieval music in Scotland, it perhaps seems too far off the beaten path to have received and used such modern, fashionable music. How did the polyphony travel from the large and wealthy Cathedral of


4 Preece was a promising scholar of Scottish medieval music, but died tragically young. Thankfully her preliminary research was compiled and developed in Isobel Woods Preece, Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000).
Notre Dame to the remote northern shores of Scotland? Who copied the music in St Andrews? For whom was \( W_1 \) copied? Did anyone ever sing the polyphony in \( W_1 \)?

This dissertation proposes answers to these questions, especially through the uncovering of new evidence in historical documents and paleographic study. This study leads us into the biography of one socialite Frenchman who envisioned grand polyphonic music in the liturgy of the new Gothic cathedral in St Andrews, run by cultured, elite French clerics. As Everist discovered, the bishop of St Andrews who likely commissioned the manuscript, William Malveisin, had familial connections in France, a taste for French wine, and made several longs journeys from Scotland to France, stopping in Paris. He also employed several French clerks and Paris-trained magistri, and was hardly the only Francophile in Scotland, as documentary evidence shows. Malveisin helped to build the Francophile community that in turn, I argue, created \( W_1 \). These efforts were undertaken to promote the patron of the ecclesiastical head of Scotland, Saint Andrew, the Apostle.

The story of \( W_1 \) begins with the patron, William Malveisin. The first chapter of this dissertation studies Malveisin's character and his relationship with the clerical communities in St Andrews. Malveisin's activities and interests lay on both sides the channel. Although he travelled to France several times and kept in close contact with French culture, his allegiance was to King William I of Scotland, who pushed him through the ecclesiastical ranks in Scotland to be the head of the Scottish church as bishop of St Andrews. Malveisin also owed devotion to
the Scottish saints who protected him and the Scottish kingdom. These allegiances motivated him to support a Gaelic monastic community in St Andrews cathedral, the Céli Dé, by transforming them into an elite group of French secular clerics. It was through the establishment of such a community that the production of W₁ in St Andrews was possible.

The second chapter looks into the scriptorium in which W₁ was produced. I demonstrate in this chapter that W₁ was copied by one scribe whose exposure to Notre Dame organum and the intellectual environment in Paris equipped him to copy the text and music in W₁. But the scribe turned to Scottish charter manuscripts to find models for the layout of his manuscript. Using bibliographical evidence, I show that there were a handful of documented scribes in Scotland during the first half of the thirteenth century who could have had the skills necessary to complete this collection of music, and were furthermore likely to have been employed by Malveisin.

The third chapter examines the scribe of W₁ as a musician and music collector. The scribe’s own musical vocabulary, whether shaped primarily in Paris or in St Andrews, emerges in organum, conductus and ordinary tropes throughout the manuscript, particularly in the unique pieces. He used this vocabulary, I argue, to compose extremely virtuosic monophonic tropes. The rich, dense erudite poetry of the monophonic tropes for the Sanctus and Agnus dei sought to elevate the intellect to the celestial realm at the high point of the mass.

Saint Kentigern, the first bishop of Glasgow, came to the aid of Malveisin’s predecessor in 1164 when the Lord of Galloway, Somerled, threatened to conquer Glasgow. A Latin poem, probably written close to 1164 reports the Saint Kentigern and all the Scottish saints gave Bishop Herbert of Glasgow victory against Somerled. The poem will be discussed further in Chapter 1.
Other ordinary tropes in W₁ demonstrate that the scribe collected polyphony for a community that had an ongoing troping tradition.

With Chapter Four I briefly turn to address the liturgical use of the Céli Dé. The pervasive practice of the Sarum Use in most extant insular liturgical sources sometimes causes hasty assignments of early books to the same ritual and musical practice. This has been the case with W₁ and another liturgical manuscript which I argue was copied for the Céli Dé. A St Andrews antiphoner, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 12036 (Pn 12036), was influenced by a pre-conquest insular Benedictine use and a secular use—possibly the Old Sarum Use—drawn up for distribution to other insular churches. I argue that it was commissioned by Malveisin to provide his secular clerical community, the Céli Dé, with a newly revised liturgical practice.

In the final chapter, I examine a character who looms in the background throughout the story of W₁: Saint Andrew the Apostle played a pivotal role in the production of W₁ for the Céli Dé of St Andrews. He was the patron of the cathedral in the southeast of the kingdom, but he also gained the reputation of patron of the whole Scottish kingdom through the legend of the journey of his relics to St Andrews. The legend was probably developed by the Céli Dé in the twelfth century, and their liturgy reflected their veneration of their patron, even during their transition to secular clerics in the early thirteenth century. The polyphony collected in W₁ would honor the Saint, in the music for his own feast day and at every major feast day. Saint Andrew's cathedral would display the splendor that the brother of Saint Peter and apostle to the Scots deserved. The
primary vehicle for honoring the patron saint and a constellation of other Scottish saints, was the liturgy, adorned with lofty music in a French accent.
Today the ruins of the cathedral of St Andrews on the northeast coast of Fife are not a particularly popular tourist destination. But in the Middle Ages, many pilgrims flocked to the grand Gothic cathedral to pay homage to St Andrew, the Apostle. On the remote northeast coast pilgrims had a rare opportunity to see the relics of a saint who had actually known Jesus, a fisherman who became an apostle. According to apocryphal texts and Scottish legends, Andrew had a mission to the people who inhabited this far northwest corner of Europe. As the brother of St. Peter, the patron of Rome, St. Andrew gave authority and status to the Scottish church. According to Scottish legends, he protected the Scottish kings from their enemies. Kings thus paid homage to him at Kinrimund, a royal Celtic site later known as the burgh of St Andrews, where his relics were held.  

When the seat of the bishop of St Andrews was vacant in 1202, King William I of Scotland hastily moved to fill the position with a trusted prelate. Two late medieval chronicles would report that William Malveisin was "elected"

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at the request of King William. William Malveisin knew very well the authority he assumed as bishop of St Andrews in the ambitious and independently-minded Scottish kingdom. In addition to speeding along building on the new cathedral, Malveisin enlarged the community of learned secular clerics in St Andrews, but restrained the Augustinian Priory who ran the cathedral chapter. He also sought out music befitting the status of the cathedral, as Mark Everist has shown. Why did Malveisin look to Notre Dame of Paris for influence? How did he acquire the manuscript of polyphony that eventually lay in the library of the Augustinian Priory of St Andrews? Who did Malveisin think would perform this unusual new polyphony? These questions can be answered by gaining a better understanding of William Malveisin himself and the community of clerics in St Andrews who were under his authority.

William Malveisin’s fascination with French culture, his wealth, and his determination to promote the cathedral of St Andrews make him the likely patron of W₁. But he would not have intended it for the Augustinian canons

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9 In “From Paris to St. Andrews,” Everist argued that the existence of two other liturgical books copied for St Andrews during Malveisin’s tenure, and Malveisin’s French connections made him the likely patron. Mark Everist, “From 9.
who were presumably installed at the cathedral. As reformers, Augustinian canons were usually resistant to organum, as was the case at St Victor.

Furthermore, Malveisin’s relationship with them was strained at best. On the other hand, he recruited a large number of Scottish-Norman clerics, many of whom were university-educated, to be in his familia and to replace the Céli Dé as secular canons in the chapter of the cathedral.

The course of Malveisin’s career prepared him for the great task of promoting the cathedral of St Andrews, which he carried out with due zeal. For inspiration he looked east to France, rather than south to England, to the architectural monuments and magnificent liturgical ceremonies of the great cathedrals he knew from his homeland. In order to recreate these he needed a grand cathedral, the latest musical embellishments of the liturgical chant, and clerics who would willingly perform this new liturgy. In the first section of this chapter, I consider Malveisin’s his cosmopolitan character, his administrative and diplomatic skills, and his cultural interests and milieu, reflected in charters, chronicles and literature. Medieval and modern scholars have attributed several literary works to Malveisin on account of his reputation as a learned and


Edward Roesner contended that, since English Augustinian houses often had contact with Parisian houses, so also could the priory of St Andrews. However, there is no reason to think the Augustinians at St Andrews would have had any connection with Paris. Their only connections seem to be with the house of Nostell and its daughter house at Kirkham in northern England. Edward H. Roesner, ed., *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*, Musica Gallica (Monaco: Editions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1993), vol. VII, p. liv.

sophisticated man. These works provide evidence of the rich culture of which Malveisin was both a patron and a product. He displayed his wealth and his ideals for St Andrews in material objects, not least of which was the cathedral.

In the second section, I demonstrate that Malveisin built a rival chapter of secular canons, who were active in the liturgy and governance of the cathedral, from the Céli Dé community. Malveisin’s political machinations may have ruined his relations with the canons regular of St Andrews who were in charge of the chapter and who were building the new cathedral, but he expanded his own household with many Frenchmen and university-educated men—sometimes both. He also modernized the ancient Gaelic monastic community in the old church into a secular community of clerics for the new cathedral, replacing the monks with members of his own household. These were the first steps towards building a French cathedral on the coast of Scotland.

A. WILLIAM MALVEISIN, BISHOP OF THE SCOTS

William Malveisin (Guillaume Malveisin, Malvaisin, Mauvaisin, Malvesin, or Mauvaysin) likely came from a Norman family of northern France, in the region of the lower Seine. It is unclear how he started his career in Scotland, but he may have been one of many Frenchmen invited into service in the court of the

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young king William I. A Guy Malvoisin was noted in *Ordericus Vitalis* for joining Count Waleran at Beaumont in the Norman rebellion of 1123, along with Guy's nephew Peter de Maule, Simon de Neaufle and countless other Frenchmen. Men with the de Maule and de Neaufle family names appear in Malveisin's *familia* in St Andrews, suggesting long ties between their families. Guy Malvoisin's brother Ralph had a grandson named William, who may be our own William Malveisin. If he is, William Malveisin would have had an influential ecclesiastical leader in his family, as his uncle was Samson, archbishop of Rheims (1133–61). William also had a son named Ralph (III), who may have been the Ralph Malveisin who was active as a canon in Glasgow in 1219, and possibly the same Ralph who was cleric to William when he was bishop of Glasgow.

Although his career was in Scotland, Malveisin maintained many connections to French culture. While bishop of Glasgow and St Andrews, he

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15 Arb. Lib. no. 165-7 and St. A. Lib., 107.
16 Ralph, brother of Guy, is mentioned in *Ordericus Vitalis* as a castellan holding lands in Mantes, northwest of Paris. Ralph's son Gumbold, paid homage and fealty to Peter de Maule in 1106 as one of his knights. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 3, p. 180, 182-4. William Malveisin may also have had family ties to family of the same name in Staffordshire and Leicester in the later twelfth century. See Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410*, 375.
18 He is the beneficiary in Theiner, no. 29 in 1219. A Ralph is witness as the Bishop's clerk in *Melr. Lib.* no. 92 and *Kel. Lib.* no. 427.
visited the country on at least three occasions, perhaps to visit relatives.\textsuperscript{19} Apparently, he had a taste for French wine and other French goods, as he sought special privileges to import wine from France through England, and to trade with merchants from Gisors and Paris.\textsuperscript{20} He surrounded himself with Frenchmen whom he employed in his \textit{familia}, as we saw above. He may also have introduced new religious orders from France. John Spottiswood, a later archbishop of St Andrews (1615-1629) and a Scottish historian, wrote that Malveisin brought back Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobins and Valliscaulians from his journey in 1218.\textsuperscript{21} Indeed, it seems the Scottish kings, particularly William, established a "little France" in their courts. As a late-thirteenth century chronicler noted concerning the early thirteenth-century Scottish kings, "The modern kings of the Scots consider themselves Frenchmen: as in race, so in customs, language and cult; they keep only Frenchmen in their household and service, having reduced the

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\textsuperscript{20} Around 1220 Malveisin requested a license from King Henry III of England for a wine merchant to import wine from France. Malveisin also requested, possibly around the same time, a license for two other French merchants to trade in England; Jean Sachevin, merchant of Gisors, and Simon Cabot, merchant of Paris. CPR 1216 – 1225, 464 and CPR 1225 – 1232, 257.

\textsuperscript{21} John Spottiswood, \textit{History of the Church of Scotland, Beginning the Year of Our Lord 203 and Continuing to the End of the Reign of King James VI}, ed. Mark Napier, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1847), 86. Spottiswood’s works were written to defend ecclesial authority, particularly of bishops, during the Reformation. He may therefore have exaggerated Malveisin’s role in developing religious orders in Scotland. Nonetheless, his account is provocative, and warrants further investigation of his sources.
Scots to extreme servitude.” Like the Scottish kings, Malveisin built for himself a French church and household, engaged with developments on the continent despite the relative isolation of the northern kingdom. These efforts undoubtedly contributed to the cause of Scottish independence from England in both temporal and ecclesial spheres.

**ADMINISTRATOR AND DIPLOMAT**

William Malveisin’s experience in both courtly and ecclesiastical settings fully acquainted him with the struggles of the Scottish kingdom and church to gain independence from the English—struggles which would influence many of his decisions as bishop. He began his career in Scotland as a clerk in the royal household, possibly having immigrated to Scotland with Norman knights at the invitation of King William I of Scotland (1165-1214). By 1194 he held the office

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23 Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the English and the Scots battled over control of the area now known as the Scottish Borders. The Scottish kings further claimed independent sovereignty, except for the embarrassing incident when King William I of Scotland was captured, and forced to sign the Treaty of Falaise in 1174. Happily for the Scottish king, King Richard of England sold the Scottish king’s sovereignty back in 1189 to fund his crusade. In the ecclesial realm, the Scottish church was part of the northern archdiocese of York until the late twelfth century, discussed below. For the latest overview of the subject of Scottish ecclesial independence see Richard D. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070-1230* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 328–361. Duncan argued that the independence won by the Scottish church against the English was fodder for the Wars of Independence from 1214-1372 in A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom*, vol. 1, The Edinburgh History of Scotland (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975), 256–280.

24 He appears as a witness to a charter from c. 1180 as a king’s clerk. *Arb. Lib.* no. 90. Donald Watt suggested that Malveisin arrived in Scotland in the mid-1180s.
of archdeacon of Lothian in the diocese of St Andrews under Bishop Roger (1189-1202). 25 His career in both the royal court and in the church advanced in 1199, when he became both a chancellor to King William and bishop-elect of Glasgow. 26 It appears he continued in both positions, even after he was consecrated as bishop in 1200. 27 After only two years as bishop of Glasgow, he was quickly translated to the see of St Andrews at the request of the King William I of Scotland. 28 During his time as bishop of St Andrews he remained in the service of the King, acting alongside him as the ecclesial head of Scotland. He was an important ambassador during negotiations between King John of England (1199-1216) and King William I of Scotland, discussed below. 29

One of the first political gestures Malveisin made towards Scottish ecclesial independence was at his ordination to the priesthood and consecration to the episcopacy. For his priestly and episcopal consecration he did not go to the archbishop of York, only a few hundred miles away, nor did he seek out with Roger, third earl of Leicester, who was appointed chancellor by King William before being elected bishop of St Andrews in 1189. Roger gave Malveisin his first major benefice as archdeacon of Lothian; Donald E. R. Watt, A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 375. Douglas Owen suggested that he came to Scotland along with several young knights from Flanders and Normandy to find their fortunes at the service of King William of Scotland. D.D.R. Owen, “The Fergus-Poet,” in Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 235.

25 SEA, i, no. 94 and no. 233.
27 He witnessed a charter as chancellor of the king and bishop of Glasgow between 1201 and 1202. RRS, ii, no. 427.
29 Bower, Scotichronicon, IV: 448.
consecration from other bishops in Scotland, as would his successors.\textsuperscript{30} Consecration at York would have undermined the independence the Scottish church had only recently won from that see.\textsuperscript{31} Thus, he journeyed to Lyon, where he was ordained a priest on September 23, 1200, and bishop of Glasgow on the following day.\textsuperscript{32} While on the continent he took the opportunity to travel and seek out experienced mentors who could share their wisdom in judicial matters, particularly the distinctions between his temporal and ecclesial jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{33} At Clairvaux, he found the Englishman John of Canterbury, a former archbishop of

\textsuperscript{30} Jocelin, his predecessor at Glasgow, was consecrated at Clairvaux since he had been abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Melrose. Florence and William de Bondington, his successors, were both consecrated at Glasgow, the latter by Bishop Andrew of Moray. Donald Watt, \textit{Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638}, 2d draft. (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Smith and Ritchie Ltd., 1969), 145–6. See also \textit{Chron. Melrose}, 82. Roger was consecrated at St Andrews by other Scottish bishops in 1198, and David de Bernham was consecrated there also by William de Bodington in 1240. Abel de Gullane was consecrated by the pope in 1254. Watt, \textit{Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi}, 292.


\textsuperscript{32} The concurrent archbishop of York, Geoffrey Plantagenet (1191-1212) had been consecrated by the archbishop of Tours in 1191. Nicholas Karn, ed., \textit{English Episcopal Acta 31, Ely 1109-1197} (Oxford University Press, 2005), lxxxvii. Roger of Howden is the only chronicler to record these events. William Stubbs, ed., \textit{Chronica Magistri Rogeri De Hovedene}, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 51 (London: Longman, 1871), vol. IV, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{33} John of Canterbury (Belmais or Bellais), the former archbishop of Lyon, wrote a letter to Malveisin in response to a question from Malveisin concerning the overlap of temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which he remarked on Malveisin’s upcoming trip to Paris. The letter, discussed below, is found in Joseph Robertson, \textit{Concilia Scotiae: ecclesiae scoticanae statuta tam provincilia quam synodalia quae supersunt MCCXXV-MDLIX} (Bannatyne Club, 1866), ccxcv–vii; translated in David Patrick, \textit{Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559: Being a Translation of Concilia Scotiae, Ecclesiae Scoticanae Statuta Tam Provincialia Quam Synodalia Quae Supersunt}, Publications of the Scottish History Society 54 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1907), 288–92.
Lyon, who had gained a particular reputation as a canon law expert during his early career as a cleric of the bishop of York. Malveisin questioned him about the secular authority of his position as bishop in a hypothetical case resembling a recent dispute involving both English and Scottish jurisdictions. Since Malveisin’s question regarded a cross-border case, John might have had particular insight because of previous position as a clerk in York. Such networking with the former archbishop and friend of the recent martyr, Thomas Becket, would also have been advantageous to Malveisin when he acted as a diplomat in France.

Malveisin helped to negotiate an important peace treaty between King William I of Scotland and his enemy, King John of England, to the south. In 1209, as relations between the two worsened, King William chose Malveisin, Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, and two members of his court to communicate with the obstinate king of England. When their communication only escalated King John’s anger, King William sent Malveisin and the abbot of Melrose with a friendlier message, hoping to avoid battle. Malveisin returned to King William to deliver the message that King John was advancing north with his army. Once

35 Duncan suggested that the assize of 1197 in Perth was the subject Malveisin’s hypothetical case.
36 Bower, Scotichronicon, IV: 450–452.
again, William chose Malveisin to attempt to delay King John while William assembled his army. Luckily for King William, John finally changed his mind and a peace treaty was made, witnessed by Malveisin on August 7, 1209.\textsuperscript{37}

While Malveisin was abroad between 1215 and 1218, the most important papal document concerning the independence of the Scottish church was reissued, probably at his own urging.\textsuperscript{38} Originally issued in 1192, the bull entitled *Cum inversi* declared that the Scottish church was a 'special daughter' of Rome and subject to no other see.\textsuperscript{39} What was good for the Scottish church, which was thus freed from English sovereignty, must have been a personal disappointment for Malveisin, since it also denied St Andrews a superior place above the other Scottish sees. In fact, the bishop of St Andrews had been seeking an archbishop's pallium since the early twelfth century through the authority of the cathedral's patron saint.\textsuperscript{40} Despite being only the first among equals according to *Cum inversi*, Malveisin held fast to the traditional claim of the bishop of St Andrews to

\textsuperscript{37} RRS, ii, no. 488. See Bower, *Scotichronicon*, IV, 620.
\textsuperscript{38} Malveisin was certainly in Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Marinell Ash, “The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328” (Ph.D., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972), 19.
be recognized Bishop of the Scots.⁴¹ Thus Malveisin’s seal depicts the typical stance of the early thirteenth century bishops, reading "Sigillum Willelmi Dei Gratia Scotorum Episcopi" (seal of William, by the grace of God Bishop of the Scots) on the one side.⁴²

Malveisin was effective as a bishop and diplomat because he was a shrewd administrator of his possessions and ecclesiastical authority, as well as a learned and careful scholar. In Glasgow he resolved the mounting war between the secular canons and vicars choral, their representatives in the performance of the Divine Office.⁴³ The vicars choral, apparently grasping for more power and wealth, were attempting to gain some of the authority and possessions of the cathedral canons. Malveisin allowed that under no terms would the vicars choral have a place in the chapter or a share in the prebends of the cathedral.

Malveisin attended to financial concerns at St Andrews as well. Walter Bower wrote in his Scoticronicon that, as bishop of St Andrews, Malveisin worked diligently to restore property that his predecessor, Roger, had carelessly lost.

For he devoted himself with ever-watchful attention to restoring property that had been dispersed and alienated to its original condition, to preserving with discerning purposefulness what had been gathered

⁴¹ According to one of the legends of St Andrew’s relics, Bishop Fothad (d. 1093) called himself bishop of Alba. Taylor and Márkus, The Place-Names of Fife. Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk, 603; Duncan, The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292, 4. See also Oram, Domination and Lordship, 335–7.
⁴³ The controversy between the chapter and the vicars choral of Glasgow was dealt with promptly upon Malveisin’s return from his consecration. Glas. Reg. no. 97.
together and assigned for the church’s purposes, and with cheerful countenance and jovial disposition to making generous distributions.\textsuperscript{44}

Malveisin’s reputation as one knowledgeable in both civil and canon law spread beyond Scottish borders. A case between Malveisin’s successor and the convent of Jedburgh, brought before a prominent ecclesiastical judge at York, John le Romeyn, was decided on the fact that John le Romeyn highly esteemed Malveisin’s skill in both of these areas.\textsuperscript{45}

Malveisin’s competent management also made some enemies. In a list of the bishops of St Andrews left by John Law, canon of St Andrews around 1521, Malveisin was “called a bad neighbor” and a story of his injustice was repeated from Bower’s account.\textsuperscript{46} On one occasion when he was visiting Dunfermline Abbey, the monks ran out of wine to serve him. He was so angered by the insufficient quantity of wine that he seized their lands of Kinglassie and Hailes. Bower remarked, however, that it was not the monks, but the clerics of Malveisin’s household who had drunk up all the wine, which was probably

\textsuperscript{44} Translation from Bower, \textit{Scotichronicon}, III: 394. As a canon of St Andrews, Bower was most likely drawing from sources in the cathedral archives. The history of the bishops of St Andrews occurs as a marginal addition in the earliest manuscript, for which Bower drew most of the material from the Chronicle of Fordun. See Bower, \textit{Scotichronicon}, III: 461–2.
\textsuperscript{45} “quia credibile non fuit quod tantus et tam discretus bone memorie Wilemus Episcopus utriusque juris peritus in preiudicium suum et sue ecclesie admisisset ultimam personam ad presentacionem dictorum canonicerum sicut ex eius instrumento apparat.” \textit{HMC, 14th Report}, App. III, no. 18 (pg. 183-4).
imported and rather expensive.\textsuperscript{47} Malveisin thus had a dual reputation as both a
good diplomat in political situations, and a harsh authority toward monastic
communities, especially Augustinian canons, as we shall see below.

\textbf{WILLIAM MALVEISIN AS AUTHOR}

As noted before, several literary works have been attributed to Malveisin
by medieval and contemporary scholars, though no text can be definitively
proven as having been written by him. Andrew Wyntoun, a Scottish chronicler
of the early fifteenth century, recorded details of Malveisin's early career in one
version of his \textit{Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland}, giving the earliest indication of
Malveisin's literary work.

\begin{quote}
A gud man, William Malwysyne  
The quhilk wes translatit that tyme  
Fra the bishoprik of Glasgow  
\textit{Till the bishoprik of Sanctandrow}.  
The kirk he hallowit of Sanct Mungow  
As in his cornykle [sic] is writtin now  
That the translatioun of that  
Wes that tyme done by a legat,  
Maister Johne wes callit be name  
At the instance of King William.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

This passage reports that Malveisin wrote a chronicle in which he claimed to
have consecrated the Glasgow cathedral dedicated to Saint Kentigern, also

\textsuperscript{47} Apart from a few vines at the Cistercian monastery of Melrose, vineyards were rare in Scotland. Janet E. Burton and Julie Kerr, \textit{The Cistercians in the Middle Ages} (Boydell Press, 2011), 111.
\textsuperscript{48} This version of his chronicle, the earliest copy from 1406, is the only one that includes the lines given here in italics. François Joseph Amours, ed., \textit{The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun: Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss Mss., with the Variants of the Other Texts}, Scottish Text Society 50, 53-54, 56-57, 63 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1903), 5: 60.
known as Mungo. No chronicle attributed to Malveisin survives, nor does any source state that Malveisin consecrated the Glasgow cathedral. An unattributed source for Bower’s *Scotichronicon* during the years between 1201 and 1230 may, however, have been composed by Malveisin himself. Donald Watt identified a source, called S, for Bower’s history from the late twelfth through the early thirteenth century, which seems to have been drawn from Roger of Howden’s *Gesta Henrici*, but continues after Roger’s death. This source contained, among other events, the negotiations between King John and King William in which Malveisin played a pivotal role as discussed earlier. Archibald Duncan argued that Malveisin knew Roger of Howden, contributed to his work, and continued after Roger’s death with something like a *Gesta Willelmi Regis*, which in turn was used for Bower’s *Scotichronicon*. Howden was, in fact, the only chronicler to record the details of Malveisin’s consecration to the episcopacy in detail. If Malveisin was indeed the author behind Bower’s source, we might question whether his diplomatic role was exaggerated in his record. Nonetheless, his contribution to Scottish history appears likely.

The seventeenth-century scholar Thomas Dempster credited Malveisin with writing two lost hagiographic works: *De Miraculis S. Niniani* and *Acta Sancti Kentigerni*. Though it would be surprising if Wyntoun used the word "chronicle" otherwise.

49 According to the Chronicle of Melrose, Jocelin, his predecessor at Glasgow consecrated the cathedral in 1197 and commissioned a new *vita* of Kentigern. *Chron. Melrose*, 103.
50 Donald Watt noted that the source for these years in Bower’s work has a distinct voice from the Chronicle of Melrose and others from which John of Fordun, Bower’s own source, drew. For this argument see Bower, *Scotichronicon*, IX: 252–3.
51 For this argument see Duncan, “Roger of Howden and Scotland,” 145–151.
to describe the Acta Sancti Kentigerni, the Acta might have been the source stating that Malveisin consecrated the cathedral of Glasgow. Unfortunately, Dempster left no source for this assertion, shrouding it in mystery.  

Malveisin’s reputation as a writer, his interest in French culture and his experience in the "little France" of King William's court make it likely that he should be identified with Guillaume, le Clerc, author of the Roman de Fergus, written around 1100. This parody of Chrétien de Troyes' Perceval and le Conte du Graal is set in the lower regions of Scotland. Fergus is the son of a rich farmer named Soumilloit and a noblewoman. When King Arthur and his knights ride by on a hunt of the White Stag one morning while Fergus is farming, Fergus is enthralled and resolves to be one of the king’s counselors. At his knighting

52 Dempster’s Historia is the only record of these works, unfortunately, and he is not a reliable source. This claim of authorship is particularly tantalizing now that we have a better sense of Malveisin's written works. Thomas Dempster, Thomaie Dempstieri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum: Sive, De Scriptoribus Scotis, ed. David Irving (Edinburgh: A. Balfour, 1829), 2: 490. On Dempster as an unreliable historian see John Durkan, “Thomas Dempster: a Scottish Baronius,” The Innes Review 54 (2003): 69–78.


55 When Fergus learns that the knights riding by are from the court of King Arthur he cries, "So help me God, I want to join this really civilized company of his, come what may. So I'll go to court to serve him, if he deigns to keep me there, and I shall be his counsellor." Fergus of Galloway, 7. "Si m’aït Dius, a coi qu’il trot, / Jo veul estre de sa mainnie, / Ki tant par est bien ensignie, / Et se l’irai a 23.
ceremony Fergus receives Perceval’s sword, and thus Guillaume began a new variation on the Arthurian tradition.

The tale of the Roman de Fergus explores an issue that Malveisin himself dealt with in his own church—the integration of Scotsmen into a culturally French ruling class and church hierarchy. It is a story of an upwardly mobile Scotsman in the Norman period who leaves behind his rustic, even barbaric home to assimilate into the world of chivalry, courtly games and honor. At the end of his quest he is knighted in Arthur’s court and given the realm of Lothian, along with its lady, Galiene. In the course of the narrative Fergus is transformed from a bumbling country boy to a lord of the wealthiest area of Scotland. Some scholars have questioned the intention of the work, whether it is `entertainment or a parody of chivalric ideals. Michael Freeman has argued that the Roman in fact attempts to restore the chivalric ideals undermined by Chrétien’s Perceval.

Most recently, a typological reading of Fergus as the messianic savior of amour-chevalerie with Perceval as the forerunner—as John the Baptist is to Jesus Christ—


has been put forward. These readings situate Fergus as the hero of chivalry itself, a great feat for this character who begins as a bumbling country Galwegian. But viewed within the context of thirteenth-century Scotland, chivalric code takes on a new significance as the means by which the "barbarian" Scots could enter into aristocratic French society.

At least three of the characters in Fergus have historical antecedents with whom Malveisin would have been well acquainted. The story of the hunt begins in Galloway, where a historical Fergus (d. 1161) was lord. An independent Norse kingdom in the southwest of modern Scotland, Galloway would eventually be subsumed under Scottish rule later in the thirteenth century. Fergus was the sort of lord that had given Galloway a bad reputation, reflected in Le Cont du Graal. Some copies state that Galloway is "a very evil land with very perverse people." Fergus invaded Scotland towards the end of

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60 On these historical figures see Owen, Fergus of Galloway, 3. For an argument against reading the literary characters as historical figures, see Zemel, The Quest for Galiene, 143–8.


his life, but was defeated. His descendants, Alan and Roland of Galloway, were members of King William's court and therefore acquaintances of Malveisin. The author of the Roman de Fergus revised the characterization of Galloway from Le Cont du Graal, perhaps for the sake of Fergus' descendents. Rather than evil, Guillaume le Clerc calls Galwegians merely stupid.

. . . until it has come to Galloway, a richly endowed land. But the folk who live there are very ignorant, for they will never enter a church: they are so stupid and bestial that they are not concerned with praying to God.

Fergus transcends this Galwegian stereotype by the end of the Roman, but his father, Soumilloit, fits the characterization well. The historical figure Somerled (d. 1164) was king of the Hebrides and Lord of Argyll and Kintyre. Like Fergus, he also was remembered for challenging the Scottish kings, most famously in the poem on his death written by William, clerk of Glasgow (c. 1164), a poem Malveisin would certainly have known. According to the poem, Somerled was

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63 According to the Holyrood Chronicle, he ended his last year as an Augustinian canon at Holyrood. See for example RRS, i, 12-13.


65 Fergus of Galloway, 4.

killed at the hands of Bishop Herbert of Glasgow with the help of St. Kentigern and all the Scottish saints. In the Roman, Soumilloit is a coarse and unruly farmer, whom Fergus happily escapes to find his fortune as a knight. Little is known of the historical Galiene, the heroine of the novel, except that she was wife of Philip of Mowbray (c. 1198-c. 1236), a knight in the court of King William. As such, she was one of Malveisin's contemporaries, and certainly an acquaintance.  

Malveisin would also have known of Saint Kentigern, the first bishop of the Glasgow cathedral. Saint Kentigern plays a key role in defining Fergus and his relationship to Arthur's courtiers in the Roman. Saint Kentigern was the first bishop of Glasgow and the evangelist of Galloway. According to a mid-twelfth century vita (BHL 4645), Kentigern was born of a princess who was raped by her suitor. Like Kentigern, Fergus is the son of a noblewoman, but his father was a vulgar farmer. In her opening lines, Fergus' mother opens her roles with words that invite the readers to associate her and her son with Kentigern's family, denouncing Soumillet's accusation that she is a whore, swearing "by Saint Mungo . . ." When Fergus first meets the knights of King Arthur, and realizes

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67 Malveisin and Philip de Mowbray were in King William's court at the same time, and witnessed several charters together, including two directly involving Galiene in 1212. Dunf. Reg., no. 166 and Dunf. Reg., no. 211.


that Sir Kay mocks him, he swears by Saint Kentigern twice.\textsuperscript{70} All of the other saints invoked by Arthur and his knights — Victor, Richarius, Germain, and Peter and Paul the Apostles — were either more closely associated with northern French locals, or universally venerated. Thus Fergus leaves behind the Galwegian godlessness from the start, but maintains ties to the best of his regions through his appeal to St. Kentigern.

D.D.R. Owen has argued that William Malveisin is the most likely candidate for the authorship of Fergus because of his position in King William’s court and his French heritage.\textsuperscript{71} The author of the Roman de Fergus professes himself "Guillaume le Clerc" within the narrative of the story.\textsuperscript{72} Guillaume’s knowledge of the landscape of southern Scotland, particularly the region of Lothian on the southeast side, demonstrates that he spent some considerable

\textsuperscript{70} Fergus of Galloway, 14.
\textsuperscript{71} In his hypothesis he goes against the assumption of both Ernst Martin and Mary Legge that the author would have been a minstrel in the employ of Alan of Galloway, grandson of Fergus. Ernst Martin, Fergus: roman von Guillaume le Clerc (Halle: Verlag des Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872); Mary Dominica Legge, “Some Notes on the Roman de Fergus,” Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society 27 (1950): 163–72; Mary Dominica Legge, “Sur La Genèse Du Roman de Fergus,” in Mélanges de Linguistique Romane et de Philosophie Médiévale Offerts à M. Maurice Delbouille, vol. 2 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1964), 398–408. Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann argued that such an association of Alan with his rebellious and rustic ancestor would have been offensive, and suggested that it was written for the Baliol family, who were connected to Picardy and eventually were contenders for the Scottish throne. Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, The Evolution of Arthurian Romance: The Verse Tradition from Chrétien to Froissart (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 251–266. Richard Oram, however, pointed out that the Baliol family could not have predicted their own rise to the Scottish throne. Richard D. Oram and Geoffrey Stell, eds., “Fergus, Galloway and the Scots,” in Galloway: Land and Lordship (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1991), 120.
\textsuperscript{72} Wilson Frescoln, The romance of Fergus, 117.
time in Scotland. Nonetheless, the only extant copies of Fergus are found in French sources of similar literary works from the mid-to-late thirteenth century. The author must have known of the historical personages of the story—thus he was likely a Frenchman in the court of King William. Yet he must also have had a secure career to risk offending the descendants of Fergus in his parody. Owen argues that, in addition to being in the right place at the right time, Guillaume's rather legalistic attitude to chivalric duties in Fergus fits with Malveisin's juridical interests.

Whether or not Malveisin wrote it himself, the Roman de Fergus speaks to the French cultural assimilation happening in the courtly culture at the peak of Malveisin's career. Fergus' initiation into courtly life through his chivalric deeds culminated in a tournament much like the ones King William of Scotland enjoyed on the continent and perhaps imported to Scotland. Scotsmen had the opportunity for advancement in the aristocratic sphere, but in the Roman, as in actual history, the predominant culture of the aristocracy of Scotland was French, overwhelming the Scottish in French models, as we shall see further below.

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75 Alan, Lord of Galloway was constable to King Alexander II until at least 1222, though he began to assert the independence of Galloway shortly after that time. The last dated document in which he is called the king’s constable is Theiner, no. 48.
76 Fergus of Galloway, 166.
PATRON OF LITURGICAL ARTS

Malveisin displayed his status as bishop of the Scots with expensive liturgical books. Two St Andrews manuscripts copied and flourished by the same artists were completed during Malveisin’s episcopacy: a pontifical, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 1218 and an unnoted antiphoner in the same library, Fonds Latin 12036. The pontifical had long been identified as a possession of Bishop David de Bernham of St Andrews (1239-1253). However, the recent work of Mark Everist, François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann demonstrates that Pn 1218 was copied in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, well before Bernham became bishop. Thus these scholars credited Bernham’s predecessor, William Malveisin, with commissioning the work.


79 Everist demonstrated the legitimacy of Avril and Stirnemann’s dating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century through reference to previous scholarship and discussion of the mise-en-page. Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 6–8. He concluded, "Although it subsequently passed through David de Bernham's hands, it was probably produced during the episcopate of his predecessor, Guillaume Mauvoisin, who became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1202. After Mauvoisin’s death in 1238, the manuscript passed to David de Bernham, who noted the names of the churches he dedicated in the 1240s, and who had his coat of arms copied onto folio 14 . . ." Ibid., 8. Similarly, Avril and Stirnemann wrote, "Les trois manuscrits (latin 12036, latin 1218 et W₁) ont été vraisemblablement commandés par Guillaume Malveisin, l'évêque de Saint Andrews, 1202-1238; la mention de s. Kentegern au f. 32 s'explique d’autant mieux que Guillaume fut 30.
Malveisin's book is an abbreviated pontifical. Rather than including all the offices performed by the bishop, his book contains only those forms which he would have used at the visitation of churches: the consecration of a church, an altar, a cemetery and crucifix, and the reconciliation of a church and a short office for an ecclesiastical authority. Throughout the manuscript incipits for the chants sung by the bishop are provided above the chant text, which was copied in slightly smaller script in order to accommodate the music. At only 141 folios that measure only 235mm by 165mm, it was certainly an easily portable book, finely decorated with many intricate pen-flourishings and a painted initial at the opening (see Plate 1.1). Apart from the saints listed in the litanies there is little to distinguish the offices that were included in Malveisin's pontifical from similar forms preserved in manuscripts from Ely, Hereford, Canterbury, Glasgow and transfréré de l'évêque de Glasgow à Saint Andrews et qu'il est l'auteur d'une vie de ce saint." Although they give no reference, I assume Avril and Stirnemann were alluding to the Acta Sancti Kentigerni, discussed above. François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, Manuscrits Enluminés D'origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, Manuscrits Enluminés de La Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987), 60.

In Malveisin's pontifical no rubric was given for this last little office, but it can be inferred from instances in two other liturgical books that the office could be used generally for an official of significant rank, which would no doubt have come in handy on his visitations. A similar form was added to the "Old Sarum" ordinal for receiving a bishop or legate into a procession. "Preces super legatum vel episcopum suscipiendum" Walter Howard Frere, The Use of Sarum: The Original Texts Edited from the MSS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 206 n. 6. The "Old Sarum" use will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Another similar version of this little office is given in the late thirteenth-century Statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral in London for prayers of the election of a dean. W. Sparrow Simpson, Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londiniensis (London: Nichols and Sons, 1873), 14.
other insular centers in the twelfth century. But these other books are not abridged; they contain many more offices for the bishop, suggesting that Malveisin may also have had another full, unabridged pontifical, which he would have kept in the cathedral.

Plate 1.1 Flourished initial and marginal pen drawing by the same artist in Pn 1218, fol. 4r

The saints venerated in the liturgical use of this pontifical provide further evidence that it was intended for Malveisin. In the litanies said outside and inside at the consecration of a church, Saint Andrew the Apostle is marked by "ii," indicating that his name should be said twice (See Plate 1.2). St. Thomas of Canterbury appears with the English martyrs, St. Alban and St. Eadmund,

indicating the arrival of his cult in Scotland by the time the manuscript was copied in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Also included among the locally venerated saints is St. Kentigern, appearing before the other insular saints such as Cuthbert, Dunstan and Edmund (see Appendix V). 82 As we saw earlier, Malveisin was well acquainted with St. Kentigern from his early career at Glasgow.

The cult of St. Kentigern only lately spread to regions of Scotland outside of Glasgow and Galway, having received particular admiration and attention from Malveisin’s predecessors at Glasgow, Herbert and Jocelin, who both commissioned *vitae*. 83 Herbert was likely the patron of the poem on the death of Somerled, in which St. Kentigern rallied all Scottish saints to the Scots rescue. 84 Malveisin assumed the role of promoting St. Kentigern practiced by his predecessors at Glasgow by spreading the cult, bringing it to St Andrews. Thus the prominent position of Kentigern in the litanies of Pn 1218 ties the manuscript to Malveisin’s episcopacy. Among the virgins, Brigit of Kildare was not common in post-conquest litanies, but she was the patron of the nearby church of

82 Pn 1218 fol. 8v
Abernethy. This, too, connects the manuscript to St Andrews, and therefore to Malveisin.

Plate 1.2 Pn1218, fol. 8r

Pn 12036, a manuscript related to Malveisin’s pontifical, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. Written and decorated by the same scribes, it is a secular office book for use at the cathedral of St Andrews and contains many offices similar to the later Sarum use, but it also displays many signs of the influence of a pre-conquest insular use. The contents of the book are similar to an antiphoner: it includes the texts for all responsories and antiphons necessary for the office, as well as prompts for the readings and psalms. However, like the pontifical, only the incipits of antiphons were provided, although in this case they were added in the margins at a later date. The antiphoner and pontifical are thus evidence of Malveisin’s interest in and ability to provide lavish liturgical books for his episcopal duties and for the cathedral.

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85 The church of Abernethy, a house of Céli Dé until the 1270s when it became Augustinian, is probably the church referred to in the later thirteenth-century foundation legend B. According to the legend, Regulus’s holy men built a church dedicated to Brigid near St Andrews. See Chapter 2. Warwick Edwards suggests Abernethy for the source of the office in Warwick A. Edwards, “Chant in Anglo-French Scotland,” in Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), 217.
CATHEDRAL PLANNER

Upon his translation to St Andrews, Malveisin took up the task begun circa 1160 of building the new cathedral of Saint Andrew. By the time he died, the choir had been completed, which meant that Malveisin would be the first bishop to be buried in what would be the most magnificent cathedral in Scotland. The final dimensions of the cathedral would even have rivaled most cathedrals in England. The grandeur of the cathedral declared two things: the status of the Bishop of the Scots and the importance of Saint Andrew, the apostle whose relics were housed there. St. Andrews was the brother of St. Peter, whose relics beneath the Vatican basilica guaranteed that the bishop of Rome was pope over the whole church. As we saw earlier, the bishop of St Andrews claimed the highest position in the Scottish church, in part because of Saint Andrew's patronage and relics. It was because of the Apostle's relics that the Scottish church was an independent, special daughter of Rome. Pilgrims, an important source of income and prestige, would come to St Andrews not only to be in the presence of the Apostle's relics, but also to marvel at the beauty they found there on the far shores of what was considered civilized society.

To house the venerated relics of Saint Andrew the bishop of St Andrews Cathedral needed an appropriately grand building, which required funds.

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87 The relationship between St. Andrew and St. Peter will be discussed further in Chapter 5.
88 For this argument see Ash and Broun, “The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland.”
Malveisin understood this: records of gifts for building the cathedral demonstrate not only his own contributions, but also those of others in his familia. From the foundation of the cathedral in 1160 until Malveisin was transferred to that see in 1201, approximately twenty new gifts were made to the priory for building the cathedral. During Malveisin’s episcopacy, thirteen new gifts of land, rents and other privileges were given to the priory, some with the specific intention of providing for the building of the cathedral. Many of these gifts were annual, meaning that the additional thirteen gifts made during his episcopacy could have added as much as 65 percent to their annual revenues. Donations from Malveisin and members of his familia suggest that he was in some measure responsible for this increase. A gift from Malveisin made some time during the second half of his tenure offered to the priory 20 marks annually to build the church.\(^89\) Saer de Quincy (1155-1219), an earl of Winchester and one of the leaders of the baronial rebellion against King John of England, was also a landholder in Fife, Lothian and Perthshire and brother-in-law of Malveisin’s predecessor at St Andrews, Roger. Saer gave two marks from his mill for building and lighting the cathedral around 1218.\(^90\) Among the witnesses to the event was Simon de Quincy, a clerk of Bishop Malveisin. A certain John, the son of a clerk of Bishop Malveisin, gave a half mark from his brewery annually to light the church on Saint Andrew’s day on behalf of his fraternity.\(^91\) William of Wyville, a witness to the gift, was also a clerk of the Bishop. Thus Malveisin ensured that there would be provisions for the building and lighting of the cathedral.

\(^89\) St A. Lib., 160.
\(^90\) St A. Lib., 255-6.
\(^91\) St A. Lib., 269.
Though the foundations of the new cathedral had been laid about 1160, it was not until at least seventy years later, late in Malveisin’s episcopacy, that the building was able to be used.\(^2\) The cathedral was cross-shaped, with a long nave similar to post-conquest cathedrals at Winchester, Ely and Norwich, demonstrating features of the developing Gothic style (see Figure 1.1).\(^3\) However, the west front of St Andrews cathedral, for which the foundations were laid by the early thirteenth century, was blown down during William Wishart’s (1273-9) time and rebuilt two bays east, so that it was significantly shorter in its final state.\(^4\) Surviving stones from the earliest phase of building appear to have had northern Romanesque influences. Still more remains exhibit the influence of northern French Gothic style.\(^5\) Some of the capitals may have been influenced by French gothic developments such as those at Notre Dame.\(^6\)


\(^{6}\) Thurlby noted the en délit shafts on the outer east wall of the presbytery of St Andrews Cathedral. Thurlby, “St Andrews Cathedral-Priory and the Beginnings 37.
Or it may be that the influence came directly from the new minster at York as an attempt to establish the authority of the Scottish church, as Thurlby argued:

The early Gothic Cathedral-Priory of St Andrews was conceived as an architectural symbol of authority of the Scottish Church. . . . More immediately, however, St Andrews rivalled Archbishop Roger’s new choir at York Minster and signalled that the Scottish Church was quite capable of administering its own affairs.97

Although the Scottish church had gained independence from the archbishop of York in the late twelfth century, the relationship continued to be problematic, as we saw earlier with the reissue of Cum inversi.

Another possible influence on the architecture of the new cathedral of St Andrews was the Roman basilicas of Old St. Peter’s and St. John Lateran.98 The length of the new cathedral was only 23cm short of that of Old St. Peters, and the width 59cm larger than St. John Lateran. As Ian Campbell recently argued, such close approximation to these two ancient Roman churches was unlikely to be coincidental. Wherever the inspiration came from, the new Gothic cathedral of St

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98 Campbell recently argued that the plan of the burgh of St Andrews imitated that of the Vatican borgo, and the dimensions of the new cathedral further imitated the Vatican basilica, in order to draw pilgrims to the relics of St. Andrew in the "second Rome," as St. Andrews was called in one of the legends. Ian Campbell, “Planning for Pilgrims: St Andrews as the Second Rome,” The Innes Review 64, no. 1 (May 1, 2013): 1–22. Thurlby suggested that the dimensions of St Andrews Cathedral may have been based on those of Durham Cathedral, which also seems to have imitated Old St. Peter’s. Thurlby, “St Andrews Cathedral-Priory and the Beginnings of Gothic Architecture in Northern Britain,” 52.
Andrews pronounced the wealth and power of the thirteenth-century Scottish church.

Figure 1.1 Plan of St Andrews Cathedral and Priory (from Cruden, *St Andrews Cathedral*. Digitally modified.)

The unusual shape of the east end indicates the identification of the cathedral’s glory with Saint Andrew’s relics, which will be further explored in Chapter 5. The presbytery (called sanctuary in Figure 1.1) projected eastward
beyond the side aisles, a rather unusual feature in Gothic cathedrals. Durham Cathedral had similar architectural design in the twelfth-century to accommodate the shrine of Saint Cuthbert was held in the apse. Another similar design was used at the Benedictine church of Tynemouth Priory, where the relics of Saint Oswin were held. These similarities confirm that the extended east end was built to accommodate the precious relics of Saint Andrew, as David McRoberts argued. McRoberts suggested that the relics were kept in what was called the Morbrac. Morbrac is a Celtic descriptor meaning "great-speckled," probably referring to the jewels on the reliquary. The only evidence of the Morbrac is a charter in which the canons regular of St Andrews granted Gellin son of Gillechriost Mac Cussegerrri the right to be the relic-bearer of the Morbrac (c. 1200). The witnesses were the archdeacon of St Andrews and clerics of Bishop Malveisin, including John, a member of the Céli Dé. The grantors and witnesses of the charter from St Andrews imply that the Morbrac carried some

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102 Gilbert Mármur briefly discussed this charter in relationship to hereditary relic-bearers. He suggested that Morbrac should actually be two words, mor breach. Gilbert Mármur, “Dewars and Relics in Scotland: Some Clarifications and Questions,” The Innes Review 60 (2009): 135–6. Morbrac may also mean great arm, suggesting it was an arm reliquary. One of the legends discussed in Chapter 5 does state that they held an arm relic of St. Andrew at the cathedral. See "Mor" and "Brac" in Sir William A. Craigie, A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, from the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth (Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 1937).

103 St A. Lib., 329.
relics of Saint Andrew. Richard Fawcett cast doubt on the function of the east end as a relic chapel because it would have been small for the numbers of pilgrims who came to see the relics.\textsuperscript{104} Fawcett suggested instead that the area may have been used as a treasury, and the relics brought out for appropriate occasions. Regardless, some account would have been taken in the plan of the cathedral building for the number of pilgrims who came to honor the relics of Saint Andrew, receive indulgence, and pray for miracles.

From the late eleventh century it was reported in chronicles and in saints' \textit{vitae} that numerous pilgrims journeyed to the church of Saint Andrew, mostly travelling from the northern regions of England.\textsuperscript{105} Turgot of Durham reported that Margaret, Queen of Scotland (1070-1093), provided a ferry for the safe passage of pilgrims across the Firth of Forth to the church of St Andrews and hostels for their stay along the way.\textsuperscript{106} A late eleventh-century \textit{vita} reports that St Cadoc (died c. 560) made a pilgrimage from Wales to Kinrimund.\textsuperscript{107} In this \textit{vita}, Kinrimund ranks with the cities of Jerusalem and Rome: St Cadoc proclaims that, since he has visited Jerusalem and Rome several times, it remains only for him to go the church of Saint Andrew the Apostle, which has been built in Alba, called


\textsuperscript{106} Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History, ii, 77.


41.
Scotland.\(^{108}\) In the twelfth century, Reginald of Durham wrote the *vita* of Saint Godric of Finchale in which Godric visited the shrine of Saint Andrew. But Godric himself also rivaled the Apostle in his potency. Reginald compared Godric's healing miracles to those of saints from rival institutions in the British Isles: Cuthbert (of Durham), Thomas Becket (of Canterbury), and Saint Andrew the Apostle. In three posthumous healings, supplicants prayed unsuccessfully to Saint Andrew first before being healed by Saint Godric.\(^{109}\) Despite Reginald's portrayal of Godric's miraculous powers, the evidence of pilgrim badges scattered through England demonstrates that pilgrims continued to come to the shrine of Saint Andrew, perhaps spurred on by the legend of the arrival of his relics, the stories of miracles, and the magnificence of the cathedral liturgy there.\(^{110}\)

Clerics played an important role in the propagation of the cult of Andrew, and were largely responsible for the accommodation of pilgrims who came to

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\(^{108}\) *Quumquidem divino nutu ter Ierusalem septiesque Romam pro dei amore profectus sum, superest nunc quatinus orandi gratia progrediad ad basilicam sancti Andree Apostoli, que apud Albaniam, quam uulgo Scoiam vocant constructa dinoscitur.* Arthur W. Wade-Evans, ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae Et Genealogiae*, Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. History and Law Series, No. 9; (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1944), 80.


\(^{110}\) On the pilgrim badges, see Yeoman, Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland, 60. 42.
visit the hallowed relics of the biblical apostle. But exactly who was in charge of the relics while Malveisin was bishop is unclear. An Augustinian priory was founded at the cathedral in 1140, and these canons regular were probably responsible for building the cathedral. Yet Malveisin supported a community of secular clerics with a Celtic heritage who had equal, if not greater claim to having charge over the relics of Andrew, under the direct supervision of the bishop. As we shall see in Chapter 5, these secular clerics, retaining the name of Céli Dé, promoted Saint Andrew with their music and ritual.

In his liturgical revisions, ecclesial administration and possibly in his writing, Malveisin had one foot in the church and the other in aristocratic culture and politics. In the political realm, Malveisin was a ready envoy and diplomat. He had extensive experience abroad, and was probably a native of France. He was at the center of the cultural assimilation of Scots into the French aristocracy in Scotland, and may have written a commentary on it in the *Roman de Fergus*. His close relationship with King William gained him the most important ecclesial position in Scotland as the bishop of St Andrews. He worked diligently to improve his properties, the liturgy, and the cathedral. But he was also a shrewd administrator who would take advantage of an opportunity to increase his power and prestige to the detriment of those who might try to control him. His relationship with the canons regular of the cathedral was delicate: although he supported their work on the cathedral, he also undermined their power in the cathedral as he built a rival community of clerics.
B. A NEW COMMUNITY OF CLERICS FOR THE CATHEDRAL

Three communities of clerics coexisted in St Andrews during Malveisin's episcopacy: the canons regular, the clerics in Malveisin's household, and the Céli Dé. These communities had a history of conflict, which Malveisin would exploit. A twelfth-century Augustinian canon described the clergy at the church of St Andrews in the Augustinian Account, providing the only extant narrative account of these communities. He depicted a derelict church in desperate need of Augustinian canons because the mass liturgy had been neglected by the secular clergy (who actually ran the church) and the monks called Céli Dé, who followed an obsolete, Celtic form of monasticism. The Augustinian Account narrates the foundation of the priory in 1140 at the behest of both the bishop of St Andrews and King Alexander I. The Céli Dé are portrayed in this account as primitive and irresponsible—exactly the sort of clergy the canons regular were intended to reform. Over the next sixty years the Céli Dé and canons regular fought for positions and benefices in the cathedral. Malveisin came to the aid of the Céli Dé, 

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111 The anglicized version of Céli Dé, Culdee, is often used in earlier scholarship, but recently scholars have preferred the Gaelic version. For more on the recent argument for a foundation date of 1140, see A. A. M. Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” Scottish Historical Review 84, no. 1 (April 2005): 1–37. See also Mark Dilworth, “The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews,” Innes Review 25, no. 1 (1974): 15–30. The description, commonly referred to as the Augustinian Account, unfortunately no longer survives in a medieval copy, but it was copied in the eighteenth century from the now lost Great St Andrews Register. In that copy it follows on a legend of the relics of Saint Andrew in Scotland, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus give a transcription and translation of the Augustinian Account from the eighteenth-century copy in GB-Lbl Harl. 4628 in Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus, The Place-Names of Fife. Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk (Donington: Paul Watkins, 2009), 601.
impeded the canons regular, and transformed the Gaelic Céli Dé community into Norman secular canons of the new cathedral.

In the rather bleak state of Saint Andrew’s church described in the Augustinian Account, the Céli Dé were one of two clerical communities of the cathedral who were living by worldly standards and wholly neglecting to serve the altar of Saint Andrew.\textsuperscript{112} Seven \textit{personae} of the cathedral split the offerings of the altar, along with the bishop and the hospital for pilgrims. However, the author reported that the \textit{personae} were more interested in the offerings than performing the mass, which only took place on the visits of the king or bishop.\textsuperscript{113} Both \textit{personae} and Céli Dé kept wives, but the Céli Dé separated from their wives once they joined the community. They became Céli Dé and gained their endowments through "carnal" (i.e. biological) succession, presumably from their fathers, rather than a profession of vows.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{112} Because of the eyewitness style of the account, and the report that it was written while King David (1124-1153) was still alive, it is usually assumed that both the legend and the account were written roughly during that time period, and perhaps even by Prior Robert himself. Reeves first suggested Bishop Robert as the author in William Reeves, \textit{The Culdees of the British Islands, as They Appear in History: With an Appendix of Evidences} (Felinfach: Llanerch, 1994), 37. Taylor maintained, based on the author’s tone when discussing prior Robert, that he is in fact the author. Simon Taylor, “The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and Version B of the St Andrews Foundation Legend," in \textit{Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500-1297. Essays in Honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday}, ed. Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 120. Unfortunately, because of the loss of the original copy, we have no idea when it was written. Nor do we know where this entry appeared in the manuscript, as the first editor, George MacKenzie (1630-1714) only included pieces he thought historically interesting. Richard Sharpe, “In Quest of Pictish Manuscripts,” \textit{Innes Review} 59, no. 2 (2008): 161 n. 55.

\textsuperscript{113} No record of \textit{personae} at St Andrews after the 1140s exists, and it appears that their portions of the altar offerings were transferred to the Augustinian canons. Anderson, “The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.,” 9.

\textsuperscript{114} Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” 25.
possessions in common, according to the author, but many more privately, and they accepted gifts from kindred or from those to whom they were confessors, called *anmcharait*, which the author interprets as soul-friends. They had a place in the corner of the church of Saint Andrew, but they practiced the Divine Office after their own fashions.

At other institutions in Scotland, the Céli Dé readily agreed to become Augustinian canons. The Céli Dé at St Andrews, however, were unwilling to submit to the new rule and thus canons regular were recruited from elsewhere. Robert, the first prior, came from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire, called by the bishop of St Andrew, also named Robert, who was also originally from Nostell

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117 At Scone and the monastery of St Serf in Loch Leven, both Céli Dé institutions, it appears that the monks accepted the Augustinian rule, although the foundation history of the former is not entirely clear. Eventually the Céli Dé community at Monymusk also became an Augustinian house, around 1245. See Cowan and Eason, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 93, 97; Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” 27.

118 The Augustinian account states that Prior Robert “did not want in any way to enter into the word of outsiders (which might perhaps have been easy for him), together to himself brothers from other and diverse churches, lest different brothers, taking different views, wishing to appear to be a somebody, should not coalesce into unity, and thus construction of the building should suffer harm before the foundation was laid.” For the Latin, see Taylor and Mármkus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk*, 612–3. Duncan interpreted the Augustinian account to mean that Prior Robert intended to absorb Céli Dé into the Augustinian house, and their prebends along with them. Taylor, however, questioned the interpretation of fellow Augustinians as “outsiders”, rather than Céli Dé. The charters concerning the Céli Dé do at least indicate that the Augustinians expected to receive their prebends when the Céli Dé died. Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” 24.
Scone Abbey also likely supplied some brothers, since it was a daughter house of Nostell, and Bishop Robert had spent some time there as prior. Thus from the beginning of the priory of St Andrews, there was a strong influence from the Yorkshire priory of Nostell, which would continue through the thirteenth century, as we will see below.

If Robert the prior was unable to absorb the Céli Dé community into his Augustinian house, he would also not allow such an outdated order to continue alongside his community. As far as Robert was concerned, the Céli Dé must either be reformed or suppressed, and their possessions given to the priory. In 1147, Pope Eugenius III issued a bull stating that the Céli Dé should be replaced by canons when they die. But exactly in what capacity they should be replaced is unclear. The statement concerning the replacement of the Céli Dé directly follows a statement that the canons regular be given the right to elect a bishop, perhaps indicating that the Céli Dé had held this right previously.

The Céli Dé also held inherited property and benefices, which the Augustinians undoubtedly

121 “Statuimus etiam ut decedentibus keledeis loco eorum regulares canonici auctore domino subrogentur.” St Andrews Lib., 49, and Adrian IV, Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 18, 52.
122 Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” 25–6. Barrow, however, doubted that bishops were elected before the Augustinian chapter was founded. This would explain why the king had to intervene to have Malveisin elected as bishop. G. W. S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century (Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 197.
thought should belong to the priory.\textsuperscript{123} It may be that the statute indicated that canons regular should take the liturgical role of the Céli Dé in the church as well, as the later history of the order suggests.\textsuperscript{124}

Despite the attempts by the Augustinian priory to suppress the Céli Dé, documentary evidence demonstrates that the Céli Dé community continued in some form through the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{125} The papal bull concerning the fate of the Céli Dé was reissued at least four times over the course of the next century, implying that the bull did not achieve its intended goal of suppressing the Céli Dé and transferring their endowments to the Augustinian canons.\textsuperscript{126} It appears that the Augustinian canons decided to make an agreement with the Céli Dé in the late twelfth century, wherein they agreed to retroactively give to the Céli Dé certain lands which the Abbot of the Céli Dé, Gilchrist, had previously given to a steward, along with the addition of some lands which do not appear to have been in the Céli Dé’s possession previously.\textsuperscript{127} By the time Malveisin took office, two generations of Céli Dé had passed since the first issue of the papal bull

\textsuperscript{123} One papal bull from c. 1163 notes gives lands to the priory in substitution for those which the Céli Dé hold. \textit{St Andrews Liber}, 53-6. Barrow has shown the continuity of at least some of their possessions from the twelfth century through the sixteenth century. Barrow, \textit{The Kingdom of the Scots}, 194. An accusation brought against Céli Dé by the Augustinian canons in 1250 reveals that the Céli Dé also had vicars, indicating that they were able to pay lower level clerics for their liturgical duties. Reeves, \textit{Culdees}, no. 15.

\textsuperscript{124} This is suggested by Barrow and Duncan. Barrow, \textit{The Kingdom of the Scots}, 200; Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” 26. I will discuss the liturgical role of the Céli Dé below.

\textsuperscript{125} The new order of secular canons continued by the ancient Gaelic name of Céli Dé until at least 1332. Barrow, \textit{The Kingdom of the Scots}, 189.

\textsuperscript{126} Once again by Adrian IV in 1151, then in 1183, 1187, 1206 and 1216. \textit{St Andrews Lib.}, 52, 60, 69, 74.

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 318-9 and Barrow, 'Kinninmonth', no. 3
regarding their suppression, but the Céli Dé were still very much a part of the clergy at St Andrews.

THE NEW COMMUNITY OF CLERICS

Malveisin’s response to the dueling clerical communities in the cathedral of St Andrews—the Augustinian canons and the Céli Dé—was not to finally abolish the Céli Dé, but rather to co-opt them, taking them under his protection and filling their positions with members of his own household. They became the special delegates of the bishop—and by extension, the king—in the cathedral chapter, ensuring that one of Malveisin’s clerics, whether from his household or the Céli Dé would be elected to be his successor. This reconstituted body of rival canons was Céli Dé only in name and possessions: by the mid-thirteenth century they neither received their positions through inheritance nor kept wives. They were upwardly mobile Franco-Norman clerics, most of whom had received a university education. Although the Augustinian canons persisted in referring to this group of clerics as Céli Dé, the latter knew themselves as a secular chapter and eventually the royal chapel of St Andrews. The current understanding of the Céli Dé in thirteenth-century St Andrews is owed to Geoffrey Barrow, who demonstrated that the Céli Dé’s survival at St Andrews was not an act of stubborn defiance against the bishops and chapters who wanted them suppressed, but rather the choice of bishops of St Andrews who attempted to gain power in the cathedral chapter by supporting the Céli Dé.128 The transformation of the Céli Dé into secular clerics of the new cathedral was part of

Malveisin’s plan to mimic the great secular cathedrals he was familiar with from his travels on the continent. Malveisin’s intention was to give the Céli Dé charge of the cathedral and a place in the cathedral chapter. These clerics, rather than the canons regular, were Malveisin’s chosen men for the future of the cathedral, to whom he gave, I argue, the polyphony from Notre Dame of Paris.

Bad relations between the Augustinian canons and Malveisin may have started from the beginning of his episcopacy, when King William requested his election. After fifteen years they had gone terribly wrong. In 1206, just five years after Malveisin was transferred to St Andrews, and then again in 1216 the canons regular obtained a papal confirmation of the charter discussed above, by which they were to replace the Céli Dé when they died. But in 1217, the canons regular made a complaint to the pope that the Céli Dé not only still existed more than sixty-five years after the initial statement regarding their suppression, but that Bishop Malveisin had absolved the Céli Dé from a sentence of excommunication, and then excommunicated the Augustinian canons when they

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129 Malveisin was not the first bishop in Britain to attempt to replace the cathedral chapter with secular canons. Around 1185 the bishop of Coventry removed the monks from the cathedral and replaced them with secular clerics. See Everett Uberto Crosby, Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-century England: a Study of the Mensa Episcopalis (Cambridge England; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 95–6. On the formation of a cathedral chapter in modern Germany, see Lawrence G. Duggan, Bishop and Chapter: the Governance of the Bishopric of Speyer to 1552 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978), 11–56. Crosby and Duggan demonstrate that many cathedral chapters became corporations that were independent of their bishops only in the late twelfth century.

130 St A. Lib., 71-6 and St A. Lib., 76-81. Barrow, noting the frequent reissue of this mandate between, used it as evidence of the continuing presence of Céli Dé in the cathedral of St Andrews until 1248. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots, 200.
attempted to appeal their case to the Pope.\footnote{131} Malveisin, they complained, had furthermore torn up papal letters regarding the priory’s improvements of the cathedral of Saint Andrew and even threw into jail some of the priory’s construction workers laboring on the new cathedral building.\footnote{132} Finally, he so terrorized the people, withholding papal letters and not devoting himself to obedience to the Apostolic See that “as is publicly testified, no one in the realm of Scotland dares to attempt anything against him.”\footnote{133} Malveisin was able to avoid the case on account of the fact that the whole of Scotland had been under interdict at the time of the Augustinian canons’ appeal because of the rebellion against King John.\footnote{134} There was likely some amount of exaggeration in the complaint from the canons regular, but the case demonstrates their utter contempt, and even fear of Malveisin at the time.

\footnote{131} “Kelledeos quoque de Sancto Andrea ab executoribus a prefato predecessor nostro concessis, exigente iustitia vinculo excommunicationis astrictos post appellationem ad sedem apostlicam legitime interpositam presumpsit absolvere, ac in quosdam de capitulo post provocacionem legitimam pluries excommunicationis sententiam promulgare, et non solum appellationibus rationablier ad sedem apostolicam impositis deferre contemnpt, sed et appellantes excommunicationis mucrone percellit.” Theiner, no. 6. See also Ferguson, \textit{Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland}, App. Case no. 41.

\footnote{132} “”et in tantam prerupit presumptionis audaciam, quod litteras eiusdem predecessoris nostri optentas super correctione ecclesie Sancti Andree propriis manibus non est veritus cancellare, ac correctionem ipsius ecclesie de apostolico faciendam mandato primo, secundo et tertia impeditiv, et etiam quendam hominem capitiui eiusdem ecclesie pro eo, quod quosdam de capitulo laborantes pro correctione predicta receperat in hospitium, fecit carceri mancipari ...” Theiner, no. 6.

\footnote{133} “Litteras etiam apostolicas eidem et aliiis directas contempnens, obedientiam et reverentiam sedi apostolice debitam non impedit, ex eo sumens audaciam delinquendi, quod, ut publice protestatur, nullus in regno Scotie contra eum alicquid audeat attemptare.” Theiner, no. 6.

\footnote{134} Theiner, no. 21 and Ferguson, \textit{Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland}, 155. Malveisin, however, had avoided excommunication since he was overseas at that time.
Malveisin was certainly savvy enough to control or restrict communities of clergy when it was advantageous for him, and he appears to have had a particular dislike of Augustinian priories. The bishop had rights to another community of Céli Dé at Monymusk, lying in the diocese of Aberdeen but traditionally given to the bishop of St Andrews, who acted as abbot and patron. When the earl of Mar, Gilchrist gave funds to turn the community into an Augustinian foundation in 1210, Malveisin intervened. Malveisin requested judges from the Cistercian abbey of Melrose, the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh, and the archdeacon of Glasgow to hear his complaint that a new foundation of Augustinian canons would be prejudiced against him. They finalized an agreement that (1) the Céli Dé’s numbers would be set at thirteen, one of whom was an abbot whom Malveisin would appoint, (2) no member would join a religious order without his consent, and (3) he retained his right to be received by the Céli Dé with a solemn procession when he visited. Malveisin was only able to keep the Céli Dé of Monymusk from becoming Augustinian as long as he was alive. In 1245, not long after Malveisin’s death, the Céli Dé of Monymusk became Augustinian canons.

THE IDENTITIES OF THE CÉLI Dé

Under Malveisin’s authority, the native Gaelic clerics forming the Céli Dé of St Andrews were replaced by educated Norman clerics much like the members of Malveisin’s own household. Two more complaints by the canons regular of St Andrews give evidence of this transformation. In these cases, the Céli Dé were not only protected by the bishop as his own familia, some of them also appear to have held positions both in the Céli Dé community and in the bishop’s familia.¹³⁸ Once the interdict against Scotland had been lifted in 1218, the canons regular brought their grievances to the papal court again in 1220.¹³⁹ At that time they targeted Malveisin, his clerics, and lay people who had, they claimed, unjustly possessed their lands. Five clerics summoned for the case appear to have been both Céli Dé and members of the bishop’s household. The list of the opponents to the canons regular includes Malveisin, "certain clerics of St Andrews, who are commonly called Céli Dé" and the names of several clerics and magistri: H. de Melburne, Adam Ovid, Adam de Scone, and clerics Henry de Weles, and Roger de Huntingfield.¹⁴⁰ It is unclear from the grammar whether the names of magistri and clerics following the citation of the Céli Dé indicate that they were included amongst the Céli Dé, or were other clerics in the household.

¹³⁸ Barrow discussed the overlap of the Céli Dé and the households of Malveisin and Bernham in Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots, 195–6.
¹³⁹ Theiner, no. 37.
of Malveisin, but other evidence suggests the former.\textsuperscript{141} The list of names is introduced by \textit{ac}, short for \textit{atque}. It is the only position in which \textit{ac} is used rather than 'et' or even 'necnon,' suggesting the clerics and magistri were more closely affiliated with the Céli Dé than the other clergy were. \textit{Ac} may therefore have been used in this case to introduce the list of names of the Céli Dé.

Furthermore, the men listed above had benefices, were part of the bishop’s household, and had careers very similar to men we know were Céli Dé in 1250. Hugh of Melburne was a master and cleric for Malveisin as early as 1220 and remained a cleric when Bernham became bishop.\textsuperscript{142} Under Bernham, he co-witnessed several charters with Patrick of Muckhart and Adam of Makerstoun, two men who would be identified as Céli Dé in 1250.\textsuperscript{143} Roger de Huntingfield was given a right to the church of Lathrisk, in which it was stated that the Augustinian canons would be given the opportunity to present their own vicar at Roger’s death, in compliance with the papal mandate concerning the replacement of the Céli Dé with canons regular.\textsuperscript{144} Adam Ovid was a long-term member of Malveisin’s household, and possibly also the brother of Laurence of Thornton, the archdeacon.\textsuperscript{145} Adam of Scone quickly ascended the ecclesial ranks from

\textsuperscript{141} For an argument that these masters were among the Céli Dé, see Barrow, \textit{The Kingdom of the Scots}, 190; Ash, “The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328,” 143, no. 2.
\textsuperscript{142} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 156-7 and 281.
\textsuperscript{143} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 281 and Barrow, 'Kinninmonth' no. 13.
\textsuperscript{144} "\textit{Ipsi vero canonici post decessum ipsius rogeri nobis et successoribus nostris honestum vicarium ad congraum sustentacionem presentabunt qui nobis de spiritualibus respondebit.}" \textit{St A. Lib}, 156-7. Hugh of Melburne also was a witness in this charter, c. 1209-1235.
\textsuperscript{145} Watt, \textit{A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410}, 436. Adam Ovid appears as a witness in the bishop’s household in charters from 1204 (\textit{Arb. Lib.} no. 167) to at least 1225 (\textit{St A. Lib.}, 265-6).
bishop's cleric to chaplain in the king's court by 1220, and was also a secular canon of the cathedral of Dunkeld by 1225.\textsuperscript{146}

A complaint from the canons regular in 1250 confirms that the Céli Dé were certainly by then members of the bishop's household, university-educated clerics and successful career men. By the time this complaint was made, the Céli Dé had moved out of the cathedral into the Church of St. Mary on the Rock and formed their own chapter. The priory again cited the Céli Dé for disobedience, for performing the divine office while excommunicated, and for governing themselves as canons.\textsuperscript{147} Seven men are titled Céli Dé in this summons: Master Adam of Makerstoun, Master Richard Vairement, [Master] William Wishart, Robert de l'Isle, [Master] Patrick of Muckhart, Michael Ruffus, and Michael Niger. All but the last two men appear as witnesses in other documents of Bishop Bernham's household.\textsuperscript{148} Master Richard Vairement was also chancellor to the king and played an important role in negotiations between the Augustinian canons and the Céli Dé in documents from the 1250s.\textsuperscript{149} Master Adam of Makerstoun, whom the Augustinians accused of “acting as provost” of the Céli Dé, had a long career as an official at St Andrews and likely studied at Oxford or Paris with the nephew of Bernham, W. de Bernham.\textsuperscript{150} William Wishart was probably teacher of W. de

\textsuperscript{146} Arb. Lib., no. 136 and St A. Lib., 295-96.

\textsuperscript{147} “...et quosque alios Keledeos gerents se pro canonicis, et quosque alios inobedientes et rebelles ...” Reeves, The Culdees of the British Islands, as They Appear in History Appendix M 15.

\textsuperscript{148} Barrow discussed their careers in Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots, 192–3.

\textsuperscript{149} Richard Vairement is royal chancellor in Cal. Papal Letters, i, 220

\textsuperscript{150} Makerstoun appears with Hugh of Melburne and Patrick of Muckhart as a witness in St A. Lib., 281. W. de Bernham drafted several letters while he was at University in Paris and Oxford. One of them is written to Adam of Makerstoun. W. A. Pantin and N. R. Ker, “Letters of a Scottish Student at Paris and Oxford c. 55.
Bernham in Paris before he was in St Andrews in 1248.\textsuperscript{151} From his clerical position, William Wishart rose to archdeacon of St Andrews, and eventually to bishop of St Andrews in 1271. Robert de l'Isle and Master Patrick of Muckhart witnessed charters as Bishop Bernham's household clerics.\textsuperscript{152}

With the support of Malveisin, the Céli Dé gained power and influence in St Andrews. The older generation of native Céli Dé, represented by the abbot Gilchrist, was replaced with well-educated Norman clerics who worked closely with the Bishop in his household. The Augustinian canons, on the other hand, suffered many losses to their privileges, not least of which was control of the chapter.

THE ROLE OF THE CÉLI DÉ IN ST ANDREWS

Though the Céli Dé were called secular clerics during Malveisin's episcopacy, he introduced them as secular canons into the chapter of St Andrews before his death.\textsuperscript{153} In 1220, the canons regular referred to their nemeses as "clerics commonly called Céli Dé."\textsuperscript{154} The shift in the role of the Céli Dé occurred by 1239, when two of the Céli Dé participated in the episcopal election as secular

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 485–6, no. 7, 11. NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.19, no. 21
\textsuperscript{152} \textit{St A. Lib.}, 169 and \textit{St A. Lib.}, 281.
\textsuperscript{153} Barrow pointed to a similar situation in Dublin, where in the late twelfth century the bishop founded a group of secular canons, took over the parish church of St. Patrick’s, and eventually became a rival cathedral chapter. Barrow, \textit{The Kingdom of the Scots}, 201. For more on this foundation see John Crawford and Raymond Gillespie, \textit{St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin: a History} (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 23–72.
\textsuperscript{154} "... quosdam clericos de S. Andrea, qui Keledei vulgariter appellantur . . ." Theiner, no. 37.
canons of the cathedral chapter. One of these canons was Master Richard Vairement, who then travelled with two canons regular to Rome for the papal confirmation of the election. He was, in fact, the only one of the three who made it all the way to Rome, because of which Pope Gregory IX wrote to the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness and Brechin, stating that they should enquire about the election, since Richard was the only proctor present and he was a secular canon. The Augustinian canons’ choice, Bower would write two hundred years later, was Geoffrey of Dunkeld. But King Alexander II insisted on and won David de Bernham as bishop of the Scots through the Céli Dé’s participation in the election. No mention is made of Céli Dé in the papal document concerning the election, but since Vairement was one of the Céli Dé cited in the case from 1250, it is reasonable to assume he was one of the Céli Dé the Augustinians would later accuse of wrongly participating in the episcopal election of 1239. When visiting the pope, Richard chose to call himself a secular canon rather than a Céli Dé. As a Céli Dé, Vairement was instrumental in ensuring that David de

155 Barrow argued that the Céli Dé gained the right to election in 1239 and 1253 in The Kingdom of the Scots, 197–8. An appeal to the pope from the Augustinians in 1255 is the main record for the Céli Dé’s participation in the elections of both David de Bernham and Gamelin. Theiner, no. 177.

156 "quia per Magistrum Riccardum Vairement canonicorum canonicum secularem et procuratorem eiusdem ecclesie, uno canonicorum sublato de medio, et altero gravi infirmitate detento." Theiner, no. 100. The two canons regular suffered grave illness and death on their journey.

157 The papal letter to the canons regular in 1255 allows that the canons let Céli Dé into the chapter to elect David de Bernham at the king’s insistence. Theiner, no. 177. Bower writes that Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld was originally postulated, but did not win the favor of the lord pope and King Alexander II. Bower, Scotichronicon, III: 394.

158 Barrow noted the difference between the titles given by the Augustinian canons and those which the Céli Dé themselves used. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots, 198 n. 70.
Bernham, who had been in the household of Bishop Malveisin, would succeed Malveisin as bishop.

The Augustinian canons continued to fight the Céli Dé, not only for their land and privileges, but also because of their presumption in acting as secular canons. In the appeal for a hearing against the Céli Dé by the Augustinian canons in 1250, the Céli Dé were called, as we saw before, "Céli Dé who are governing themselves as canons." The Céli Dé responded to this by obtaining a papal mandate ordering the relaxation of the sentence, in which they only called themselves "the secular canons of the chapter of the church of St Mary in the city of St Andrew," without mention of the title of Céli Dé. And when, in 1255, the Augustinians appealed to the pope, asking not to be condemned for admitting the Céli Dé to episcopal elections, they still referred to the Céli Dé "who call themselves canons."

The election of 1239, as well as the next episcopal election of 1253, solidified the position of the Céli Dé as delegates and beneficiaries of the bishop and King Alexander II. The Céli Dé acted as delegates of the King on at least these two occasions. When the Augustinians canons sought papal approval for having admitted the Céli Dé into the elections of 1239 and 1253, they wrote that they had only done so at the insistence of the King. The Céli Dé seem to have

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159 "... Keledeos se gerentes pro canonicis et eorum vicarios ex altera ..." Reeves, no. 15
160 "Capituli secularis ecclesie Sancte Marie in Civitate Sancte Andree ... Canonicis ipsius sancte Marie." Inchafl. Chrs., App., no. 3
161 "qui se canonicos nominant" Theiner, no. 177.
162 "... Hinc est, quod nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati devotioni vestre auctoritate presentium indulgemns, ut pro eo, quod in electione bone mem. David Episcopi Sancti Andree duos de Kaledeis ecclesie sancte Marie de
continued to enjoy royal favor for centuries: in the later thirteenth century, one
seal survives from the chapter of the Céli Dé on which is inscribed, "Seal of the
church of Saint Mary and chapel of the Lord King of the Scots.\[163\] A letter from
King Edward of England in 1298 to his chancellor notes that the provostery held
by Master William Comyn, provost of St Mary's, should be called the provostery
of the King's free chapel of St Andrews.\[164\] As late as the mid-fourteenth century,
King David II secured the Céli Dé's continuance with twenty shillings annually
to repair the church of St Mary, and five for the chaplain.\[165\] The Collegiate
Church of St. Mary on the Rock continued to be a royal chapel until the sixteenth
century, when a Chapel Royal was established at Stirling in 1501.\[166\] The deans of
the latter chapel remained subordinate to the provost of St. Mary's Church in St
Andrews until King James IV (1488-1513) requested from the pope that the
bishop of the Chapel Royal of Stirling have authority over all other royal palaces
in Scotland, including the Church of St. Mary.

Kiltemont [sic] civitatis Sancti Andree, qui se canonicos nominant, ad clare mem
[. . .] Regis Scotie, ac totidem in electione dilecti filii Magistri Gamelini electi
Sancti Andree, ad Carissimi in Christo filii nostri [. . .] Regis Scotie Illustris
instantiam, admisistis cum pretestatione tunc facta de consensu Kaledorum
ipsorum, nullum vobis vel ecclesie vestre in iure vestro preiudicium generetur. .
." Theiner, no. 177
\[163\] "Sigillum capituli ecclesie Sancte Marie capelle domini Regis Scotorum." The
seal is attached to a letter c. 1290. Calendar of the Laing Charters, A.D. 854-1837:
Belonging to the University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh: J. Thin, 1899), no. 15.
\[164\] CDS, ii, no. 1017.
\[165\] "Et fabricae ecclesie Sancte Marie civitatis Sancti Andree, de mandato domini
regis, xx s. Et domino Andree, capellano eiusdem, capienti per annum quinque
marcas, quousque promotus fuerit per regem, lxvi s viii d." ER II, 136-8 and RMS
I, no. 167.
\[166\] Watt, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticane Medii Aevi, 333–4. See also Rogers, History of the
Chapel Royal of Scotland, xxxi–xlii. On music in the Chapel Royal of Stirling in the
sixteenth century, see Isobel Woods Preece, Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the
Scottish Church up to 1603, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland
(Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), 101–128.
Even the pope protected the Céli Dé in the thirteenth century. Ralph de Helig’ petitioned on behalf of the chapter and provost of the church of St. Mary in St Andrews for a papal letter of protection for the said establishment in September of 1249. The provost and chapter of the church of St. Mary of the Rock in St. Andrews received papal protection and had its possessions confirmed, but not without challenge from the Augustinian canons. The prior and chapter of the St Andrews cathedral objected until they received a promise from the pope and the chapter of St. Mary’s church that the papal protection would not generate any prejudgment against the priory’s possessions nor be used to impede the jurisdiction of the executors of the same privileges.¹⁶⁷ Five years later, in 1254, Pope Innocent IV rejected the canons' choice of Robert de Stuteville as the new bishop of St Andrews, citing as his reason that the provost and chapter of the church of St. Mary and archdeacon Abel de Gullane should be admitted to the chapter of the cathedral as they had been when they were Céli Dé in the cathedral at David de Bernham’s election.¹⁶⁸ This Abel de Gullane was then elected bishop instead, King Alexander III’s choice according to later appeal from the canons regular.¹⁶⁹ Eventually, in 1297, the canons regular succeeded in keeping the Céli Dé out of episcopal elections.¹⁷⁰ But the role of the Céli Dé in the two episcopal elections following Malveisin’s death attests to their powerful position not only in the cathedral chapter, but also in the cathedral itself.

¹⁶⁷ Ferguson, Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland App. V, no. 1.
¹⁶⁸ Theiner, no. 162. See also Watt, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi, 292.
¹⁶⁹ Theiner, no. 177.
¹⁷⁰ Bower reported that they were excluded from the elections of 1271 and 1279, and though they attempted to be included in 1297, Pope Boniface VIII rejected their appeal. Bower, Scotichronicon, vols. 3, 396–8.
Before the letter of papal protection for the provost and chapter of St. Mary's church of St Andrews was issued in 1249, the Céli Dé were simply referred to as secular clerics, canons or Céli Dé of St Andrews. This led Barrow to suggest that the Céli Dé were actually installed in the cathedral of Saint Andrew before moving to the church of St. Mary in 1249. But a closer reading of the papal mandate from 1254, supporting Abel de Gullane’s right to vote in the episcopal election, reveals that the Céli Dé were in fact active in the new cathedral of St Andrews being built under Malveisin. Master Abel, then archdeacon and papal chaplain, argued that the archdeacon himself had remained in the cathedral after the canons regular were introduced, even though the Céli Dé had left the church of Saint Andrew and entered the church of Saint Mary retaining their prebends, liberties and rights. Abel furthermore noted that it was David de Bernham who had given him a stall in the chapter of the cathedral. This must mean that the Céli Dé were installed in the new cathedral by Malveisin, after the choir was completed by the 1230s and the liturgy could be performed there. They must have left there in Bernham’s time to go to the Church of St. Mary on the Rock, at which point the Augustinian canons were installed in

171 Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 200. Barrow points out that the last time the papal bull stating that the Céli Dé should be replaced by canons regular when they die was reissued was in 1248. *St A. Lib.* 98-102.
173 "... quod bone memorie David Episcopus S. Andree sibi, sicut etiam pars vestra dicebat, Archidiaconatum eundem contulerat, stallo in choro et loco in Capitulo ipsius ecclesie assignatis..." Theiner, no. 162 61.
the new cathedral. This would explain why the archdeacon, who had remained even after the Augustinians arrive, was given a stall only in the 1240s, even though the office of archdeacon had existed since the early twelfth century.\(^{174}\)

The church of Saint Mary on the Rock, or Kirkheugh, sat on an early Christian burial ground and possibly the earliest site of a church in St Andrews, at the edge of a cliff by the North Sea (see Figure 1.2).\(^{175}\) Today only the ruins of the Céli Dé’s thirteenth-century church remain. Several Christian Pictish stones have been found on the site of the church, now reduced to its foundations, but the church itself was not completed until the thirteenth century.\(^{176}\) The nave, where a Christian Pictish sculpture was found, is the earliest part of the church, judged to have been built in the twelfth century owing to the Romanesque buttress on the northwest side.\(^{177}\) One grave slab witnesses to the continued use

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\(^{174}\) Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638*, 304. The first Archdeacon of St Andrews was Matthew, c. 1152-1172. *St A. Lib.*, 187.


of the chapel through the fourteenth century. The lack of anything more than the foundation and fragments of stones prevents us from saying anything more concerning the decoration of the chapel.

Figure 1.2 Plan of the city of St Andrews c. 1300, taken from David McRoberts, ed., *The Medieval Church of St. Andrews* (Glasgow: Burns, 1976), 13. Digitally modified.

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178 The grave slab reads "Hic Iacet Patricius De Olgilvil Qui obiit v die Aprilis Anno Dni MCCCL." (Here lies Patrick de Olgilvil who died 5th day of April 1350). David Hay Fleming, *St. Andrews Cathedral Museum*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1931), 59.
The original plan for the new cathedral did not provide for a cloister, further suggesting that Malveisin intended his own secular canons to be installed in the new cathedral. Robert Cant noted that that the sills of the south wall of the nave and the west wall of the south transept were raised after their completion in the early thirteenth century to accommodate a cloister, perhaps during the time of Prior White, just after Malveisin’s death. Bower records that Prior John White was responsible for building the dormitory, refectory, and the great hall for guests, along with restoring the goods and possessions of the church of the Saint Andrew (1236-1258). Cant therefore suggested that Malveisin was not originally planning for the canons regular to occupy the cathedral, but rather his secular canons. One document may support this hypothesis. The Augustinian canons' complaint in 1217, discussed above, also accused Malveisin of hindering the canons' construction of the new cathedral and of his even throwing in jail the men who were laboring on behalf of the canons to improve the cathedral. This is a curious complaint, since Malveisin was certainly partly responsible for advancing the cathedral building, as we will saw earlier. A disagreement between Malveisin

181 “In view of the uneasy relations that developed between the bishop and the Augustinians, to which Professor Barrow has directed illuminating attention, the possibility suggests itself that the former may have been contemplating providing his cathedral with a chapter of secular canons, perhaps drawn from the 'Culdees.'” Cant, “The Building of St Andrews Cathedral,” 1976, 21.
182 “ac correctionem ipsius ecclesie de apostolico faciendam mandato primo, secundo et terto impedivit, et etiam quendam hominem capituli eiusdem ecclesie pro eo, quod quosdam de capitulo laborantes pro correctione predicta receperat in hospitium, fecit carceri mansipari” Theiner, no. 6.

64.
and the canons regular about who would be installed in the cathedral would certainly explain Malveisin's attempt to circumvent the canons' "Improvements."

**CONCLUSION**

Malveisin saw the potential to bring St Andrews into the Gothic Era (though he, of course, did not know it as such). He worked hard to modernize the cathedral and its canons. The northern Gothic style of the cathedral itself reflected the latest architectural fashion on the continent. Malveisin surrounded himself with a large entourage of clerics, chaplains and other educated men who exercised their influence in domestic and foreign, ecclesial and courtly spheres. The Céli Dé were not allowed to continue as they were — Scots inheriting their positions in the cathedral — but were transformed into a body of educated Scottish-Norman clerics at the service of the bishop. They proved their new-found power when they inserted themselves into the chapter at the election of Malveisin's successor. By electing their choice for the next bishop, David de Bernham, with whom some of them had a close relationship, they ensured that the work Malveisin had begun at the cathedral would be supported and continued.

Malveisin was a great promoter of the saint by whom his authority was justified. The new cathedral and the confirmation of the Scottish church's independence testify to his artistic and administrative efforts. As we shall see in the last chapter, Saint Andrew received special veneration in his cathedral, not only in a unique Office, but with special polyphonic music. Malveisin's taste for
the latest French fashion and fine arts, witnessed by the parody of the Chrétien des Troyes' popular works, spilled over into his taste in the sacred arts. In the Office and polyphony for the cathedral we see conventional chant and ritual transformed for use in the thirteenth-century world. These would rival any ecclesiastical center in England, much like the cathedral that Malveisin helped to build.
Somewhere behind every scribal hand is a human being. Obvious as this statement is, it is sometimes an important reminder for those who work with medieval manuscripts, most of which were copied by scribes who did not record their names. Despite the absence of an identifiable name and biography to associate with the material object of our study, there was nonetheless a person or persons responsible for making it, and perhaps many more for keeping the manuscript in existence until today. "The manuscript is the medievalist's ethnographic field," remarked a sympathetic ethnomusicologist who compared my paleographic investigations to her own research. For medieval musicologists, the manuscript is the arena in which we can observe cultural battles being fought and new forms emerging. Where scribes put pen to parchment they brought their own stories and personal agendas to bear on their work whether composing, editing or mechanically copying.

This chapter examines the work of the maker or makers of W₁, the famous early thirteenth-century manuscript (D-W 628, Helmst.) that contains the new repertory of Notre Dame organum and conductus, tropes for the ordinaries of the mass, and polyphony for the Lady Mass.¹⁸³ Both musicologists and

¹⁸³ For the scholarship on W₁, see Introduction, n. 3.
paleographers have probed \( W_1 \), typically focusing either on the Notre Dame organum or the unique polyphony for the Lady Mass.\(^{184}\) But none have systematically studied and accounted for visible traces the book-making process, and its relationship to other Notre Dame polyphony manuscripts and Scottish sources. The book-making process includes the preparation of the parchment, pricking and ruling it for the layout, copying the text and music, and adding the

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initials. The techniques for these steps were distinct in each scriptorium and for each scribe. Although such details are commonly included in manuscript studies, there is a renewed interest among musicologists in the wealth of information about music manuscripts beyond the pure paleographic study that could inform our knowledge of their makers.\textsuperscript{185} Rebecca Baltzer employed codicological and paleographical tools in her brief study, “The Makers of W\textsubscript{1},” in order to argue for an early date of about 1230 for the copying of the manuscript, as well as to suggest that the scribes copied from an exemplar that looked significantly different from the final product. Her examination of the proficiency of the makers of the manuscript, from initials to music and text, is an example of the important information these studies can bring to bear on our understanding of the transmission and reception of Notre Dame organum.\textsuperscript{186} But her study is only preliminary: no one has discussed the prickings, rulings or process of copying text and music. We still understand very little about the culture surrounding the transmission of Notre Dame polyphony in the thirteenth century, who had access to it, and what expertise they brought to it. We know even less about


\textsuperscript{186} Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W\textsubscript{1}.”
performance from these books, particularly $W_1$, which until now has been shrouded in mystery because of the paucity of Scottish liturgical sources.\textsuperscript{187}

In this chapter, I use a detailed analysis of $W_1$ to argue that the whole manuscript was prepared and copied by one scribe. This scribe was a musician who understood what he copied, and sometimes edited the music as he copied. He had many exemplars from which he copied, but not all of them were easily accessible to him, and this resulted in some hurried and sloppy efforts. The scribe was familiar with the layout of Notre Dame organum books, but also influenced by insular manuscript layout. His script bears similarities to that used in scholarly sources from Paris, as well as insular documentary hands. Given these influences on the scribe, I will close by proposing some likely candidates for the scribe of $W_1$.

A. INTRINSIC EVIDENCE DISTINGUISHING THE Scribe OF $W_1$

$W_1$ contains twenty-six quires of four bifolia each, with a few exceptions (see Appendix I for a full description).\textsuperscript{188} The first quire is missing the outer two

\textsuperscript{187} Wathey’s article on references to $Magnus Liber$ collections found in royal and cathedral libraries gives us an idea of the numbers of these collections that did not survive, but not a good idea of how much they were actually used for performance. Andrew Wathey, “Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500,” Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle no. 21 (1988): 1–19. A cursory list of Scottish liturgical sources was printed in David McRoberts, Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments (Glasgow: J.S. Burns, 1953), but it contains only manuscripts now held in Scotland, some of which are lost. A much needed updated version was recently published in Stephen Mark Holmes, “Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560,” Innes Review 62, no. 2 (2011): 127–212.
bifolia, and inner bifolia are missing from quires 5, 7, 11, 20 and 27. An entire quire of monophonic conductus is also missing. In one quire of conductus, the scribe added a bifolium. The missing folia are indicated by incomplete musical works and by the old foliation written in the middle of the top margin of each recto fairly soon after the completion of the manuscript. A more recent foliation reflecting the current state of the manuscript was entered later in the right corner of each recto.\textsuperscript{189} The parchment is of variable quality, the finest being found in the ninth quire, and the roughest in the last three quires. The grade of the script varies considerably, with some relationship to the amount of space given for the text. Throughout the manuscript, the scribe provided guide letters for large initials, either in the margins or in the text line; but the initials were not always added.\textsuperscript{190} When they were added, they were colored alternating red and blue, with occasional pen flourishes in the opposite color. The last three quires, however, contain mostly red letters and no pen flourishes. As I will show below, despite the appearance of differences between quires of the manuscript, all the parchment was prepared in the same scriptorium, and all the text and music copied by the same scribe throughout.

\textsuperscript{188} The Herzog August Bibliothek has recently expanded their online digital collection, allowing musicologists access to digital copies of both $W_1$ and $W_2$. "Herzog August Bibliothek Handschriftendatenbank." Accessed June 27, 2013. http://dbs.hab.de/mss

\textsuperscript{189} Ludwig and Roesner used the early pagination in his works. I will use the later pagination that reflects the current state of the manuscript, as is standard in paleographic studies.

\textsuperscript{190} Several initials, both marginal and those in the text line, were missed by the initialer, as well as all of the initials in Fascicles VI and VII.
Friedrich Ludwig's 1910 analysis of the manuscripts containing organum has defined the scholarship on W.¹ Ludwig identified eleven fascicles in W, categorized by the organization of repertory in the fascicles and the physical qualities of the quires. According to Ludwig's categorization, these fascicles each contained between one and nine quires. The eleventh fascicle, containing three quires, received special attention from Ludwig because of the unique two-part polyphony for the Lady Mass organized by position in the mass, rather than by the annual liturgical cycle. Since Ludwig's publication, the eleventh fascicle has usually been treated separately from the first ten fascicles (referred to as the main fascicles) due to the difference in the parchment, the "English" repertoire it contains, and the added claim of authorship at the end of Fascicle X, considered below.

Edward Roesner offered the first detailed paleographic and codicological description of W. His analysis carefully defined distinctive features of the text and music with reference to ink variations and letter formations within the manuscript. Roesner identified three text scribes and three music scribes, who often, but not always worked in collaboration.² Despite these distinct hands, Roesner suggested several common features among the hands and concluded that the scribes copied in close proximity to one another. In response to Roesner's dissertation, Julian Brown, deliberately ignoring the previous scholarship before he came to his own conclusions, decided against the opinion of all previous scholarship that there is only one text hand throughout the manuscript,

including the eleventh fascicle.\textsuperscript{193} He admitted, however, that this scribe did not complete all of the fascicles at once. Brown's verdict was not accepted by Roesner. In his later work Roesner cited the duplicate copies of clausulae between his identified hands as evidence of their distinct identities.\textsuperscript{194} Warwick Edwards, following Roesner, assumed multiple scribes were at work in $W_1$.\textsuperscript{195}

The discrepancies between these conclusions result from the varying weight these scholars placed on ink changes, the grade of script, letter formation and ductus. A distinction needs to be made between evidence that the same scribe was copying at different times and evidence that a different scribal hand was at work. Changes in the color of the ink can result from several factors. A change in the ink recipe, the quality of parchment, or exposure to light could each result in color changes to work copied by the same scribe. The grade of script, whether \textit{formata}, \textit{libraria} or \textit{currens}, could also depend on the amount of time the scribe had for copying or the space available on the page for text.\textsuperscript{196} Letter formation, abbreviations and ductus are other traits frequently used for

\textsuperscript{193} Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on $W_1$,” 55.

\textsuperscript{194} This seems to me a dubious reason since, given time between copying, the same scribe could easily forget that he had copied a short clausula already. Edward H. Roesner, ed., \textit{Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris}, Musica Gallica (Monaco: Editions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1993), vol. I, p. lxxiii.


\textsuperscript{196} I refer to Lieftinck's system of classification. \textit{Formata} is careful, highly formal execution, \textit{libraria} is a medium level, and \textit{currens} is rapid, inferior level of writing. The Lieftinck system is best studied from his student’s publication: J. P. Gumbert, \textit{Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert} (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 199–209. For a good overview, see Albert Derolez, \textit{The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century}, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 9 (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20–4.
distinguishing scribal hands. Yet even these aspects of a hand can be misleading. Letter formation can be affected by the density of the text being copied or by the style of the exemplar. The ductus, that is, the number, order, and shape of the strokes of a letter, also can be influenced by both the width of the nib of the pen and the parchment on which the scribe was writing.\footnote{Malcolm Beckwith Parkes, \textit{Their Hands Before Our Eyes: a Closer Look at Scribes: The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1999} (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), 59–62.} Forms of abbreviation may be dictated by the conventions associated with a particular subject, script, region or scriptorium. Despite their potential pitfalls, these three features of the hand—the letter formation, the abbreviations and the ductus—are the best means of identifying a particular scribe and making inferences about his character.

**PREPARATION OF THE PARCHMENT**

Before the scribe ever put pen to parchment, the parchment was prepared with a layout appropriate for the contents that would be copied, according to the methods of the scriptorium. In W₁, each quire, including those in the contested sixth, seventh and eleventh fascicles, was pricked in precisely the same way, indicating that they were all prepared in the same scriptorium. A handful of variations in the ruling of the parchment in W₁ resulted in text boxes of different sizes (see Appendix I). Other scholars have pointed out that the text frame of the sixth, seventh and eleventh fascicles are larger than those of others.\footnote{Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 28; Staehelin, \textit{Die Mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift, W₁}, 42.} But the
ruling patterns all rely on the same basic pricking pattern, with variations for the number of voices in the music of the particular quire.

In the so-called main fascicles, the pricking pattern corresponds to layout pattern A in Appendix I, in which the horizontal lines were indicated by pricks in the outer margin of the recto, and the double vertical bounding lines marked by pricks in the upper and lower margins. The same pricking pattern was used for the quires of Fascicle XI, but only the single vertical bounding lines were drawn using out the outer prick mark of the pricking pattern for double bounding lines, adding approximately 5mm on each side of the text box (Layout Pattern C in Appendix I). In Fascicles VI and VII, the text box is the same size as that in Fascicle XI, and is similarly ruled with single vertical bounding lines, but this time the scribe pricked appropriately for single vertical bounding lines (Layout Pattern B in Appendix I). Perhaps he chose this approach in these fascicles because he realized that the scribe who wrote the initials was not using the double lines for his ornaments, so at that point the scribe did not rule it with double vertical bounding lines and he placed the guide letters in their proper place in the text-line rather than in the margins.

The ruling of the parchment that followed the pricking was almost certainly carried out by the scribe of W1 himself. Ruling the parchment for the Notre Dame polyphony was much more complicated than typical patterns for

199 Roesner noted the larger text boxes in Fascicles VI, VII and XI, citing them as evidence that these fascicles were copied by different scribes who nonetheless modeled their work after the "main" fascicles. I argue that the evidence is sufficient to think they were ruled by the same scribe. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 71; Edward H. Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W1’,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 29 (1976): 340–2.
text-only manuscripts. The horizontal lines through the text box had to account for both staff lines and text, but the number of staves varied depending on the number of voice parts. This was particularly complicated in quire 13, in Fasc. IX. The conductus pieces in this quire begin with three voices, but end with a two-part section. In both W₁ and F, the scribes' solutions for this complex material were to separate the three-part sections and two-part sections into two quires. In
W₁, the scribe prepared the parchment with prickings for both two-voice and three-voice staves and ruled the parchment as he copied the text according to the space required at that point (see Plate 2.1). He drew the staff lines individually and copied the music after he had written the text. Evidence of this is on fol. 86v, where the red staff line was drawn over the tails of the g and q in the second line of text, and on the bottom of fol. 87r where the notation covers st of ‘est’ (see Plate 2.2). This sequence of ruling the parchment, copying the text, and finally copying the staff lines and music explains gaps in the music, such as at end of "die" at the beginning of Plate 2.1, where the scribe misjudged the amount of space needed for the music, and thus left a space before continuing with the music over "huic mediantem."

Plate 2.2 Staff lines and notation copied over text on fol. 86v and 87r

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200 Baltzer shows that the text was usually copied first for conductus, while the music was copied first for organum. Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W₁,” 113.

201 There are examples of quires where the text was copied after the music, for example in the first three quires of the manuscript. But there are also other examples where the text was copied before the staff, for example throughout the conductus Fascicle IX. Indeed, it appears that the scribe copied the text before the staff and music for the more syllabic style of the conductus, but after for organum. The latter is particularly apparent in the clausulae of Fascicle VI, where the text clearly was copied over music on f. 49r.

77.
ADDITION TEXT AND MUSIC

My observation of the letter formation, abbreviations, and ductus have led me to conclude, as did Brown, that the main text of the whole manuscript was copied by one scribe, albeit at different times and under different circumstances. The scribe did not copy W, in one sitting, which would have been a tremendous feat, or even in a several consecutive sessions, as the evidence of the variety of inks identified by Roesner confirms. However, characteristic letters of the so-called "main scribe" can be found in each of the disputed quires in Fasc. VI, VII, and XI. The ductus for a letter often varies considerably within a fascicle, yet each of the variables is found throughout the manuscript. The differences in shading, which Roesner noted particularly in the eleventh fascicle, are due in part to the change in the nib size and the rougher parchment in this fascicle.

The letter forms conform to Northern textualis, but some are more unusual forms and in the case where multiple forms of a, d, g, and s were typical in Northern textualis, the scribe used both forms in the same quire, often determined by position or the density of the text. Since Fascicles VII and XI have been considered the work of two additional scribes by all the scholars discussed above except Brown, the unusual features of the letter forms and ductus in these fascicles are compared here with those in the first three "main fascicles" (See Appendix I for a description of the manuscript and Plates 2.1-2.14 below for a comparison of letters forms in Fasc. I-III, VI, VII and XI). The open-bowed a typical of early Textualis consistently has a slightly slanted ascender, and is
occasionally tall even in the middle of a word (see Plate 2.3). A closed-bowed \(a\) was also occasionally used, particularly in the final position (see Plate 2.4). In each fascicle, uncial, half-uncial, and "falling" uncial \(d\) in first position were used throughout the manuscript, but half-uncial \(d\) was preferred in text-heavy sections (Plates 2.5-7). The uncial \(d\) occasionally has a hairline tail (Plate 2.6 fols. 12v, 56r, 184r). The \(g\) is always shaped like the number 8 in which the upper left lobe and the lower right lobe are executed with the same stroke.\(^\) Throughout the manuscript, both a closed and an open lower lobe of the \(g\) appear, but the open \(g\) is preferred in organum sections (Plate 2.9) and the closed \(g\) in conductus and other text-heavy sections (Plate 2.10). Occasionally the open \(g\) is used in text-heavy sections with a hairline tail (Plate 2.11). A curved \(s\) with a trailing tail is found in both first and last position throughout the manuscript (Plate 2.13). The left side of the initial position \(v\) curves in or sometimes has a hairline stroke inward, but both forms are found throughout (Plate 2.14). Both the \(x\) and \(y\) forms are very distinct. The \(x\) was drawn with a disconnected tail stroke on the left (Plate 2.15). The three individual strokes needed for this letter form are very visible in the form on fol. 124r. One exception is found on fol. 179r, where the form is executed with only two strokes, and the tail curves to the right, rather than the left. This form is very similar to those found in documentary hands in Scottish charters, discussed below. Finally, the dotted \(y\) was drawn, rather unusually, with a long first stroke, sometimes with an added tail (Plate 2.16).


\(^{203}\) Derolez characterizes this ductus as the 8-shaped \(g\). Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 88–9.
Though these characters were more hastily produced in fascicles VI and VII, and compacted in XI, they were all formed by the same hand.

Plate 2.3: a – open

fol. 1v

fol. 4v

fol. 16v

fol. 55v

fol. 57v

fol. 60v

fol. 178v

fol. 179r
Plate 2.4: a – hairline closure

fol. 11r

fol. 60v

fol. 179r

Plate 2.5: d – falling uncial

fol. 3v

fol. 4r

fol. 57r

fol. 61v

fol. 183r

81.
Plate 2.6: d – uncial

fol. 8v

fol. 11r

fol. 11v

fol. 12v

fol. 56r

fol. 178v

fol. 184r
Plate 2.7: d – half uncial
fol. 20r
\[\text{m de}\]
fol. 70r
\[\text{langundum}\]
189v
\[\text{dominam dei}\]
Plate 2.8: e – long hairline
fol. 4r
\[\text{me}\]
fol. 56r
\[\text{ue}\]
fol. 178r
\[\text{ marecloison}\]

83.
Plate 2.9: g – 8-shaped, open lower lobe
Plate 2.10: g – 8-shaped, closed lower lobe
Plate 2.11: g – 8-shaped, open with hairline

fol. 11v

fol. 79v

fol. 83r

fol. 189v

Plate 2.12: m - uncial

fol. 4v

fol. 10v

fol. 58r

fol. 186v

86.
Plate 2.13: s - curved

fol. 1r

fol. 25v

fol. 55v

fol. 195r

Plate 2.14: u/v – curve in

fol. 1r

fol. 10v

fol. 182r

fol. 190r
Plate 2.15: x - detached left foot

fol. 10r

fol. 124r

fol. 60r

fol. 136v

fol. 179r

fol. 181r

fol. 195v
The changes in ink color and in the grade of the script between fascicles do not always coincide.\textsuperscript{204} The beginning of Quire 19, found in the middle of fascicle IX, is a perfect example of this. On the first folio of this quire, fol. 136r, Roesner did not directly state that the ink changes are evidence of a change of scribe, but he discussed them before he identified different scribal hands, which coincide with the ink changes. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 29–42.

\textsuperscript{204}
the ink color and nib size change every few syllables, then settle into the lighter brown ink on the verso side (Plate 2.17). Why would the text scribes trade off every other word? One possible explanation could be that the scribe was training a new scribe. Yet the ductus throughout the quire is the same as that examined above. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine what the trainee might have learned from the brief intervention of the first scribe. It seems more likely that the scribe, after entering the first line of the conductus to indicate where he left off, paused from his work. Upon his return he began with a different pen, realized it did not match the previous quire and switched, then finally settled on the lighter ink. If there was more than one scribe, of which there is no good indication, the two scribes would have to have been working literally side by side.

Plate 2.17 Change of ink color and nib size in text, W₁, fol. 136r

In the case of Fascicle VII, the altered appearance of the hand must be a result of strained conditions, rather than a sloppy second scribe. In all other
fascicles, the scribe was able to rule the folios appropriately for the music. This was not the case in Fascicle VII where, as many scholars have noted, the parchment was prepared for two-part works, but the scribe entered three-part organum. After attempting in the first three lines to squeeze the three voices onto two staves, the scribe abandoned this fix and divided the 12 staves on the folio into groupings of three rather than two, forcing the text to be entered between the tightly spaced two-voice staves. This makeshift fix, along with the hurried appearance of the copying described above, indicates that the scribe was under some time constraint when he copied this fascicle. Either he did not have the time to rule a new quire when he realized that the one he had was for two voices, rather than three, or he did not have access to more parchment at that time.

Typically, the last step in the process of book making was to paint initials and add flourishings, a step that was often performed after the book was given to the owner, and thus was a more localized practice. Most of the initials in W₁ were colored and many were flourished, but the painter never completed Fascicles VI and VII. The scribe had two methods of marking initial letters to be colored. In most of the manuscript, the guide letters appear in the margin. In Fascicle VI, in-line guide letters are very clear, but the initialer never entered the initials on top of the guide letters. The initials were added in Fascicle XI, where

205 Roesner suggested that the appearance of this fascicle was so different from the earlier fascicles that it was moved from its proper place in the order of the repertoire in the second fascicle, to this place as the seventh fascicle, but not before the ex libris was written on the second folio of this fascicle, which would be a logical place for an ex libris. I suggest below that the quires were unbound when the ex libris was entered. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 68; Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W₁’,” 340; Roesner, Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris, vol. VII, p. xlvi n. 9.

91.
traces of the original in-line guide letters are still visible on fols. 194v and 180v. Few of the initials in Fascicle XI are missing, so the in-line guide letters may have been more successful. The scribe adjusted his method of providing guide letters in Fascicles VI and XI, perhaps in part because the painter frequently skipped initials (fol. 19r, for example). If the scribe was able to observe the quires after the flourisher added initials and noted the missing initials, he would have had good reason to adjust his method.

As with the situation of the scribal hand and layout, there are not sufficient signs in the musical notation to warrant assigning multiple scribes to the manuscript. Roesner, we recall, counted the hands of three different music scribes in the manuscript. He assigned them, not surprisingly, to Fascicles I-V and VIII-X, VI and VII, and XI respectively. His description of the differences in the hands mirror the general differences in these fascicles, that is, the sloppier execution in VI, VII and XI. I have observed no changes in the music hand that cannot be ascribed to the general difference in the grade of script of these fascicles and the size of the nib, which, as we have seen, varied in the text as well. The music is certainly neater and less crowded in the earlier fascicles, the hand

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206 The initials in Fascicle XI are all red, except for the Gloria text, where red and green alternate. This change indicates that either a different painter entered the initials for Fascicle XI, a new style of painting initials was in fashion by the time the painter entered the initials in Fascicle XI.

207 Roesner was the first to treat textual and musical scribes separately. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 42.

208 Roesner did give one distinctive characteristic of the second hand, that is, more squareness and density in the ductus. I have not observed the first part, that is, more squareness, but I can admit the second part. But the density can be commensurate with the change observed in the execution of the text. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 43.
slants down to the left throughout the manuscript, and the changes in ink correspond to the changes in the ink used for the text.

While it was an important step in the paleographical study of W1 to consider the music and text hands separately, there are good reasons to think that both text and music were copied by the same scribe. When the text was copied into the manuscript before the music was entered, the text scribe had to predict how much space would be needed between syllables when there were longer caudae. In the conductus Porta salutis ave (fol. 63r), for instance, the text scribe left an appropriate amount of space for the cauda on the first ave. At the bottom of the page, his prediction was not so accurate: he left too much space for the second cauda on ave. Perhaps if the scribe were copying from an exemplar of the same size he could have simply copied the text into the same location. However, Baltzer argued on account of the cramped and poorly spaced organum in other fascicles that the scribe was copying from an exemplar of a different size, and therefore had to readjust the spacing of the music as he went, often making these adjustments rather unsuccessfully.209

In the fascicles where the music was copied first, there is also evidence that the music scribe revised the music as he was copying. In a later article on the makers of the Magnus liber organi, Roesner pointed to the example of the organum setting of Dum complerentur in W1, where the scribe ran off the end of the staff line with music that marks a distinct change in the duplum style. Roesner suggested that this music is much like the other ‘local’ compositions in W1, and therefore the scribe himself composed as he was copying, which resulted in an ill-

209 Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W1,” 118.
planned phrase on the page. Baltzer also observed that the music scribe made changes that resulted in phrases of different length from those in the exemplar.

Were the text and music scribes different, they would have been handing the quire back and forth constantly in sections such as quires 11 and 12 in Fascicle VIII. Quire 11 begins with conductus, for which the text was copied first. This is particularly evident on fol. 73r, where the notation covers some of the text. In the middle of the quire, the scribe began copying three-part organum, for which the text was copied last, as on fol. 78v where the text covers the lower staff line. Some of the text is even missing on fol. 77v and 78r. The text of a conductus, *O felix bituria*, copied in the middle between these organa, was entered before the staff lines were drawn, covering some of the ascenders, as on fol. 80r. But in the organa and clausulae that follow, the music was again copied first, forcing the last m in "In oderem" to be squeezed into the space underneath the low C (see Plate 2.18). These conditions in which the order of copying text and music shifted, indicate that the scribe was able to do both in the same sitting.

Plate 2.18 Text compressed to fit below notation. *In odorem*, fol. 82v

Finally, the pictures that we build of the text and music scribes are very similar, increasing the likelihood that they are one and the same. The music scribe, since he was not just copying the music but was also composing, clearly

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211 Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W 3r,” 113.
had a good understanding and familiarity with the Parisian organum.\textsuperscript{212} The text scribe, likewise, was probably trained in the intellectual environment of Paris, according to Julian Brown.\textsuperscript{213} Brown found the closest matching letter forms to his in manuscript collections of Parisian scholastic works from the 1230s to 1250s. The most logical conclusion to this corresponding evidence is that the text and music scribe were in fact one and the same.

**STORING THE FINISHED MANUSCRIPT**

Signs of usage indicate that after it was copied, \( W_1 \) was kept in a place where it was accessible to scribes and perhaps students as early as 1250. The bishop likely had a chancery, perhaps little more than a bookshelf or a chest, where documents relating to the administration of the diocese were kept.\textsuperscript{214} Marginal markings have been enumerated by Roesner and others, and need not be discussed here except that they further confirm that the manuscript was accessible to clerics at some point early in its history.\textsuperscript{215} Trial letters and amateur pencil drawings were scribbled throughout the manuscript featuring a monk or

\textsuperscript{212} Roesner argued that the abnormalities in the modal notation were because the notator was using the modal system more elastically, in a "proto-modal system." "We must assume that the copyists of \( W_1 \) and the musicians who may have consulted it were fluent with the modal doctrine, but that they were also steeped in the performance tradition in which the Notre-Dame idiom was developed and, for much of its history, at least, delivered." Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*, vol. I, p. lvi.

\textsuperscript{213} Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on \( W_v \),” 55.

\textsuperscript{214} On bishops chanceries in England, see Christopher Robert Cheney, *English Bishops’ Chanceries, 1100-1250* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950).

canon, a cross, and a two-headed monster ringing a bell, among other subjects. There are also musical markings to be found in the margins, in addition to corrections to the organum. On fol. 85v, a short two-voice counterpoint written in pencil was drawn in the margin. These marginal markings demonstrate that the book was not locked in a library or displayed in a *capella*, but was accessible to clerics, and perhaps even to choir-boys. The counterpoint exercise may also indicate that the manuscript was used for teaching counterpoint, perhaps to choristers.

Some of the marginal notes in W₁ give more precise information indicating a very early date for the manuscript’s position in a chancery.²¹⁶ All of the inscriptions post-date the copying of the main text of the manuscript, most by several decades at least. Two letters were partially drafted on ff. 139v and 163r: the latter could have been written as early as the 1250s, while the former appears to be a mid-fourteenth century hand at the earliest.²¹⁷ The note on fol. 139v is addressed to the officials of the curia of Glasgow, indicating that it probably spent time in a scriptorium or chancery where such letters would have been written.²¹⁸ A more interesting marginal note was written upside-down on f. 163r, reading, "viro venerando discretionis Jacobo clerico Sancti Andree. Johannes


²¹⁷ The taxation records from David de Bernham’s episcopacy c. 1240 in the opening few folia of Pn 1218 are in a very similar hand.

²¹⁸ Roesner notes the likelihood that the manuscript spent some time in a scriptorium or chancellery in Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W₁’,” 345.
molindinarius salutem et amorem societatem tuam libenter exoro quatinus latore presentium Thoma bel super ex hiis (ex is expunged).”

Roesner attempted to identify the people named in this note but ran into difficulty, partly because of his dating of W₁, which allowed W₁ to be only as early as the late thirteenth century. Brown, on the other hand, giving the main text of W₁ a date c. 1240, suggested that this marginal note could be no later than the early fourteenth century. This makes possible the association of the manuscript with a James, cleric of Bishop David de Bernham in 1240-9 and his chaplain by 1251. Roesner dismissed this James on account of his early date, despite the rarity of the name in Scottish sources of the fourteenth century, and the lack of any other mention of a cleric so named in the St Andrews Register.

Yet another reason to think the James to whom the letter is addressed was the same one found in the service of David de Bernham is the coincidence of a Thomas Bel in eastern Scotland at the same time. A "Thomas de Perth" sought a papal dispensation to hold a second cure in 1259, because he already held a

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219 Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W₁,” 56.
221 Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W₁,” 56.
223 Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W₁’,” 346. Roesner also mistook this James for a member of the priory, assuming there were no other clerics working in St Andrews. The charters to which Roesner referred must have been copied from the Bishop’s records, as they are written in the voice of the Bishop. James is listed last among several clerics titled "our clerics,” suggesting that he transcribed the original document. St A. Lib., 166. Watt mentioned that James is an uncommon Christian name in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Donald E. R. Watt, A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 37.
position as precentor of Brechin.\textsuperscript{224} This Thomas is to be associated with Thomas Bel which Roesner dismissed because of his miscalculated date of the charter.\textsuperscript{225}

Stuck in between charters dating c. 1337 and 1345 naming a "Thome bel burgens. de perth" is a charter in which "Thomas de Perth dictus Bellus canonicus Dunkeld" granted a rental in Perth to Scone Abbey, with the witnesses of Bishop William Wishard of St Andrews (1273-1279) and Thomas’s nephew, Simon Bell, to seal it.\textsuperscript{226} Another charter, probably from the 1280s, refers to the same lands owned by Master Thomas Bell, then deceased, confirming that he was in fact frequently referred to by both names.\textsuperscript{227}

This finding is significant for two reasons: it is more evidence to support the claims that $W_1$ was in St Andrews from an early date and that it was being used by clerics who might also have drafted letters, perhaps in the chancery of the Church of Saint Mary’s or of the Bishop. That the letter draft occurs in the middle of quire 22, rather than on a blank folio or at the beginning of a quire, suggests that the manuscript was already open to this folio when the scribe began to write. The scribe of the letter might have been studying the conductus for a later performance when he was instructed to take down a letter. Or perhaps he was copying the verse from the conductus on the previous folio, \textit{Psallat ergo},

\textsuperscript{224} He perhaps obtained the position of precentor at St Andrews when his predecessor Albin left his post to become Bishop of Brechin in 1246. The papal dispensation for Thomas de Perth is recorded in E. de Bocard, \textit{ed.}, \textit{Les registres d’Alexandre IV: recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d’après les manuscrits originaux des archives du Vatican}, vol. iii (Paris: Auguste Coulon, 1953), 59. The record of Albin’s election as bishop is found in Theiner, no. 116.

\textsuperscript{225} Watt used this document to identify a Thomas Bell of Perth. Watt, \textit{A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410}, 447.

\textsuperscript{226} The charters mentioning Thomas Bel are edited in Scone Lib., no. 167 and 171.

\textsuperscript{227} The document is in the National Archives of Scotland, GD. 90/19.
for a new office for Saint Columba that he was writing, which now exists in the Inchcolm Antiphoner.\textsuperscript{228} The bearer of the letter, Thomas Bel, a precentor of Brechin and the canon of Dunkeld by 1259, would have had an interest in studying \(W_1\) and as would certainly have been invested in an office for Saint Columba, the patron saint of Dunkeld cathedral. Unfortunately, the circumstances for this letter appearing in the middle of \(W_1\) remain unknown.\textsuperscript{229}

The \textit{ex libris} entered on the second folio of Fascicle VII, fol. 56r, indicates that \(W_1\) was housed in the library of the Augustinian priory of St Andrews cathedral. Yet the evidence presented here and in Chapter 1 requires a closer examination. The placement of the \textit{ex libris} in the middle of the manuscript is rather unusual. Roesner suggested that it may have been added before the parchment was prepared, but the script is fourteenth century, far later than the main hand.\textsuperscript{230} One other manuscript contains the same inscription: "\textit{Liber monasterii S. andree apostoli in Scocia.}" This manuscript, St Andrews University Library, BR65 A9, copied in the early thirteenth century, bears the same \textit{ex libris} entered on the second folio of the manuscript. Thus the quires or fascicles of \(W_1\)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{228} GB-En MS Adv. 211/IV, fol. 3r.
\end{itemize}
may have been stored unbound in the chancery library, but the *ex libris* was only entered in Fascicle VII. This explanation would also account for unusual placement of the colophon at the end of Fasicicle X on fol. 174v, which may have been added before the fascicles were bound together with Fascicle XI at the end.\(^{231}\)

As we saw in the last chapter, Malveisin’s support and contributions were offered to the Céli Dé, not to the provincial Augustinian canons who complained of mistreatment by him. Why then would a manuscript given to the Céli Dé be housed in their rivals’ library? The late hand of the *ex libris* indicates that it came into the library long after it was copied. We can only speculate about the circumstances under which it was moved from the chancery of the bishop or the Céli Dé. Perhaps it was left in the cathedral when the Céli Dé moved to the Church of St Mary’s and later claimed by the canons regular for their own library. Despite the disdain canons regular had for polyphony in the thirteenth century, by the Reformation the canons regular of St Andrews had a reputation for their excellent singing school.\(^{232}\)

B. EXTRINSIC EVIDENCE DISTINGUISHING THE SCRIBE OF W₁

As copyist of one of the first known manuscripts of polyphonic music in the British Isles, the scribe must have been developing new forms of music

\(^{231}\) The colophon is discussed further later in this chapter.  
\(^{232}\) David Peebles was a canon of the priory c. 1560 when he was commissioned to write psalm settings. See Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use*, 277. 100.
layout. The influences on his work are found in comparable Notre Dame organum sources and Scottish historical documents. In her brief essay on the makers of W₁, Baltzer noted that the production of polyphonic music brought new challenges for thirteenth-century scribes and artists.²³³ She then followed Everist’s suggestion that Malveisin became acquainted with Notre Dame organum in his journey through Paris in 1200, returning to Scotland with libelli which Everist suggested were the means of spreading the music.²³⁴ The exemplar, possibly these libelli, must have been a slightly different size from W₁.²³⁵ The scribe of W₁ sometimes misjudged the space required for the music, either spilling over into the margin, as on fol. 8r, or leaving a whole in the middle of a staff when the text was written first, as on fol. 63r where the second and third staves are particularly spacious. Yet the format he chose is similar to that of comparable Notre Dame organum manuscripts.

MODELS FOR THE LAYOUT OF W₁

In size and the appearance of the page, W₁ bears a resemblance to three other thirteenth-century Notre Dame organum manuscripts copied northern Europe, F and W₂ and LoA.²³⁶ The page layout chosen by the scribes of these

manuscripts, was typical of deluxe manuscripts, wasting significant amounts of parchment on large margins.\textsuperscript{237} But the execution of \textit{W}_1, unlike \textit{F} and \textit{W}_2 could hardly be called deluxe (See Appendix I). It lacks the fine parchment, neat execution, and finely painted historiated initials found in these manuscripts. The size of the notation and text is remarkably small in each of these manuscripts, particularly considering that two or three people might have to read this music at the same time in order to perform it. Consider, for example, the pontifical of St Andrews, which is comparable in size to the Notre Dame manuscripts (see Table 2.1).\textsuperscript{238} This pontifical would have been read by only one person, the bishop (see Chapter 1). The text box of \textit{Pn} 1218 was divided into fifteen lines, permitting large letters. The text in \textit{W}_1 is much smaller—forty lines of it could have fit in the text box without music. Wegman has argued that the diminutive proportions, along with the marked amount of repetition required to copy whole settings of chants, indicate that these books were not copied for practical use at all, but were rather presentation copies, part of the episcopal \textit{capella}: books and ritual objects obtained primarily to enhance the esteem of a patron because of their prestige.\textsuperscript{239} But there are several features of \textit{W}_1 that discourage this view, as I have suggested

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
\textsuperscript{237} The size of LoA is comparable to these manuscript, but the text box is slightly shorter and wider. See Table 2.1
\textsuperscript{238} I will give a more detailed comparison of the St Andrews manuscripts below.
earlier in this chapter. The fact that these three sources are so close in size and layout, suggests that their exemplars had a similar layout.\(^{240}\)

Table 2.1: Comparison of sizes of Liturgical Manuscripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Current size</th>
<th>Text box</th>
<th>Contents and date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W(_1)</td>
<td>21 x 15</td>
<td>15.5 x 8.5 to 16 x 9</td>
<td>Notre Dame polyphony, conductus, tropes, polyphony for the Lady Mass c. 1230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu</td>
<td>29.3 x 23.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Notre Dame polyphony, tropes c. 1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ff.ii.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>early 14(^{th}) cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wor.</td>
<td>34.5 x 23 (largest</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pontifical c. 1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frag.</td>
<td>fragment)</td>
<td></td>
<td>breviary c. 1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>23.5 x 16.0</td>
<td>14.1 x 10</td>
<td>Notre Dame polyphony, conductus, motets c. 1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1218</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>early 14(^{th}) cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>32.3 x 22.2</td>
<td>20.5 x 13.6cm</td>
<td>Notre Dame polyphony and conductus, c. 1230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12036</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>troper prosa c. 930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>23.2 x 15.7</td>
<td>14.9 x 9.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W(_2)</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>10.4 x 7.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LoA</td>
<td>22.0 x 14.0</td>
<td>15.5 x 9.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGs</td>
<td>14.5 x 11.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{240}\) Compare these three sources to the size of the fragment GB-Cu Ff.ii.29, a thirteen-century source almost certainly from Bury St. Edmunds, found in Table 2.1. Similarly, the Worcester Fragments also are large and do not have the lavish outer and lower margins. Everist suggested that the common approach to grouping different genres and voices together in W\(_1\), W\(_2\), and F also indicates that the scribe of W\(_1\) had seen “such books as F.” Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 28. However, Everist’s view does not consider the practical requirements of the layout. For the scribe of W\(_1\), at least, it made perfect sense for him to group all the pieces in the same number of voices together, since he had to prick and rule the page in the same way for these pieces. One explanation for the surprisingly small format of these books is the comparable size of manuscripts that functioned in a similar way, that is tropers. Tropes were used only by the cantor or a group of soloists, and were almost certainly used as reference books before the performance. On the question of the size of early tropers and their relationship to use by the cantor, see James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-century Aquitaine*, 1st ed.. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 45–49.
Though the final appearance of the page in F, W₁ and W₂ is similar, a closer inspection of the layout reveals the unique preparation of W₁ (Appendix I). The prickings for F and W₂ were cut off when the manuscripts were trimmed early in their lives, so we cannot compare pricking methods. Both F and W₂ are ruled in single bounding lines with very faint pencil. In contrast, the scribe of W₁ saturated the page with the dark pencil or crayon framing lines, making the layout a noticeable feature of the page. The double vertical lines around the text box and additional vertical and horizontal lines in the outer margin, and horizontal lines in the upper and lower margins, do not seem to have had any function. Whereas the scribes of W₂, F and LoA indented the staves for initials and extra verses and, in F, scraped off unnecessary staff lines at the end of a piece, the scribe of W₁ left only a gap for initials to be drawn over the staff mid-line, and assumed they would be written in the margins. The scribe of W₁ had a different solution to the problem of how to rule a quire when the music changes between three and two voices, as we saw earlier. Though on the surface the three manuscripts may appear surprisingly similar, the aesthetic that influenced each scribe and the scribes' solutions to problems of layout show that the three scribes were working independently of one another.

In contrast to F and W₂, W₁ suggests a scribe who was more concerned with using all the space available. F contains over 20 folios with empty staves, W₂ has 104.
seven folios with empty staves and Ma, another manuscript of Notre Dame polyphony, contains 4 folios with empty staves. W₁, by contrast, has only one folio with empty stave. Rather than leave them blank, the scribe went back later to these empty staves to fill them in with ordinary tropes or other material.

While W₂ and F have the polished appearance of a presentation manuscript, W₁ is far from a lavish copy of the prized music. The thick, coarse parchment, the amateur flourishings, the sloppy hand spilling script into the margins, and the marginal drawings hardly display the fine craftsmanship and care available in Scotland at the time. Pn 1218 and Pn 12036, finer and more lavish examples of Scottish book production, are discussed in Chapters 1 and 5. As we have already seen with his pontifical, Malveisin was certainly able to afford professionally produced manuscripts. We must look elsewhere for a scriptorium similar to that in which W₁ was produced.

COMMON FEATURES AMONG SCOTTISH MANUSCRIPTS

The hand and layout of W₁, and particularly the amateur and careless appearance of the manuscript, display many similarities with a book of charters

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241 Fol. 175.
242 The ordinary tropes will be discussed in Chapter 3.
243 Roesner concluded that the thick parchment indicates “the MS was intended for practical use rather than display.” Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmsstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 26. Everist argued that the manuscript would not necessarily need to be lavish if the contents were prized as the Notre Dame organum must have been. Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 31, n. 138. But he did not compare the manuscript with others from Scotland, nor did he consider the added insular pieces contained in the manuscript.

105.
referred to, known as the St Andrews Liber (Appendix IV). This register of charters relating to the cathedral of St Andrews (Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD 45/27/8) is a volume of 188 folios copied in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was retrieved from the “archivum seu armarium publicum” in St Andrews for the testimony of Andrew of Wyntont on behalf of the priory of Loch Leven in 1413 and presumably stored at the priory of Loch Leven from that point on. This register contains copies of charters beginning with the foundation of the priory in 1149, but none of the entries in the charter book was copied earlier than the thirteenth century.

There are many thirteenth-century hands and flourishings in the register, copied right around the time of $W_1$, but none that bears exact likeness to those found in $W_1$ (Appendix IV). The register is divided roughly into three groupings of charters, each of which is copied in a single hand up until the records dating from around 1240. After that date, each charter is entered by a different hand. For instance, the sequence of episcopal acta beginning in 1144 (fol. 67, quire 7) with the confirmation of the foundation of the Augustinians by Bishop Robert, continues in the same hand up to an entry from 1240 (fol. 83v, quire 9; see

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245 Thomson, Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia E Registro Ipso in Archivis Baronum De Panmure Hodie Asservato., ix–xi. There was also a Magnum Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree that was apparently lost in the seventeenth century. A list of contents was copied before it was lost, and printed in the edition of the Register discussed here.
246 See Chapter 1 for more on the contested date of foundation of the Augustinian priory.
Appendix IV). Three charters at the beginning of the 16th quire dated between 1199 and 1215 were copied in the same hand pertaining to agreements between the priory and other clergy in St Andrews. The charters are copied in a layout N.R. Ker would call "below top line," indicating a copying date after 1230. The hand bears a striking resemblance to the hand in W₁: uncial 'd's with heavy ascenders and occasional hairline flourishes, 'v' curved inward, and open 'g' tail with an occasional hairline closure, are common features in both manuscripts. The distinctive ‘t’ with a curved stroke above, and the heavy ascenders on other letters differentiate this scribal hand from the hand in W₁.

Similarly, decorations in W₁ and the St Andrews Register feature common elements: the pen-flourishes have similarly executed hairpins, caterpillar and bud infillings, extended fans, and pointing finger fans, and the later sections of both manuscripts shift to red only for the initials. These elements are combined differently in each manuscript, but all are done by the hand of an amateur. More precise dating can be found from flourishings in the charter book. Flourishings are found in quires 3, 4, and 5, but the last charter with a flourished initial on fol. 53v was dated to 1232. The next charter on fol. 54r, dated to 1245, was copied in a

247 St A. Lib., 122-162.
248 These are Laurence de Thornton, the archdeacon of St Andrews; Patrick, the master of schools of St Andrews; and the Céli Dé.
250 For descriptions of the terminology used here, see Sonia Scott-Fleming, The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-century Manuscripts, vol. 11, Litterae Textuales (New York: E.J. Brill, 1989). Scott-Fleming (Patterson) associated the pointing finger fan and hair-pin double in particular with the first half of the thirteenth century, thus allowing her to date W₁ to the 1240s. The hair-pin shapes in the register are distinct from those in W₁. Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W₁,” 61.
different hand with only red initials rather than red and blue alternating. In other words, at some time between 1232 and 1245 (or when the charter was copied) these types of flourishings fell out of fashion and were replaced with simple red initials. A similar conclusion can be drawn for the chronology of the fascicles of W₁. The flourished initials in the first ten fascicles must have been drawn some time after 1232 and before 1245, and those in Fascicle XI some time after 1232. Thus the codicological evidence confirms that Fascicle XI was copied after the earlier fascicles. ²⁵¹

Comparing the layout on folia copied in the 1230s with that of W₁ confirms a similar date for W₁, and suggests the scriptorium in which it was copied. The ruling pattern in quires 3, 4 and 5 includes double vertical bounding lines and additional vertical and horizontal lines in the outer margins, drawn in heavy pencil, just as in W₁. This same hand copied all of the charters in these quires up to charters dating from 1232, on fol. 54r, corresponding to the mid-1230s date for the flourishings in the register and W₁. The layout of quires prepared for slightly later charters, such as quire 6, beginning with charters from 1245 on fol. 57r, is much cleaner. In quire 6, the ruling was drawn with faint pencil lines, and there are no extraneous lines in the margins. Thus, in the 1230s we find a similar

²⁵¹ Flotzinger’s discovery of several Notre Dame clausulae embedded in the music of W₁-XI forced scholars to reconsider the "primitive" qualities of the polyphony in this fascicle asserted by Ludwig. Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, 1:12. Rudolf Flotzinger, Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge Mit Beiträgen zur Frage der sogenannten Notre-Dame-Handschriften (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1969). Roesner’s analysis of the versions of these clausulae in W₁-XI, W₁-IV, F and W₂ determined that the versions in W₁-IV and W₁-XI were copied from the same exemplar. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 71–81.
layout, hand and flourisher in the charter book of the cathedral, which reveals a sudden interest in making copies of the records relating to the cathedral.\textsuperscript{252}

A manuscript owned by a Scottish graduate in Paris, but probably copied in Scotland demonstrates that \( W_1 \) also had common features with scholarly sources. W. de Bernham, nephew of Bishop David de Bernham, was a scholar in Paris and then Oxford in the late 1240s.\textsuperscript{253} During that time he scribbled letters and accounts in his copy of William of Malmsbury's \textit{Gesta Regum}, now Oxford, All Souls College, MS 35.\textsuperscript{254} The main hand is in Northern Textualis from the first half of the thirteenth century. The rulings are drawn in crayon, as they are in the sixth, seventh and eleventh fascicles of \( W_1 \), and they also feature double bounding lines on both sides of the text box found in the other sections of \( W_1 \).

The size of the page in MS 35 is 250mm x 190mm, 40 mm taller and wider, but the two columns of text are 160-3x50-5mm, close to the size of the writing box in \( W_1 \). Prickings in both inner and outer margins distinguish it from \( W_1 \).\textsuperscript{255} The text is written below the top line, giving it a date after 1230. In the margins a different

\begin{itemize}
  \item The increased interest in copying documents in to the St Andrews Liber may be linked to the deteriorating relationship between Malveisin and the chapter, and their concern about their properties, discussed in Chapter 1.
  \item On the scribes, contents and a plate of MS 35 see Andrew G. Watson, \textit{A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). An incomplete copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's \textit{Historia Regum Britanniæ} was added somewhat after the \textit{Gesta Regum}, but since W. of Bernham's hand is not found in it, we cannot be sure when it was added.
  \item The only other manuscript from St Andrews with which to compare MS 35 is the Augustinian collection at St. Andrews University Library, BR65 A9, which was pricked in both the inner and outer margins. Further investigation is required to determine if they were made in the same scriptorium.
\end{itemize}

109.
documentary hand added information about Scottish kings to the main text. Since W. de Bernham first went to Paris for his studies, it seems likely that he bore this manuscript from Scotland, supplied perhaps by his uncle (who also gave him the prebend of the church of Inchture, which he had seized from the Augustinian canons, according to their history). \(^{256}\) The manuscript certainly bears likeness to \(W_1\), and could well have been produced in a similar scriptorium in St Andrews.

The aspects of the production of \(W_1\) discussed above demonstrate that \(W_1\) was not only copied for practical use rather than as a presentation copy, but was also actually used, referenced, and adapted for the context of St Andrews. The pieces written for St Andrews demonstrate the scribe’s familiarity with the standard Notre Dame repertory. The poor quality of the manuscript in comparison with other St Andrews manuscripts indicates a working book. The nearly immediate situation of the manuscript within a chancery allowed clerics easy access to it. The manuscript was consulted in the late thirteenth century in Scotland for use in the office of St Columba. Thus we can assume that \(W_1\) was intended to be a practical resource for liturgical performance in St Andrews, at least to some extent.

Returning to the question of the scribe’s exemplars, features of the copying process discussed above address recent questions concerning the written versus oral processes of organum creation. Roesner assumed that the unique compositions for the feast of Saint Andrew in \(W_1\)—\textit{Vir perfecte v. Imitator jesu} and

Vir iste v. Pro eo—were created through a written process.\textsuperscript{257} Recently, however, Anna Maria Busse Berger has emphasized the oral process of improvisatory performance as central to the act of creating new polyphonic compositions.\textsuperscript{258} She has gone so far as to suggest that the tradition of Notre Dame polyphony was largely orally transmitted before the 1230s.\textsuperscript{259} Everist and Baltzer proposed a middle ground between written compositions and improvisation. They suggested that the polyphonic music in \textit{W_{1}} developed in St Andrews over the course of thirty years with the help of exemplars brought from Paris by Malveisin in 1200.\textsuperscript{260} If the Notre Dame organum had been practiced for thirty years in St Andrews, then we would expect much more integration of the music of Notre Dame origin with the unique polyphony for St Andrews. We would also expect the house style to have thoroughly permeated the Notre Dame organum and, at the very least, we would expect the responsories for Saint Andrew to have been incorporated into the liturgical cycle.\textsuperscript{261} Furthermore, if the scribe were replacing worn-out exemplars, we would expect that he could copy at his own leisure. But as we have seen, he did not always have access to more

\textsuperscript{258} Anna Maria Busse Berger, \textit{Medieval Music and the Art of Memory} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 161–197.
\textsuperscript{259} Busse Berger, \textit{Medieval Music and the Art of Memory}, 163.
\textsuperscript{260} Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 26; Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of \textit{W_{1}},” 118–120.
parchment, nor enough time to form his letters carefully. Nor was he able to organize his collection well, as we shall see in the next chapter. In the particular case of W₁, the scribe himself was responsible for the creation of new organum in written form to be delivered to the Céli Dé for study and performance.

The eleventh fascicle is an exception in this regard. The Lady Mass music of Fascicle XI combines Notre Dame organum, conductus-style polyphonic sequences and ordinary tropes in liturgical order. The more condensed, improvisatory style of the Lady Mass music probably indicates a longer performance tradition. The scribe built a new collection for the Céli Dé from the exemplars he had access to, from his own creative work and, in the case of the final Lady Mass fascicle, from the Céli Dé's own tradition.

C. IDENTIFYING THE Scribe OF W₁

The codicology and paleography of W₁ paint the picture of the scribe who copied the manuscript of polyphony in Scotland. He must have had some penmanship training in the intellectual environment of Paris before going to St Andrews. In St Andrews he was commissioned to copy a book of polyphony for the mass and office of the new secular canons of the cathedral, drawing on a few organum and conductus sources from Paris, but also composing settings himself when the need arose. He was proficient in the idiom of Notre Dame organum, though he had his own particular style. He copied the book of polyphony piecemeal and out of order—sometimes in an immense hurry to finish—in a
chancery rather than a professional scriptorium. He was not experienced in fine book production, but in practical, quickly-executed copying. He adapted his collection for the liturgical practice of St Andrews, by including ordinary tropes, the compilation of polyphony for the Lady Mass, and music for Saint Andrew.\footnote{262} When he finished copying a quire he usually passed it off to a rather incompetent initialer.

The Parisian influence on the scribe narrows the possible candidates for the scribe of W₁ to those who could have spent some time abroad. As we learned in Chapter 1, one group of clerics in St Andrews must certainly have spent a significant period of time abroad. The \textit{magistri} in Malveisin’s household and in the Céli Dé earned their title by studying at a university, of which there were none in Scotland until the fifteenth century.\footnote{263} Thus, anyone holding the title must have spent some time abroad, most likely in Oxford or Paris.\footnote{264} Since the manuscript was copied in a chancery, it seems most likely that it was copied by a cleric working within Bishop Malveisin’s own chancery.\footnote{265} Eighteen \textit{magistri} were named in charters in association with Bishop Malveisin as both chaplains and

\footnotesize{
262 His collection will be discussed in Chapter 3.
263 The University of St Andrews was the third university to be founded in the British Isles, in 1413. Watt, \textit{A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410}, ix.
264 Furthermore, we should recall that the famous Leonin credited by Anonymous IV with composing some of the best organa at Notre Dame was himself known in charters only as magister, canon and priest, but never by any title referring to his skill as a musician. Craig M. Wright, \textit{Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 281–288.
265 See Chapter 1.
}
clerics during his tenure, and another four spent at least a short time in his household.\textsuperscript{266}

Documentary evidence demonstrates that some of these magistri certainly received their education in Paris. Others are only likely. A degree from Paris would not necessarily mean that the scribe had experience with the polyphony practiced at Notre Dame, but does make it likely. The lack of surviving written evidence from these clerics makes it impossible to compare hands and therefore identify the scribe of $W_1$. Nonetheless, the number of clerics in Malveisin’s milieu who could easily have fit the qualifications of the scribe of $W_1$ given above is itself a testament to the overwhelming French influence on the cathedral of St Andrews. In this final section I describe a few of these likely candidates.

Master William de Greenlaw was a well-travelled and well-connected cleric, capable of working for both the English and Scottish clergymen in a time of great unrest. As a master he may have studied in Paris, and his short career in England would have exposed him to the insular tropes featured in $W_1$. He first appears as a witness among Malveisin’s familia in documents from 1212.\textsuperscript{267} He continued as a cleric of Bishop Malveisin, who gave him a prebend of the church of Rossie, until at least 1226, when he was employed as a cleric in the English royal chancery.\textsuperscript{268} He was paid by an exchequer in Worcester for at least a year

\hspace{1cm}

\textsuperscript{266} Ash pointed out that the position of cleric in the royal chancery could be practically interchangeable with one in the chancery of Bishop Malveisin, as in the case of Gilbert of Stirling who, as a royal scribe, wrote episcopal acta. See Marinell Ash, “The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328” (Ph.D., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972), 140; Regesta Regum Scottorum, 1153-1424. (Edinburgh, University Press, 1960), vol. ii, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{267} St A. Lib., 107.

\textsuperscript{268} St A. Lib., 107, CPR 1225-32, 64-65.
beginning in 1226.\textsuperscript{269} He also travelled to Rome that year to appeal to the pope for his right to the church of Rossie against the prior and convent of St Andrews, but failed.\textsuperscript{270} Greenlaw returned to work in Scotland around 1228, associating himself most closely with the bishop of Glasgow and maintaining land rights in Berwick in the diocese of St Andrews. But it appears that he was less invested in the affairs of St Andrews after his return from England. He was buried in the Cistercian abbey of Melrose in 1247.\textsuperscript{271}

A more likely figure to have produced and kept \(W_1\) for the Céli Dé of St Andrews is Master David de Bernham himself.\textsuperscript{272} David de Bernham succeeded Malveisin as bishop of St Andrews after ascending through the ranks of cleric of the same bishop in 1225 to precentor of Glasgow and royal chamberlain by 1236.\textsuperscript{273} King Alexander II further demonstrated his approval of Bernham by fighting against the Augustinians for Bernham’s election as bishop of St Andrews. Alexander did so with the help of the Céli Dé canons, who fought for a place in the chapter at that time.\textsuperscript{274} His position as the king’s chamberlain from

\textsuperscript{269} CPR 1225-32, 60.
\textsuperscript{270} CPL, ii: 106.
\textsuperscript{272} Everist noted that Bernham’s one trip to the continent during his episcopacy in 1240 would have been too late in the development of Notre Dame organum to reflect the style found in \(W_1\), namely the preference for organum purum over the later motet. He therefore concludes that David de Bernham could not have been responsible for the creation of \(W_1\), against Hiley’s suggestion. However, Everist did not take into account the fact that Bernham had received a university degree, and would likely have gone to Paris for this degree, given the political climate in the 1220s. Malveisin himself stayed in France to avoid the interdict on Scotland until 1218. Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 16; Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on \(W_1\),” 53–54.
\textsuperscript{273} Arb. Lib. no. 24, Glas. Reg. no 171, Mel. Lib. no. 178.
\textsuperscript{274} See Chapter 1 on the dispute over his election.
about 1233 to 1239 may also have aided his access to the music in W.²⁷⁵ He was supportive of the Céli Dé to some degree, since he confirmed their prebends and established them as a collegiate church in St Mary’s on the Rock.²⁷⁶ Their community included some with whom he had been colleagues in the familia of Bishop Malveisin years previous, and some were clerics in his own household. Bernham may himself have been one of the Céli Dé as a cleric of Malveisin.²⁷⁷ He also provided a prebend for his nephew, W. de Bernham, discussed below, who was a scholar at Paris and Oxford. His dedication to increasing the prestige of the Scottish church manifested itself in his efforts to canonize Queen Margaret, which finally succeeded in 1250 when her relics were translated to Dunfermline Abbey.²⁷⁸ While he may have been less overtly absorbed in French culture than Malveisin, his employment as a master and cleric of Malveisin and subsequent supporter of the Céli Dé placed him at the center of the new musical activity.²⁷⁹

David de Bernham’s nephew, W. de Bernham, unquestionably spent time in Paris as a scholar. He is known primarily through his letters, discussed above, and he held a prebend of the church of Inchture, for which he fought against the

²⁷⁶ The document is Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 15.1.18, no. 30; edited in Reeves, no. 15.
²⁷⁷ See Chapter 1.
²⁷⁹ Everist considered David de Bernham an unlikely patron of W, because of the lack of evidence of any early thirteenth-century trips to France. Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 16.
priory of St Andrews at the Roman curia in 1248. He may have been the William de Bernham who witnessed a charter around 1235 as a relative of Robert de Bernham, a burgher and David de Bernham’s brother. While W. de Bernham was in Paris and Oxford he maintained close relationships with clerics in David de Bernham’s household, including some who were also Céli Dé. His life after university at Paris and Oxford is unknown, unfortunately. But it seems likely that, given his connections, he returned to Scotland and continued on the path typical of the university-trained cleric. He would have completed his time in Paris no later than 1253, but could very well have been there as early as 1236. His letter drafts, shopping lists and accounts, though now barely legible, provide a model of the life of a university student. The other magistri may very well have led similar lives before they received their positions in St Andrews.

The colophon added at the end of Fascicle X long after the main scribe completed W1 gives the name of Walter as the scribe, in rather garbled Latin. It reads, "Is Qui [sic] liber est scriptus Walterus sit benedictus." Brown suggested

281 St A. Lib., 272-3.
282 He wrote letters to Adam de Malcarston and William Wischarde, both among the Céli Dé during Bernham’s episcopacy as shown in Chapter 1. They may have studied with him in Paris or Oxford. Pantin and Ker, “Letters of a Scottish Student at Paris and Oxford c. 1250,” 475.
283 Hiley first noted W. de Bernham’s connection to St Andrews and Paris in Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W1,” 53–4. He also pointed out that the colophon on fol. 174v credits "Walterus" with copying the manuscript. Everist discounted Hiley’s insinuation of W. de Bernham’s involvement on the basis that his full name was more likely William than Walter, and it is unclear what David de Bernham’s relationship to his nephew’s education was. Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews,” 17. While the colophon is dubious evidence, as discussed above, the fact that David de Bernham provided a prebend to his nephew while he was at university in Paris seems ample evidence of a close relationship between them.
that the scribe who added this colophon conflated two common formulae, "His liber est scriptus sit benedictus" and "Qui librum scripsit, . . . sit benedictus."

Brown dated it to no later than the middle of the fifteenth century. Comparing this light gray ink to other documents from St Andrews, confirmed Brown's dating. The simple chant line setting this colophon is no less garbled than the Latin, beginning in what seems to be mode five transposed to g, but ending on an a. The notation, furthermore, is entirely different from the square notation of the polyphony. Thus it seems unlikely that the colophon gives accurate information, much less that it was written by the main scribe himself. Nonetheless, if this later scribe did know the name of the original scribe, he may have been Walter de Mortimer, as Edwards has suggested. Walter de Mortimer witnessed two charters as a master and cleric of Malveisin in the last three years of Malveisin's life. He continued in the house of David de Bernham until the late 1240s, when he received the position of dean of Glasgow. He claimed the count of Holland, William II (1228-1256) as a kinsman.

The legendary Master Richard Vairement (Veremund, Weyrement, Veirement, Verment) was already introduced in Chapter 1. In Scottish scholarship he is notable for having been credited with writing a history of St Andrews from

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284 Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, "Further Observations on W1," 57, 58 n. 7.
285 Relying on Roesner's dating of W1 to the early fourteenth century, and the colophon to shortly after the completion of the main fascicles, Edwards suggested that Walter de Mortimer may have written the colophon himself, but the notation was added later. The ink and hand, however, seem far more akin to that of James Haldenstone from the early fifteenth century in D-W Cod. 411, Helmst. Edwards, "Polyphony in Thirteenth-Century Scotland," 246, 251.
286 Dunf. Reg., no. 107, 108.
287 Glas. Reg., no. 199.
288 Cal. Papal Letters, i, 286.
which Hector Boece drew for his *Scotorum Historiae* of 1574. His likely name indicates French heritage from the city of Vermand, though later historical tradition claimed that he was Spanish. He may have immigrated to Scotland with Queen Mary of Couci in 1239, but his subsequent role in the election of David de Bernham suggests otherwise. He was a Céli Dé canon by Oct. 1, 1239, but he remained chancellor to Queen Mary, and travelled with her to the continent. Immediately after acting as a secular canon in the episcopal election, he was given the role of being one of the two Céli Dé to attend the chapter of the cathedral for the episcopal election of the new bishop of St Andrews to ensure that David de Bernham, then the king’s chamberlain, was elected. Then he travelled to Anagni with two canons regular to secure a papal confirmation of Bernham's election. It is surprising that he would have such an important position having only just arrived in the country, and suggesting that he was actually in Scotland in some official capacity before the Queen’s wedding in May, 1239. As a royal chancellor, he would probably have had access to book collections in royal circles.

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293 Baltzer, “Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners.”
even have been involved in turning the Church of St Mary’s on the Rock into a royal chapel, as it was so called by the 1280s.\textsuperscript{294}

The documentary evidence of Matthew Scotus indicates he was well qualified to be the scribe of W\textsubscript{1}. Matthew was examined for his doctorate in the Faculty of Theology in 1218, which required that he spend at least eight years in Paris prior to his examination.\textsuperscript{295} He was in Scotland witnessing both royal charters and those of Bishop Malveisin in the early 1220s, with the title of master.\textsuperscript{296} In 1227 he became a royal chancellor, continuing to witness several charters in the interest of Bishop Malveisin.\textsuperscript{297} Given his theological training, the monophonic tropes, with their complex theological language (discussed in the next chapter), would have been especially appealing. And rather than gaining familiarity with the Parisian organum in St Andrews over the course of thirty or so years in order to write new organum settings, he would have done so in Paris, and brought his knowledge back with him when he arrived in the 1220s, though he may now have exercised it until the 1230s.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{294} See Chapter 1.
\item \textsuperscript{295} In Theiner, no. 17, where he is called “Matthew de Scotia.” He was examined by Peter de Capua, who wrote a commentary on Peter Lombard’s Sententiae, Guillaume de Pont de l’Arche, who became bishop of Lisieux, and Ricardus Anglicus, who may have been a doctor of medicine. Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, eds., Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, vol. I (Paris: ex typis fratrum Delalain, 1889), 85. Ricardus Anglicus was probably a student of Giles de Corbeil, a canon of Notre Dame. John W. Baldwin, “Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective,” in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. Robert Louis Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol Carol Dana Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 167.
\item \textsuperscript{296} Kel. Lib., no. 434, RRS, iii, no. 74, Moncreiffes, no. 2 and many others. Bower also names him as royal chancellor beginning in 1227 in Bower, Scotichronicon, 140.
\item \textsuperscript{297} Dunf. Reg., no. 219, RRS, iii, no. 125, and RRS, iii, no. 131.
\end{itemize}
CONCLUSION

One musician had the task of copying the polyphony in W₁ that has been so vital to our understanding of thirteenth century music. That scribe brought his knowledge of Notre Dame polyphony, which he probably acquired while he was studying in Paris, to Scotland, where he put it to use, copying established repertoire and newly composed works for the cathedral of St Andrews. He was unable to fully organize the liturgical music in his collection, either because he lacked sufficient access to his exemplars or because he was under pressure to finish. But he was able to return to his work later, completing a well-organized collection of polyphony for the Lady Mass.

The paucity of Scottish sources from which to examine handwriting leaves little means of identifying the scribe of W₁. But the brief study of a few for whom we have some biographical story allows us to imagine the cultural conditions in which W₁ was copied. The skills, background and cultural interests displayed in the music of W₁ were found amongst the members of Bishop Malveisin's household and Céli Dé clerics. The royal clerics, clerics of the Bishop, and Céli Dé canons were a far cry from the barbarian clergy imagined over a century earlier by Turgot, the first Anglo-Saxon bishop of St Andrews (1107-1115).²⁹⁸ The cleric

²⁹⁸ Turgot described the state of the Scottish church in his biography of Queen Margaret. Joseph Robertson, Concilia Scotiae: ecclesiae scoticanae statuta tam provincilia quam synodalia quae supersunt MCCXXV-MDLIX (Bannatyne Club, 1866), vol. II, p. xxiii, n. 2. Some scholars have recently questioned whether his account of Queen Margaret’s reforms was exaggerated. See for example, Alan MacQuarrie, The Saints of Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1996), 121.
upon whom Bishop Malveisin relied to copy $W_1$ was himself French, at least culturally, working in an insular environment, pulling together from his familiarity with Parisian organum a polyphonic collection for the new college of secular canons and the emerging royal chapel. That there were at least five individuals in eastern Scotland during the 1230s who could easily have acquired the competency and access to the collections from which $W_1$ was drawn demonstrates the very cosmopolitan nature of St Andrews during that time. A document scribe, a scholar, and a musician, the man behind the making of $W_1$ left us a rare glimpse of his innovative work to provide music for the splendor of the St Andrews Cathedral.

CHAPTER 3

THE Scribe as Editor:
His Musical Vocabulary and Liturgical Selection

The last chapter inspected the techniques employed by the scribe to copy and bind his new collection of music for St Andrews. But what was his relationship to the musical contents of the manuscript? I argued in the last chapter that the processes of copying text and music found in W₁ required a scribe who was able to copy both. Furthermore, the presentation of the music on the page suggested that the scribe might have edited the music as he copied. If the scribe of W₁ was himself a musician actively shaping the music he copied, then we can gain some understanding of how he was involved in shaping the musical and liturgical reform at St Andrews Cathedral through examining his selection.

The scribe of W₁ amassed and edited polyphonic and monophonic music from many different repertories. Into one anthology for St Andrews Cathedral, the scribe copied examples of Notre Dame organum and conductus, unique pieces in a similar style, polyphonic and monophonic tropes for Sanctus and Agnus dei, and a collection of insular tropes and propers for the Lady Mass.²⁹⁹ Each of these genres has their own style of polyphony or monophony in W₁, ranging from expansive organum purum treatments to condensed syllabic style.

But every genre of music in \( W_1 \) reveals traces of the same editorial hand, since
the scribed edited the music as he copied. The music itself bears his imprint in
the common opening ornaments and cadential figures that appear repeatedly,
regardless of genre. These figures were the scribe’s toolbox; whether composing
music himself, recording a performance tradition, or editing the music from his
exemplars, the scribe turned to his toolbox of opening and cadential figures
many times in the process of copying.

Polyphonic settings of office and mass chants have been the focus of
liturgical studies of \( W_1 \), but they fill only about a third of the folios in \( W_1 \).\(^{300}\) Clausulae, conductus, *Benedicamus* settings, and troped ordinary chants comprise
the remaining folios. Although these works far outnumber the office and mass
chant settings, they have played a secondary role in the study of \( W_1 \) as a product
of St Andrews Cathedral, since scholars have been most interested in \( W_1 \) as a
transmitter of Notre Dame repertory.\(^{301}\) Yet the tropes and conductus are no less a

\(^{300}\) Roesner offered the most thorough liturgical analysis of \( W_1 \) in Edward H.
3 (Autumn 1976): 349–375. He gave a more thorough comparison with liturgical
sources from Notre Dame cathedral in Edward H. Roesner, ed., *Le Magnus Liber
Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*, Musica Gallica (Monaco: Editions de l’Oiseau-
Lyre, 1993), vol. VII: xlix–liii. Hiley offered the only other liturgical study of \( W_1 \): a
comparison of English and French trope sources. Brown, Patterson, and Hiley,

\(^{301}\) Several works have considered these genres as they appear generally in the
extant sources. Rebecca Anne Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-
Voice Notre Dame Clausula” (Ph.D., Boston University, 1974); Manfred F.
Bukofzer, “Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula,” in *International
Society for Musical Research, Fifth Congress* (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach & Co., 1953),
96–100; Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, vol. 33,
Musicological Studies (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981); Ernst H.
Sanders, “Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre Dame Conductus,”
in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam: Von Seinen Studenten, Freunden
Und Kollegen*, ed. Luther Albert Dittmer, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 124.
part of the liturgical fabric of the cathedral than the mass and office chant settings. They differ in that the conductus were less firmly fixed to specific days in the liturgical calendar, while the polyphonic mass and office chant settings always retained an association with their primary liturgical position, regardless of when they were actually sung. But conductus were, by nature, moveable pieces. They may sometimes have been associated with particular feasts through the use of a chant cantus firmus, as in the so-called "conductus-motet," but the actual occasion for performance was not as fixed to a particular day or liturgical placement. On every liturgical occasion the conductus provided choices for the singer.

Since no other Notre Dame organum source contains the rich variety of liturgical music found in W₁, we can learn a lot about the needs of the Céli Dé from the options the scribe chose to make available to them. The organization of the collection of liturgical works furthermore suggests that the scribe copied from multiple sources and copied from these sources at different times, gathering insular ordinary tropes together with the Notre Dame polyphony to shape his liturgical collection for the Céli Dé. In fact, to some extent these tropes,

conductus, and Benedicamus settings actually amend the liturgical order that precedes them in the quire much as marginal additions might.\textsuperscript{302}

In this chapter, I examine the scribe's editorial activity. I will argue that the consistent appearance of a few opening and cadential gestures in the various genres of music in $W_1$ is evidence of the scribe's insertion of his own musical preferences into the works he copied. I will demonstrate that these figures have a close relationship to the musical ornaments described by Jerome of Moray in his \textit{Tractatus de Musica}. I will give further evidence that the scribe contributed new music for some of the tropes in the monophonic fascicle. I will consider the variety of musical genres he collected in $W_1$, particularly the ordinary tropes. The inclusion of a variety of ordinary tropes, both old and new, indicates the strong and ongoing troping tradition of the Céli Dé at St Andrews. Having demonstrated that the scribe’s musical skills aided his copying work in Chapter 2, this chapter argues that the scribe used those skills to further adapt the music of $W_1$ for the community of the Céli Dé at St Andrews.

A. THE MUSICAL VOCABULARY OF THE Scribe

What do the variants among sources of Notre Dame polyphony and the unique musical works in $W_1$ tell us about the scribe’s musicianship? Only a few

\textsuperscript{302} Roesner and Brown agreed that the ordinary tropes at the end of Fascicles III, VIII and IX were copied shortly after the rest of the fascicle. See Edward H Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle” (Ph.D., New York University, 1974), 36; Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on $W_1$,” 55.
pieces in \( W_1 \) are entirely unique, and most of these have been examined primarily for their musical style. But the standard repertoire of \( W_1 \), that is, all of the Notre Dame organa besides the Andrew responsories and most of the conductus, have variant readings in other extant Notre Dame sources. The variants range from a few cadential figures to lengthy substitutions of organum purum or clausulae sections. Exactly when these variants were introduced is a matter of some debate. Norman Smith’s study of graduals was the first to compare these parts of a gradual separately. He found that graduals with similar tenor melodies shared only small sections of organum, particularly discant sections. Where discant sections differed but copula endings were shared, he suggested that copula endings represented an earlier phase of transmission in which the discant sections were the same. In other words, he assumed that discant sections were substituted in at a later point in transmission.\(^{303}\) Hans Tischler was the first to undermine Ludwig’s chronological ordering of the Magnus Liber sources, assumed by Norman Smith in his work, according to those with the most organum purum in the organa to the least.\(^{304}\) Roesner answered Tischler’s call for greater depth of study of the language of organa, noting that clausulae are fairly stable between the sources, but the organa pura vary widely. Still more independent were the intonation and cadence formulae used in each source. He dubbed the distinctive organum purum and the intonation and


cadence formulas of the organum in each manuscript the "house style" of a composer, scribe or performer. This explanation assumes that the extant polyphony manuscripts are records of ongoing organum traditions at various institutions. Rob Wegman has recently emphasized the surprising correspondences between the written versions of extant organa. Whereas, he argued, the organum purum sections often have at least small variants between sources, particularly at cadences, the clausulae usually correspond exactly between sources, even down to the minute details of ligatures. Wegman thus hypothesized that the Notre Dame corpus was transmitted in sections of copulae and discant clausulae, which the scribes of Notre Dame organum manuscripts used to compose the complete organum settings known to us today.

In what follows, I will show that in the most variable sections of organa identified by Roesner and Wegman, the opening and cadential sections, the scribe employed a few gestures that are embedded in music of every genre in W, particularly the unique organum settings in the collection. At the pivotal

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307 Roesner concluded mostly on codicological grounds that there were at least five exemplars from which the scribe of W drew his collection: 1) Fascicles I, II, most of III, IV, V, much of IX and the main part of X; 2) parts of fascicles VIII, IX and VI and VII; 3) the Ordinary trope settings; 4) other additions at the ends of Fascicles III and VIII; 5) Fascicle XI. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 81.
moments of the pieces—the opening, the end of a clausula, or the cadence of the soloists' section—the scribe had his own toolbox of formulae to begin polyphony or to bring it to a close. This toolbox contained the scribe's vocabulary of initial and cadential patterns.\(^ {308}\) How the scribe acquired his toolbox—whether from his own practice or from that of the institution for which he copied—cannot be answered without far more sources than are now available. Nonetheless, the scribe of \(W_1\) employed essentially the same, rather limited, toolbox in every genre of music in \(W_1\), demonstrating his active participation in editing the music even as he copied from his exemplars and confirming what we concluded in the previous chapter.\(^ {309}\)

**The Scribe's Cadential Formula in Notre Dame Organa**

One of the scribe's preferred cadential figures occurs frequently at the end of organum purum sections in Notre Dame organa. We can see some pertinent details from some of Roesner's extensive comparisons of variants among the sources.\(^ {310}\) The scribe's cadential figure appears once in an organum purum section of *Non conturbetur* v. *Ego rogabo* (cao 7225, O10, fol. 15r) and twice in *Dum compleverentur* v. *Repleti* (cao 6536, O11, fol. 15r-v), a pair of identical chant melodies (except that the former has an extra four-note melisma on the end of the

\(^{308}\) What I call the toolbox of the scribe is akin to Roesner's "house style," although the argument here deals only with short figures found in various genres of music in \(W_1\), not just organa.


\(^{310}\) Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum"; Roesner, "Who 'Made' the Magnus Liber?".
verse Repleti). At letter A in Example 3.1a, the cadence in the W₁ version of Dum complerentur begins on the pitches d-c, identically with those found in W₂ and F. But the scribe added a “mordent” on C down to B, resulting in a cadential formula he also used in many other pieces in W₁. The figure most often consists of a clivis starting a whole step above the cadential final, dropping to the final, followed by a porrectus beginning on the cadential final, descending a whole step or half step below and returning. To borrow familiar Baroque terminology, the figure combines an upper appoggiatura with a lower “mordent.” The same cadential figure (on e-d d-c-d) appears at letter E of Example 3.1b in both settings in W₁, although the ligatures are drawn differently (Plate 3.1).311


311 Typically the first pitch of the figure is the non-harmonic tone of the harmony, which is why I have chosen the term appoggiatura. However, in Ex. 3.1b the figure anticipates the cadence on the tenor pitch, making the first pitch harmonic with the penultimate note of the tenor.

130.
In "Who 'made' the Magnus Liber?," Roesner provided another comparison of organum purum settings for two identical chant melodies in $W_1$, $F$ and $W_2$. *Alleluia v. Adorabo* (M12, fol. 26r-v) and *Alleluia v. Posui* (M51, fols. 40v-41r) share the same cantus firmus melody. Roesner compared the organum purum settings on the last word of M51 (the soloist's section ends before this section in the settings of M12 in $W_1$ and $F$, and therefore is not included in the example). His example shows several variants in the $W_1$ version, including a truncation of the sequential figures over the first $a$ in the tenor in $W_2$ and $F$ (after letter A in Example 3.2), and the expansion of the cadence on $d$ over the penultimate $G$ of the tenor (before letter $C$ in Example 3.2). In expanding the cadence, the scribe applied his typical cadential figure ($e-d\ d-(c)-c-d$), although the ligatures are recast with the added ascending approach to the $e$ from $c$ (see letter B of Example 3.2). Thus in these two organum purum settings we find versions of the same short cadential formula employed in $W_1$, but not in the versions in other manuscripts.

**Example 3.2**

![Diagram of organum settings]

**UNIQUE ORGANUM SETTINGS WITH THE Scribe's CADENTIAL FORMULA**

The upper appoggiatura and “mordent” cadential figure found above was consistently employed within the organum *Vir perfecte v. Imitator* (O35) and other
unique pieces in $W_1$. The organum setting for the first responsory for Saint Andrew, *Vir perfecte v. Imitator* is unique to $W_1$, most likely composed by the scribe himself, as argued in Chapter 2. In fact, the figure appears three times in the respond incipit of O35 alone, and closes both the verse and the *Gloria patri* (see Plate 3.2). The rhythmic performance of the formula might have been different in each of these instances, as befitting the loose rhythm of organum purum, but the resulting melodic gesture was always the same. In each of the instances in Plate 3.2, the cadence occurs before a move to $C$, the sub-final of the mode, or $D$, the final of the mode.

**Plate 3.2 Cadential formula in Respond of *Vir perfecte v. Imitator*, O35**

In the cadence just before the word *perfecte* in O35 (the top right circle in Plate 3.2), the scribe expanded the cadential formula, inserting two semibreves between the typical ligature and adding an appoggiatura on a pes leading back up to the final. Four iterations of the final $d$ in the middle of this gesture imply an 134.
ornamental figure akin to the *florificatio vocis* discussed by Johannes de Garlandia in *De Musica Mensurabilis*. Florificatio vocis is a figure of repetition of a note or group of conjunct notes, discussed further below. The ornamental repercussion of a pitch at the opening of a phrase also frequently appears in the music of W₁, particularly in the monophonic tropes, as we will see below.

The only three-part works in W₁ in which the scribe used the same cadential formula as seen above are the *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* tropes in Fascicle VIII. In *Sanctus*, Quem pium benedicit and *Agnus dei*, Lux lucis, the figure is used in the triplum at the end of every strophe. In *Sanctus*, Laudes deo ore pio the figure in the triplum is also duplicated in the duplum at a fourth below. In *Agnus dei*, Lux lucis, the figure occurs twice in the triplum only. The scribe’s cadential formula appears to spill into the margin in the final cadence of the pieces, as though he were composing while he was copying, and therefore unable to leave the proper space for the triplum part (Plate 3.3). The duplum part also spills into the margin, employing a melodic gesture that accompanies the cadential figure in two other cadences: the first instance of the cadential formula in *Agnus dei*, Lux Lucis and one instance of it in *Sanctus*, Quem pium. The melodic contour of the ligature in the duplum is rather awkward on its own—the ascending leap of a

313 One of the other few instances of this appoggiatura with repeated pitches occurs at the beginning of *Propter veritatem* v. *Audi filia* (M37), a gradual, discussed in Chapter 4, the setting of which at the end of Fascicle III is entirely unique.  
314 Roesner noted the frequent addition of a cadential gesture in W₁-XI that abruptly shifts the mode and tessitura of the piece, much like the figure shown above. Roesner, “The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum,” 376.
fourth followed by another ascending step is not melodically pleasing by itself. It appears that the scribe found this solution for harmonizing his typical cadential formula after he employed it in the triplum (See Example 3.3).

Plate 3.3 Addition of cadential formula to *Agnus dei, Lux lucis*, fol. 85r


The scribe made use of different cadential formulae in most of the monophonic tropes. But towards the end of the monophonic Sanctus trope collection, he again resorted to his habitual formula. In the third and fourth phrases of *Sanctus, Condita de nichilo*, he ended the first line of leonine hexameter with this cadential formula. In the last of his Sanctus compositions, *Sanctus,*
Sanctus ab eterno, he used the cadence four times: twice at the caesura of the hexameter and twice at smaller cadences, but never in the final cadence of the trope element (see Plate 3.4). Again, in Agnus, Humano generi and in a few other cadences in Agnus dei tropes he employed the cadential figure five times. Thus even in these unusual pieces in one of the "main" fascicles of W, the scribe acted as a music editor, employing the same cadential formula in these ornate monophonic pieces as he did in the duplum and triplum parts of polyphonic settings earlier in the manuscript.

Plate 3.4 Cadential formula in Sanctus, Sanctus ab eterno, Ff. 172v-173r
The Cadential Figure in the Lady Mass Settings of Fascicle XI

The pervasive use of the same cadential figure in the unique two-part settings of the Marian fascicle confirms what we have already seen: the scribe employed his own narrow musical vocabulary when cadences were not provided in the exemplar, or when he believed they needed further closure (see Plates 3.5-3.8). In most cases, the ending flourish was added to the duplum voice over the final of the cantus firmus or on a penultimate note that has been elongated. The formula is particularly marked when it is approached by a large leap, such as the octave leap at the end of the Gloria (see Plate 3.8). The cadence in the Gloria acts as a sort of coda, coming as it does at the very end of the piece after a resolution on a unison with the cantus firmus.

Plate 3.5 Cadential figure in three phrases of Conditor Mariae, fol. 177v-178r

Plate 3.6 Cadential figure in Rex amator, fol. 176r
Two Alleluia settings in the Marian fascicle with short Notre Dame clausulae embedded, further demonstrate the scribe's habitual use of the same cadential formula. The two-part settings of music for the Lady Mass in Fascicle XI are unique to $W_1$, although a few of the cantus firmi have concordances in other insular manuscripts. The Alleluia settings in the Lady Mass collection are the most elaborate and lengthy settings in the fascicle, but even those are far more condensed than the Alleluia organa from Notre Dame. Many of the Alleluia

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cantus firmi in Fascicle XI are contrafacta of standard *Alleluia* melodies, some of which have two-part Notre Dame settings in earlier fascicles of *W*¹. The scribe took advantage of these earlier settings while he was writing the eleventh fascicle, copying six clausulae with matching tenors from earlier fascicles. The precision with which the scribe reproduced the notation of these earlier fascicles leaves no doubt that the musical settings in the eleventh fascicle are modeled on Notre Dame organa from the very same manuscript.

In the original settings of the Notre Dame clausulae earlier in *W*¹, the short discant sections are followed by extended organum purum or copula sections before the cadences. But the condensed nature of the polyphony for the daily Lady Mass in Fascicle XI permitted little space for extended organum purum, so the scribe replaced some sections of it with various forms of his short cadential figure. Thus in Plate 3.9a, from a Notre Dame organum in Fascicle IV, the discant setting on the syllable ‘pon-[dera]’ is followed by a rather long flourish on the syllable ‘-de-‘. In the Lady Mass setting from Fascicle XI, illustrated on Plate 3.9b, the equivalent passage on ‘-ri-‘ simply leaps to *f*, then concludes with the familiar cadential formula above the final *d*. The more typical ligatures for the cadential figure are used to close the clausula passage later in *Alleluia v. Salve virgo* from Fascicle XI (Plate 3.9d), replacing the copula in *Alleluia v. Dulce lignum* (Plate 3.9c). The scribe used the same solution to conclude the whole duplum setting in

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Alleluia v. Virgo interemerata in Fascicle XI (Plate 3.10b) following a clausulae borrowed from Alleluia v. Dies sanctificatus in Fascicle IX (Plate 3.10a).

Plate 3.9 Notre Dame Clausulae in Alleluia v. Dulce lignum, fol. 30r-31v (a. and c.) compared to Alleluia v. Salve virgo, fol. 180v (b. and d.)
True, the cadential formula examined here can occasionally be found in other Notre Dame organum manuscripts. Anna Maria Busse Berger noted it in both the notated examples and the full organum settings of the Vatican Organum.

\[\text{Plate 3.10 Notre Dame Clausulae in a. Alleluia v. Dies sanctificatus, fol. 22v (a.) compared to Alleluia v. Virgo intermedia, fol. 182v (b.)}\]
But in the music of \( W_1 \), particularly the unique music that was probably composed in St Andrews, it is pervasive, and sometimes serves to replace much longer passages as we have seen. The overwhelming preference of the scribe for this cadential figure over other possibilities allows us to trace his musical edits throughout \( W_1 \).

**OPENING ORNAMENTAL FIGURES IN UNIQUE ORGANUM SETTINGS**

The scribe's musical editing work can also be found in a few opening figures scattered throughout \( W_1 \), which signal points of embellishment. Theoretical treatises on organum, particularly those by Jerome of Moray and Anonymous IV, emphasized the opportunity for the organista to perform improvised ornaments at opening and cadential phrases in organum.\(^{320}\) Timothy McGee noted that these virtuoso embellishments were sometimes written into the music.\(^{321}\) Confirming this observation, Roesner found several examples from \( W_1 \) in which the upper voice embellished the opening concordance with a lower appoggiatura, which probably sounded before the tenor in order to avoid dissonance.\(^{322}\) Anonymous IV noted that any repetition of the same pitch in

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\(^{320}\) Timothy McGee examined the discussions of improvised flourishes in medieval treatises in Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises*, trans. Randall A Rosenfeld (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 61–116. He concluded that cadences most commonly received improvised ornaments in medieval practice, opening flourishes were the second common position for improvisation. Ibid., 131.


\(^{322}\) Edward Roesner, “The Performance of Parisian Organum,” *Early Music* 7, no. 2 (April 1979): 180. Anonymous IV wrote that if the embellishment at the
organum purum indicated that an ornamental passage should be inserted.\textsuperscript{323} Jerome of Moray, on the other hand, gave at least one ornament that was itself a repetition of pitch. Since repeated pitches are frequently found in the opening position of organa in $W_1$, we can suppose that singers often supplied the kinds of ornaments discussed in theoretical treatises on organum, and that ornaments of this sort were sometimes recorded in some of the music written in $W_1$. In this section, we will examine the unusual variants in the opening flourishes of music in $W_1$ before turning to the theoretical treatments of ornaments for explanation.

The scribe of $W_1$, like the scribes of other organum sources, frequently employed the lower appoggiatura figure to open an organum setting. But in $W_1$, he sometimes extended this gesture by adding repercussions of the lower or final pitch. In fact, in the pieces that have concordances in other manuscripts, $W_1$ is frequently the sole version with this extended gesture.\textsuperscript{324} It is also common, along with the insertion of repeated pitches, in several of the unique pieces in $W_1$.

Vir perfecte v. Imitator (O35), in which we found several instances of the scribe's cadential formula above, opens with one of the typical flourishes for the duplum (see Plate 3.11a). In this flourish, what I call the lower appoggiatura figure, the duplum begins a whole step below the octave or fifth above the tenor,

opening was discordant with the tenor, the tenor was to wait to begin until it was in concordance. McGee, The Sound of Medieval Song, 96.

\textsuperscript{323} McGee, The Sound of Medieval Song, 96.

\textsuperscript{324} Both Roesner and Busse Berger remarked upon the unique intonation formulae among the various organum sources, but neither of them noted this particular ornamental figure and its role in the polyphony and monophony of $W_1$. Roesner, “Who ‘Made’ the Magnus Liber?,” 256; Busse Berger, Medieval Music and the Art of Memory, 168.
in this case the latter (G-a over D).\textsuperscript{325} This figure is again employed to begin the word \textit{perfecte} (d-e-e-e over \textit{E} in Plate 3.11b), the first adjective honoring Saint Andrew. Within that opening flourish the scribe inserted a breve \textit{e} before the final long, approaching the sort of ornamental intonation figure we shall see frequently in the monophonic tropes and Lady Mass music.

Two aspects of this gesture warrant further comment: the extended figure with the inserted breve, as in Plate 3.11b, is not part of the common language of the Notre Dame organum, and the restatement of this opening gesture at the beginning of an internal phrase is unusual in the Notre Dame organum language. Whereas in other organa, the figure was varied without the lower appogiatura, the same flourish is found repeated in O35: at the beginning of the verse and the \textit{Gloria patri}.

Plate 3.11 Intonation Flourishes in \textit{Vir perfecte v. Imitator} (O35), fol. 18\textit{v}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{plate3_11.png}
\caption{Plate 3.11 Intonation Flourishes in \textit{Vir perfecte v. Imitator} (O35), fol. 18\textit{v}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{325} For Roesner's argument that these discordant openings should begin before the tenor note see Roesner, “The Performance of Parisian Organum,” 178–9.
After the two responsories for Saint Andrew in Fascicle III, the scribe copied a version of the gradual *Propter veritatem v. Audi filia* (M37) that is almost entirely unique. Its displacement from proper liturgical order, succeeding other unique pieces, suggests it was copied from a different source. Roesner argued that this organum was an edited version of the typical setting found elsewhere in W₁ and in F and W₂. According to Roesner, the composer stripped away the original—Parisian—cadential formulas, reworked some of the Parisian melodic material and provided new organum purum sections for most of the setting.⁴²⁶ An additional indication of the scribe’s editing work is the upper appoggiatura and “mordent” cadential figure that closes the organum purum on the first word, "Propter." This unique and specially treated organum in W₁ is also one of the few organa that open with the extended lower appoggiatura opening figure (see Plate 3.12). Both the respond and the verse open with this gesture, perhaps an indication of the lavish organum purum that would follow.

Unusual features of the organum purum in *Propter veritatem v. Audi filia* (M37) can also be found in the monophonic tropes. The setting of 'veritatem' found in this version features a long sequence of figures descending through the scale, and another sequence of currentes appears over the penultimate note of the cantus firmus. Ligatures of nine or more currentes descending through the scale, followed by a leap back up to the top of the scale, are also features found in the monophonic tropes.

Plate 3.12 Intonation formula in *Propter veritatem v. Audi filia* (M37), fol. 19v

Ornamental Gestures used to Accent the Text

In other pieces, particularly in conductus, the scribe used the same extended intonation gesture in the middle of a piece to highlight a special word. As we saw in the setting of *Vir perfecte* (O35), in which the word *perfecte* was highlighted with the lower appoggiatura gesture, the word *flos* was honored with this flourish in the conductus *Flos de spina*, a short through-composed poem of three lines in 8p, 8p and 7pp. For analyses of rhymed rhythmic poetry according to paroxytone and proparoxytone endings as given here, see Dag Ludvig Norberg, *An Introduction* 147.
begins with the lower appoggiatura gesture only. In $W_1$, the lower appoggiatura gesture is followed by two semibreves and a plicated long repeated at the same pitch. The text honors the Virgin Mary, the flower, who in the symbolic language of the text, bore a flower by means of dew sent from heaven.\(^{328}\) It is the only polyphonic conductus with the extended intonation figure, and is otherwise a rather straightforward conductus *cum cauda*.\(^{329}\) The scribe thus used this extended opening gesture to mark an important word, much like the flowers drawn in the margins of $W_1$ next to Marian works (fols. 128v and 207v).

In the monophonic conductus in Fascicle X, *Ve mundo a scandalis*, each strophe begins with a melisma on the first syllable, but the last verse is particularly ornate, with a series of repeated pitches preceding the lower appoggiatura figure (see Plate 3.13). The interjection 'Ha!' beginning this strophe that curses corrupt priests is set with merely a duplex or plicated duplex in the other conductus sources.\(^{330}\) The scribe provided further evidence of his editing work in this monophonic conductus at the end of this strophe, where he used the upper appoggiatura and “mordent” cadential figure.

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\(^{328}\) "Flos florem fecundatur misso rore celitus." fol. 152r-v. This text combines three typologies of the Virgin Mary: the lover described in the Song of Songs as a flower, the rod of Jesse who bears the flower who is the Messiah, and the fleece of Gideon as a sign of her chastity.

\(^{329}\) Perhaps one exception is the conductus *Qui de saba*, fol. 148v, which appears to have a semibreve added before and after the typical appoggiatura gesture.

Ornamented opening figures are also embedded in two organa in Fascicle XI at significant moments. In the sole Gloria and trope setting in this fascicle, the first two trope elements are flourished with the repetition of pitch on plicated longas, a figure indicating another kind of flourish discussed below (see Plate 3.14). This figure only occurs at the trope text in the Gloria setting, highlighting the special text on the Virgin Mary inserted into the standard mass ordinary chant. The text of the trope Voce vita, a prosula for the Osanna of the Sanctus, discussed further below, was also highlighted with a flourish. The text of the Sanctus trope Voce vita focuses on Eucharistic devotion, referencing the most important words of the mass in the trope: "Hoc est [enim] corpus" (see Plate 3.15). After the priest spoke these words from the Gospels during the Canon of the Mass, the host was elevated for the whole congregation to see. 331 The quotation of these words of consecration in the Sanctus trope was emphasized by the extended lower appoggiatura opening formula at the word “hoc.” These examples of similar notation at important moments in the text demonstrate the scribe's deliberate employment of ornamentation in the notation.

331 For an argument that this practice was instituted in the twelfth century to mark the specific moment of consecration, see Gerard G. Grant, “The Élévation of the Host: a Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy,” Theological Studies 1 (1940): 228.
Ornamentation in the Monophonic Trope Compositions

Unusual features of the unique melodies for the monophonic tropes in $W_1$ suggest that the scribe's employed his own musical vocabulary to create them. The extended lower appoggiatura opening flourish, the upper appoggiatura and "mordent" cadential formula, and the sequential pattern of ligatures are featured heavily in these compositions. The monophonic tropes in Fascicle X are all unique compositions either composed by or modified by the scribe of $W_1$, whose
musical vocabulary we have witnessed in the responsories for Saint Andrew's office, some conductus, and the unique polyphony in the Marian fascicle. This scribe's inspiration for the monophonic tropes was Notre Dame organum and a treatise similar to the Vatican Organum Treatise, from which he produced extremely virtuosic solo music. Yet these tropes have been overlooked in the scholarship. David Hiley published the first repertorial study of the tropes in W₁ as a means of identifying the provenance of the manuscript, but he excluded the monophonic tropes in Fascicle X.³³² It was not until the Recent Researches publication by Jan Cosart in 2007 that these tropes were edited.³³³ Despite finally having a modern edition available, no scholar has published a thorough analysis of this entirely unique music.³³⁴

Like the other tropes in the "main" fascicles of W₁, the twelve monophonic tropes were copied at the end of a quire of monophonic works. The monophonic trope collection occupies most of the twenty-fourth quire of W₁, following two monophonic conductus. The first monophonic conductus is fragmentary; it completed a conductus in a preceding quire, which is now missing (see Appendix I). The original foliation confirms that the missing quire was composed of eight folia. There are no markings in the ink or hand to suggest that

³³² Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W₁.”
³³⁴ Hana Vlhoř-Wörner read a paper, "The Monophonic Ordinary Tropes in W₁" at Gothic Revolution, the first Ars Antiqua conference at Princeton University in November 2011, in which she demonstrated the similarities in musical style between these and tropes found in Bohemian manuscripts, though none of them share the same music.
there was any break between the copying of the second monophonic conductus, *In Rama sonat*, discussed in Chapter 5, and the twelve monophonic tropes that follow. But unlike *Quomodo cantibimus* and *Ve mundo a scandalis*, which conclude the monophonic conductus collection that began in the preceding quire, *In Rama sonat* and the six *Sanctus* and six Agnus dei tropes that follow are unique to W₁.

A misidentification of one of the tropes with unique melodies suggests that the scribe was supplied with the trope texts, but composed the music himself. The scribe, not fully understanding the theological tradition of *Sanctus* and Agnus dei tropes, mistook *Archetypi mundi* as the first Agnus dei trope set in his collection of poetry, rather than the last Sanctus trope.⁴³⁵ In fact, the most ornamented of all the monophonic tropes assigned to the Agnus dei in W₁ is *Archetypi*, reflecting the complex, abstract theology of the Trinity and the abstruse vocabulary of the text. The same text appears in three concordances as a Sanctus trope, with different but similarly elaborate and virtuosic melodies. The subject matter confirms that it was, in fact, intended to be a Sanctus trope, since it expounds a theology of the Trinity. However, it is an unusual Sanctus trope in that it has only three lines, whereas most of the interpolated tropes for the Sanctus have four. Agnus dei tropes have three, however, each appearing in the middle of one of the three phrases of the chant. This leads me to believe that these tropes were received as texts without clear indications about their parent chants. The scribe set them to music, but because of its form, he mistakenly chose the wrong kind of mass ordinary chant for *Archetypi mundi*. The scribe’s choice of

⁴³⁵ *Archetypi mundi* was probably meant to be a Sanctus trope, as I discuss further below. It appears in the other three sources for the text as a Sanctus trope. Pn 3126, SGs 383 and SGs 546.
an *Agnus dei* setting for this trope implies that he failed to appreciate the
Trinitarian theology that is indicative of Sanctus tropes. He wrote music that
reflected the classical hexameters, marking each caesura with a cadence, but he
was not familiar with common liturgical commentaries that influenced the texts
for Sanctus and *Agnus dei* tropes. Despite the fact that the scribe was
unfamiliar with theological themes of Sanctus and *Agnus dei* tropes, at St
Andrews there was clearly still a use for tropes, prompting the scribe to compose
new virtuosic music for the texts.

Jerome of Moray on Opening Ornaments

Two medieval treatises can help us interpret the expanded melismaticism
and virtuosity of the monophonic tropes: Jerome of Moray's *Tractatus de Musica*
and the Vatican Organum Treatise. Jerome wrote a chapter on the composition

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336 See Iversen's work on commentaries and their influence on tropes in Gunilla
337 Also known as Jerome of Moravia, but Huglo demonstrated that *Hieronymus
de Moravia* more likely referred to Moray, in the northeast of Scotland. Michel
Huglo, “La Musica Du Fr. Prechêur Jérôme de Moray,” in *Collected Work: Max
Lütolf Zum 60. Geburtstag: Festschrift*, ed. Bernard Hangartner and Urs Fischer
(Switzerland: Wiese Basel, 1994), 113–116. Meyer disputed this claim in the
introduction of the new edition of Jerome's *Tractatus*, promising a more
convincing argument in the forthcoming translation. Christian Meyer, Guy
Lobrichon, and Carola Hertel-Geay, eds., *Hieronymi de Moravia Tractatus de musica*
(Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), XI. Roesner briefly suggested the application of
Jerome's work on ornamentation in plainsong to the polyphony in *W* in Roesner,
“The Performance of Parisian Organum,” 178. Preece observed the similarity
with Jerome of Moray's account of *florificatio vocis* in an unpublished work.
Warwick Edwards further suggested that the melodies might have been
composed by one of the members of the Dominican house in Edinburgh, who,
according to the seventeenth-century Scottish chronicler, Spottiswoode, were
supported by Malveisin. Isobel Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the
Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland
(Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), 245–6. On the Vatican
153.
of new ecclesiastical song in which he articulated the manner of making beautiful plainchant and performance techniques for ornamenting the chant.\textsuperscript{338} In Chapter 25, he listed the vocal techniques of \textit{reverberatio} and \textit{flores armonici}.\textsuperscript{339} The \textit{reverberatio} is a very short note anticipated before the notated long note at the distance of a semi-tone, whole-tone or other interval below, akin to the lower appoggiatura figure.\textsuperscript{340} The \textit{reverberatio} ought to precede the \textit{flores}, which seem to be a type of vibrato.\textsuperscript{341} Three species of \textit{flores} are defined by the position and


\textsuperscript{338} A very helpful discussion of this section can be found in Laura Weber, “Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia’s ‘Tractatus de Musica’” (Ph.D., Yale University, 2009), 150–69.

\textsuperscript{339} Meyer, Lobrichon, and Hertel-Geay, \textit{Hieronymi de Moravia Tractatus de musica}, 170–1.

\textsuperscript{340} "Nam alique ex eis cum reverberacione sub specie semitnooi, alique sub specie toni, alique vero cum reverberacione omnium aliorum modorum. Est autem reverberacione brevissime note ante canendam notam celerima anticipacio, qua scilicet mediante sequens assumitur." Meyer, Lobrichon, and Hertel-Geay, \textit{Hieronymi de Moravia Tractatus de musica}, 170, line 131–6. Roesner discussed Jerome’s descriptions of ornamental figures in his article on the performance of organum, and suggested that some of the figures Jerome described correspond to those found in \textit{W}\textsubscript{1}. But I find his conflation of the description offered for plainchant in Jerome’s Chapter 25 with the discussion of organum in Chapter 26 perplexing, and therefore offer my own analysis here. Roesner, “The Performance of Parisian Organum,” 177. Roesner suggests that the \textit{flores} are notated in the quilisma-like figures in \textit{W}\textsubscript{1}-XI, rather than the opening gestures. Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 335–7.

\textsuperscript{341} Meyer, Lobrichon, and Hertel-Geay, \textit{Hieronymi de Moravia Tractatus de musica}, 172, lines 171–2.
notation on which they occur: the *longi flores*, *flore apertos*, and *flores subito*. The first type is a slow oscillation, does not exceed a semitone, and occurs on the first, the penultimate or the last note of a chant.  

Flores apertos extend to a whole tone below the note, performed on the second note of a syllable. Finally, the *flores subito* begin slowly at the interval of a semitone, but are most rapid in the middle and end, and are made only on the plicated long. The breve is never given any of these flourishes, only longs or the special figures listed above. Jerome does state within this section on how to flourish opening or final notes that the breve may be divided into three iterations. This statement suggests that the reiteration of a pitch is also a kind of embellishment, though it is not clear whether Jerome meant that there are three breves or three semi-breves in this figure.

Unfortunately there are no notated examples of these figures in Chapter 25 of Jerome's treatise. But in a different section, taken from Johannes de Garlandia's *De mensurabilii musica*, there is an example of a type of flourish that looks very similar to introductory flourishes in the monophonic tropes of W₁. In Chapter 26, Jerome resumed with a passage in which Johannes de Garlandia gave an account of color in organum. Among the examples of figures of

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344 "Subiti vero sunt, quorum quidem vibracio in principio est morosa, in medio autem et in fine est celerrima, metasque semitonii non excedit." Ibid., 171, lines 144–7, 168–70.
345 "Aliquando tamen in tres instantias nota brevis resolvitur." Ibid., 171, line 141.
346 Guillaume Gross demonstrated that Johannes de Garlandia and the Notre Dame polyphony, which, he explained, were steeped in the rhetorical tradition, 155.
repetition, Johannes (and Jerome) gave the only notated example of a type of ornamentation (see Example 3.4), called florificatio vocis.\textsuperscript{347} The example looks very much like a notated version of flores subito and indeed the similar, though slightly adjusted vocabulary for the two ornaments also suggests their close relationship. The repercussions of one pitch oscillating with the semi-tone below are notated as semi-breves, which perhaps explains Jerome’s statement in Chapter 25 that a breve could be divided up as a means of ornamentation. Although Johannes’ term florificatio vocis is slightly different from Jerome’s discussion of flores in plainchant, we may infer a similar approach to embellishment, or florificatio, in both plainchant and organum.\textsuperscript{348}


Translation: translating various rhetorical figures into musical gestures called colores. Colores were made either with modes, or flourishes of the sounds, or repetition in the same or a different voice. According to Gross, "In Garlandia’s vocabulary the word color signifies melodic embellishment in a general sense, associated with notions of reminiscence, beauty and pleasure. The source of this pleasure is intimately linked with, and results from, melodic repetition. Repetition is present for the sake of the effects that may be attributed to it. The more frequently the melody is repeated, the more it will be perceived as something known and familiar, a factor that ensures the success of the composition." Guillaume Gross, “Organum at Notre-Dame in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Rhetoric in Words and Music,” Plainsong and Medieval Music 15 (2006): 95.


Every trope element of the monophonic tropes begins with a variant of one of these ornamental introductions mentioned by Jerome, opening each phrase with a lavish gesture befitting the extravagant virtuosity of the monophonic works. The opening “lower appoggiatura” gesture found elsewhere in W1, a pes rising to the fifth or octave above the tenor pitch, seems to indicate an ornamental gesture similar to what Jerome calls *reverberatio*. In the monophonic tropes is followed by several repercussions of a single pitch, followed by the same on the semi-tone or whole-tone below, much like Jerome's descriptions of *flores* (see Plates 3.16-3.18). The ornamental gestures used in the Lady Mass music and in *Vir perfecte v. Imitator* examined above are similar, though shortened ornamental gestures. In the monophonic tropes, the scribe employed these ornaments abundantly.

Plate 3.16 Beginning of Second Trope Element of *Christe Yerarchia*

Plate 3.17 Beginning of Third Trope Element of *Christe Yerarchia*

Plate 3.18 Beginning of Fourth Trope Element of *Christe Yerarchia*
The Vatican Organum Treatise on Monophonic Composition

Another thirteenth-century treatise on monophonic composition explains the long-winded and wandering nature of each melodic phrase of these unique melodies. The so-called Vatican Organum Treatise (VT), copied roughly around the same time as W1, gives numerous examples for composing organum, but examples of tenorless melismas follow at the end. The treatise demonstrates how to expand a phrase progressing from one pitch to another through a series of turning, descending, or leaping gestures. For most of the intervals the treatise provides two examples, one that is straightforward and one that is more ornamented. The latter nonetheless does not compromise the original shape of the melodic progression. For example, the reader is shown how to turn a six-note melisma into a seven-, thirteen-, or eight-note melisma, while retaining the shape of the stepwise descent of a fourth in the original.

If we compare these examples to the tropes found in W1 and their concordances, we find some of the same extended sequences prolonging the move from one pitch to another (see Example 3.5). However, the music in W1 is more sequential and repetitive in its figuration than either the examples in VT or the melodies for the same trope texts in other manuscripts. Other sources have

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349 Immel argued that the Vatican Organum Treatise (VT) taught the reader how to compose organum in the post-Perotin era. He also noted the similarity between these tropes and the monophonic examples in the Vatican Organum Treatise in Immel, “The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-Examined,” 129 n. 17. Anna Maria Busse Berger argued that the examples in VT were memorized for ad hoc performances. Busse Berger, Medieval Music and the Art of Memory, 165–74.
351 In Godt and Rivera’s edition, the examples numbered 317-320.
settings that more closely mimic the examples given in the treatise (see Example 3.8). In \( W_1 \), it is as though the composer were expanding upon the method for writing a tenorless melisma from the treatise with techniques he also used in organum purum, as we saw in Propter veritatem v. Audi fili (M37). Simply looking at a folio of the manuscript reveals the excessive repetition of ligatures at descending sequences (see Plate 3.19). VT gives an example of the kind of resource that may have been available to the scribe for composing new ornate monophony, yet the scribe also brought his own musical vocabulary to bear in the monophonic trope collection of \( W_1 \).

The scribe was undoubtedly responsible for some of the unique features of the music in W₁. The same short opening and cadential gestures employed in every type of music—from organa to ordinary tropes and monophonic conductus to two-part Kyries—unite these various genres of liturgical music as the work of one editor. His musical vocabulary guided his hand throughout the work of copying W₁. He may even be fully responsible for the unique music in W₁, in which the gestures observed in Notre Dame organum are more numerous. As we observed in Chapter 2, the lack of organization of the collection and the occasionally hurried execution of copying suggest that the unique pieces, such as the responsories for Saint Andrew, had not been integrated into a performance tradition with other Notre Dame organum at St Andrews. The monophonic tropes offer further evidence that the scribe could have composed some of the music of W₁ himself for the purpose of providing appropriate liturgical music for the Céli Dé at St Andrews.
B. EXPANDING THE LITURGICAL COLLECTION: OLD AND NEW TROPES

The scribe's editing work extended beyond inserting opening and cadential figures into the music he was copying. He also chose what pieces would be included in the collection. The musical contents of $W_1$ were certainly intended to be sung in the liturgy, but the organization of its contents can appear almost as haphazard as the execution of copying in Fascicles VI and VII. This haphazard appearance masks the scribe's plan to include tropes for use in the mass liturgies. The initial intention of the copyist appears to have been to copy the music into quires organized by genre and liturgical use:

- 4, 3, or 2-part organa for the Mass: Fascicles I, II, IV, VII
- 2-part organa for the Office and *Benedicamus*: Fascicle III
- 3 or 2-part clausulae: Fascicles V, VI
- 3 or 2-part conductus: Fascicles VIII, IX

However, several of the quires end with music of different genres and liturgical positions. For instance, in Fascicle II two three-part *Benedicamus* settings and three three-part conductus follow the collection of three-part organum settings for proper chants of the mass. Similarly, the gradual *Propter veritatem v. Audi filia* (M37) was added to the two-part organum settings of office chants in Fascicle III, and the conductus *Rose nodum* at the end of Fasc. VI. Still finding a few blank folios, he again, perhaps at a somewhat later date, added *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei*
tropes to the end of quires in Fascicles III, VIII, IX and X (see Table 3.1). The result is a full but rather disorganized collection.

Table 3.1 Supplementary pieces to the main contents of fascicles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fascicle</th>
<th>Pieces Added Later</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Benedictus domino, Serena virginum, Celum non aminum, Veri floris sub figura, Leniter ex merito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Sanctus, Sanctorum exultatio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Rose nodum reserat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Benedictus domino, Descendit de celis v. Tamquam, Alleluia v. Pascha nostrum, O felix bituria, Hec dies v. confitemini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.11-12</td>
<td>In odorem, Sanctus, Perpetuo numine, Sanctus, Quem pium benedicit, Sanctus, Laudes deo ore pio, Agnus dei, Lux lucis, Agnus dei, Mortis dira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.14</td>
<td>Benedictus domino (x3), Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori, Benedictus domino, Natus corde patris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.15</td>
<td>Agnus dei, Fons indificiens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.22</td>
<td>Agnus dei, Deus deorum creator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Monophonic Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pieces added later by the same hand were discussed in Chapter 2. Handschin and Flotzinger identified these additions primarily by changes in the ink color and placement in the quire. Roesner agreed with Handschin and Flotzinger, with the exception of Natus corde patris, which he considered part of the original corpus. Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W’,” 340, n. 13. The pieces listed in Table 1 were chosen because they are in a different ink than what precedes them or they mark a change in the genre of polyphony preceding them in the quire. In most cases both criteria are present.

Perhaps this was the reason the scribe chose only duplum, copied in liturgical order, for the Lady Mass in the last fascicle. There he carefully organized his liturgical collection.
The trope contents are better organized in number and style than they might appear to be in the table above. The scribe copied exactly four Sanctus and four Agnus dei tropes in these empty spaces. The cantus firmi of the tropes in Fascicles III, VIII and IX, particularly the Sanctus tropes, are a mix of older, standard tropes and new tropes reflecting thirteenth-century developments, all set to new polyphony.\textsuperscript{355} The monophonic tropes in Fascicle X, however,

\textsuperscript{355} Liturgical tropes have, until relatively recently, suffered from neglect by scholars. Trope texts were published as examples of liturgical poetry in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century and early twentieth by Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, but were taken almost entirely out of their liturgical context and stripped of their music. Cf. Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, \textit{Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi}, vol. 47, 55 vols. (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886). Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, Martin Schildbach, Klaus Rönnau and Peter Thannabaur corrected this to some extent in their dissertations on the \textit{Kyrie}, \textit{Sanctus} and \textit{Agnus dei} from the 1950s and early 60s. Their indices of trope texts, while thorough, make no reference to melody. Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, \textit{Das Einstimmige Kyrie Des Lateinischen Mittelalters} (Munich: Mirokopie, 1954); Peter Josef Thannabaur, \textit{Das Einstimmige Sanctus Der Römischen Messe in Der Handschriftlichen Überlieferung Des 11. Bis 16. Jahrhundert}, Erlanger Arbeiten Zur Musikwissenschaft (München: W. Ricke, 1962); Klaus Rönnau, \textit{Die Tropen Zum Gloria in Excelsis Deo. Unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung Des Repertoires Der St. Martial-Handschrift} (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1967); Martin Schildbach, \textit{Das Einstimmige Agnus Dei Und Seine Handschriftliche Überlieferung Vom 10. Bis Zum 16. Jahrhundert} (Erlangen: Offsetdruck-Fotodruck J. Hogl, 1967). Following these publications, a series of studies of tropes from particular institutions appeared, such as Paul Evans’s study of tropes from St Martial de Limoges and Alejandro Planchart’s dissertation on the Winchester troper, but these focused on early repertories of proper tropes. Paul Evans, \textit{The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial De Limoges}, Princeton Studies in Music no. 2 (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1970); Alejandro Enrique Planchart, \textit{The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester} (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1977). The \textit{Corpus Troporum} project revived the study of tropes in the 1990s, producing several volumes of critically edited trope texts and their concordances. Cf. Gunilla Iversen, ed., \textit{Tropes Du Sanctus}, Corpus Troporum 7 (Stockholm, Sweden: University of Stockholm, 1990). For the study here, however, these volumes are only partially helpful, since they are almost exclusively dedicated to proper tropes from manuscripts before the thirteenth century. This cut-off date is indicative of the assumption in scholarship that trope compositions essentially died out by the end of that century. For this reason it is important to take a second look at \textit{W7}, because of its anomalous nature. It is one of the few sources for tropes available in the
represent a different approach to poetic form and musical style in tropes, influenced by classical poetry and treatises on ornaments, as seen above. The cantus firmi of the Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes collected in Fascicle XI also represent a thirteenth-century popular style of tropes akin to the conductus.\(^{356}\)

The new tropes found in Fascicles X and XI trace a fundamental shift in the forms of Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes that happened in the early thirteenth century. The presence of these new forms in W\(_1\) demonstrates that the community for which the scribe copied and edited these tropes maintained a repertoire of a few ordinary tropes for feast days and sought out new tropes in the latest form and style.

These ordinary tropes opened new avenues for embellishing the mass while further dissociating the collection of W\(_1\) from the Augustinian or Parisian thirteenth century, and contributes to the knowledge of an ongoing tradition of ordinary trope composition and usage in the British Isles, to which books like the fifteenth century Ordinal of St Mary’s Abbey in York are later witnesses. However, in the last five years scholars have again begun to appreciate the wealth of material that yet remains to be studied in this area, and currently the Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevae series is composing, finally, an edition of tropes with texts and music that will also include tropes from the later Middle Ages, organized by region. Gábor Kiss, ed., Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa: Repertoire-Übersicht und Melodienkatalog, Monumenta monodica medii aevi (New York: Bärenreiter, 2009).

\(^{356}\) In his study of the polyphonic tropes in W\(_\nu\), Hiley traced the concordances of all the polyphonic tropes in W\(_\nu\), including the Marian mass music. He concluded from the concordances for the cantus firmi of these tropes that they belonged to a new tradition of ordinary tropes, and were not part of the Sarum use. Hiley noted that the surviving books following the use of St Victor of Paris usually do not have troped items at all, and the melodies for Ordinary chants in W\(_1\) furthermore do not correspond significantly with those in St Victor books. But he did not distinguish between older tropes commonly found in tropers and graduals, even in the early thirteenth century, that were copied in Fascicles III, VIII and IX, and the new style of trope copied in Fascicle XI, which is found only in graduals from the thirteenth century and later. He furthermore excluded the monophonic tropes from his study because he found no concordances in French or English books. Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W\(_\nu\),” 69.
Max Lütolf, Margot Fassler, and David Hiley have observed a shift in French liturgical manuscripts in the early thirteenth century from collecting monophonic tropes to polyphonic settings of Gregorian chants as means of embellishing the liturgy. These scholars have credited reforming religious orders, such as the Cistercian monks and the Canons Regular, and the emergence of polyphonic music with the death of troping. But the scribe of $W_1$ apparently saw no reason to eliminate tropes from liturgical practice because of the new polyphonic settings of plainchant. To the contrary, he appears to have been one of the first to introduce Notre Dame-style polyphony to tropes, leaving the earliest extant post-Notre Dame polyphonic versions of tropes. Thus old and new ordinary tropes, examined here, received new life in the polyphonic and monophonic settings of $W_1$.

**Sanctus Tropes of the Older Type**

The first two tropes of the *Sanctus* given new polyphonic life in $W_1$ come out of the tradition that goes all the way back to the age of the Winchester

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357 Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on $W_1$,” 67.  
360 The most important pre-Notre Dame polyphonic collection of tropes is the Winchester Troper. Fragments of later thirteenth-century sources show that this phenomenon continued: GB-CUL Ff.i. 29 and GB-Au MS 2379/1.
Tropers. The form of the Sanctus tropes follows the typical pattern introducing trope elements, short phrases or sentences, between words of the Gregorian chant. One example from W₁, Sanctus, Perpetuo numine (fol. 91v-92r) occurs in over 40 sources, including the Durham gradual from the end of the eleventh century, and the Worcester antiphoner, roughly contemporary with W₁. Three short trope elements are interpolated after the three iterations of Sanctus in the chant, (written in italics in Example 3.6). The trope elements disrupt the original chant with a series of appositions describing the nature of the Trinitarian God. The cantus firmus melody is also typical of tropes of this kind: mostly neumatic, wandering from the ending pitch of the phrase before it to the beginning pitch of the next phrase, as is typical of early interpolated tropes. The text amplifies what is already being said implicitly in the Sanctus, according to medieval liturgical commentaries.

Example 3.6 Early Sanctus trope Form

| Sanctus perpetuo numine cuncta regens | Holy, ruling all things with an everlasting divine will |
| Sanctus regna patris disponens iure parili | Holy, governing the kingdoms of the father with equal justice |
| Sanctus consimilis qui bona cuncta nutris | Holy, cosimilar [to the Father and Son] nourish all good things |
| Dominus deus sabaoth | Lord God of Sabaoth |

361 Lux lucis, the Agnus dei trope, dates from this period. The Winchester Tropers are GB-Ob 775 and GB-Ccc 473. The latter is incomplete, but presumably would have had a similar collection of ordinary tropes as GB-Ob 775. Rankin recently dated these manuscripts to around 1030. Susan Rankin, The Winchester Troper, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Stainer & Bell London, 2007).

362 GB-Du Cosin V, 6 and GB-WOc F 160.

363 For a study of this phenomenon in early Aquitainian sources, see Evans, The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial De Limoges.

364 Gunilla Iversen briefly gave a list of the liturgical commentaries on the Sanctus in Iversen, Tropes Du Sanctus, 20–1.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua
Osanna in excelsis
O deitas clemens servorum suscipe laudes
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini
Osanna in excelsis

Heaven and earth are full of your glory
Hosanna in the highest
O merciful divinity, accept the praises of your servants
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord
Hosanna in the highest

TRANSCITIONAL TROPES

The last two Sanctus tropes copied into Fascicle VIII employ a method of embellishing the Sanctus chant that emerged around the middle of the eleventh century. This Sanctus trope form evolved out of the practice of texting long melismas, called prosulas. The long melisma typically given to the "osanna" of the Sanctus afforded the perfect opportunity for a texted melisma, which was then expanded far beyond the length of the original melisma. Two of the Sanctus tropes in the main fascicles of W₁ exhibit this transitional form: Quem pium benedicit (fol. 93v-93r) and Laudes deo ore pio (fol. 93r-93v). The earliest source for Quem pium benedicit is the late twelfth-century St Albans gradual and troper, GB-Lbl Roy. 2.b.iv. The setting in that manuscript is almost entirely syllabic, and the irregular melodic cadences end on ‘a’ vowels, assonant with the

365 Iversen, Tropes Du Sanctus, 35.

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ending of the word Osanna. In W₁, this prosula-like texting of a melisma is further emphasized by the untexted repetition of the melody following each strophe.⁶⁸ In the final strophe, the untexted melody is sung first on "O", followed by the same melody sung with the strophe beginning “Orat,” alluding once again to the melisma sung on the "O" of "Osanna" in the Sanctus chant (see Plate 3.20). The same cantus firmus, simplified to be more syllabic and therefore more conductus-like, is used for Maria mater egregia (fol. 195v), lacking the untexted melismas.

Plate 3.20 Final verse of Quem pium benedicit, fol. 84r

THE LATER OSANNA PROSA

All of the Sanctus tropes in Fascicle XI utilize regular rhythmic poetry, which became a popular style for liturgical songs during the twelfth century. In this form, the text governs the music. The prosa, though meant to look like a texted melisma of the Osanna, is entirely independent from the Sanctus chant: the rhythmic structure of the poetry shaped the dissonances and cadences in the music. The best example in W₁ is Voce vita, for which W₁ is in fact the earliest source (see Example 3.7). This particular prosa form mimics the Victorine sequence, another kind of piece made to look like a texted melisma added on to

the end of the Alleluia chant.\textsuperscript{369} The Victorine sequence was developed in the twelfth century, chiefly by the composer Adam of St Victor. It is a hymn-like piece with double strophes set to poetry and organized into two octosyllabic lines with paroxytone endings followed by a heptasyllabic line with a proparoxytone ending (8p+8p+7pp).\textsuperscript{370} Although the Osanna prosula did not always reflect the same poetic form as the sequence (the example below has only one 8p line), they were similarly independent pieces that could be inserted at the end of many Sanctus melodies.

The opening text of Voce vita sit unita in fact recalls the second verse of the famous Victorine sequence, Laudes crucis attollamus, which begins "Voce vita non discordet."\textsuperscript{371} Every strophe corresponding to a line in Example 3.7 is divided into three sections. At each of the end rhymes of these three textual phrases the music also cadences on an important pitch in the fifth mode, F, (the final of this mode) \textit{a}, or \textit{c}, the reciting tone.\textsuperscript{372} The word accents also influence the shape of the melody throughout the piece, since the stressed syllables usually fall on these primary pitches of the mode. The few places where the stressed accents diverge

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{369} Fassler argued in Gothic Song that this genre also shifted to a didactic mode in the twelfth century. Margot E. Fassler, Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-century Paris, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), Chap. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{370} On rhythmic poetry, see Dag Ludvig Norberg, An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification, ed. Jan Ziolkowski, trans. Grant C Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle (Washington, D. C: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 130–155.
\item \textsuperscript{371} On the sequence Laudes crucis and its significance for the genre theologically and melodically, see Fassler, Gothic Song, 2011, 77–78. An edition of the text and melody are on Ibid., 416–18.
\item \textsuperscript{372} On the relationship between melody and poetry in the sequence, see Fassler, “The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre-Dame Polyphony,” 357–369.
\end{itemize}
Example 3.7 Cantus Firmus melody of *Voce vita sit unita*

from the primary pitches introduce variety and create tension through which the melody returns to the cadence for a resolution. The alternating stressed and
unstressed syllables and the insistent proparoxytone line endings give the musical setting a strong sense of rhythmic pulse.\textsuperscript{373}

**RHYMING HEXAMETER TROPES**

The twelve monophonic Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes in Fascicle X of \( W_1 \), discussed earlier for their unique virtuosic melodies, fall into a different category of trope type that emerged in the thirteenth century, of which those in \( W_1 \) are some of the earliest examples. These tropes are primarily identified by their long interpolated verses of classicizing, quantitative poetry adorned with lengthy ornamented melodies. In no other trope collection or manuscript of polyphony from the thirteenth century can such a large collection of this trope style be found. The scribe’s particular interest in supplying a large collection of monophonic tropes for the Céli Dé is indicative of his desire to provide a variety of liturgical music in the latest style.

In this Sanctus trope type, rhyming hexameters employing esoteric theological terms and extreme melismaticism are interpolated in the phrases of the Sanctus chant to create a new song for the mass. Rhymed rhythmic or stress-based poetry pervaded in most of the liturgical poetry of the thirteenth century, including texts for the conductus found in \( W_1 \) and the tropes in Fascicle XI. The rhymed hexameters of the trope elements, on the other hand, do not employ this popular rhythmic poetry, but rather a more formal kind of classical Latin metrical


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Although metrical Latin poetry never really fell out of use, the avoidance of a rhythmic pulse inherent to the form gave it a particularly archaic feel.

Textual concordances for the monophonic tropes of $W_1$ are few. Most of the late sources for the texts are in eastern European manuscripts, on account of which Hiley excluded these sources from his study of the $W_1$ tropes in the context of British and northern French sources. A few contemporary or near-contemporary witnesses are spread across the continent. One of the $W_1$ Sanctus tropes has concordances in two southern French manuscripts: the Aquitanian manuscript Pn 3719 from the twelfth or early thirteenth century, and E-Bbc 1408, from twelfth-century Septimania. While these do not share melodies between the various sources, the style of ornaments and the long, embellished melismas are quite similar.

No musical concordances exist for the monophonic hexameter tropes in $W_1$; indeed, this style of monophonic writing seems to be unlike any other composition from the period. Though similar in range and scope to the melismatic flourishes of some new twelfth-century chant like that by Hildegard of Bingen, in sheer virtuosic show the monophonic tropes of $W_1$ far outpass her music. The music for this poetry, though monophonic, is inspired by the new polyphonic style and the theoretical treatises that accompany it, as we saw

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375 Iversen noted that the avoidance of stressed rhymes in some sequences, another genre in which rhymed rhythmic poetry became the standard in the twelfth century, signified an intentional archaic style. Gunilla Iversen, “From Jubilus to Learned Exegesis: New Liturgical Poetry in Twelfth-Century Nevers,” in Sapientia et Eloquentia (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009), 239.
earlier. The monophonic tropes demonstrate that the same sort of virtuosic singing found in Notre Dame organum could be applied to monophonic music.

A monophonic Sanctus trope found in a manuscript from Nevers demonstrates that this new approach to trope composition was known in France as well. Sanctus, Archetypi mundi, which shares its text with the first of the Agnus dei tropes in W₁, was added in the thirteenth century to the troper Pn 3126, a twelfth-century manuscript from Nevers.³⁷⁷ It is the only trope in Pn 3126 in this new florid style. Like the tropes in W₁, the melody expands over an octave and a fourth, sometimes covering the whole range in one descending phrase (See Example 3.7 below). The trope set has extended melismatic phrases, from 20 to 90 pitches per syllable. These are ornamented in ways similar to those described by Jerome of Moray, but differently from those in the monophonic tropes of W₁. For example, the repeated G at the beginning of the first trope element on "Archetypi" resembles Jerome’s division of a longa, and the oscillation between the first two notes at the beginning of the second element at the word “summa” might be one of Jerome’s flores. The long descending phrases and a few descending repeated ligatures such as the descending turn on "bonorum," also embellish the monophonic song.

The text shared with the Agnus dei trope in W₁ employs erudite vocabulary arrayed in the leonine hexameters. Greek words like archetypi, protopanton and nois rarely appear in Latin liturgical poetry, though Greek terms for describing complex theological ideas were cultivated in the theological and

philosophical texts of the twelfth century. Such vocabulary gives this trope both an ancient and a learned air, which would have been appreciated by erudite theologians who trained at the university in Paris.

Despite the intellectual nature of the texts and the carefully wrought metrical poetry, it is the music that governs the temporal aspect of the piece with its own logic. The text is almost buried under the virtuosity of the music; one wonders if anyone listening to this piece would even have been able to discern a text. All these aspects point towards an understanding of the liturgical Sanctus as an attempt to express the ineffable, which the angels, who the Biblical texts tell us sing this hymn, need no words to describe, but only to sing.

The tropes in W, match the version of Archempdi mundi in Pn 3126 in poetic style, but achieve new heights of musical embellishment. An example is the Sanctus trope Christe Hierarchia, printed below (Example 3.9). The second word, “yerarchia,” is not only derived from Greek, though fairly commonly used in medieval Latin. It is also in the title of Pseudo-Dionysius’s work on angels, The

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378 Lars Elfving examined the use of Greek words in early Aquitanian sequences. Even in these sequences, the above Greek words are rare. Lars Elfving, Étude Lexicographique Sur Les Séquences Limousines, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia,7 (Stockholm: Almqvist/Wiksell, 1962). This trope is certainly the most ornamental of the Sanctus tropes in Pn 3719, and the only one with Greek words and hexameters. Norberg argued for the association of hexameters with intellectualism in Norberg, An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification, 33–4. Iversen found sources for the language of this trope in the theological works of Peter Abelard. Iversen, “From Jubilus to Learned Exegesis: New Liturgical Poetry in Twelfth-Century Nevers,” 219.

379 Isaiah 6:3 and Revelation 4:8. Fassler and Lori Kruckenberg have shown that wordless song representing angelic voices was used in different performance techniques for the sequence. Margot E. Fassler, Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 38–57; Kruckenberg, “Neumatizing the Sequence.”
Example 3.8 *Archetypi Mundi* in Pn 3126 from Iversen, Kihlman and Collete, ed. “Anthology of Texts and Music” in *Sapientia et Eloquentia*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009)
Celestial Hierarchy, an influential work for the authors of Sanctus trope texts.\textsuperscript{380} In the same first element a much rarer Greek word, hyperusia, is found.\textsuperscript{381} Like Archetypi mundi this trope set uses sophisticated language to describe the Trinitarian Godhead in leonine hexameters.

\textbf{AGNUS DEI TROPES}

The Agnus dei tropes display a similar trajectory in compositional style, but the distinctions are not quite so pronounced.\textsuperscript{382} The elements of the trope are closer to that of the Kyrie, often posing as texted melodies of the Agnus dei chant itself. Later tropes are slightly more complex and independent, however, with texts in regularized poetry. Mortis dira and Qui de carne are prime examples of this late style and, like Voce vita, are not much older than W\textsubscript{1} itself.

The Agnus dei tropes in Fascicle X feature embellishments similar to those in the Sanctus tropes, but they do not reach nearly the monumental lengths of the Sanctus tropes. The Agnus dei chant is not the song of the heavenly hosts, it is the plea of fallen humanity to Jesus Christ, the lamb of God, in the words of John the

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{381} I know of only one use of hyperusia in a Latin theological work: a commentary, attributed to Bede, on Boethius’s De Trinitate, in which he says the term means "beyond substance" (superstantia). The commentary most likely dates from the twelfth century. Boethius’s work on the Trinity does not survive. PL 95:410. On the commentary, see Christophe Erismann, “The Medieval Fortunes of ‘Opuscula Sacra’,” in The Cambridge Companion to Boethius, ed. John Marenbon (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 160.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{382} John 1:29. For an examination of Agnus dei tropes up to the twelfth century, see Gunilla Iversen, Tropes de l’Agnus Dei (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1980).
\end{quote}

A

Sanctus

Christe Hierarchia

B

Sabaoth de

er ar

... vita

C

Cui resonante melo

Sanctus

D

Vox

Osanna in excelsis
Baptist.\textsuperscript{383} By their nature, therefore, Agnus dei tropes focus on the sacrificial work of the second person of the Trinity, Jesus Christ. The music and texts of the tropes do not try to mimic the song of angels, nor do they expound the doctrine of the Trinity with erudite vocabulary. Also, in contrast to the Sanctus tropes, the Agnus dei tropes are not all in rhyming hexameters. Some are in rhythmic rhymed poetry and some are in irregular rhymes. The less sophisticated poetry in these tropes receives less elaborate music in $W_1$, befitting the mundane and somber subject. Nonetheless, the lengthy verses received many ornamental figures and extended melismas.

While $W_1$ is the only intact manuscript to demonstrate the persistence of ordinary tropes—and even the composition of new ordinary tropes—alongside Notre Dame polyphony in the thirteenth century, two insular fragmentary sources indicate that this was not an isolated phenomenon. The flyleaves found in a register from the abbey of Bury St Edmunds, GB-Cul Ff.ii.29, include a source for the Notre Dame organum \textit{Alleluia v. Dies sanctificatus}.\textsuperscript{384} The other leaf, copied in the same hand and in the same layout, contains the end of a triplum setting of \textit{Sanctorum exultatio}, found in a duplum setting in $W_1$, and on the verso, a three-part version of \textit{Sancte ingenite}, a trope similar to \textit{Sanctorum exultatio} in date and found in similar trope sources.\textsuperscript{385} The style of the rhythmic declamation in the triplum setting of \textit{Sanctorum exultatio} is similar to that found in $W_1$, but the

\footnote{See the study in Iversen, \textit{Tropes de l’Agnus Dei}, 217–24.}
\footnote{I am grateful to Rob Wegman for pointing me to this source and noting the trope concordance.}

178.
*cantus firmi* have different variants, and the cantus firmus is a fourth higher in *W₁*. Furthermore, the Bury St. Edmunds source does not use the rather formulaic endings found in *W₁*.

The Worcester Fragments, a collection of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century fragments which were used for bindings and flyleaves in manuscripts from Worcester Cathedral, also suggest the broader performance of polyphonic ordinary tropes in Britain. In GB-WOc Add. 68 xxix, two bifolia dating to the mid-thirteenth century, two monophonic Sanctus melodies are followed by two-part Marian works. The second, *O Maria virgo pia*, employs the same melody as *Voci Vita*, implying both by position and by the melody that it was sung as a prosa to the *Osanna*.386 In another Worcester fragment, a two-part Sanctus trope, *Sanctus, Ex quo omnia*, is followed by a two-part conductus-motet, *Sursum corda*.387 The textual incipit of *Sursum corda* is the same as a Notre Dame conductus, but unfortunately the version in GB-WOc Add 68 does not continue past the first musical phrase. Furthermore, it does not resemble the music found in *W₁*. Nonetheless, its placement as a prosa to the Osanna is a helpful indicator of the shifting role of conductus and tropes. The textual incipit "sursum corda" quotes from the Preface, the mass prayer leading into the *Sanctus*, which made it especially appropriate as a Sanctus trope. Thus, these two Benedictine sources, from Bury St. Edmunds and Worcester, demonstrate that there was a broader practice of singing polyphonic Sanctus tropes and prosulas beyond those in *W₁*.

386 GB-WOc Add. 68 xxix fol. 4r-v.
387 GB-WOc Add. 68 xxxv fol. 4v.
The vast variety of methods the scribe provided for adorning the heart of the mass with polyphony attests to the important role of tropes in the Malveisin’s liturgical vision for the cathedral of St Andrews. The scribe furnished the Céli Dé with tropes of every kind and era, but particularly those of the most erudite and elaborate forms. The conductus collection may also have expanded the possibilities for polyphonic performance at the high point in the mass, as we shall see below. Such an incredible assortment of liturgical songs would well have satisfied the calls for variety issued by Peter the Venerable and Peter Abelard in the mid-thirteenth century. As Gunilla Iversen has shown, the aesthetic of variation in styles and genres of liturgical song espoused by these theologians had a direct influence on trope collections in France.\(^{388}\) The scribe of \(W_1\) also sought to meet this aesthetic in his own collection, with the addition of the latest music informed by the Notre Dame style.

C. CONDUCTUS ACTING AS TROPES

Some of the conductus were copied, like the tropes, at the ends of quires in \(W_1\), and were evidently intended to be sung as tropes. Like the new form of Sanctus trope, conductus like *Serena virginum* were independent pieces that could be tacked on to the beginning or end of a standard chant. The conductus make up a vastly varied and curious genre of polyphony. The only feature that

unites them is their rhymed rhythmic texts and their lack of cantus firmus. The topics covered in the texts range from political criticism and prophetic warnings to the praise of saints. Functionally, conductus were pieces for filling the silences during liturgical movement, whereas organum was usually sung at stationary points. The Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes, like conductus, were filler music, though closely tied to their parent chants in their placement and structure. They would have been sung during and shortly after the Canon of the mass, while the priest was praying secretly. The conductus are like tropes in style, but are less fixed liturgically. The syllabic style of polyphony in the conductus is very similar that in the polyphonic Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes, pointing to similar functions for the two genres.

Occasionally the text of a conductus indicated its performance practice. Sursum corda invokes the Preface of the mass and refers both to the Sanctus and Agnus dei, suggesting it might have been sung during the Canon of the Mass, as is indicated by the same text following a Sanctus trope in one of the Worcester fragments. Similarly, the conductus added between Benedicamus settings in the same gathering, Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori, expounds upon the angelic hymn from the Ordinary of the Mass (see Table 4.1 above). It might have been sung as

389 On the texts of the Parisian conductus see Joseph Szövérffy, Lateinische Conductus-Texte Des Mittelalters (Medieval Latin Conductus Texts), Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological Studies (Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music Ottawa, ON, Canada, 2000).
390 Iversen found a few Sanctus tropes that were also sung as sequences in Gunilla Iversen, “Splendor Patris: On Influence and Genre definition--Victorine Proses Reflected in the Sanctus,” in Cantus Planus (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1992), 427–444.
the clergy processed into the cathedral, or after as an extension of the *Gloria*.\(^\text{391}\) *Serena virginum* and *Latex silice*, copied at the end of Fascicle III, both end with the words *Benedicamus domino*, and furthermore follow a *Benedicamus* organum setting, suggesting their use as tropes to the *Benedicamus* at the end of the mass.

One other *conductus* has long perplexed scholars because of its unique placement in W\(_1\). *Natus corde patris* is a composition unique to W\(_1\). It was copied at the end of section of *Benedicamus* settings before the scribe began a new collection of conductus. The three lines of classical hexameters are unusual in conductus compositions, but are similar to *Agnus dei* tropes.\(^\text{392}\) However, *Natus corde patris* lacks any reference to the parent chant in the manuscript, and furthermore follows a *Benedicamus* setting on the *flos filius* melisma, a setting that often had tropes attached to it. Therefore Michel Huglo considered it a *Benedicamus* trope.\(^\text{393}\) That it does not fall neatly into the category of trope or conductus is indicative of how porous the boundary between the two could be.

The office for the feast of the Circumcision at Beauvais is one of the few published records of how tropes were used liturgically. Conductus were sung any time a transition in the liturgy required movement of clergy during this

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feast: while the subdeacon took his place to read the Epistle, during processions to memorial chapels, and various other processional movements. This Circumcision office was a local practice at Beauvais and Le Puy, but the ways in which conductus entered the liturgy there can suggest the possibilities for their placement in other liturgies as well.

The vast collection of conductus in W₁ still remains a liturgical mystery. But the brief examination here offers some explanation for their use at St Andrews, and an alternative hypothesis for the decline of ordinary tropes. At St Andrews and elsewhere in Britain, conductus and ordinary tropes may have been interchangeable. As we saw in the section on tropes, the new prosula-style tropes were independent pieces in rhymed rhythmic poetry—much like conductus—that could easily be exchanged for hymns or sequences. Some conductus may very well have been sung as Sanctus tropes, or as tropes in any number of positions as indicated by the Circumcision offices of Le Puy and Beauvais. We could blame the decline of ordinary tropes as much on the popularity of conductus as on the organum of Notre Dame. W₁ gives a snapshot of this transitional period in musical embellishment of the liturgy.

395 The term conductus itself indicates movement. For a discussion of the liturgical uses of conductus in Aquitania see Sarah Ann Fuller, “Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (volumes I-III)” (University of California, Berkeley, 1969), I: 22-34.
CONCLUSION

Gathering music for the liturgy of the cathedral of St Andrews was not simply a process of copying music from exemplars. The scribe began with the polyphony of Notre Dame, but expanded the musical embellishment of the liturgy beyond the settings and methods offered at that prestigious Paris cathedral. He found, or composed, music in the form of tropes and conductus befitting the liturgical practice of the Céli Dé. The new style of rhythmic poetry found in tropes and conductus beat a pulse imitated in the polyphonic setting. The erudite poetry in Latin hexameters, on the other hand, elevated the thoughts of the listeners to the heights reached by the soloist’s virtuosic embellishments. The scribe used both styles of tropes, drawing from the developments of Notre Dame polyphony to express opulent praise in unique music.

The variety of liturgical music provided by the scribe fit the local liturgical needs and tastes of the St Andrews Cathedral. At the same time, he edited the polyphony to fit his own musical vocabulary. Since, as we learned in Chapter 2, the scribe gathered a new collection of liturgical music for use in the cathedral of St Andrews, the opening and cadential formulae analyzed in this chapter were likely part of his own musical vocabulary, perhaps formed during his time in Paris. The gestures may have originated with the Notre Dame polyphony, but their treatment in later treatises indicates that they developed separately as improvised ornaments. The scribe turned to a small set of these gestures repeatedly, whether copying Notre Dame polyphony, tropes or music for the Lady Mass.
In his conclusion to a synopsis of the various types of liturgical music in W₁, Warwick Edwards wrote:

It has become apparent that the unique additions to the core repertory of W₁ embrace a variety of styles, and cannot, therefore, have come from a single person or centre of composition.³⁹⁶

His conclusion can now be revised. Although the main body of Notre Dame polyphony, and possibly some of the monophonic tropes in W₁ were copied from another source, a single scribe edited every genre represented in W₁, regardless of the style or liturgical role of the music. The tropes collected by this scribe played an important role in shaping the liturgical embellishment designed for St Andrews. He gathered the few typical Ordinary tropes still used in the majority of secular cathedrals and he sought out new tropes, incorporating material from the range of styles popular in the early thirteenth century. The conductus, too, were part of the liturgical dialect. The whole collection of music in W₁, though it appears unorganized, is as indicative of the liturgical practice of the Céli Dé as the office liturgy, to which we will turn in the next chapter.

³⁹⁶ Preece, Our Awin Scottis Use, 248.
As we saw in the previous chapter, the scribe of W₁ compiled his collection with great care, drawing upon many genres of music to adorn the liturgy. The two- and three-part organum settings of mass and office chants provided elaborate polyphony for responsorial chants in the most important feasts of the year. Most of the chants set in this way are universal—they were sung throughout the Western church. But a few chants used for polyphonic settings in W₁ are specific to a particular region or use and not widely employed elsewhere. Others, though part of the common repertory, appear to be "out of order" in the annual liturgical sequence or within a common office. In those cases the chants were re-employed or reordered for local feasts. Unusual chants or assignments give scholars opportunities to associate a collection like W₁ with a specific region or church. The two unusual responsories for the office of Saint Andrew in W₁ described above in Chapter 2, for example, point to the cathedral of St Andrews.

The liturgical use represented by the mass and office chants in W₁ gives a seemingly conflicted picture of the community for which the book was designed. Some chants indicate an insular use, such as the responsories for the office of Saint Andrew (O35 and O36) and Alleluia v. Optimam partem for the feast of Mary Magdalene (M38). But others were not used outside of Paris or institutions that followed the use of the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Did the community of Céli Dé
follow both insular and Parisian uses? To what extent did the scribe adapt the Notre Dame polyphony to conform to an insular use for the Céli Dé? Did W₁ itself influence the chant repertory of the Céli Dé?

Some of these questions can now be answered through analysis of the liturgy in the antiphoner, Pn 12036. The antiphoner was recently assigned a provenance of St Andrews. In this chapter I refine this understanding further, demonstrating that it was a liturgical book for the newly formed Céli Dé of St Andrews, copied during the episcopacy of Malveisin, and so is a first cousin liturgically to W₁. François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann linked another manuscript to Malveisin's circle when they discovered that the pontifical Pn 1218 was in fact copied during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, while Malveisin was bishop.³⁹⁷ They identified in Pn 1218 the same scribe and flourisher who was at work in the antiphoner Pn 12036. An unusual office for Saint Andrew and a reference to Saint Kentigern provided further evidence for Avril and Stirnemann to assign the provenance of Pn 12036 to St. Andrews.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ Pn 12036 was first noted by Montfaucon in his catalogue of manuscripts held at St Maur-des-Fossés. Bernard de Montfaucon, Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova: Ubi, Quæ Innumeris Pene Manuscriptorum Bibliothecis Continentur, Ad Quodvis Literaturæ Generis Spectantia & Notatu Digna, Describuntur & Indicantur. (Parisiis, apud Briasson, 1739), vol. II: 1141–1143. Shortly after that, possibly during the French Revolution, the breviary moved to St Germain-des-Prés, then finally to the Bibliothèque Nationale. Both of these libraries inscribed a manuscript number on fol. 1r in the eighteenth century. But the timing of the manuscript's first journey to the region of Paris is unknown. Early analysis of the book by Delisle and Leroquais concluded that the liturgy of Holy Week and the bulk of the saints indicate the Sarum Use. Both Delisle and Leroquais dated the manuscript to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. V. Leroquais, Les Bréviaires Manuscrits De Bibliothèques Publiques De France (Paris: Macon, Protat 187.
Based on this evidence, they suggested that Malveisin was the patron of all three manuscripts—Pn 1218, Pn 12036 and W1.\textsuperscript{399} Avril and Stirnemann’s discoveries allow us, for the first time, to examine a medieval office book from St. Andrews.

Comparison of this antiphoner with the office chant settings in W1 uncovers several shared liturgical features, reflecting both Parisian and insular uses. These liturgical books, Pn 12036 and W1, date from a period before the formulation and widespread application of the Sarum and York Uses in Britain, giving us a rare glimpse of an early insular office for a secular cathedral. The pre-Sarum insular liturgy of Pn 12036 resolves some of the problems Edward Roesner had identifying W1 with the insular uses found in more familiar manuscripts.\textsuperscript{400} However, not all of the chants in the repertory of W1 can be accounted for by the insular use of Pn 12036. Two organum settings for the mass and office in W1 indicate that the scribe faithfully copied the Notre Dame use into W1, despite the absence of those chants in the Céli Dé’s use.

As Pn 12036 is a companion piece to W1, understanding the influences on the liturgy and design of the book is crucial. The liturgy practiced by the Céli Dé during their transition from Gaelic monks into educated Norman clerics of the new cathedral expressed the changes in their community. Malveisin commissioned Pn 12036 to provide the Céli Dé with a liturgy to use in the new

\textsuperscript{399} Avril and Stirnemann, Manuscrits Enluminés D’origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, 60–1.

cathedral. The new secular office book adapted a monastic liturgy for their secular liturgical needs. I will show that one of the lost exemplars for Pn 12036 was constructed for widespread use in insular secular cathedrals, and was possibly based on the Old Sarum Use. Pn 12036 also shows signs of the influence of a pre-conquest Benedictine use, explaining some of the idiosyncrasies of the office chant repertory. Finally, I compare the liturgical use documented in Pn 12036 with the office chants in W1. Both the antiphoner and the organum for the Céli Dé are evidence of an ongoing effort to revise the liturgical practice in the cathedral of St Andrews in the early thirteenth century, influenced by both insular and continental institutions.

A. LITURGICAL BOOKS FOR THE CATHEDRAL OF ST ANDREWS

Malveisin, we saw in Chapter 1, was able and willing to finance lavish liturgical books. But where was the antiphoner he commissioned used?

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401 Mark Everist assessed the saints included in the Sanctorale in order to account for the book’s provenance of St Andrews, but he concluded, prematurely, that "the St. Andrews liturgy represented by Lat. 12036 was modeled on an East-Anglian dialect of Sarum Use," without reference to any liturgical elements outside of the unusual saints in the Sanctorale to support this claim. Mark Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 43 (Spring 1990): 10. David Chadd was the first to analyze features of the liturgy beyond the observation of unusual saints included in the Sanctorale. Comparing the offices for Saint Benedict and Saint Mary Magdalene to other insular sources, he concluded that the liturgical use is more complicated than Everist suggested. Chadd advised the student of liturgy to look more closely: "At first sight it would seem to be of Sarum type, but its peculiarities are a welcome corrective to the temptation to simply categorize as 'Sarum' all those books which seem to fulfill some few standard criteria." David Chadd, “An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200,” in Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford England: Clarendon Press, 1993), 210.
Assigning Pn 12036 to the liturgical use of a particular community or institution in St Andrews has proven more difficult than identifying the patron. Mark Everist argued that the Augustinian canons of St Andrews Cathedral could not have used the book, citing the lack of a proper office for St. Augustine, their patron saint. However, his alternative suggestion of the private chapel of the bishop’s palace, a structure about which there is very little evidence before the fourteenth century, does not account for the cathedral features of the liturgy in Pn 12036. In Chapter 1, I demonstrated that Malveisin placed a group of secular canons in the new cathedral being built during his episcopacy. It was these secular canons, commonly called Céli Dé, whom Malveisin favored, and likely dignified with this new campaign of new liturgical books, three of which survive.

**THE CATHEDRAL USE OF PN 12036**

Several codicological features of the antiphoner Pn 12036 indicate that it was intended for use by cathedral clerics rather than by a bishop’s private chaplain. The size of the manuscript made it impractical as a portable book to be carried by a chaplain for the private recitation of the office, as the typical breviary was intended. At 200 folios measuring 32 cm by 22 cm, it would have

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403 There is little evidence of a private chapel in the bishop’s palace in the early thirteenth century, and certainly none that would support such grand ceremonial music of W. See John H Lewis, “Excavations at St Andrews, Castlecliffe, 1988-90.,” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 126 (1996): 607.
been a hefty book to port around (see Appendix II). The text was neither very condensed on the page, nor heavily abbreviated, features that are typical of a portable liturgical book for private use. To perform the office at least one other manuscript, a lectionary, would have been necessary: a lectionary to provide the readings for Matins. The antiphoner itself only contains the full texts of antiphons, responsories, prayers and hymns, and textual incipits indicating the lessons. This makes it more akin to an antiphoner than a breviary, but the main scribe made no provision to include musical notation. The musical incipits and terminations of antiphons were written in the margins at a later date, but in its original form, Pn 12036 likely was located in the choir as a prompt for clerics who had the music memorized. The full Matins office contains three nocturns of three antiphons and three responsories each, indicating that Pn 12036 belonged in a secular institution rather than a Benedictine monastic setting in which the Matins office was longer. These physical features of the manuscript might have been appropriate for a liturgical manuscript held in a bishop's private chapel, but other features of Pn 12036 point towards use in a cathedral.

rove/music/03961. See also Richard William Pfaff, The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7–8. Despite the fact that Pn 12036 is included in Leroquais' catalogue of breviaries, he called it a diurnal because of the extensive instructions concerning daily memorials. I have avoided this term because it is usually used for liturgical books including only the offices during that day hours, but Vespers and Matins are a significant part of Pn 12036. Leroquais, Les Bréviaires Manuscrits De Bibliothèques Publiques De France, vols. IV, 382–384.
405 Compare this, for instance, to the pontifical, only 23x16 cm and 141 folia.
For three special offices, the rubrics in Pn 12036 indicate that the liturgy was to take place in a cathedral with a bishop and several clerics present. The instructions for the office usually only indicate what memorials are to be observed, or what is to be sung when a feast occurs in Advent or Lent. But the rubrics for Holy Week and the Easter octave provide an unusual amount of information about the community who would use the liturgical book. A series of instructions for foot washing, the close of Tenebrae, and Easter processions assume a community of at least four clerics, two elders (seniores), a choir and a bishop.

The rubrics for the special office of Tenebrae require a community of at least eight singers in which there was a distinction between elders and younger clerics, which could easily have been supplied by the Céli Dé, but may have been larger than the Augustinian priory of St Andrews. At the end of the somber service of Tenebrae, the Matins service on the Thursday before Easter in which twelve candles were extinguished one by one, six singers were staged in complete darkness. These six singers—two elders and four clerics—were to stand in various parts of the darkened cathedral and sing responsorially with the choir: "Lord, have mercy. Christ was obedient unto death, even death on the cross. Christ, have mercy, etc." This ceremonial closing was staged in rituals for many

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secular and monastic communities, in which the singing was assigned to children and deacons, or subdeacons and priests. The instructions in Pn 12036 for seniores and clerici are more vague—they could apply to many different kinds of communities, including the Céli Dé and the Augustinian canons.

On the next day of Holy Week, the clerics who sang Tenebrae were joined by the bishop, indicating that the service of Maundy Thursday took place in the bishop’s own cathedral. After they strip the altar, the rubrics instruct them to proceed into the chapter, where the bishop and deacon were to remove their vestments and prepare to wash the feet of their disciples (pedes discipulorum suorum) while the cantor sang Mandatum novum. During this most important and busy week of the liturgical calendar, the bishop would typically have worshipped in his own cathedral, rather than going on visitations. The rubrics assume the presence of the bishop in the liturgy at most other major feasts as

miserere nos. Chorus. Christus dominus. Quo finito: dicat alius cum sincera voce v. Mortem autem crucis. fol. 63r-v


409 "Hiis finitis in capitulum intrent." fol. 64r. "Episcopus et decanus deponant vestimenta sua." Fol. 64v. These instructions are similar to those in the Sarum Ceremonial. Christopher Wordsworth, Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, Edited from the Fifteenth Century Ms. No. 148, with Additions from the Cathedral Records and Woodcuts from the Sarum Processionale of 1502 (London: C. L. Clay and Sons, 1901), 79. In most instances in Holy Week in Pn 12036, the role performed by the bishop in these services is referred to as prelatus, but in this particular reference, episcopus is used.

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well, instructing that the bishop should intone the *Te deum*, and after the mass, say the verse *Verbum caro factum est*. The worship reflected in this book therefore took place in the bishop's own cathedral.

The culmination of Holy Week in Easter Sunday involved, among many other festivities, a procession at the end of Vespers and throughout Easter week, performed in a cathedral by clerics and the prelate. The procession circled from the choir to the font, then to the cross, and back to the choir stalls. The rubrics of Pn 12036 state that during this procession, three clerics should sing the responsory *Alleluia v. Laudate pueri* at the font, then at the cross, and an antiphon to the Virgin Mary at the entrance to the choir. At the same procession on Easter Monday, the rubrics state that the responsory *Sedit angelus* should be sung in procession and at the font, and the verse, *Crucifixum in carne*, for which there is a three-part setting in W, should be sung by two clerics when the procession reaches the font and it is being blessed. This elaborate procession involving

\[ \text{Footnotes:} \]

\[ ^{410}\text{Fol. 15v.}\]
\[ ^{412}\text{Fol. 69r-v.}\]
\[ ^{413}\text{This ceremony will be discussed further below. Craig Wright explained this practice at the cathedral of Notre Dame in *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 270. Roesner indicated in his table of liturgical assigns that this practice was done only in Paris when, in fact, it was actually quite widespread. Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris*, vol. VII: p. xlix–liii. (MLO VII)}\]

194.
several clerics suggests, like those examined above, a cathedral use in which the bishop was the presumed leader of the liturgy and the clerics were trained singers. The presence of a bishop, the number of clerics, the mention of a chapter house, the processions to the baptistery and the rood or main cross—all indicate a liturgy for a community of clerics rather than a private devotional book.

Despite these informative instructions in the rubrics of Pn 12036, some aspects of the use remain rather vague, suggesting that the exemplar was intended for use in any cathedral rather than specifically in the cathedral of St Andrews. There is no mention in the rubrics of particular chapels or altars in the cathedral to which processions might have been carried out. In some places, the rubrics make clear that local adaptation was expected. During the Easter week, the memorial of the local saint, "de Sancto loci," was to be said after that of the Virgin Mary and before All Saints (fol. 75r). In other rubrics it appears possible traces of rites from a particular cathedral appear. At the return to the choir on Easter Sunday and at the end of other processions, the rubrics instruct the Marian versicle *Sancta dei genitrix* to be sung at the entrance to the choir. In earlier Cluniac customaries that describe a similar procession, the versicle *Et valde mane* was sung on Easter to commemorate the arrival of the disciples at the tomb on Easter morning. On other Sundays, the Cluniac customaries indicate, "a response or antiphon in honour of the saints to whom the church is dedicated is chosen."  

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Thus the Marian verse sung in this location in Pn 12036 suggests that the exemplar was from a cathedral where the altar was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. On the other hand, that would be a good choice if the exemplar were a continental document that imagined a generic cathedral, given that so many French cathedrals were named for Notre Dame.

A document intended for a generic cathedral might call to mind the Use of Sarum, which provided the model for almost all insular secular uses by the fourteenth century. The Sarum use developed in the new Salisbury Cathedral, begun in 1220, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. But when Pn 12036 was copied in the early thirteenth century, construction of the new cathedral at Salisbury, for which the Use of Sarum was designed, had hardly begun. The Sarum Use does seem to have been introduced into Scotland and taken over as early as the mid-thirteenth century. Dunkeld Cathedral possibly practiced the Sarum Use by 1249 and Glasgow Cathedral adopted Sarum statutes by 1258.

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Au Moyen Âge, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 208.

415 The cathedral of Salisbury was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and at least one Sarum source, though late, indicates that the versicle Sancta dei genitrix should be sung in the same position as indicated in Pn 12036. See Frere, The Use of Sarum: The Original Texts Edited from the MSS, vol. II, p. 74; Wordsworth, Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, Edited from the Fifteenth Century Ms. No. 148, with Additions from the Cathedral Records and Woodcuts from the Sarum Processionale of 1502, 91.

416 The Sarum Use is typically associated with the new cathedral of Salisbury, begun in 1225. Pfaff has recently identified the influence of the Old Sarum Use in what had been considered the earliest missal sources of the New Sarum Use. He dated the final form of the Sarum Use to the 1290s. Up to that point, he argued, the Sarum Use was continually undergoing revisions. Pfaff, The Liturgy in Medieval England, 350–387.

417 However, the archdeacon and official of Glasgow were cited in 1275 for not following the Sarum constitutions. Glas. Reg., i, 189-190, no. 227. Discussed in Paul Craig Ferguson, Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios, 196.
Some features of Pn 12036, as we shall see below, do accord with the Use of Sarum. This suggests that the lost exemplar may have been based on the now poorly-attested use of the earlier cathedral at Old Sarum, built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries following the Norman conquest. This supposition presumes, of course, that the Old Sarum Use was closely related to the familiar Use of Sarum.  

**THE CANONS OF THE CATHEDRAL**

Having established that Pn 12036 provided a new liturgical model for St Andrews Cathedral, we might assume that the Augustinian canons, who presumably ran the cathedral, would have used it. However, Pn 12036 is a witness to Malveisin’s efforts to place the Céli Dé in charge of the cathedral, discussed in the section titled "The Role of the Céli Dé in St Andrews Cathedral" of Chapter 1. The Augustinian house of St Andrews Cathedral was founded in 1140, although the Augustinian account tells us that the prior did not have

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brothers at the house for a good number of years. But after at least sixty years in St. Andrews they would have established their liturgical practice to reflect their own customs, including an office for their patron saint, St. Augustine. The liturgy in Pn 12036, on the other hand, appears to provide a new model for the cathedral liturgy. This model was influenced by pre-conquest liturgies, as we will see below, and possibly by the emerging Sarum Use. Pn 12036 was created during a period of transition, when many insular cathedrals were moving from pre-conquest Benedictine practices to the overwhelming popularity of the Sarum Use.

Bishop Malveisin showed little inclination to invest in the Augustinian house, as we saw in Chapter 1. Rather, he was attempting to build up a chapter of secular canons at the new cathedral. This nascent group of secular canons would have needed a liturgy worthy of the grand new cathedral being built. They would have looked to the south or the continent for liturgical models, where prestigious secular cathedrals or royal chapels—in Salisbury, York or Paris—could be found.

Like Pn 12036, W₁ was apparently copied for the cathedral of St Andrews, yet the collection is incongruous with the practices of the Augustinian canons who were presumably in charge of the liturgy there. Augustinian canons usually based their own liturgy on that of the cathedral at which they were founded, but they were also reformers who had little interest in the musical practices of

419 See Chapter 1.
420 Even the cathedral architecture reflects Malveisin’s attempt to cut the Augustinians out of the life of the cathedral, as we saw in Chapter 1. Ronald Gordon Cant, “The Building of St Andrews Cathedral,” in The Medieval Church of St. Andrews, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1976), 21.
secular cathedrals. They rarely sang tropes, and there is no indication of polyphonic singing in any Augustinian house during the thirteenth century. The insular sources for tropes mostly originate from two types of institutions: Benedictine houses and secular institutions, the same sorts of institutions from which the exemplar of Pn 12036 was drawn. Not only does W₁ contain Notre Dame polyphony, it also contains several ordinary tropes, both older and more recent compositions, some even, as I discussed in Chapter 3, of the scribe’s own composition. It is difficult to imagine W₁ in the hands of the provincial, defensive Augustinian canons.

Given the clash between Malveisin and the Augustinian canons, and Malveisin’s efforts to transform the Céli Dé into a community of secular clerics for the new cathedral, discussed in Chapter 1, the new collection of polyphony


422 This is particularly true of the famous house of Augustinian canons at St Victor in Paris. The house at St Victor did eventually hold a collection of organum in the fifteenth century, but it was not used in their liturgical practice. F-Pn 15139 [StV]. See RISM B/IV 1, 420.

423 The few post-conquest manuscripts containing tropes with known institutions are GB-Dul Cosin VV 6 (Christchurch Canterbury, late 11th century); GB-Lbl Royal 2.B.IV (St.Albans Abbey, late 12th c.); GB-WoC F 160 (Worcester Cathedral, mid 13th c.); GB-Csj D.27 (St.Mary’s Abbey, York, 15th c.)
for the cathedral must have been prepared for the Céli Dé as well. Like Pn 12036, it was suited for a community of secular clerics at St Andrews. W₁ was likely copied at least ten years after Pn 12036, since the earliest date estimated for W₁ is 1230.⁴²⁴ The liturgical prescriptions of Pn 12036 likely influenced the polyphonic collection in W₁, although the use of the Céli Dé may have been modified in the few years in between. As we shall see below, several features peculiar to both of these manuscripts confirm their close connections.

B. THE PRE-CONQUEST LITURGICAL MODEL FOR PN 12036

Because some features of Pn 12036 agree with the Sarum Use, and the Sarum Use was pervasive in the British Isles by the fourteenth century, no scholar of W₁ has further probed the liturgical use represented in Pn 12036 for comparison.⁴²⁵ However, there is no evidence that a Sarum customary was

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⁴²⁵ David Chadd offered a comparison the offices for Saint Benedict and Saint Mary Magdalene to other insular sources. His analysis of the two saints offices 200.
formulated for use outside of the Salisbury Cathedral before 1223, and the Sarum
Use did not gain widespread attention until the mid-thirteenth century.⁴²⁶ Were
Malveisin looking for a model on which to base his newly founded college of
secular canons, he might well have looked to the new cathedral of Salisbury, as it
was already beginning to develop a highly organized liturgical use by the
beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴²⁷ But he would have been one of the first to
do so.

Further analysis of the liturgical use recorded in Pn 12036 confirms that it
does not strictly adhere to the Sarum Use, but bears the influence of a pre-
conquest Benedictine use. The Advent responsories of Pn 12036 do indeed
correspond to those of the Sarum Use.⁴²⁸ But several unusual saints, unique
offices for universal saints, and a few alternative chants for standard offices
indicate that another liturgical center influenced the Céli Dé’s worship. The saints
in the Sanctorale, in addition to those already mentioned, are those typical of
British calendars, including Alban, Botolf, Swithun and Oswald. Yet the presence
of four particular English saints in the Sanctorale—Etheldreda (23 June),
Sexburga (6 July), Withburga (17 March) and Eormenhilda (13 February)—is

encourages further investigation of the liturgical use of Pn 12036. Chadd, “An
English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200.”

⁴²⁶ Even Frere’s "Old Sarum" Ordinal is in fact from the late thirteenth century,
well after the construction of the new cathedral. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval
England*, 337. If the antiphoner were an example of the Sarum Use, it would be
one of the very earliest witnesses to the far-reaching propagation of this use,
putting the cathedral of St Andrews at the forefront of the movement towards
liturgical unification in Britain.


⁴²⁸ For a comparative list of the Sarum Advent responsories see Knud Ottosen,
*L’antiphonaire Latin au Moyen-Age: réorganisation des séries de répons de l’Avent

201.
unusual, leading some scholars to associate Pn 12036 with Ely, where these saints appear to have been celebrated together. The offices for the feasts of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Benedict are uncommon, including some chants found only in insular Benedictine sources. Several of the antiphons for the commons of virgins, and a few other antiphons scattered throughout the manuscript also indicate the influence of Benedictine uses (see Appendix VI).

The presence of the four kinswomen from Ely does not, in fact, point to influence from Ely Cathedral, but rather from a pre-conquest Benedictine source. Saint Æthelthryth, a seventh-century queen of Northumbria and abbess of Ely has a full unique office in Pn 12036. Her sisters Seaxburh and Wihtburh, and niece Eormenhild, all abbesses of Ely in turn, each have a proper prayer as well. These four kinswomen are not commonly found in twelfth-century


430 The most unusual of these is Wihtburh. Her name appears in only one English calendar after 1100, that of Deeping Priory, a cell of Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire. Wormald, English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100, 77:129. However, her name is found in three calendars before 1100: a missal, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Y.6 (Missal of Robert of Jumièges), discussed below; a portiforium, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391 from Worcester, which may have had an exemplar from Winchester; and a calendar, Oxford, Bodleian 202.
However, they are all listed together after Brigit of Kildare in the litanies found in the eleventh-century sacramentary known as the Missal of Robert of Jumièges. This book was probably copied around 1020 in Ely or Peterborough, both Benedictine foundations, under the influence of the monastic reforms of Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester (963-984). The four saints are also found in the litanies of a psalter from Bury St Edmunds, another Benedictine abbey, a few decades later. Rosalind Love argued that Aethelwold himself promoted the cult of Aethelthryth and her kinswomen in his liturgical reforms. Thus it appears from these few sources that in pre-conquest Benedictine sources,
particularly those connected to the reforms of Aethelwold of Winchester, these four saints travelled together.

A Benedictine connection also explains the chants of Pn 12036 which do not reflect the Sarum usage. David Chadd argued that two unusual offices in Pn 12036 were created by appropriating a Benedictine office book for secular use.436 He compared the office for the feast of Mary Magdalene with several insular and continental Benedictine sources, finding that the closest match for the office in Pn 12036 was with the thirteenth-century antiphoner from Saint-Denis, F-Pn lat. 17296.437 The Matins office for Mary Magdalene's feast follows that in the Saint-Denis antiphoner exactly, abbreviated by cutting the three penultimate responsories from the Saint-Denis office to create a shorter secular use. The feast for St. Benedict, on the other hand, loosely followed some insular sources, such as the Worcester antiphoner, GB-WOc F 160. The influence of a Benedictine insular use is further reflected in the office for St. Gregory the Great in Pn 12036, which shares rare chants with GB-WOc F 160 as well (See Appendix VII).

The newest office in Pn 12036, the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury who was canonized in 1173, indicates the additional influence of a French source. There are no concordances for the office in any extant insular sources.438 The office is identified as Martyr Thoma, from the incipit of the first antiphon of

Vespers. It is closest in repertory and order to an antiphoner from the cathedral of Cambrai, copied around 1220, F-CA 38. Andrew Hughes identified the office as a "European office," noting that it was found in Nantes, Beauvais, Toledo and Braga as well. Chadd suggested that the office might have come to St Andrews through Arbroath Abbey, the Tironensian monastery in the diocese of St Andrews, which was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury and founded in 1178. Malveisin could also have brought the office back from one of his trips to France. In any case, the present of the French office for St. Thomas in a Scottish manuscript demonstrates that the liturgy practiced by the Céli Dé was partly indebted to French liturgical sources, particularly in the few years preceding Pn 12036's creation.

Other features suggest that the insular Benedictine prototype for Pn 12036 is not the same as that of WOc F 160, but stems from an older tradition. In the second Vespers office for the fourth Sunday in Epiphany in Pn 12036, the antiphon copied by the main hand, Domine salva (cao2380), was crossed out and replaced with the typical Sarum antiphon Surgens Jesus imperavit (cao5074) by the same hand that entered the marginal notation (see Plate 4.1). The same two

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439 The chant texts are given in AH 13:93. Kay Slocum references a few of the chants in this office in her recent monograph of the Liturgies for Thomas Becket, but does not discuss the office in full. Kay Brainerd Slocum, Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
442 The cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury at St Andrews will be discussed further in Chapter 5.
443 A similar situation occurs with the invitatory for Quinquagesima Sunday, fol. 39v which originally was Dominum qui fecit mare (cao100109), changed to the typical Sarum Quoniam deus magnus (cao1124). I have found Dominum qui fecit 205.
antiphons were copied in the original hand in the St Albans Abbey office book of around 1140, GB-Lbl Royal 2 A.X.444 No other extant medieval English office book uses *Domine salve*, although a few early continental office books list it in the same position (Ch-SGs MS 390, for example). According to Pfaff, St Albans was under the liturgical reforms of Geoffrey Gorron, abbot of St Albans (1119-1146), who abandoned the customs of Lanfranc. He was influenced by Italian uses, particularly in his introduction of the feast of the Immaculate Conception, for which there is an office in Pn 12036.445 Thus in Pn 12036 the antiphon *Domine salva* (cao2380) may be a sign either of earlier Benedictine use, or the later Italian influence from which Gorron seems to have drawn.446

Plate 4.1: Pn 12036, fol. 35r

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*mare* (cao100109) in only WOc F 160 and one other manuscript: a thirteenth century antiphoner from Aachen, D-AAm G 20.

444 Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 170–172. In the St Albans manuscript, *Surgens Jesus imperavit* (cao5074) is given first, suggesting that *Domine salva nos* (cao2380) was an alternative. *Domine salva nos* (cao2380) is found in several continental manuscripts, mostly from Germanic and Italian regions.


446 Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 171. Unfortunately, no other aspects of these books can be compared with Pn 12036 because of the fragmentary nature of GB-Lbl Royal 2 A.X.
The scribe who added music to the margins of Pn 12036 worked about fifty years after the main text of Pn 12036 was copied, another scribe revised the liturgy by copying music in the margins of Pn 12036. He recorded the musical incipits and terminations for the antiphons and the entire melodies for the invitatories were recorded, but only those found in the Sarum Use. In the margins by the few antiphons that were not in the Sarum Use, the scribe left empty staff lines. The absence of music for any responsories and for those antiphons that are not included in Sarum is unfortunate, since several chants are unique to this manuscript. But these marginal incipits and corrections do give a history of the revisions of the Céli Dé’s liturgy. They who that only a few decades after the main text of Pn 12036 was copied in the first decades of the thirteenth century, the liturgy was revised again around 1250, this time to conform to the new Sarum Use. This revision was made after W₁ was copied, making some of the organum settings irrelevant, as we shall see below.

The antiphoner Pn 12036, then, records the use of a community in transition: it has elements in common with both a pre-conquest Benedictine model (converted to a secular use) and later Sarum model. For some feasts it was more open to continental influences, such as the new continental feast of Thomas of Canterbury (to be discussed in Chapter 5) and the antiphon for Mary Magdalene from Saint-Denis discussed above. After Pn 12036 was copied, it was used in a secular institution where the Sarum Use eventually took over, as witnessed by the marginal notator. Some elements of the liturgical use in Pn

⁴⁴⁷ Avril and Stirnemann contended that this scribe was working not much later than the main hand. Avril and Stirnemann, Manuscrits Enluminés D’origine Insulaire, VIIe-XXe Siècle, 60.
12036 that do conform to the Sarum model may be reflective of an early liturgical model from Old Sarum, but many other features indicate that the liturgy of the Céli Dé was shaped by pre-conquest Benedictine uses and continental sources.

C. THE LITURGICAL USE OF THE CÉLI DÉ IN W₁

Because of the scant resources available representing medieval liturgical uses of Scotland and the assumed ubiquity of Sarum by the mid-thirteenth century, the liturgical analyses of the mass and office chants in W₁ until now have compared them only to late Sarum and York books, and to thirteenth-century Parisian manuscripts. ⁴⁴⁸ While aspects of the liturgical use in W₁ do point to insular composition, there is no reason to assume it was made for an institution practicing the Sarum Use and indeed, a date around 1230 would be early for the use of Sarum, as we saw earlier. ⁴⁴⁹ Having now assigned the


⁴⁴⁹ In addition to the Sarum text for Mary Magdalene added to Alleluia v. Nativitas, Hiley demonstrated that the tropes found in W₁ are a mix of insular and northern French compositions, and no strictly Sarum sources have any trope concordances with W₁. Brown, Patterson, and Hiley, “Further Observations on W₁,” 69. Since Roesner believed W₁ to have a date from the fourteenth century in his dissertation, the Sarum Use seemed likely for St Andrews Cathedral. For an explanation of Roesner’s comparison with York and Sarum Uses, see Edward H. Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W₁’,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 29 (1976): 370–5. This assumption has not been revised, despite the earlier date now known for W₁. Roesner again compared W₁ to printed late sources for the York and Sarum Uses in Roesner, Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris, vol. VII, pp. xlix–liii.
antiphoner Pn 12036 to the same community of clerics in St Andrews, it is possible to compare the mass and office organa of W₁ to the liturgy at St Andrews itself. Edward Roesner has already offered a comparison of W₁ with the uses of Sarum, York and Paris. He found that a few chants suggest a center practicing the Sarum or York use, but the Parisian use had a greater impact on the collection of organa in W₁. The use of the Céli Dé as recorded in Pn 12036 shows a close fit with W₁ shows a closer fit with W₁ than Roesner found by comparing W₁ to a Sarum or York use (see Appendix VIII).

Three organa in W₁ adorned both the Mass and the Vespers office of Easter day according to the use of Pn 12036. As in many institutions, Vespers

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450 Roesner’s analyzed the repertory of chants, their order in W₁ and their variants in comparison to the Paris, Sarum and York uses. Assuming that W₁ was made for the Augustinian priory of St Andrews, he concluded that its liturgical use, while somewhat influenced by the Sarum Use, was also heavily influenced by the Parisian use as practiced at St Victor. Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W1’,” 356–7; Roesner, Le Magnus Liber Organi De Notre-Dame De Paris, vol. VII: lx. Wright, however, has challenged the validity of both chant variants and the order of chants in the Notre Dame organum manuscripts for assigning origins. Wright argued that the number of changes made to the cantus firmi for the purpose of organum makes comparing them with chant sources futile. Furthermore, later chant sources may have been influenced by the polyphonic versions. Wright, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550, 250–257. Wright also demonstrated that none of the organa of the Magnus Liber Organi as represented by F originated at St Victor. Wright also revised the narrative given by Husmann and assumed by Roesner that W₁ transmits the earliest version, and F an expanded version of the Magnus liber organi. Rather, Wright argued that F contains all of the organum practiced at Notre Dame cathedral, and W₁ a scaled back version, omitting those chants that were not used at St Andrews. According to Wright, W₁ was copied from a source without Gloria patri settings, explaining why only the responsory Vir perfecte has a Gloria patri setting. Wright, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550, 369–71.

451 They have similar assignments in the Parisian, Sarum and York use, but the full use of the chants in York and Sarum sources has not previously been noted. Roesner identified Haece dies v. Confitemini (M13) as a gradual of the mass in the uses of Paris, York and Sarum, but as the responsory for Vespers on Easter Sunday in the use of Paris only. He identified Alleluia v. Epulemur (M15) as the
on Easter Day provided an opportunity to repeat the proper chants of the Easter Mass sung earlier that day in many institutions, giving us a unique opportunity to compare the mass chants in W₁ with the use of the Céli Dé.⁴⁵² The rubrics of Pn 12036 state that two clerics sing the gradual of Easter, *Haec dies v. Confitemini*. Following the Gradual, *Alleluia v. Epulemur in azimus* and the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* were sung by two elders (*seniores*).⁴⁵³ On the days of the week following Easter Sunday, both *Haec dies* and the *Alleluia* were sung in place of the responsory at Vespers, but different verses were used on each day. A three-part setting, a two-part setting and several clausulae for *Haec dies v. Confitemini* were copied into W₁ (M13) and *Alleluia v. Epulemur* has a two-part setting (M15). Thus for Vespers of Easter Sunday alone W₁ provided two organum settings of chants in Pn 12036, and many more substitute clausulae for variety.

The processions during the week of Easter also gave the opportunity for polyphonic song. The verse *Crucifixum in carne* for the responsory *Sedit angelus* (cao602187) was part of the Easter procession after Vespers on Easter Monday, as we saw above.⁴⁵⁴ The rubrics of Pn 12036 state that on Monday and certain other days in the Easter week a procession should be made and two clerics should sing

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⁴⁵³ Fol. 69r.

⁴⁵⁴ Roesner identified it as such in the Parisian use, but not in Sarum or York. MLO VII, l.
the verse *Crucifixum in care* while the holy water is blessed.\(^{455}\) This would have been an ideal time for the addition of polyphony.\(^{456}\)

The widespread responsory *Stirps Jesse v. Virgo dei* (cao7709), the inspiration for many *Benedicamus* settings, conductus and motets in the Notre Dame repertory of \(W_1\) was not listed for the feast of the Assumption (15 August) at St Andrews in Pn 12036, as it appears in Parisian liturgical sources, but was nonetheless an important part of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September) for the Céli Dé.\(^{457}\) On the feast of the Nativity in Pn 12036, as in Sarum sources, *Stirps Jesse v. Virgo dei* was sung at Vespers, and for the third Matins responsory, and again on the octave for the Vespers responsory. A three-part setting for *Stirps Jesse v. Virgo dei* (O16) was copied in Fascicle VII between a three-part organum setting of the gradual, *Benedicta v. Virgo dei* for the feast of the Assumption or Nativity of the Virgin (see below), and a three-part *Benedicamus* setting on the *flos filius* melisma (BD1) from the *Virgo dei* verse. In Parisian sources, *Stirps Jesse v. Virgo dei*, and the motets and *Benedicamus* settings

\(^{455}\) *Hac die et ceteris sequentibus diebus per septimania* fiat processio in maioribus ecclesiis. In minoribus vero ecclesiis nulla fit processio. *Nisi hac die et duabus sequentibus ad vesperam. Ad processionem in exuendo et cantando ad fontes. R. Sedit angelis[...]. Duo clerici dicant hec v. ante fontes. Aqua benedicta interim aspergatur. v. crucifixum in carne. [...].* Pn 12036, fol. 70v. In the York Breviary, this responsory was sung during the procession to the cross. Lawley, *Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesie Eboracensis*, 408. It is also given for the Octave of Easter in the Sarum Processional, which Roesner did not consult. Bailey gave a transcription in *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church.*, 40.

\(^{456}\) On Easter Sunday the same procession is made to the font, but an antiphon, \*Alleluia [...]. Laudate pueri* (cao8429) is sung by the whole choir instead of the verse *Crucifixum*. Fol. 69r.

\(^{457}\) For the history of this responsory see Margot Elsbeth Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History Through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), chap. 5. The use of *Stirps Jesse v. Virgo dei* on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin in Sarum sources is omitted in MLO VII, li.
on the *flos filius* melisma, played an important role in the feast of the Assumption.\(^{458}\) In *W*\(_1\), it was perfectly positioned for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin after music for the feast of the Assumption.

This famous responsory for the feast of the Mary’s Nativity was woven into the polyphony for many other feasts. Four two-part *Benedicamus* settings in *W*\(_1\) are also based on the *flos filius* melisma, the last of which is almost entirely unique. In the Herdmanston Breviary (GB-En Adv.18.2.13A, fol. 167r), the *Benedicamus* on the *flos filius* melody is the third melismatic melody among thirteen for the *Benedicamus*, suggesting that the *flos filius* melody was used for major feasts in the chapel at Herdmanston in East Lothian. Although the Office liturgy in the Herdmanston Breviary follows the Sarum Use, the *Benedicamus* settings are unlike those identified as Sarum and thus, probably follow the use of St Andrews. Since Herdmanston Chapel was in the diocese of St Andrews, it likely had similar assignments of Benedicamus melodies. Thus the Benedicamus settings on *flos filius* in *W*\(_1\) could have been used on major feast days as well as the Marian feasts. When snippets of the renowned responsory *Stirps Jesse v. Virgo dei* were sung at feasts outside of the Nativity, such as at the feast of Saint Andrew, they would solemnize the feast with this special melody for the Virgin Mary.\(^{459}\)

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\(^{459}\) William F Eifrig and Andreas Pfisterer, eds., *Melodien zum Ite missa est und ihre Tropen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi Bd. 19 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006), XX–XXI. The late thirteenth-century breviary was used in the chapel of the Sinclairs at Herdmanston in East Lothian. Stephen Mark Holmes, “Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560,” *Innes Review* 62, no. 2 (2011): 146. Roesner wrote that the Herdmanston Breviary lists the *flos filius* melody for the *Benedicamus* as the proper melody for the feast of St Andrew, following Greta Marie Hair’s edition of the music. Hair, however, inferred the use of this melody 212.
Though neither \( W_1 \) nor Pn 12036 reflect precisely the Use of Sarum or York, they share some chants that conform to one or the other of these predominant insular uses. The responsory *Non conturbetur v. Ego rogabo* (cao7225), one of the two-part settings in \( W_1 \) (O10), was sung on the feast of the Ascension at Vespers in Pn 12036, as it was in the uses of both Sarum and Paris but it does not appear in York sources. On the other hand, *Regnum mundi v. Eructavit cor meum* (cao7524), a responsory for Vespers of the Common of a Virgin in Pn 12036, reflects the uses of York and Paris but not Sarum Use.\(^{460}\) Thus in these feasts both \( W_1 \) and Pn 12036 seem more consistent with Parisian Use than either Sarum or York Uses.

In other ways the chants in Pn 12036 with settings in \( W_1 \) are closer to the Parisian use than Sarum or York sources. The verse of *In columbae v. Vox domini* (cao6892b) set with two-part organum in \( W_1 \) (O4) is rarely found in Sarum and continental sources, making it an unusual aspect of the Parisian Use. Pn 12036 follows the Parisian use by listing *In columbae v. Vox domini* (cao6892b) for the last responsory of Matins on the feast of Epiphany.\(^{461}\) Pn 12036 also reflects the use of for Lauds in the office of St Andrew from a reference in Anne Walters Robertson's article on *Benedicamus* melodies to the Lincoln *Liber Niger*, a manuscript compiled over many centuries. MLO, VII: 373. Greta Mary Hair and Betty I Knott, “The Office of St Andrew, Patron Saint of Scotland,” in *Notis Musycall: Essays on Music and Scottish Culture in Honour of Kenneth Elliott*, ed. Gordon J. Munro et al. (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2005), 50, 87; Anne Walters Robertson, “‘Benedicamus Domino’: The Unwritten Tradition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 39, n. 63. On the influence of the *flos filius* melody on a handful of motets and clausulae, see Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “The Flower’s Children,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003): 303–348.

\(^{460}\) fol. 198v.

\(^{461}\) The verse *Vox domini* is given in the printed Sarum Breviary, but that is the only Sarum source I have found using that verse rather than v. *Caeli aperti*, as in 213.
Paris by using *Inter natos v. Fuit homo* (cao6979) for the responsory of Vespers at the feast of John the Baptist.

The responsory *Sancte Germane v. O Sancte* (cao7580) that opens Fasicle II would appear to have no place in an insular book, since Germanus was a Parisian saint. But Pn 12036 and a few early Sarum sources contradict this. There is no unique feast of Saint Germanus in Pn 12036, though there is a prayer for his feast (148v). However, this chant was used in St Andrews and indeed at many institutions with the substitution of a different name, as it appears in the common of a confessor and bishop in Pn 12036 (fol. 193r). A small selection of insular manuscripts, such as the Barnwell antiphoner, also include this chant for the end of the second nocturn. But nowhere else have I found the responsory

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On Husmann’s argument concerning the use of this responsory in Paris see Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550*, 256–257. Wright argued that it was intended for use in the common of bishop confessors because of the placement of the organum in F. In W1, the story is complicated by the fact that *Sancte Germane v. O Sancte* (cao7580) is the first triplum in W1, and is followed by a mass organum and several conductus, making the liturgical order unintelligible.

The Barnwell antiphoner, one of the earliest Sarum antiphoners, c. 1250, provided the basis of Frere’s edition. Walter Howard Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense. A Reproduction in Facsim. of a Ms. of the 13th Century, with a Diss. and Analytical Index.* (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1901).
added as an extra responsory at the end of Matins, when polyphony was typically sung in the Matins service at Notre Dame. In this case, the antiphoner of the Céli Dé is uniquely suited among insular manuscripts to make use of the organum setting of Sancte Germaine v. O Sancte found in W₁.

Despite the unique aspects of Pn 12036 that correspond to those in W₁, one office organum deviates from compliance with the antiphoner. The verse for the responsory of Vespers on Pentecost, Dum ergo v. Repleti sunt (cao6536a) given in W₁ (O11) was commonly used in the Parisian use, but Pn 12036 gives the verse Dum ergo for the same responsory (cao6536b). The latter is typical of insular uses, found in both York and Sarum books. Thus the Parisian use exerted a greater influence on the liturgy of the Céli Dé through W₁ than in the earlier liturgical use of Pn 12036.

The mass chants that do not conform to the Sarum or York uses in W₁ cannot be compared to the liturgy of the Céli Dé because no extant mass book from St Andrews exists. But since Pn 12036 does indicate that pre-conquest Benedictine sources had some influence on their use, we might look to other insular Benedictine sources for similarities (See Table 4.1). In his discussion, Roesner pointed out that some pieces in W₁ that do not fit in the Sarum rite are

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464 As the only three-part office organum for a saint, apart from Nicholas, Sancte Germaine v. O Sancte (cao7580) holds special prominence in W₁. Perhaps Saint Kentigern, whose feast was noted in the Temporale of Pn 12036, fol. 32r would have been celebrated with this chant.

465 In the Hereford Breviary, Dum ergo v. repleti sunt (cao6536a) is given for the first responsory of Matins on Pentecost. Frere and Brown, The Hereford breviary, vol. I, p. 389.
found in a few insular Benedictine sources.\textsuperscript{466} He concluded, however, that $W_1$ followed the Parisian or Dominican tradition rather than an insular Benedictine one. The Benedictine influence on many of the office chants in Pn 12036, examined above, prompts reevaluation of his conclusion.

If the Benedictine influence found in Pn 12036 extended into the mass liturgy of the Céli Dé, they could easily have sung *Alleluia v. Tu es Petrus* (M31) included $W_1$. While this *Alleluia* is not assigned to the mass of the feasts of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) or St Peter in Chains (1 August) in the late Sarum sources, it is cited in a few earlier Benedictine uses, listed below (See Table 3.1). It was also added as an alternative *Alleluia* for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul in F-Pa 135, a mid-thirteenth century Sarum missal.\textsuperscript{467}

\textsuperscript{466} His discussion is primarily found in Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle,” 117–119. He relied on the "Notes" portion of printed the *Missale Westmonasteriensis* by Legg, which is a comparative study of a somewhat arbitrary group of medieval manuscripts from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Pfaff underlined the problems with Legg's assignment of uses in Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 141–156.

\textsuperscript{467} F-Pa 135 was included in the printed edition of early Sarum Missals, but it is the only one to include *Alleluia v. Tu es Petrus*. The manuscript also contains a trope and sequence collection and a few Marian motets, neither one of which conform to the Sarum Use. David Hiley described the sequence collection as "... a completely non-Salisbury sequentiary was copied after the missal, here assigned to London." David Hiley, “The Rhymed Sequence in England - A Preliminary Survey,” in *Musicologie médiévale: notations 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: Champion, 1987), 232. Frere, *Graduale Sarisburiense; a Reproduction in Facsim. of a Ms. of the 13th Century, with a Diss. and Historical Index Illustrating Its Development from the Gregorian Antiphonale Missarum.* The added motets are discussed in Jacques Handschin, “The Summer Canon and Its Background: II,” *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951): 82–6; and Christopher Hohler, “Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing 13th-century Polyphony,” *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 1 (1978): 2–38.
Table 4.1 Mass Organa in W₁-IV not found in Sarum Sources, According to Roesner (Sarum and York assignments taken from MLO VII, xlix)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ludwig No.</th>
<th>Paris</th>
<th>Sarum</th>
<th>York</th>
<th>Benedictine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M8</td>
<td>Laus tua deus v. Herodes</td>
<td>Holy Innocents</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M31</td>
<td>Alleluya v. Tu es petrus</td>
<td>SS Peter and Paul/Peter in chains</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>SS Peter and Paul (Whitby, Abingdon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Insular Benedictine sources consulted for the assignment of *Alleluia v. Tu es Petrus*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Center</th>
<th>MS More</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>GB-Ob MS. Rawl. Lit. b.i.</td>
<td>14th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StA</td>
<td>GB-Ob Laud Misc. 279</td>
<td>14th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>GB-Ob MS Digby 227</td>
<td>15th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>GB-Otc MS 75</td>
<td>15th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>GB- Lbl MS. Harl. 5289</td>
<td>14th century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the isolated pieces listed above, Roesner noted the order of the chants for the feasts of the Assumption (August 15) and the Nativity (September 8) in W₁, conforming to the unusual practice at Paris. This, too, might reflect the Benedictine influence at St Andrews. The two-part settings for the mass chants of the feasts of the Assumption and Nativity are listed below in order of their appearance in W₁-XI (see Table 4.2). In Sarum and York Uses, the gradual *Propter veritatem v. Audi filia* was only used for the feast of the Assumption, whereas *Benedicta es v. Virgo dei genitrix* was only used for the Nativity. In certain insular Benedictine sources, they were assigned to the feasts corresponding to the order in W₁. Although it may be that the copyist simply entered them in the order provided from the Parisian exemplar, another...

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explanation is that he, in fact, aligned them perfectly with the usage of St Andrews, and that the St Andrews practice followed the Benedictine rites here, and in particular those found at St Albans.

Table 4.2: Order of Mass Organa in W₁-IV and their Placement in the Parisian, Sarum, York and Benedictine Uses, according to Roesner and Legg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ludwig No.</th>
<th>Paris</th>
<th>Sarum</th>
<th>York</th>
<th>Benedictine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M32</td>
<td>Benedicta v. Virgo de genitrix</td>
<td>Assumption BVM Day or Nativity of the BVM</td>
<td>Nativity BVM</td>
<td>Assumption (St Albans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M33</td>
<td>Alleluya v. Assumpta est maria</td>
<td>All. 1 Assumption</td>
<td>Assumption Week</td>
<td>Assumption Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M34</td>
<td>Alleluya v. Hodie maria virgo</td>
<td>All. 2, VR Assumption</td>
<td>Assumption</td>
<td>Assumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M54</td>
<td>Alleluya v. Veni electa mea</td>
<td>Vigil Assumption or Common of Virgins</td>
<td>Common of Virgins</td>
<td>Common of Virgins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M37</td>
<td>Propter veritatem v. Audi filia</td>
<td>Vigil Assumption, Common of Virgins</td>
<td>Assumption</td>
<td>Assumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M38</td>
<td>Alleluya v. Nativitas</td>
<td>Nativity BVM</td>
<td>Nativity BVM</td>
<td>Nativity BVM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One organum setting in W₁ explicitly witnesses the influence of the Parisian use on the Céli Dé's manuscript. The substitution of the tract Laus tua v. Herodes for the feast of Holy Innocents was a local practice in Paris, although the

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469 See Table 4.1 for a list of the insular Benedictine manuscripts consulted. 218.
Dominican use followed the Parisian use in this and other respects.\textsuperscript{470} This organum (M8), copied amongst the dupla for the week following Christmas in the fourth fascicle, held the special mark of the influence of the great cathedral of Paris, not only on the style of singing, but on the liturgical use of the Céli Dé itself.

CONCLUSION

As the Céli Dé transitioned from a Gaelic monastic order to an order of Norman secular clerics, their liturgy transformed with their identity. Because, as the first Augustinian canons of St Andrews reported, the Céli Dé had been practicing their own antiquated rite in the corner of the old church, their liturgy required revision to be appropriate for the new Gothic cathedral under construction. The antiphoner, Pn 12036, provided the Céli Dé with a liturgy in which their past and present were held in tension. The exemplar for their new liturgy was drawn from a pre-conquest Benedictine source that honored insular saints who were later expunged by the Sarum Use. The vestiges of monastic practice in the antiphoner reflected the Céli Dé’s own recent identity as monks of St Andrews, however antiquated they may have been. As the Céli Dé took on their new role as secular clerics, so the monastic exemplar for their office book was recast in the framework of a new secular use, possibly an early version of the

\textsuperscript{470} Roesner, “The Origins of ‘W1’,” 353–5; Wright, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550, 96.
Sarum Use. The influences on the antiphoner from further abroad, such as the French office for St. Thomas of Canterbury signify the recent impact of Normans in the Scottish kingdom. By the early thirteenth-century Normans held the most important and powerful positions in Scotland, creating a mixed Scottish-Norman culture. In the case of the Céli Dé, though they were no longer Scots inheriting their benefices but well-educated Normans, they maintained the Scottish heritage of their community through the celebration of native saints.

When the scribe of W₁ created a collection of polyphony for the use of the Céli Dé some ten to twenty years after Pn 12036 was copied, he gathered the Notre Dame collection organa that fit with their unusual insular use. He adapted a few works to reflect the most important feasts in St Andrews. Yet at least one, and probably a handful of other chants were foreign to the liturgical practice of the Céli Dé. These few organum settings demonstrate that the liturgical use of Notre Dame itself held such prestige that it was copied faithfully onto the precious parchment sheets, regardless of the possibility of being sung in their liturgy. Perhaps the scribe intended to revise the liturgical use of the Céli Dé through these few pieces. Or maybe they were only meant to be a record of what was sung at Notre Dame, to provide inspiration for their own polyphonic song. In any case, the book was later brought closer to Sarum Use when a different scribe added marginal antiphon incipits, and thus we are left to wonder.

On the principal feasts of the liturgical year, the Céli Dé’s prayers and chant joined with those in every cathedral, church and chapel, but their polyphonic singing would have ranked them among only a few elite institutions—one, of course, being the cathedral of Notre Dame. Their local
practices, particularly those venerating their own saints, established their unique identity as Scotto-Norman and French clerics. The introduction and adaptation of Notre Dame polyphony for their institution further confirmed the southward gaze of their bishop and patron, William Malveisin, towards France. The work of gathering and shaping their new liturgy, recorded in Pn 12036 and the polyphonic elaborations in W₁, was undertaken with one goal: the glorification and promotion of their own cathedral in Scotland.
CHAPTER 5

THE CELEBRATION OF SAINTS
IN THE LITURGY OF THE CÉLI Dé

The relics of Saint Andrew, housed in the cathedral, were the most important symbol of the authority of both the bishop and the king over the land of Scotland. The relics possessed the spiritual power of Andrew, one of Christ's first disciples and the brother of Saint Peter, the disciple to whom Christ gave the keys of the kingdom (Matthew 10:2, 16:19). The story of how such precious relics came to be held in a cathedral in the far-flung northwest of Christendom was told in two translation legends, repeated in the liturgy and written into Scottish history. Through the Scottish legends of St. Andrew’s relics, the bishops of St Andrews justified the unification of the Scottish churches under their authority as self-appointed archbishops. Scottish kings venerated the apostle Andrew as their protector and defender and as an evangelist to the Scots. St. Andrew’s

472 The legends relate the translation of St. Andrew’s relics in a time when the Picts ruled Scotia. By the time the legends were written, all of Scotland was under Scottish rule, and no distinction was made between Scots and Picts. The legends indicate that the Andrew’s favor towards the Picts was absorbed into Scottish rule when they conquered the Picts, since the Scots and Picts had the same origins myth. On the derivation of Pictish origins myths from Scottish sources, see Pictish Sourcebook: Documents of Medieval Legend and Dark Age History, Documentary Reference Collections (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2002), 144. Edward Cowan, Ursula Hall and James Fraser also observed the link between the Scottish origins myths as the translation legend. Edward J. Cowan, “Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland,” The Scottish Historical Review 63, no. 176 (October 1, 1984): 111–135; Ursula Hall, St Andrew and Scotland (St Andrews: St Andrews University Library, 1994), 65; James E Fraser, “Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid: The Movements of St Andrew in Britani, 604-747,” 222.
special favor to the Scottish race was proclaimed in St. Andrews in the foundation history, their magnificent cathedral and the bishop's primacy, but most formatively, through the liturgy.

The Céli Dé of the early twelfth century produced the first legend of the relics in Scotland, known as the A legend. That version of the legend was heavily influenced by the Gaelic and monastic culture of the Céli Dé community. But by the thirteenth century, when the Céli Dé were no longer monastic but secular clerics, a new version of the legend, known as the B legend, was developed. Historically, the B legend has been considered work of the Augustinian canons, but in this chapter I will examine the reasons to think the Céli Dé created this new legend, and the Augustinians canons later appropriated and adapted it. The A and B versions of the legend and their variants may be evidence of conflicts between the Céli Dé and Augustinian communities over the possessions of the cathedral. Regardless of the origins, in both of the legends, St. Andrew remained the defender of and evangelist to the Scots.

When the new community of secular clergy, still called the Céli Dé, worshiped in the cathedral of St. Andrews, their liturgy also proclaimed their allegiances. Their veneration of St. Andrew's relics during daily memorials, on the annual the feast of the relics and on the feast of St. Andrew (30 November) identified them as the recipients of St. Andrew's care and protection, and heirs of his martyred body. As an apostle and martyr, St. Andrew was a universally venerated saint. But no other community at that time could claim St. Andrew's

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devotion to its race, protection from long-time enemies (the English) and the presence of St. Andrew himself in the form of relics. Such claims were worthy to be celebrated with extensive, carefully crafted offices, and with the most elaborate and complex musical embellishment available.

A host of other saints venerated in the liturgy of the Céli Dé contributed to the formation of the community’s identity. St. Brigid of Kildare, to whom a church near St. Andrews was dedicated by the relic bearers in the B legend, received praise in a unique office in the Céli Dé’s liturgy. St. Kentigern, to whom we were introduced in the Chapter 1, was lauded with a full office as well. An office for St. Thomas Becket, whose cult rapidly spread throughout northern Europe, was imported from the continent for the Céli Dé’s liturgy, and polyphonic music added to his celebration. The unique celebration of these saints reinforced the identity of the Céli Dé, holding in tension their Scottish roots with their newly received Norman heritage.

The musical practice of the Céli Dé played a key role in shaping their identity, particularly in the veneration of St. Andrew and their other local saints. In this final chapter, I demonstrate that Saint Andrew was central to the liturgical and musical life of the Céli Dé, particularly as they transitioned from a Gaelic monastic community to a secular clerical community under Malveisin. I will introduce the Scottish Saint Andrew to the reader through the two legends of the relics. I will examine the universal and local character of the office of the feast of St. Andrew found in the Céli Dé’s antiphoner, Pn 12036. Finally, I turn to the constellation of saints surrounding St. Andrew who were celebrated in liturgy and music by the Céli Dé, and the political implications of these celebrations. The
polyphonic music provided for the celebration of these saints in W, further established the Céli Dé’s identity as the clerics of St Andrews Cathedral.

A. KEEPERS OF SAINT ANDREW’S RELICS

Two versions of the legend of Saint Andrew’s relics in Scotland indicate how the Céli Dé and the regular canons claimed the favor of Saint Andrew for themselves and all Scottish people. The legends are commonly referred to by Scottish scholars as A and B, or more specifically, the Gaelic (Céli Dé) and Augustinian legends.\(^{473}\) The earlier legend A was probably composed in the early twelfth century; the composition of the later legend B is difficult to date, but certainly occurred by the late thirteenth century.\(^{474}\) Both legends were composed


\(^{474}\) The first legend may have incorporated earlier texts, but only exists in twelfth-century sources, and recent scholars agree its current form was composed around 1101. Broun, “The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century,” 113; MacQuarrie, *The Saints of Scotland*, 182. For the purpose of this chapter, I will use the term Picts only when referring to their rule of what is now eastern Scotland before Cináed MacAlpín. In this chapter, Scots refers to the people in the united Scottish kingdom after Cináed MacAlpín. Most scholars assign the union of Pictish and Scottish realms to Cináed MacAlpín (d. 225.
in Latin, but the author of the A legend was most likely also a Gaelic speaker.\footnote{475} The later B legend has been called the Augustinian legend due to its presence in the lost register of the Augustinian priory of St Andrews where it was followed by an account of the foundation of the Augustinian priory at St Andrews in 1140, possibly written by the first prior, Robert of Nostell.\footnote{476} Both of these legends provided a rationale for uniting all the churches of Scotland under the leadership of the bishop of St Andrews.\footnote{477} Both legends demonstrated that the relics of the disciple who had led his brother, Peter, to Jesus were in Scotland by Saint Andrew’s own guidance.\footnote{478} In both legends the universally venerated apostle Andrew favored, in particular, the Pictish kings and noblemen, defending them in battle, and bringing the Picts, and therefore the Scots, to the Christian faith.\footnote{479}

The distinctions between the two legends lie in the character of the man who

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858), after which Picts seem to be subsumed under the term Scots, though no doubt there were some aspects of Pictish culture that continued under Scottish rule. Dauvit Broun, \textit{Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 72; Alan Macquarrie, \textit{Medieval Scotland: Kingship and Nation} (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2004), 72. The B legend was used in negotiations with England in the late thirteenth century, as I will discuss below.\footnote{475} Broun, “The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century,” 108.\footnote{476} On Robert the prior as author, see A. A. M. Duncan, “The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, 1140,” \textit{Scottish Historical Review} 84 (April 2005): 1. This recension is in GB-Lbl Har. 4628, an eighteenth-century transcription of the lost great register of St Andrews priory.\footnote{477} Taylor and Márkus, \textit{The Place-Names of Fife: Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk}, 603.\footnote{478} John 1:40-41.\footnote{479} For a discussion of the development of one unified history for Picts and Scots, see Dauvit Broun, \textit{The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries}, Studies in Celtic History 18 (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1999); Broun, \textit{Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain}, 49. If Broun is correct that there are no origins myths unifying Scots and Picts before the thirteenth century, then this legend is a crucial witness to early development of that idea and its foundation in Saint Andrew.\footnote{226}
brought the relics to Scotland, Regulus, the details of his journey, and the battle Saint Andrew won for the Picts. Whereas legend A focuses on the rank of Saint Andrew, the resulting site of pilgrimage at St Andrews, and Regulus’ monastic group that cared for the relics, the B legend casts Regulus as a bishop to whom is given jurisdiction over specific lands, dedicated to the Apostle whose relics were in his and his clerics’ care.\textsuperscript{480} The two legends display the rival claims of the Céli Dé, the regular canons and the Bishop to the patronage and care of the Apostle of Christ to the Scots.

THE CÉLI Dé LEGEND AND THE AUGUSTINIAN CANONS’ CONTRIBUTION

The earliest records of a monastic house of Saint Andrew in Kilrimond imply that the Céli Dé were responsible for the cult of Saint Andrew in Fife. An eleventh-century Gaelic work, the Prophecy of Berchan, purports to foretell the succession of Scottish Kings from Cináed MacAlpín (d. 858) to Domnall Bán (d. 1097).\textsuperscript{481} The prophecy predicts that King Constantine II of Scotland (d. 943), the


\textsuperscript{481} Fraser dated the Prophecy of Berchan to the early twelfth century, Marjorie Anderson to the late eleventh. Fraser, “Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid: The Movements of St Andrew in Britani, 604-747,” 2. See also Marjorie O Anderson, “The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.,” in The Medieval Church of St. 227.
grandson of the first Scottish King of Alba, Cináed MacAlpín, retired to be the abbot of a house dedicated to Saint Andrew in Kinrimund.\textsuperscript{482} This eleventh-century list of kings is one of the earliest references to a monastic house at St Andrews.\textsuperscript{483} A much later reference from a fourteenth-century list of Scottish kings repeats that King Constantine II became the abbot of the Céli Dé of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{484} Since there is no evidence of any monastic house in St Andrews besides the Céli Dé community, and Scottish royalty were certainly responsible for founding some Céli Dé communities in Scotland, it is very likely that the king who later became their abbot was the founder of the Céli Dé community of St Andrews. Thus the Céli Dé house in St Andrews was founded and dedicated at least by the eleventh century, and likely as early as the reign of King Constantine II in the middle of the tenth century.


\textsuperscript{482} Skene discussed the possibility of Saint Andrew’s introduction to Kinrimund through the eighth-century Bishop Acca of Hexham in W. F. Skene, “Notice of the Early Ecclesiastical Settlements at St Andrews,” \textit{Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland} 4 (February 1860): 310. Fraser agreed with Skene, providing further historical evidence for a King Ungus in the seventh century. He did not consider the manuscript evidence provided here. Fraser, “Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid: The Movements of St Andrew in Britani, 604-747.” Anderson suggested that King Constantine II founded the Céli Dé community dedicated to Saint Andrew in Anderson, “The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.,” 4.

\textsuperscript{483} Anderson, “The Celtic Church in Kinrimund.” 3.

\textsuperscript{484} On the Poppleton manuscript, see Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, \textit{Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland} (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1973), 267–291. 228.
The A legend, set in the fourth century, rapidly shifts between two scenes—one in Constantinople, the other in Scotland—that become intertwined in the middle of the narrative. A brief introduction explains how Constantine translated Saint Andrew’s relics to Constantinople, bringing the narrative to the time of Emperor Theodisius.\(^4\) The implication of the introduction is that the story of Regulus and the Pictish king take place in the fifth century, but the date is not expressly stated. In Constantinople, the keeper of the relics of Saint Andrew, Regulus, is instructed to take some of them to a far northern region. Meanwhile, Ungus, a Pictish king, has a dream in which he is visited by Saint Andrew, who declares that Ungus will win his battle against the Saxons. Ungus’ dream resembles the story of the Emperor Constantine before the battle at Milvian Bridge in 312, in which a sign of Christ accompanies Constantine in victorious battle.\(^5\) Saint Andrew won the battle for King Ungus by means of the sign he shared with Christ, the cross of martyrdom.\(^6\) In response to Saint Andrew’s special aid, King Ungus dedicates the land of Kilrymont to Saint Andrew, and founds a monastery of which Regulus, was the abbot. The

\(^{4}\) “Hic sorte predicationis aquilonales [regiones] scitai pictonesque... maner semper usque ad tempus theodosii christiani imperatoris. spatio scilicet centum et decem annorum.”

\(^{5}\) The reference to the battle at Milvian Bridge is particularly provocative since the probable founder of the Céli Dé community was also named Constantine. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 1.26-29. Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Essential Eusebius*, ed. Colm Luibhéid (New York: New American Library, 1966), 184–185. Exactly what the sign of Christ was, whether a cross or a Chi-Rho, is unclear.

\(^{6}\) According to the *Passio*, Andrew was also martyred on a cross. The A legend, unlike Eusebius’s narrative of Constantine’s vision, specifies that the sign is the cross of Christ: “Surge. Vide signum crucis christi, quod stat in aere, atque te precedat contra inimicos tuos.” See Appendix XIII for a transcription of the A legend.
monastery would house many pilgrims who came to visit the relics and witness Saint Andrew’s miracles.

Certain Gaelic influences on the text, and the monastic model on which Regulus’ character was based, make it likely that the A legend was created and perhaps committed to writing by one of the Céli Dé at St Andrews in the early twelfth century. Dauvit Broun recovered two early recensions of the A legend, which name Archbishop Giric (d. 1101) as the last great bishop of St Andrews. Broun furthermore noted the Gaelic features in the Latin text, such as the use of *dextera* (“right hand”) to mean south. Another Gaelic influence in the legend is the reference to a pilgrim monk. In the A legend, Regulus is introduced as a keeper of the relics of Saint Andrew in Constantinople and is instructed to leave Constantinople with the relics and journey to a distant land. Later in the legend Regulus is referred to as a pilgrim monk, much like the first Irish missionaries to the northern inhabitants of the British Isles, Columba and Ninian, who were also pilgrims who left their homeland to evangelize. Like these pilgrims, Regulus is summoned in the A legend with the same words as the model pilgrim Abraham, recorded in Genesis 12:1 in the *Vetus Latina*: “Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione

488 These are A1 in Table 2.1. Broun, “The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century,” 111.
490 ’...unus custodientiuni corpus Sancti Andree Apostoli Constantinopoli, visione divina et revelatione ammonitus atque instructus est, dicente. ’Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua et de domo tua, et vade in terram quam monstravero tibi...’ “ See Appendix XIII.
tua et de domo patris tui, et vade in terram quam monstravero tibi." The legend closes with a scene describing what could have been the foundation of the Céli Dé monastery: Regulus became an abbot and monk with his companions at the monastery of Saint Andrew, serving God and administering three parts of the whole of Scotland for the monastery.⁴⁹³

If in fact it was the Céli Dé who wrote the main body of the A legend, it was probably their Augustinian neighbors who promoted it beyond the borders of Scotland, transforming it from local legend into national history.⁴⁹⁴ Ironically, none of the manuscript sources for the A legend definitively have Scottish provenance (see Table 5.1). This is true of the earliest twelfth-century copy as well as the late fourteenth-century copy from which Skene made his edition in 1867. Almost all of these sources are, however, from the northern region of the England, the borders of Northumbria, the contested land area to which many of the medieval Scottish kings believed they had as much right as their southern neighbors. The early twelfth-century manuscript, British Library, Arundel 36,

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⁴⁹³ "Regulus vero monachus abbas factus cum suis caris comitibus, habitavit in loco isto in monachica vita...Iste Regulus tertiam partem tocius Scotie in manu sua, et potestate habuit, et per abbacias, ordinavit atque distribuit." See fol. 94v in Appendix XIII, below.
⁴⁹⁴ Taylor implied that the Augustinian canons rejected the A legend because they needed to establish their possessions in the B legend. Taylor, “The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and Version B of the St Andrews Foundation Legend,” 123. Anderson, on the other hand, believed that the author of the B legend had no access to the A legend. Anderson, “St. Andrews before Alexander I,” 10, no. 73.
was copied at the Augustinian Priory of Kirkham, near York.\footnote{495} As we saw in Chapter 1, Kirkham Priory had a special connection to the priory at St Andrews, through their mutual mother house, St Oswald’s Priory of Nostell.\footnote{496}

Table 5.1 Manuscript list for Foundation legends of St Andrews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Book</th>
<th>Present Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1 Theological tracts, sermons and lections</td>
<td>London BL, Arundel 36</td>
<td>XII (middle)</td>
<td>Kirkham Priory, Yorkshire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1 Vitae</td>
<td>London BL, Cotton Tiberius D III</td>
<td>XII (late)-XIII (early)</td>
<td>British Isles (Scotland?)</td>
<td>May 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Bede’s Historia, Cuthbert’s Letter on the death of Bede, Whithorn’s subjection to York</td>
<td>London BL, Add. 25014</td>
<td>c. 1190</td>
<td>Cistercian abbey at Newminster, Yorkshire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{495} This manuscript has had a long and complicated history, and is not complete in its present form. However, the section with the legend is the original hand of the manuscript, and this mid-twelfth century hand was almost certainly from the Kirkham priory. See Andrew G Watson, The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke (London: Bibliographical Society, 1969), 74–77. An early catalogue of Arundel 36 also includes at the end of the St Andrews legend an antiphon for Saint Andrew, further suggesting the intention of spreading his cult. Watson, The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke, 74–77.

\footnote{496} The provenance of Cotton Tiberius D III is unknown, but the legendary, though only covering April through June, contains the \textit{vitae} of many Scottish saints such as Columba, Queen Margaret and Ninian among other works by Ailred of Rievaulx. This manuscript is a collection of legendary materials arranged in liturgical order. Owing probably to the fire damage it suffered in the Cotton collection fire in 1731, the manuscript has not received paleographical study more thorough than the assignment of English cursive script. The earliest known owner, Henry Savile of Banke who also owned Arundel 36 at one point, bought many of his manuscripts from York. See the introduction to Watson, The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke. Bieler has argued that Loch Leven was a likely source for the Columban material. Ludwig Bieler, “Review: Adamant’s Life of Columba,” \textit{Irish Historical Studies} 13, no. 50 (1962): 177.
It is by this legend that Malveisin could write on his seal "Episcopus Scottorum," although in papal documents the church of St Andrews was only the first among equals in the Scottish church. Broun's discovery of two early texts confirms that the legend was written in part to promote St Andrews as the seat of the archbishop of Scotland. The A legend of Saint Andrew's relics in Scotland begins with a statement of Saint Andrew's authoritative rank among the Apostles: Andrew was the first apostle chosen by Jesus according to the Gospel of John, and the second, following Peter, according to Matthew and Mark.

According to the legend, Andrew was second only to Peter in stature among the

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233.
disciples of Christ, and St. Andrew's city in Scotland should be second only to St
Peter's city in Rome. In the A1 version (see Table 1), the author concludes by
affirming that, since the greatest increase in faith in the whole island of Britain
was due to the arrival of Saint Andrew's relics, the cathedral of St Andrews
should be the seat of the archbishop of Scotland.

But the whole island of Britain was taught Christianity, before Picts and
Scots entered it. However, the greatest increase to faith was made for all
faithful Christians of that island because the Lord deigned to send to them
such and so great a pastor, namely St. Andrew the apostle and tutor, the
first disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore the archbishopric of all of
Scotland ought to be from this city where the apostolic seat is: neither
ought any bishop to be ordained in Scotia without the agreement of the
elders of that place. This is the second Rome from the first; this is the
principal city of refuge; this is the city of cities of Scotia.

Sed tota insula britannia christianitatem erat docta, antequam picti et scotti
illam intrarent. Maximum autem fidei augmentum factum est omnibus
fidelibus christianis istius insulae, quod dominus dignatus est tales ac
tantum illis mittere pastorem. sanctum videlicet andream apostolum
preceptorem, primum Domini nostri ihesu christi discipulum. Ex hac itaque
civitate archiepiscopatus esse debet totius scocie ubi apostolica sedes est,
nec absque consilio seniorum istius loci. ullus episcopus in scocia debet
ordinari. Hec est Roma secunda a prima; hec est civitas refugii praecipua:
hec est <civitas> civitatum scotie. (see Appendix XIII)

These lofty claims to have their own archbishop in St Andrews were not
recognized by the Pope until 1472. But they clearly still rang true for Malveisin.
During his time in Rome between 1215 and 1218, he almost certainly encouraged
the reissuing of the papal bull, Cum universi, which stated that the Scottish

500 "Hec est Roma secunda a prima; hec est civitas refugii praecipua: hec est <civitas> civitatum scotie."
501 U: illius

234.
church, as a filia specialis, was subject to none but the Holy See itself.\textsuperscript{503} Previous bishops of St Andrews had also fought for this bull, and legend A itself, arguably, prompted the original issue of the bull.\textsuperscript{504} To celebrate Saint Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland was thus not only an act of devotion; it was an act of political defiance against any English temporal or ecclesial rule.

THE NEW LEGEND

At some point in the thirteenth century, the A legend must have been considered problematic or insufficient, since a new version was created in which Regulus was cast as a bishop who was given jurisdiction over the diocese of St Andrews. The B legend arranged the scene of Ungus’ battle to take place in Achaia at the same time as Constantius’ capture of Saint Andrew’s relics and translation of them to Constantinople. This adjustment in the timeline situated Regulus and King Ungus in 345, rather than fifth-century Constantinople, as in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item The papal bull known as Cum universi, issued by Celestine III in 1192, Innocent III at an uncertain date, and Honorius III in 1218 recognizes the Holy See as the only legitimate authority over the scoticana ecclesia, which consists of the churches of St Andrews, Dunblane, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross and Caithness. These would presumably have been the churches that were considered part of the Scottish kingdom by Malveisin, who was possibly in Rome until the beginning of 1218, and no doubt encouraged the reissue of this bull. E. L. G. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328; Some Selected Documents (London: Nelson, 1965), 15. On Malveisin’s contribution to the Scottish relations with the papacy, see Marinell Ash, “The Administration of the Diocese of St. Andrews 1202-1328” (Ph.D., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972), 19.
\item Broun recently discovered two twelfth century copies of the A legend, which contain an addendum that states that St Andrews ought to be head over all the churches of Scotland because of Saint Andrew’s patronage. He argued that this addendum is original to the A legend, and the whole legend was written in an attempt to gain independence from the archdiocese of York. I have labeled this version A1. See Broun, “The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century”; Ash and Broun, “The Adoption of St Andrew as Patron Saint of Scotland.”
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the A legend. In Achaia, where Saint Andrew was martyred, Regulus, a bishop (not a pilgrim monk, as in the A legend), is visited by an angel who tells him to go with his clerics (holy men in the A legend) to steal the relics of Saint Andrew before the Emperor Constantius sacks the city for martyring St. Andrew. At the same time in Britain, Ungus, king of the Picts, hears the voice of St. Andrew telling him that in St. Andrew’s name, he would win the battle against Athelstan (d. 939), king of the Saxons, and he would then receive St. Andrew’s relics in Scotland. When Regulus and his company landed in Fife, they met Ungus, and traversed the whole region of what would be the diocese of St Andrews, which Ungus gave to Saint Andrew, received by Regulus as bishop of the new church.

Norman influence on the legend resulted in Regulus being recast as a bishop from Patras in Achaia who was accompanied by his clerics. This Bishop Regulus shared many features with the Bishop Regulus, or Rieul, of Senlis, who in some traditions accompanied Saint Denis and the Apostles to Gaul, and founded the church in Senlis. Like Regulus of Senlis, Regulus of St Andrews was a bishop from Greece who evangelized the northeast region of Europe. A

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506 There are at least two lives of Saint Regulus of Senlis (BHL 7106, 7107), both of which call Regulus one of Saint Denis’s companions. The identity of Saint Denis, however, whether the biblical Dionysius the Areopagite (a convert in Acts 17:34) or a later Apostle to Gall, is confused in the medieval sources. See Tova Choate, “The Liturgical Faces of Saint Denis: Music, Power, and Identity in Medieval France” (Ph.D., Yale University, 2009), 204–13. See also Hall, St Andrew and Scotland, 72.
fifteenth-century calendar fragment from the parish church of St Andrews, Holy Trinity, confirms that they also shared the same feast day on March 30.\textsuperscript{507}

Because one source for the B legend was attached to the Augustinian Account, the legend describing the St Andrews cathedral and the foundation of the Augustinian Priory in 1140 discussed in Chapter 1, it is often assumed that legend B was written by an Augustinian, and perhaps the first prior himself.\textsuperscript{508} However, it seems just as likely, given Regulus' status in the B legend and his French counterpart, that legend B was written for a bishop of St Andrews. The extant manuscripts for the B legend, seen in Table 5.1, all come from St Andrews, and none of them were copied before the late thirteenth century. The version of legend B from the lost Great Register of St Andrews as copied in the eighteenth century continued with an account of the foundation of the Augustinian priory, called the Augustinian Account.\textsuperscript{509} Recently, however, Taylor has suggested that the legend and account were not joined together until around 1318, when the list of priors

\textsuperscript{507} GB-DUca TC/CC/2/302/V, 1v. For more on this fragment, see Stephen Mark Holmes, “Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560,” \textit{Innes Review} 62, no. 2 (2011): 161. I also found this date in the calendars of four fifteenth century books: National Library of Scotland MS 10270, 6123, 652 and Edinburgh University Library MS 27, as well as the Aberdeen Breviary. Skene and Hall alternatively suggested the Irish saint Riagal as a model. His feast day is on October 17. Skene, “Notice of the Early Ecclesiastical Settlements at St Andrews”; Hall, \textit{St Andrew and Scotland}, 71.


\textsuperscript{509} Reeves first suggested Bishop Robert as the author in Reeves, \textit{The Culdees of the British Islands, as They Appear in History}, 37. Taylor, however, suggests, based on the author’s tone when discussing prior Robert, that prior Robert himself is in fact the author. Taylor, “The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and Version B of the St Andrews Foundation Legend,” 120.
following the Augustinian account ends.\textsuperscript{510} There is also evidence that the legend was edited in the late thirteenth century. The date of the arrival of the relics on February 6 was inserted into the second copy of B in \textit{Wolfenbüttel} 1108. The only other evidence for a feast on this date is from Bower's account of the foundation of St Andrews University in 1410, when a solemn procession was made to celebrate both the confirmation of the university and the feast of the arrival of the relics.\textsuperscript{511} The date does not appear on the calendar from Holy Trinity parish, and thus was probably a late development that did not spread beyond the cathedral.

The revision of the legend of Saint Andrew's relics in Scotland, particularly the introduction of the historical figure of King Athelstan into the narrative, had important political implications later in the thirteenth century. During the first War of Independence (1296-1328), Pope Boniface VIII wrote to Edward I, King of England, stating that Scotland ought to be independent of English rule, invoking, among other historical details, their conversion by Saint Andrew's relics, by which they also claimed ecclesiastical independence.\textsuperscript{512} King Edward I responded that "Athelstan, king of England, established Constantine, king of Scots, to rule under him...and it is worthy to be remembered that this same Athelstan, on the intercession of St John of Beverly, formerly archbishop of

\textsuperscript{510} Taylor and Márkus, \textit{The Place-Names of Fife. Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk}, 565.
\textsuperscript{511} Bower further recounted the sweet songs of the clerics, the pealing of bells and the sounds of organs. "Statuentes insuper ad sequentem proximam diem martis solemnem fieri processionem, ut celebrarent festum adventus privilegiorum cum ipso eodem festo adventus reliquiarum. Quis autem de facili possit explicare que in illa processione facta sunt cantica dulcissona clericorum tripudia populum pulsaciones classicorum sonus organorum?" Walter Bower, \textit{Scotichronicon: In Latin and English} (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), vols. 8, 78.
\textsuperscript{512} Stones, \textit{Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328; Some Selected Documents}, 85.
York, overcame the Scots who were in rebellion against him.\textsuperscript{513} Bower recorded two letters in reply to Edward I’s claims, stating that the Scots were converted to the Christian faith four hundred years before the English by St. Andrew, and furthermore that they had defeated the Saxons in battle.\textsuperscript{514} Clearly by 1301 there was good reason to have an historical account of the defeat of Athelstan by the saintly patron of what became the most important city in Scotland.\textsuperscript{515}

The B legend also indicated that the Céli Dé, as secular canons, had rightful claim to the relics of Saint Andrew. No longer holding monastic vows as did Regulus and his companions in legend A, they could still be called clerics of the Bishop, as were the companions of Bishop Regulus in the B legend.

After the B legend established that the newly Normanized secularized Céli Dé were the true heirs of Bishop Regulus’s company and rightful possessors of Andrew’s relics, there was a third revision in which the Augustinians adopted legend B for their own ends. The Augustinian Account of the foundation of the priory, joined to the end of the B legend in the lost Great Register, would forever remove the ambiguity regarding the rightful beneficiaries of the possessions of the cathedral. The author of the Augustinian Account documented (or rather, gave the appearance of documenting) the royal foundation of the priory with

\textsuperscript{513} “Adelstanus rex Anglie Constantinum regem Scotorum sub se regnaturum constituit ... et est dignum memoria quod idem Adelstanus, intercedente sancto Johanne de Beverlaco quondam archiepiscopo Ebor, Scotos rebellantes ei dimicavit...” edition and translation from Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328; Some Selected Documents, 98–99.

\textsuperscript{514} The first letter goes into more detail concerning the conversion of the Scots during the reign of King Ungus. Bower, Scotichronicon, vols. VI, 148.

\textsuperscript{515} The B legend was also used in later Scottish histories. For a list of the later Scottish histories incorporating the B legend, see Taylor and Márkus, The Place-Names of Fife. Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk, 566.
gifts to Saint Andrew for their endowment.\textsuperscript{516} Binding the translation legend and Augustinian foundation account together ultimately sealed the Augustinian canons’ claims as the rightful canons of the relics and the cathedral in the fourteenth century.

B. THE OFFICE OF SAINT ANDREW FOR THE CÉLI DÉ

What the Céli Dé proclaimed concerning their patron saint in their legend they also celebrated in their liturgy. When a universal saint was specially venerated by a community—because they held the saint's relics or because the saint visited that location during his or her life—the liturgy had to reflect both the universal worship of the saint and the community’s particular devotion. For this reason communities often had their own local feasts for their patron saint, in addition to the universal feast day. The local feasts usually occurred on a day associated with the saint’s connection with that place, i.e. when the saint’s relics arrived or when the saint performed a particular act. In St Andrews, it appears that a local feast day for the arrival of the relics was not established until over a century after the A legend was written. Unfortunately no record of a special local office for the feast day or the relics survives. However, the office for main feast of

\textsuperscript{516} Taylor conflated the B legend with the Augustinian account, though in later work he admitted that they may not have been combined until 1318. Nonetheless his summary is apt concerning the Augustinian account: "Legend B...taken together with the Augustinian Account, is compiled in a new voice which, while far from oblivious to the wider ecclesiastical politics of the two kingdoms, has as its central concern the establishment and endowment of a house of Augustinians at the heart of the Scottish church." Taylor, “The Coming of the Augustinians to St Andrews and Version B of the St Andrews Foundation Legend,” 123; Taylor and Márkus, The Place-Names of Fife. Vol. 3, St Andrews and the East Neuk, 565. 240.
Saint Andrew on November 30th, which was celebrated everywhere, was rearranged in Pn 12036 to reflect the distinctive relationship between the Apostle of the Scots and the Céli Dé.

**THE FEASTS OF SAINT ANDREW**

The only feast for St. Andrews that survives in Pn 12036 is the feast of Saint Andrew's martyrdom on November 30th, which was universally celebrated by the early Middle Ages. The canonical Biblical texts used in this feast provide no support for the notion that Andrew ever ventured as far as Scotland, or that he had a mission to Scythia or that he was martyred. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark only mention briefly how Jesus called Andrew and his brother, Simon Peter, from their fishing jobs to become his disciples. In John’s Gospel, Andrew is credited with revealing the Messiah to his brother and introducing him to Jesus. Andrew is named once in the *Acts of the Apostles* as one of the band of Apostles who met together after the Ascension of Christ, and he does not appear again in the New Testament. His brother Peter, by contrast, is a more developed character in the Gospels, and plays an important role in *Acts* as well.

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518 Matt. 4:18, Mark 1:16

519 John 1:40

The narrative of Andrew’s works was supplemented in the third century by an apocryphal book now called the Acts of Andrew.\footnote{521} The Greek text, known primarily through a late sixth-century edition by Gregory of Tours, the Liber de Miraculis Sancti Andreae, records Andrew’s mission in Achaia where he converts the wife of the proconsul, Maximilla, and ultimately is crucified in Patras. An additional apocryphal book, the Acts of Andrew and Matthew, relates Andrew’s detour into the land of the cannibals to save Matthew from prison. Gregory of Tours included a summary of this narrative in the first chapter of his Liber.\footnote{522} A tradition going back to church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (4th century) placed Andrew’s allotted mission in Scythia, thus identifying the mythical, cannibalistic Myrmidons as Scythians.\footnote{523} Isidore of Seville’s De ortu et orbitu patrum and many martyrology entries influenced by these works likewise reported Andrew’s mission to Scythia.\footnote{524} The Liber of St. Gregory of Tours does not relate the story of Andrew’s crucifixion and the speech from the cross because, as Gregory wrote, it was already circulating in a Latin translation of the Acts of Andrew known as the Passio Andreae or Letter of the Priests and deacons of Achaea, or, in a different

\footnote{521} MacDonald dated it to the early third century. Dennis Ronald MacDonald, Acts of Andrew, Early Christian Apocrypha (Santa Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 2005), 9.\footnote{522} Elliott, The Apocryphal New Testament, 240.\footnote{523} In Eusebius, HE 3. 1 MacDonald, Acts of Andrew, 4.\footnote{524} Denoël, Saint André, 33. See BHL 6544, 652, and 6545 for this and similar texts. 242.
version, *Conversante et docente*.\(^525\) These Latin texts—Gregory’s *Liber* and the anonymous versions of the *Passio*—circulated in many hagiographical collections and lists of apostles throughout the Middle Ages.\(^526\)

Besides the universal feast on Nov. 30, there was an additional feast for Andrew which seems to have been more popular in insular calendars than on the continent. Of the English calendars in Wormwald’s study, seven of the pre-1100 and four of the post-1100 calendars contain a feast of Andrew’s translation to Constantinople on May 9.\(^527\) While the tradition that Andrew’s relics were translated to Constantinople in the fourth century goes back to Saint Jerome’s *Chronicon* at least, the ninth-century martyrlogy of Usuard appears to be the first that associated this translation with the date of May 9.\(^528\) Thus there were at least two important liturgical feasts for Andrew celebrated in many places in Britain in the twelfth century when the legend of the translation of the relics to Scotland was being formulated.

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\(^{526}\) For more on their circulation, particularly in France, see Denoël, *Saint André*, 31–32.

\(^{527}\) Contrast this to a few fourteenth- and fifteenth-century French calendars mentioned by Denoël, of which there are far more extant. Denoël, *Saint André*, 45.

Evidently the May 9 feast, which originally celebrated the translation of Andrew’s relics to Constantinople, was reinterpreted in Scotland as the date of that the relics were translated to Scotland. The only evidence I have found for this prior to the fifteenth century is the placement of the A legend in GB-Lbl Cotton Tiberius D.III. This manuscript is a fragmentary and partly burned collection of *vitae* and homiletic literature for the feasts of the Sanctorale between April and June, arranged according to the liturgical calendar. Several readings concerning Saint Andrew the Apostle appear in position for May 9, between the feast of Saint Victor (May 8) and the feast of the translation of St Nicholas (also May 9). The readings seem to be the same as those typically read for the November 30 feast from the *Liber de Miraculis* and *Passio*, except for the addition of a sermon on the translation from Achaia to Constantinople, a letter of Gregory the Great, and the translation legend of Saint Andrew’s relics to Scotland. It is the only source before the fifteenth-century Aberdeen Breviary that demonstrates that the A legend was read liturgically. Finally, this source demonstrates that the compiler, if not the author of the A legend himself, imagined the A legend to be an extension of Andrew’s translation to Constantinople celebrated on May 9,

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529 The sermon has not yet been identified, and I am currently working on an edition. Broun recently discovered this A1 recension of the St Andrews legend, but did not make note of the other literature on Andrew that precedes it in the manuscript, nor of the marginal markings in the A1 text that indicate liturgical readings, nor the assignment of all this material to May 9. Broun, “The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century.”

530 As an eclectic collection of “Scottish Use,” the Aberdeen Breviary is no doubt better viewed as a compilation and arrangement of several, possibly extinct, liturgical traditions in Scotland than as a universal Scottish Use. See the introduction to Isobel Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. Sally Harper, Studies in the Music of Scotland (Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000).
as the text of the legend bears out. At least in the insular context, the translation of the relics to St Andrews was seen as an extension, and indeed the conclusion, of the journey of his relics to Constantinople.\(^531\)

As discussed above, by the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century the date of February 6 was an important one for the celebration of Saint Andrew's relics in St Andrews. In the second version of the B legend in *Wolfenbüttel* 1108, King Ungus, Regulus and his clerics arrived in Kilrymont and commended it to God and Saint Andrew on February 6. This is the second of two recensions found in a compiled manuscript, and the only recension including the date of February 6. It may be that this feast day was a later development, since no other thirteenth-century or earlier source records this date in regards to a feast of Saint Andrew.

**THE OFFICE FOR THE FEAST AT SAINT ANDREWS**

The Office for the feast Saint Andrews on November 30\(^\text{th}\) is the most important office in the Sanctorale of Pn 12036. The office for Saint Andrew usually opens the Sanctorale of an office book, since the beginning of the

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\(^531\) The other two shorter copies of the legend are included among historical works from the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, GB-Lbl Add. 25014 and F-Pa 4126. In the former manuscript from the Cistercian abbey of Newminster near Newcastle, the legend is introduced with the rubric “Why St Andrew is venerated in Scotland” following Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and an explanation of Whithorn’s subjection to York. In the latter manuscript it follows a collection of Scottish materials unique to that manuscript. Anderson, “The Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126”; Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*. Cowan has argued that all of these chronicles were originally copied sometime after 1184 at the scriptorium at Loch Leven, and then transferred to St Andrews, based on the similarities of the materials with some in the lost register of St Andrews. They may therefore represent chronicles known in St Andrews. Edward J Cowan, “The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript,” *Innes Review: Scottish Catholic Historical Studies* 32, no. 1 (1981): 113.
Temporal cycle, i.e. the first Sunday of Advent, is calculated from St. Andrew’s day. As the first office in the sanctoral cycle, St. Andrew’s is therefore usually decorated to mark the beginning of a new section. In Pn 12036, however, the responsories for Saint Andrew’s office have the most decorated initials in the Sanctorale, and his office is one of the fullest offices among the saints. Two large flourished initials, unmatched by any others in the Sanctorale, adorn the opening pages (See Plate 5.1 and 5.2). Indeed, the only initials of comparable size in the manuscript are those for the opening initial and for the first Easter responsory, *Angelus domini descendit*. The office of Saint Andrew is a full proper office, including provisions for the octave and the days in between. One piece in the office is unique to this manuscript, but other features of the office separate it from standard offices for Saint Andrew’s feast.

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532 In a few extant office books Andrew’s feast is placed last in the Sanctorale. Similarly long feasts are for the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Assumption, and the Nativity of Mary. Local saints are a primary means for identifying the use of liturgical manuscripts, and therefore feature significantly here. Using saints to assign liturgical use is far from foolproof, however, as Henry Parkes demonstrated in his dissertation. However, combined with the other evidence given here, this is a helpful means of identifying the intended use for the manuscript. Henry Parkes, “Liturgy and Music in Ottonian Mainz 950-1025” (Ph.D., Cambridge University, 2012). Assigning a liturgical use through saints can be a risky business, as the previous assignment of Pn 12036 to Ely demonstrates. But together with the other evidence presented here and in Chapter 1, the saints most highly honored in Pn 1218, Pn 12036 and W1 further bind these manuscripts together. The inclusion of local saints in litanies, the sanctorale, proper compositions, and an unusually large and decorated initial are evidence of the liturgical use and the saints’ cults commonly shared in these manuscripts. On the function of the size of initials in indicating hierarchy within a text see Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 9 (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 41.
The chants and readings for the office of Saint Andrew center around the themes of his calling by Jesus with his brother Peter, and even more so his martyrdom on an X-shaped cross, establishing the foundation on which the bishop and Céli Dé built their authority.\textsuperscript{534} The account of Andrew's martyrdom in the \textit{Passio} records a long conversation with his accuser, Proconsul Aegeates, in which Andrew recounted salvation history and sang a long ode to the cross before he died. First Vespers of St Andrew's feast opens with an antiphon that quotes from John 1:40, emphasizing Andrew's calling to be a disciple with Peter:

\begin{quote}
Unus ex duobus qui secuti sunt dominum erat Andreas frater Simonis Petri alleluia
\end{quote}

One of the two who followed the Lord was Andrew, brother of Simon Peter, alleluia

The responsory *Homo dei ducebatur* (ca6868) typically follows the short reading from Romans 10:10-12 in Vespers in both Sarum and continental sources (See Appendix VI). *Homo dei ducebatur* combines passages from the *Passio* with typical liturgical phrases.  

R. Homo dei ducebatur ut crucifigerent eum populus autem clamaban voce magna dicens innocens ejus sanguis sine causa damnatur  
v. Cumque carmifex ducerent eum et crucifigeretur factus est concursus populum clamantium et dicantium. Inno.

R. The man of God was led that they might crucify him, but the people cried out in a loud voice saying, "without reason his innocent blood is condemned."

v. And when the executioners had led him and he had been crucified, it caused a crowd of people crying out and saying...["without reason his innocent blood is condemned." ]

This responsory introduces the subject of Andrew's crucifixion into the typical office for Saint Andrew through a third person historical account.

In Pn 12036, the great responsory *Homo Dei* was replaced with a new and rare rhymed and rhythmic chant, *Vir perfecte* v. *Imitator Jesu christi* (see Appendix VI). This responsory does not recount the *historia* of Andrew, but rather is a prayer addressed directly to the saint.

R. Vir perfecte pietatis et dux innocentiae vota plebis tuae festa celebrantis suscipe et astantes laudant tuae servulos officio precibus tuis adiunge sanctorum collegio  
v. Imitator Jesu Christi sub crucis patibulo nos andrea fac consortes caeli contubernio. Et astan.

R. Man of perfect piety and leader of innocence,


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accept the prayers of your people as they are celebrating feasts
and, by your prayers, join to the college of saints the humble servants
assisting in the office to your praise.
v. Andrew, imitator of Jesus Christ under the yoke of the cross,
make us partners with the company of heaven... [and, by your prayers,
join to the college of saints the humble servants assisting in the office to
your praise.]

It is the only responsory in the whole office that pleads with Saint Andrew
directly. The text claims that those performing the office are Saint Andrew’s own
people who ask, with Andrew’s aid, to be united with those in heaven. The
responsory also, like Homo dei, introduces the subject of Andrew's martyrdom
into the Vespers office. As one who was martyred on a cross, Andrew followed
Christ from his first calling on the shores of Galilee to his death.

*Vir perfecte* is also the only chant text in the office of Saint Andrew that is
in regular accentual verse—8 paroxytone syllables alternate with 7
proparoxytone syllables. It is not found in any of the earliest office books,
suggesting that it was relatively new in the thirteenth century. The melody for
the text reflects the twelfth-century method of imitating the textual stresses in the
contour of the melody, emphasizing the fifth, third and final, and having

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537 The earliest source I have found for this chant dates from the second half of the twelfth century. It is added at the beginning of a copy of Amalarius’s *De officiis ecclesiasticis* in F-AVR MS 38. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements: Arras. Avranches. Boulogne. 1872*, vol. X (Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 21. In the table below, the six-digit CAO numbers indicate chants not catalogued in Herbert's original *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, in this case mostly chants unique to later insular liturgies. These chants are catalogued in Jan Koláček and Debra Lacoste, “Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant.” n.d., http://cantusdatabase.org (14 September 2013).
rhyming cadences (see Example 5.1).\textsuperscript{538} For instance, in the penultimate line of the verse, the melody over the words "nos andrea fac consortes," neatly divides into two phrases; the first half introduces tension on the second syllable (an-) with the penultimate g, but quickly resolves to an f (on –a). In the second half, the first two syllables on g and e (fac con-) introduce more tension that resolves to f-e-d (–sortes). The final phrase of the verse (caeli contubernio) matches part of that on "Vir perfecte" in the respond, but syllabically, as if a prosula on the melisma. In fact, the same cadence is used in “innocentiae,” “suscipe,” and “contubernio.” The melody of the respond is also well planned. It outlines a rise from d to f in the first line, and f to aa in the second line. The third line returns back to the d final, but the fourth line explores the upper tetrachord, building to dd. The fifth and sixth lines outline a descending scale back down to d, finishing with extensive melismas. The syllabic setting of the verse conforming to text stresses, the carefully planned melody, and the rhyming cadences are typical of musical settings of regular accentual verse, found particularly in rhymed offices, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{539} The position of this new style of responsory at the beginning of the feast of Saint Andrew in his cathedral would have signified the importance of this feast, with the feast’s significance further emphasized by the new polyphony for the chant found in $W_1$.


\textsuperscript{539} David Hiley, \textit{Western Plainchant: A Handbook} (Oxford University Press, 1995), 276. This style is also typical of verse settings of proses and sequences. By the fourteenth century at the latest, this responsory had a prosula of its own. "O morum doctor egregie" appears first in the Penpont Antiphoner, GB-AB 20541 and later also in GB-Eul MS 27, the fifteenth-century Scottish breviary.
Example 5.1: The Responsory *Vir perfecte pietatis v. Imitator Jesu Christe*, as found in GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, *Ant. Sar*. IV, p. 351

As we saw in Chapter 2, the scribe of W₁ copied and edited a two-part organum setting for *Vir perfecte* at the end of the third fascicle. No other organum setting of *Vir perfecte* survives. The plainchant is found in a few other insular sources, but only two late York sources share the placement of *Vir perfecte* as the

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first Vespers responsory for St. Andrew. In other respects, however, the office for Andrew in Pn 12036 agrees with the Sarum office, rather than the York office (see Appendix VI). It is likely, therefore, that the placement of *Vir perfecte* as the Vespers responsory in Pn 12036 was new, perhaps later copied at York, having been influenced by their rival Scottish neighbors.

The Magnificat antiphon for Vespers and the entire Matins office for St. Andrew follow the same order in Pn 12036 that is typically found in books of the Sarum Use. The first and second nocturns of Matins recount Andrew’s conversation with Aegeas and his speech to the cross in the readings, indicated by an incipit for the first lesson in Pn 12036. The first antiphon for the first nocturn introduces the narrative with Andrew’s declaration from the *Passio* that, by remaining steadfast in spite of torment, he will be more acceptable to God. All of the other antiphons in Matins quote the story of Andrew’s execution from the *Passio*, either the narrative or his ode to the cross. The first two responsories of the first nocturn, however, return to the theme of Andrew’s calling in the Gospels emphasizing that Andrew was a fisherman, but left his nets to follow Jesus. The emphasis on Andrew’s immediate abandonment of his former life and his steadfast determination to remain faithful to his call in the midst of torment

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540 This responsory has long been the subject of discussion with regards to W1, as I will show later.

541 One other extant source has *Vir perfecte v. Imitator* as the first Vespers responsory. The fourteenth-century monastic breviary for the monastery of Saint-Vaast d’Arras shares this feature, but in everything else this breviary reflects the continental office, not the insular one.

542 *Andreas apostolus dixi ad Egeam, tantum meo Regi Deo eo acceptior quantum pro eius nomine fuero permanens in tormentis confessor.*
and suffering at his crucifixion ties together his character as depicted in the Gospels and the Passio.

In the third nocturn of Matins, the readings are taken from a sermon of Gregory the Great, on Andrew’s sacrifice when he left his fishing nets behind to follow Jesus. The antiphons recount the final scene of Andrew’s crucifixion, ending with his vision of God as he died. The first responsory of this nocturne does not quote from the Passio, but rather draws a direct connection to Christ’s crucifixion through a passage from Isaiah 65:2, in which the focus is on the evil people who have crucified Jesus, as the story is related in the Gospel of John.

After the eighth lesson, in which Gregory the Great compares Andrew’s abandonment of his nets to taking up monastic vows, the responsory Dilexit Andream dominus v. Vir iste connects the themes of Andrew’s abandonment of his fishing nets when he heard the call to Andrew’s later martyrdom.

Dilexit Andream dominus in odorem suavitatis dum penderet in cruce dignum sibi computavit martirem quem vocavit apostolum dum esset in mari. Et ideo amicus Dei appellatus est. v. Vir iste in populo suo mitissimus apparuit, sanctitate et gracia plenus. Et ideo.

The Lord loved Andrew in the odor of sweetness. When he (Andrew) hung on the cross, he (the Lord) found him worthy of being his martyr, whom he called (to be) an apostle when he was at the sea; and therefore he was called God’s friend. v. That man appeared most mild among his people, full of holiness and grace. [and therefore he was called God’s friend]

The text for this responsory also formed the versicle for Vespers and Matins, as well as the verse for the Alleluia of the mass.

543 Gregory the Great, In evangelia (BHL 428g; PL76).

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Alleluia v. Dilexit andream dominus in odorem suavitatis

Alleluia v. The Lord loved Andrew in the odor of sweetness

The "odor of sweetness" recalls the Old Testament sacrifices that God found acceptable, spiritualized in Christian writings like Ephesians 5:2: “Et ambulate in dilectione sicut et Christus dilexit nos et tradidit se ipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis.” (“And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us, an oblation and a sacrifice to God for an odor of sweetness.”) Thus the text of Vir iste compares Andrew's martyrdom to Christ's sacrifice of himself on the cross. Saint Andrew also offered himself to God as a fragrant sacrifice, following Christ not only in his act, but also by enduring torture with mildness. The short phrase describing Saint Andrew's fragrant offering was repeated frequently in the office and the mass, and the incense burned during the feast would no doubt have brought the same text to mind throughout.

The final responsory of Matins concludes the office with a liturgical characterization of a martyred saint. Vir iste in populo v. Pro eo tu was generic enough that it was used for St Stephen in two eastern continental manuscripts.547

Vir iste in populo suo mitissimus apparuit sanctitate autem et gratia plenus, Iste est qui assidue orat pro populo et pro civitate ista. v. Pro eo ut me diligerent, detræhebant mihi ego autem orabam


That man appeared most mild among his people, full of holiness and grace. It is he who prays without ceasing for the people and for that city. 

v. Instead of loving me they pulled away from me, but I prayed... 

The respond combines the text “vir iste,” which had formed the verse of the responsory Dilexit Andream, with a quotation from II Maccabees 15.14, which originally referred to the deceased prophet Jeremiah, praying in heaven for the peace of Jerusalem. The verse comes from Psalm 109:4 (108:4 in Vulgate numbering), an imprecatory psalm that Christians applied to the sufferings of Christ. Once again a parallel is drawn between Andrew's martyrdom and Christ's crucifixion, adding an element of Andrew’s heavenly intercession. Both experienced torture at the hands of the people they loved. This responsory follows upon the summons from Gregory the Great in his sermon that the congregation offer to God willing hearts if they can find nothing else to give. The two-part setting in W₁ further accentuated the ending responsory of the office that declares a sentence of judgment upon those who do not take up Pope Gregory's charge.

The Lauds and second Vespers offices continue with the typical Sarum order, save for one unique antiphon that bears witness to the special and possibly ancient liturgy for Saint Andrew's feast in Pn 12036. At the end of second Vespers, two antiphons are listed for the Magnificat. Notably, the compiler placed the typical antiphon, Domine Jesu Christe (cao2352), second, while giving an antiphon found only in this manuscript, Sanctorum mitissime, as
the first Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers on Andrew’s feast. Since *Sanctorum mitissime* is the only antiphon listed for the Magnificat at Vespers on the octave, there is substantial evidence that this chant was preferred over *Domine Jesu*.

The unique Magnificat antiphon *Sanctorum mitissime* is unusual for its length, the structure of its prose, and the persistent direct address to St. Andrew, suggesting that it might be a relic of pre-Gregorian chant. The text consumes a full seven lines, far longer than the typical Magnificat antiphon of one or two lines, such as *Domine Jesu*. (see Example 5.2)

Example 5.2 Pn 12036, fol. 104v

*Sanctorum mitissime andrea qui sequendo salvatorem tuum.
penas huius erumpnose vite crucis terminasti patibus.
tu de cruce regem tuum conspicis.
tu in cruce celi luce frueris sic de cruce. ac cum luce celi regnum appetis.
tu sydus prefulget aureum inter choros sanctorum civium.
tu decus et iugis gloria. ubi pax et perpes leticia.
tu in cruce regem tuum conspicis.
ibi nostris memor existere digne sanctorum piissime ut remittat nostra
facinora prece tua christi clementia.

Andrew, mildest of the saints, who by following your savior,
you miserably concluded the sufferings of this life on the yoke of the cross. You watch your kingdom from the cross. You enjoy on the cross the light of heaven as from the cross. And, with the light of heaven, you desire the kingdom—where the firmament shines gold among the chorus of holy citizens; where [there is] splendor and glory everlasting; where [there is] peace and gladness perpetual; where the presence of God the savior gives all things good to his own (people). There, most pious of saints, deign to be mindful of us, that the mercy of Christ, by your prayers, might forgive our sins.

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548 Its rarity is indicated by the absence of an incipit for it in the margin, suggesting that the later marginal notator did not have a source for the melody in his Sarum book. See Chapter 4 for more on the marginal notation. This was perhaps the antiphon once attached to the Translation legend in BL 36, discussed above.
The text repeats the description of Andrew as "most mild" found in the last responsory of Matins. But in this antiphon, like the responsory of first Vespers, Andrew is praised directly. The series of direct addresses describing Andrew’s death in the present tense is unusual in antiphons. The repetition of "tu" at the beginning of several phrases, followed by "ubi," gives the antiphon a highly rhetorical sound, although it is not in the regular accentual poetry typical of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Only one other reference to this antiphon survives, providing a connection to an incipit that connects Sanctorum mitissime with one of the few extant unique Scottish offices found in the Inchcolm Antiphoner. A notated incipit appears in a fifteenth-century binding fragment from Wells Cathedral, a rare source for the feast of the translation of Saint Andrew to Constantinople on May 9th. Though short, this opening melodic formula is unique, and does not resemble the typical Sarum antiphons of the seventh mode. However, the same musical incipit is used for another antiphon, Sanctorum piisime, found in the Inchcolm Antiphoner

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549 GB-En 14.i.iv. This manuscript was mentioned in Chapter 2, where the text of a conductus in W1 was found in an antiphon for the office of Saint Columba. On this feast and the provenance of the manuscript, see Isobel Woods, “Our Awin Scottis Use’: Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland,” Journal of the Royal Musical Association 112 (1987): 21–37; reprinted in Preece, Our Awin Scottis Use, 55–74.

550 See Aelred Watkin, ed., Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea, vol. 56, Somerset Record Society (Butler & Tanner, 1943), 150–2. There are several late continental sources for the Translation of Saint Andrew, but most are simply repetitions of the material for his feast day, and none of them share music with the Wells office.

551 Walter Frere categorized the antiphons in the Sarum antiphoner by mode and melody families in Antiphonale Sarisburiense. A Reproduction in Facsim. of a Ms. of the 13th Century, with a Diss. and Analytical Index. (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1901), 43-44. One chant, Cum intraret Jesus (cao2012) in the Index of Gregorian Chant has a similar incipit, but otherwise appears unrelated, and only occurs in continental manuscripts. John R. Bryden and David G Hughes, eds., An Index of Gregorian Chant (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969).

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on the feast of St. Columba. The two texts closely resemble each other throughout (see Table 5.1), suggesting a common Celtic or Scottish origin for both. Despite the extravagant length of these antiphons, they take second place to others in their respective offices, reserved for the less important second Vespers services (see Example 5.3). This may suggest that the newer rhymed rhythmic poetry found in first Vespers of Andrew’s office and throughout the office for Columba was preferred over these archaic antiphons. These, in fact, may be remnants of a pre-Gregorian “Celtic” chant; Inchcolm priory was likely a Céli Dé cell before the Augustinian priory was founded on the island.

Table 5.1 Comparison of the text of Sanctorum piisime from the Inchcolm Antiphoner and Santorum mitissime from Pn 12036. Brackets indicates phrases missing from the Wells Office.


Sanctorum mitissime andrea qui secundo salvatorem tuum. penas huius erumpnose vite crucis terminasti patibulo. tu de cruce regem tuum conspicis. tu in cruce celi luce frueris sic de cruce. ac cum luce celi regnum appetis. ubi sydus praefulget aureum inter choros sanctorum civium. [ubi decus et iugis gloria ubi pax et perpes laeticia. ubi bona dat suis omniis dei salvatoris presentia.] ibi nostri memor existere dignare sanctorum piisime ut remittat nostra facinora prece tua christi clementia.

552 GB-Eu 211.iv
553 Preece discussed the unusual features of Sanctorum piisime in Preece, Our Awin Scotis Use, 67.

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Example 5.3: The Magnificat antiphon *Sanctorum piisime*, GB-Eu MS 211.iv, 3r, compared with text of *Sanctorum mitissime*, Pn 12036, fol. 104v

The melody for *Sanctorum piisime* fits well with the first and last lines of *Sanctorum mitissime*, but the melody could not have been the same throughout.

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the antiphon because the number of syllables is different. Nonetheless, the rare incipit shared by the two chants and the textual similarities demonstrate the close relationship between these two unusual Scottish chants.

With regards to what was sung at other feasts of St. Andrew, such as the translation feast or the feast of the relics, Pn 12036 is silent. Neither the feasts on May 9th nor the February 6th appears in Pn 12036, but that does not necessarily mean that they were not celebrated in St Andrews when Pn 12036 was copied. There is no calendar in Pn 12036 to compare with the contents, but a marginal note concerning another local saint, Kentigern, suggests that at least one other office is missing. The office of the feast of Saint Kentigern falls on the octave of Epiphany (January 13), and therefore was usually celebrated the day before or after Epiphany, as the note indicates.\(^{555}\) But no office for the feast of St. Kentigern was included in the Sanctorale. Since the Office of the Dead is incomplete, it likely that the office of Kentigern, and perhaps others of local significance, were added at the end of the manuscript in an appendix. The office for the feast of the translation of St Andrews relics would probably have been an office of nine lessons, with responsories repeated from the main office.

Only one other source from St. Andrews indicates what might have been sung at the translation feast. James Haldenston, prior of St Andrews (1417-1443), wrote a plea for funding for the cathedral, in which he quoted several parts of the liturgy for Saint Andrew to support his appeal. Many of his references are to

\(^{555}\) The office will be discussed further below.
commonly found chants for the office, included in Pn 12036. But he also quoted parts of *Andreas christi famulus*, which speaks of Andrew as the brother of Peter, an unidentifiable prose *Andrea tutor Scotiae* which, as we see from its title, is about Andrew in Scotland, an antiphon *Ave sanctorum andrea mitissime*, the responsory *Vir iste v. pro eo* discussed above, the hymn *Ave pie sanctorum mitissime*, and the versicle *Dilexit andream*, the refrain-like encapsulation of Andrew's martyrdom. The antiphon *Ave sanctorum andrea* has only one concordance in the Wells translation office as the antiphon for the *Magnificat* at first Vespers. The incipit in the Wells Office furthermore identifies the chant with another antiphon for the feast of St. Columba in the Inchcolm antiphoner—the Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers on the octave, *Ave sanctorum columba piisime*. Like the two chants discussed above, *Ave sanctorum columba* and *Ave sanctorum andrea* share many textual phrases, indicating that one is a contrafact. The two concordances of the Wells translation office with sources from St Andrews, and the close relationship with the Inchcolm Antiphoner, suggest that the translation office from Wells may have been derived from a non-extant Scottish source.

The translation office in the Wells fragment is a feast of three lessons. The lessons discuss Andrew's allotment to preach in Achaia, his crucifixion, and the translation of his relics to Constantinople. There is no mention of Andrew's relics in Scotland, though five lines were scratched out at the end of the third lesson that may have once referred to St Andrews. The responsories for the lessons are

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Vir iste v. pro eo, Vir perfecte v. Imitator, and O festiva dies v. Grecia magnificum.

Thus the two most important responsories in the main office in Pn 12036 were preserved in this translation feast from the fifteenth century, and a new responsory (O festiva) was added that specifically discusses his translation to Constantinople.

Example 5.4 Ave sanctorum columba piisime, Incholm Antiphoner, fol. 4v

W₁ gives further evidence of the great honor given to Saint Andrew at the cathedral on his feast day. Saint Andrew the Apostle surpasses all other saints
honored with organum in W₁, save only for the Virgin Mary. The scribe of W₁ included, and probably created, organum settings for *Vir perfecte* and *Vir iste*, the two responsories discussed above that were assigned to the office of the feast of St. Andrew, given their position in Pn 12036. No other saint's feast has two organum settings for the office in W₁. These responsories, *Vir perfecte v. Imitator Jesu* and *Vir iste v. Pro eo* are common in insular sources, as we saw with the office in Pn 12036, but their order in both Pn 12036 and W₁ is unique. Both F and W₂ contain two versions of the Alleluia verse *Dilexit Andream* for the mass of Saint Andrew, and one setting of the far more common responsory, *Dilexit Andream*, positioned as the eighth responsory of Matins in Pn 12036. Thus, when the scribe copied *Vir perfecte v. Imitator* and *Vir iste v. Pro eo*, he was not drawing

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557 Of course there were other insular centers dedicated to St Andrew, such as the cathedrals of Wells and Rochester. But the *ex libris* from the Priory points us to St Andrews in Scotland, as discussed in Chapter 1.


559 As an apostle who was martyred, Saint Andrew was venerated across Europe, but particularly in England until the thirteenth century. For an account of devotion to Saint Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England, see Marie M Walsh, “St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evolution of an Apocrypal Hero.,” *Annuale Mediaevale* 20 (1981): 97–122; MacDonald, *Acts of Andrew*, 9., and Chapter 1 above.
from the main corpus of Notre Dame organum.\textsuperscript{560} He adapted the organum collection to reflect the Céli Dé’s veneration of Saint Andrew, in which they sang to Saint Andrew and claimed to be his own people.

Plate 5.3: Flourished initial of \textit{In odorem}, W\textsubscript{1}, fol. 82r

The significance of Saint Andrew for the recipients of W\textsubscript{1} is further displayed by the presence of a three-part clausula for another Andrew piece, \textit{Alleluia v. Dilexit Andream}. This clausula \textit{In odorem} on fol. 82r is exceptional in many ways (see Plate 5.3). The flourished initial is significantly larger and

\textsuperscript{560} The lack of flourishing on these responsories and \textit{Propter veritatem} which follows may indicate that they were indeed added later, though the time lapse is indecipherable from the ink. Denis Stevens, “Music in Honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury,” \textit{The Musical Quarterly} LVI, no. 3 (1970): 317. 264.
grander than any others in the gathering. It was not copied among a collection of clausulae, but deliberately chosen to be included in a quire of organum settings and two-part Sanctus tropes.\textsuperscript{561} Though the parent organum for this clausula does not survive in W\textsubscript{1}, the clausula itself was nonetheless included and even specially marked out by the initial. Its setting is a self-contained composition: the cantus firmus is repeated halfway through, and the same setting is found as a duplum motet in F, W\textsubscript{2} and a few other motet sources.\textsuperscript{562} The text for the chant melisma was that from the responsory and versicle with the same incipit, describing Andrew's martyrdom as a sweet odor. This textual refrain, "in odorem suavitatis," repeated throughout the office, was again emphasized in the mass for St. Andrew's feast through this ornate clausula.

The Notre Dame organum of W\textsubscript{1} thus promoted the celebration of Saint Andrew's feast to the same level as principal feasts of the year that were also celebrated with organum. In the first responsory of first Vespers, \textit{Vir perfecte v. Imitator} the clerics sang directly to Saint Andrew with flourished two-part organum, beseeching his prayers and lauding his death on the cross in imitation of Jesus. After recounting his torture and crucifixion in Patras, and his first sacrifice when he left his fishing nets behind at Jesus' bidding, Matins culminated with a reminder of the great challenge of his martyrdom as the clerics elaborated on the responsory \textit{Vir iste v. Pro eo} with organum and discant. Perhaps the same two responsories punctuated the readings of the translation feast of St Andrew's relics in Scotland on May 9, as they did in the Wells translation office. The

\textsuperscript{561} As we saw in Chapter 3, the scribe carefully chose the pieces to include in these quires according to the needs of the liturgy.

independent clausula on the most important refrain of the office, *In odorem*, encapsulated in this short and dense setting the essence of St Andrew’s martyrdom, the proof of which was in the relics held in the cathedral of St Andrews.

**C. LOCALLY VENERATED SAINTS IN THE LITURGY OF ST ANDREWS**

Although Saint Andrew was the most important saint for the Céli Dé, their identity was also shaped by the veneration of other local saints in their worship. A group of saints represented in each of the St Andrews manuscripts indicates the loyalties and devotions of the clergy for whom the manuscripts were copied. In addition to Saint Andrew the Apostle, Saints Thomas of Canterbury, Brigid of Kildare, and Kentigern have a special place in Pn 1218 and Pn 12036. St. Thomas and St. Mary Magdalene, like St. Andrew, were widely venerated, but the offices for them in Pn 12036 are unique. St. Kentigern, as we saw in Chapter 1, was a saint of the Glasgow and Galloway region, but his cult began to spread through Scotland during the thirteenth century. Each of these saints' cults expressed the political, theological and devotional ideals of the Céli Dé community.

The insertion by the main hand of a rubric regarding the office of St. Kentigern in the Temporale of Pn 12036 (see Plate 5.4) is evidence of Bishop
Malveisin’s influence on the Céli Dé. St. Kentigern, as we saw in Chapter 1, was the first bishop of Glasgow in the seventh century. His cult was revitalized through two new vitae in the twelfth century, both commissioned by bishops of Glasgow. The new cathedral dedicated to St Kentigern in 1197 was probably the occasion for commissioning Kentigern’s second vita. In that vita, written by Jocelin of Furness, Kentigern met with several other important Scottish saints whose cults were also promoted at that time: Columba, Serf and Fergus. Malveisin became bishop of Glasgow just two years later, while the fervor for St Kentigern was apparently still growing.

Malveisin must have brought the new fervor for St Kentigern’s cult with him to St Andrews, introducing St Kentigern into the litanies of the liturgy and providing a full office for his feast. In the margin next to the office for the octave of Epiphany, the main scribe wrote, "Proximo die post octavam epiphaniae vel ante fiat plenum servicium de Sancto Kentegerno, confessor et pontifex." ("On the next day after the octave of Epiphany, or [the day] before, let the full service of St. Kentigern, confessor and bishop, be done.") Regrettably, a proper office for Kentigern does not survive in Pn 12036. Perhaps the scribe added one at the end.

563 The calendar for Pn 12036 is no longer extant, so the only indications of feasts are the offices themselves.
564 On the vitae of St Kentigern, see Greta Mary Hair and Betty I Knott, eds., Vespers, Matins and Lauds for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow, Musica Scotica 6 (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2011), 47–51.
565 Hair and Knott, Vespers, Matins and Lauds for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow, 35.
566 As we saw in Chapter 1, Malveisin himself was credited with dedicating the Glasgow Cathedral himself in one version of Andrew of Wyntoun’s Chronicle.
of the book, where a quire is missing.\textsuperscript{567} Or it may be that there was no proper office for Kentigern in St Andrews, and his office would instead be drawn from the common of confessor bishops. Nevertheless, the note regarding the performance of the full office for his feast in the Temporale indicates his important status, but also the relatively new introduction of his feast. It was because Kentigern’s feast fell on January 13th, the octave of Epiphany, that it had to be transferred. As a new practice for the Céli Dé, this might have been slightly confusing, requiring a note added to the Temporale, rather than a mere listing of his feast day in the calendar.

Plate 5.4: Insertion of Kentigern in the Temporale of Pn 12036, 32r

The presence of full proper offices for Brigid of Kildare, Cuthbert, and Thomas of Canterbury in the sanctorale of Pn 12036 is consistent with the occurrence of their names in litanies in Pn 1218, but the offices were drawn from vastly different sources. The office for Saint Brigid has no counterpart, although the readings indicated by the incipit were shared with those found in the Aberdeen Breviary.\textsuperscript{568} All of the chant texts are rhymed rhythmic poetry,

\textsuperscript{567} A proper office for Kentigern is included in the Temporale of the Sprouston Breviary, GB-En Adv.18.2.13B, a late thirteenth-century manuscript probably from the diocese of Glasgow. An edition and commentary may be found in Hair and Knott, \textit{Vespers, Matins and Lauds for St Kentigern, Patron Saint of Glasgow}. An office for Kentigern was also added onto the back flyleaves of a fourteenth-century Aberdeen breviary in the fifteenth century, GB-Eu 27. Holmes, “Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560,” 147.

\textsuperscript{568} As usual, only the incipit, "Sancte itaque brigida" is given in Pn 12036, fol. 118r. The Aberdeen Breviary uses excerpts from BHL 1457 for the lessons, but the 268.
suggesting that they were composed during the twelfth century, and thus relatively new. None of the texts provide any indication of their provenance, although they came from a different tradition than the offices in Irish sources.\textsuperscript{569}

The proper office for Cuthbert, on the other hand, is from the Durham cathedral office.\textsuperscript{570} His cult was particularly popular in southern Scotland, to which the cathedral of Durham, in northern England, had extended its influence.\textsuperscript{571} The office for Thomas of Canterbury is an entirely different matter. This office appears to have concordances only with continental sources such as Cambrai,

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Beauvais, and Nantes.\textsuperscript{572} Since the feast of Thomas of Canterbury was the most recently instituted of those discussed here, this suggests that the liturgical use of Pn 12036 was more connected in the recent past to northern France rather than to southern England, where a different office for St. Thomas' feast circulated.\textsuperscript{573}

At least two of the saints discussed above, St. Andrew and St. Thomas, received special polyphony in W\textsubscript{1}. Outside of the saints commonly celebrated during the octave of Christmas, who had special claim to polyphonic celebration, there are seven saints who were celebrated with polyphony for proper chants in W\textsubscript{1}: St John the Baptist, St Peter and St Paul, St Michael the Archangel, St Germain, St Mary Magdalene, St Thomas of Canterbury and St Andrew the Apostle.\textsuperscript{574} The first four are shared with the Notre Dame organum collections, but the latter three are unique to W\textsubscript{1}. Their presence in W\textsubscript{1} indicates their

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{572} See Chadd, “An English Noted Breviary of Circa 1200,” 211; Hughes, “British Rhymed Offices,” 277.
  \item \textsuperscript{574} On the significance of Christmas for the propagation of polyphony see Craig M. Wright, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 237–243.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{270}
particular importance for the institution for which the scribe copied the polyphony.\textsuperscript{575}

In addition to excluding the polyphony that would not be used, the scribe adapted the contents of $W_1$ for the insular use by providing an organum setting for the feast of Mary Magdalene. There is no unique polyphony for St. Mary Magdalene, but the scribe nonetheless took advantage of an opportunity to provide polyphony for her feast. Since the \textit{Alleluia} verse typically used for Mary Magdalene’s feast in insular sources, \textit{Alleluia v. Optimum partem}, uses the same melody as \textit{Alleluia v. Nativitas}, the chant for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary; the $W_1$ scribe simply added the insular text for the former above the text for the Notre Dame organum setting of \textit{Alleluia v. Nativitas} (M38). This contrasts with typical continental sources, in which \textit{Alleluia v. Diffusa est} (M55) would have been used for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene. Organum for that alleluia is included in F, but not in $W_1$.\textsuperscript{576} As we saw in Chapter 4, St. Mary Magdalene was venerated in St Andrews with a special office.

Another locally venerated saint especially honored with polyphony in $W_1$ is Thomas of Canterbury. One unique conductus, \textit{In rama sonat}, singled out by a large flourished initial, honors Thomas of Canterbury, an important saint in Pn


\textsuperscript{576} For a glance at important insular sources using this verse see J. Wickham Legg, ed., \textit{Missale ad usum Ecclesie westmonasteriensis}, vol. 1, 5, 12 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891), vol. 12: p.1568.

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1218 and Pn 12036 (Plate 5.5).\textsuperscript{577} This last piece in the collection of monophonic conductus has one of the largest flourished initials in the manuscript.\textsuperscript{578} It runs the length of the entire piece—perhaps a sign that the initialer understood the format of the monophonic music.\textsuperscript{579} Fascicle X, where the monophonic conductus that remain are found, is one of the few fascicles in which the initials have almost all been entered.\textsuperscript{580} But \textit{In rama} is the only one that is flourished. The flourishing for this initial is comparable to that for \textit{Porta salutis} and \textit{Ave maria gratia}, conductus for the Virgin Mary, both of which are at the beginning of their fascicles.\textsuperscript{581} The flourisher, recognizing the important saint honored in \textit{In rama}, and perhaps moved by devotion to him, highlighted the piece with one of his most elaborate drawings.

\textsuperscript{577} Roesner noted the inclusion of this unique conductus, but dismisses conductus as a means of determining location, since the political associations of the texts can be so complex, and the use of conductus in liturgical practice is still not understood well. Edward H Roesner, “The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle” (Ph.D., New York University, 1974), 107–108.

\textsuperscript{578} The few that rival it in the conductus are mostly dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

\textsuperscript{579} Stevens noted the large initial in Stevens, “Music in Honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury,” 317. On the unfamiliarity of the initialer with polyphonic music see Chapter 2 and Rebecca A Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W\textsubscript{1},” in Quomodo Cantabimus Canticum (Middleton, Wis: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 103–120.

\textsuperscript{580} One fascicle of monophonic conductus must have preceeded Fascicle X, but is now missing. This is indicated not only by the concluding fragment of a monophonic conductus that begins Fascicle X, but also by the original pagination, accounting for eight missing folia. See Martin Staehelin, ed., Die Mittelalterliche Musikhandschrift, W\textsubscript{1}: Vollständige Reproduktion Des “Notre Dame”-Manuskripts Der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).

\textsuperscript{581} Fols. 63r and 145r.
The text of *In rama* laments the exile of St. Thomas in France and therefore was possibly written before the martyrdom of Thomas Becket in 1173.\(^{582}\) The characterization of France as Egypt, and England as the “promised land,” suggests that the composition is from an English perspective, but that does not necessarily indicate compositional provenance of the music.\(^{583}\)

Plate 5.5 Initial for *In Rama*, fol. 168v


The blatant criticism of Henry II of England in this conductus text, identifying the king as Herod’s offspring, is striking. In Scotland, the memory of Henry II and the martyrdom of Thomas of Canterbury would no doubt also bring to mind Henry’s capture of the Scottish King William I in Northumbria, where he was entrapped in 1174, after Henry had done penance for murdering St. Thomas in 1170. A few years later, King William dedicated the royal abbey of Arbroath to St. Thomas in an attempt to win the saint’s favor against King Henry, their shared nemesis. The Tironensian Abbey of Arbroath, only thirty miles from St Andrews, became one of the wealthiest abbeys of Scotland and a historical landmark of Scottish Independence. Thus the dedication of Arbroath to Thomas of Canterbury called upon the favor of that saint beloved in England

586 Abroath Abbey would be the site where the statement concerning a unified Scottish kingdom, the Declaration of Arbroath was drawn up in 1320. On the unique concern of the Scots for a unified kingdom, expressed in this document, see Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 274–6.
and abroad, but one who, for Scots, called to mind the wickedness of the English King Henry II.\textsuperscript{587}

The conductus, \textit{In Rama}, may have been composed for the feast of the \textit{Regressio}, recognized only at Arbroath Abbey and Canterbury.\textsuperscript{588} The feast celebrated the return of Thomas of Canterbury from exile in France before he was murdered in 1170. Though mournful, \textit{In Rama} memorializes the years leading up to Thomas' assassination, remembered in the \textit{Regressio} feast. Thus the celebration of St. Thomas of Canterbury through the French office in Pn 12036 and the conductus in \textit{W}1 was both an act of devotion to the recent martyr and a political declaration of the allegiance of the Scots with the French against the English.

The other important saints found in the pontifical and antiphoner, Brigid and Kentigern, do not have proper polyphony in \textit{W}1. But two organa for responsories in the commons could have been called upon for the celebration of these important local saints. As is typical of many feasts in Pn 12036, the second Vespers responsory is not provided for these two feasts, suggesting that they

\textsuperscript{587} For an argument for the origin of another conductus, \textit{Porta salutis}, at Arbroath Abbey, see Eva Maschke, “Material Culture and Music: 13th-Century Conductus and Sigillography” (presented at the AMS, San Diego, 2011). Maschke goes so far as to suggest that this royal monastic center was the center through which polyphony came into Scotland. See also Michael Penman, “The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, C.1178-c.1404,” \textit{Journal of Medieval History} 32, no. 4 (December 2006): 346–370.

\textsuperscript{588} Kay Brainerd Slocum, \textit{Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 248. Three folios of a mid-thirteenth century calendar, GB-Lbl Add. 8930, contain the obit of King William of Scotland, and the rare feast of St. Vigianus on January 20\textsuperscript{th}. The latter was the patron of the parish just north of Arbroath Abbey. The presence of the feast of the \textit{Regressio} on December 2\textsuperscript{nd}, along with these entries makes Arbroath the likely provenance of the manuscript.
may have been supplied from first Vespers, or from the Commons of a Virgin and of a Confessor Bishop, respectively. *Regnum mundi v. Eructavit cor meum* was sung for the Vespers and last Matins responsory in the Common of Virgins in Pn 12036, and is offered in *W₁* in the section of Commons.⁵⁸⁹ *Sancte N. Christi v. O sancte* is one of three responsories listed at the end of the third nocturn for Matins of the Common of Confessor Bishops in Pn 12036.⁵⁹⁰ The same chant appears in *W₁*, although with the name of Germain, a saint venerated particularly in Paris.⁵⁹¹

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⁵⁸⁹ In the Sarum rite, according to Roesner, *Regnum mundi* is only used for the ninth Matins responsory.
⁵⁹⁰ The same chant is in the last position of the second nocturn in the same office in the Barnwell Antiphoner, although Roesner does not account for any use of the chant in the Sarum or York use, discussed further below. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense. A Reproduction in Facsim. of a Ms. of the 13th Century, with a Diss. and Analytical Index.*, 653.
⁵⁹¹ The responsory *Sancte Germane v. O sancte* has been an important one for the discussion of the layers of Parisian repertory. Husmann argued that the presence of this organum in the style of Perotin indicated an establishment that would have celebrated St Germain as a duplex feast, and therefore St. Germain l'Auxerrois was the most likely institution for which it was written and, by extension, Perotin likely a court composer. Wright demonstrates that polyphony was sung even for semi-duplex feasts at Notre Dame, as St. Germain's feast would have been celebrated. Payne argued that the piece was intended to provide organum for any bishop confessor, since it was typically found in the Common with *n.* replacing the saint's name. Furthermore, he found that a conductus-motet based on this organum was in fact for St Eligius, and the placement of the organum in F suggests its appropriateness for the Commons. Placement is more difficult to analyse in *W₁* given the smaller repertory and the potential displacement of Fascicle VII. It comes at the beginning of Fascicle II, and is the only three-part piece for a saint besides that of the Virgin Mary and St Stephen, whose feast is the day after Christmas. As the first in the group of triplum, it appears to have a prominent position, but if Fascicle VII indeed were intended to precede it, then it would appear at the end of the cycle, before the Alleluia for the feast of the Nativity of the BVM. The feast of St. Germain of Auxerre did fall precisely between the Assumption and the Nativity, as it does in the reconstructed version of *W₁*. However, *Sancte N. v. O Sancte* appears as the third option for the last responsory of Matins in Pn 12036, discussed below. There are, therefore, indications for both possibilities. Heinrich Husmann, “St. Germain Und Notre Dame,” in *Natalicia Musicologica: Knud Jeppesen Septuagenario Collegis Oblata*, ed. Bjørn Hjelmborg (Hafniae: W. Hansen, 1962); Wright, *Music* 276.
In other manuscripts, the organum setting served for other bishop confessors, and thus could easily have been purposed for Kentigern.  

CONCLUSION

The polyphony of W₁ adorned the liturgy of the new cathedral of St Andrews in the most extravagant style of the time. At the time it was copied, only the choir of the new cathedral had been completed, thus the polyphony in W₁ provided a foretaste of the truly grand ceremony that would eventually take place in this most important church in Scotland. The best advertisement for the splendor of the new cathedral was the music for Saint Andrew. The responsories *Vir perfecte* and *Vir iste* for the office of Saint Andrew’s feast day celebrated the Scots’ apostle and martyr. When the Céli Dé sang the organum settings of these responsories, they praised their own patron saint who had elected them as his relic keepers with their own song. The unique Magnificat antiphon *Sanctorum mitissime* was a relic memorial of the Céli Dé’s long history of praising St. Andrew. On Saint Andrew’s feast day in Scotland, the special music sung around his relics would have been a

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592 Payne discovered that *Sancte Germane* was used for the feast of St. Eligius in F. The placement of this organum in F is appropriate for St. Eligius’ feast, rather than St. Germain. The substitution is confirmed by a conductus-motet based on *Sancte Germane, Associa Tecum in Patria*, also in F, which is a trope on the chant *Sancte Germane*, with Eligius’ name substituted for Germain. Payne, “Associa Tecum in Patria,” 248.

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spectacle much like that at the only other cathedral in western Europe that also claimed an apostle’s relics, Santiago de Compostela.

Performing special organum settings for St. Andrew’s feast day was also a political act. The Scottish legends told how Saint Andrew protected the Scottish king against the English. In the legends, the Scottish king was the first to learn of Saint Andrew, and welcomed his relics and relic-bearers into the Scottish kingdom. The legend of Saint Andrew’s favor bestowed on the Scottish royalty continued to develop throughout the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth-century Aberdeen Breviary, the vita for Regulus, a revision of the B legend, records that Bishop Regulus also baptized King Ungus, making the king the first Scottish convert won through Saint Andrew.593

As the successors of Regulus and his entourage, both in their monastic and clerical guise, the Céli Dé were the instruments of Saint Andrew’s mission to the Scots. They would proclaim his life as an apostle of Christ and his death as a martyr in their liturgy, and tell of his miraculous deeds in the legends. Even as their role in the cathedral of St Andrews changed, the Céli Dé clung to their historical identity through the cult of Saint Andrew. With their own ancient song and the new rhythmic poetry, they proclaimed their steadfast devotion to the patron of the Scots.

The liturgical celebration of other saints also reflected the political climate of Scotland in the early thirteenth century. The Céli Dé’s celebration of Saint Thomas of Canterbury with the full office and polyphony testified to their royal

593 This is the only known vita for Regulus, and is undoubtedly much later than the A and B legend. Elphinstone, Breuiarium Aberdonense, ii, 132v.
connections. King William I of Scotland, after the greatest political embarrassment of his life, called upon the saint who had also suffered at the hands of King Henry II. The cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury grew rapidly in England and abroad, but rather than adopt the immensely popular office attributed to Abbot Benedict of Peterborough, the Céli Dé found the more unusual French office, distinguishing their veneration from that in St. Thomas’ native land.

The liturgies for native saints of Scotland also shaped the political identity of the Céli Dé. The cult of Saint Brigit of Kildare connected the Céli Dé to their ancient Scottish heritage. She was one of the most important saints of Ireland, from which the Céli Dé order originated. But in the B legend, her cult was established by one of Regulus’ group who dedicated the nearby church of Abernethy dedicated to her. Her cult thus became part of the legacy of Saint Andrew’s relics. In their veneration of Saint Kentigern, the Céli Dé followed their bishop’s interest in the cult, stemming in part from Saint Kentigern’s defeat of the Scottish enemies to the West. Malveisin might thus also call upon the aid of Saint Kentigern in his time of need, as his predecessor at Glasgow Cathedral did.

The constellation of saints whom the Céli Dé praised and invoked in their worship reflected their identity as Scoto-Norman clerics, successors of the earliest monastic foundation in St Andrews, and instruments of the divine favor bestowed upon the Scottish kingdom. But their patron saint, the Apostle Andrew, was central to their liturgical innovations, inspiring the creation of the new collection of polyphony in W1.
We set out to answer the questions regarding the people behind the making of W1. Who wanted this grand new polyphony in St Andrews? Who would have sung it? Who could have copied it? I examined William Malveisin, the bishop of St Andrews from 1201 to 1238, following the hypothesis of Avril and Stirnemann. I demonstrated that he initiated a liturgical campaign for his new cathedral, of which three surviving manuscripts are in evidence. He also transformed the Céli Dé of St Andrews into a community of secular clerics who would carry out his agenda. He was an extraordinary administrator and diplomat, and probably also a writer. But he was also a product of his time: his sovereign, King William I, looked to France for his allies and his entertainment culture, and was probably responsible for Malveisin’s immigration to Scotland, as he was for that of many other French noblemen in Scotland. In his own role as bishop, Malveisin expanded on King William’s designs to build a great kingdom, promoting a Scottish church that was subject to no other authority but the pope’s in both temporal and ecclesial matters.

To accomplish this, the Scottish church, represented by St Andrews Cathedral, had to compete with the renowned cathedrals of the continent in its purported connections to early Christian history, its apostolic patronage and local saints, its architectural monuments, and liturgical grandeur. The Céli Dé played a crucial role in this competition. Their ancient cult of Saint Andrew laid
the foundation for the Scottish church’s claim to apostolic origins. In addition, their transformation into a community of Norman secular clerics provided Malveisin with allies in the chapter of St Andrews Cathedral. Against the importunities of the local Augustinian canons, the Céli Dé would ensure the succession of one of Malveisin’s clerics and the liturgical practice according to Malveisin’s ideals.

To what extent the efforts of Malveisin and the Céli Dé had lasting impact in the cathedral of St Andrew is less certain. Although Malveisin’s own cleric, David de Bernham, succeeded him, Bernham, in the end, allowed the Céli Dé to be transferred out of the new cathedral to the Church of St Mary’s on the Rock, at which point the Céli Dé had no more claim to be in the chapter at all, nor had they any role in the cathedral liturgy. The elements of the new Sarum Use that have been detected in their antiphoner indicate that, already by the late thirteenth century, their liturgy was subject to revisions. Did the music of W₁ survive, even if in an altered form?

The best indication that the music of W₁ was actually studied and performed is the manuscript itself, or rather, the music at the end of the manuscript: the Lady Mass. The thoroughly insular Lady mass—the daily Mass in the Lady chapel sung with polyphony for most parts of the Mass—is provided with a well organized collection of dupla for every day of the week in the last three quires of W₁. Indeed, the Lady Mass music is in many ways the best evidence that the music copied in the earlier fascicles was studied, digested, and assimilated into the liturgical practice of the Céli Dé. We saw in Chapter 2, the Lady mass music had been copied by the same scribe as the rest of W₁, but later
and on rougher parchment. Perhaps the Lady Mass music marked the transition of the Céli Dé into their permanent church home, the Church of St Mary on the Rock.⁵⁹⁴ Perhaps the Céli Dé copied the Lady Mass music at their own expense for use in their smaller, but nonetheless significant chapel. Eventually W1 must have been supplanted, and found its way to the library of the Augustinian canons where the sixteenth-century German scholar, Marcus Wagner, saved it from probable destruction.

If there was one scribe who had learned the polyphonic tradition of Notre Dame, as we found in Chapter 2, were there not others who could perform it? Malveisin was not the only Frenchman working in St Andrews. He may have brought others to Scotland from his many travels abroad as well, thus replacing native Céli Dé with those who had gained abroad the necessarily musical skills to perform polyphony in the liturgy. Learned and well-traveled clerics like Malveisin were abundant in St Andrews and their influence on the culture lasted well beyond their years: St Andrews would in fact continue a center of education throughout the Middle Ages, and became the site of the third university in the British Isles, founded in 1410. The marginal markings and drafted letters in W1 demonstrate that clerics likely sat before the book, perhaps studying for performance at an upcoming feast.

⁵⁹⁴ According to Bower, the Augustinian canons did not practice a daily Lady mass in the cathedral until it was instituted by the Prior of St Andrews (1418-1443), James Haldenstone. Bower recorded, "Servicum divinum in solemnizacione misse Notre Domine in capella eius, ad ipsorum laudem, insigniter ampliavit." Walter Bower, Scotichronicon: In Latin and English (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), vols. 3, pp. 436–438. Watt’s translation reads "He markedly augmented [the provision of] divine service by the celebration of the mass of Our Lady in her chapel with general approval."
The cult of Saint Andrew, promoted by Malveisin and the Céli Dé, continued to grow throughout the thirteenth century. The determination of the Scottish kings in the early thirteenth century to distinguish themselves from the English and find allies with the French erupted in the Wars of Independence in 1296. During the Wars of Independence, Pope Boniface VIII wrote to Edward I, King of England, stating that Scotland ought to be independent of English rule, invoking, among other historical details, their conversion by Saint Andrew’s relics, by which they also claimed ecclesiastical independence.⁵⁹⁵ The Scots, it was reported to King Edward I of England, claimed to have been converted to Christianity by Saint Andrew’s relics 500 years before the English.⁵⁹⁶ In 1318, the cathedral of St Andrews was finally consecrated in thanksgiving for the victory won against the English by Saint Andrew.⁵⁹⁷ The Scots also credited their independence to Saint Andrew in the pivotal document that would define the Scottish kingdom, the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320.

The high qualities and merits of these people, were they not otherwise manifest, shine forth clearly enough from this: that the King of kings and Lord of lords Jesus Christ, after His Passion and Resurrection, called them together in the uttermost ends of the earth, as almost the first to His most holy faith. Nor did He wish them to be confirmed in that faith by merely anyone but by the first of His Apostles – [the first] by calling, though second or third in rank - the most gentle Saint Andrew, the Blessed Peter’s

⁵⁹⁶ Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328; Some Selected Documents, 110.
brother, and desired him to keep them under his protection as their patron for ever.  

Quorum Nobilitates et Merita, licet ex aliis non clarerent, satis patenter effulgent ex eo quod Rex Regum et dominancium dominus Jhesus Christus post passionem suam et Resurreccionem ipsos in vltimis terre finibus constitutos quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam conuocauit. Nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit set per suum primum apostolum vocacione quamuis ordine secundum vel terciu

The language describing Andrew in this document was taken from the liturgical office for the feast of St. Andrew, represented in Pn 12036. “Sanctum Andream mitissimum” recalls the incipit of Sanctorum mitissime Andrea, the unique and unusual Magnificat antiphon for the office of St Andrew’s feast as found in the Céli Dé’s liturgical book. The antiphon Andreas Christi famulus, or perhaps the opening of the Céli Dé’s legend A, provided the evidence of Andrew’s authority as the brother of Peter. Thus the impact of the Céli Dé’s celebration of their patron saint had direct influence on that most important document for establishing the independence of the Scottish kingdom.

Regardless of their long-term success in St Andrews, the Céli Dé, and particularly their music, had a lasting impact on the identity of the Scottish kingdom with their patron saint, Andrew. They were empowered by Bishop Malveisin to practice their liturgy in the cathedral of St Andrews. He provided for them a revised liturgy that reflected their new status as secular clerics of St Andrews Cathedral. But most importantly, he ensured that their liturgy could

imitate the splendorous sonorities heard in the cathedral of Notre Dame. Yet their collection could not be complete without adaptation for their own local practices, most importantly the praise of the apostle of the Scots, Saint Andrew.
APPENDIX I: \( W_1 \)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 628, Helm.

\( W_1 \): Full music manuscript with polyphony for the mass and office from St Andrews, Scotland. In Latin with modal notation. Main hand from the first half of the thirteenth century.

**Dimensions:** ff. iii+197+iii, disposed in 26 quires. Page is approximately 210-226 x 150 mm. End cuts run throughout. Text frame; quires 1-7, 10-23: 154-165 x 78-85 mm; quires 8-9, 24-26; 160-165 x 90-93 mm

**Quire:** iii 1\(^4\) 2-4\(^8\) 5-8\(^2\) 6\(^8\) 7-8\(^2\) 8-9\(^8\) 10\(^3\)-13 11\(^8\)-12-14\(^8\) 15\(^8\)-2 16-19\(^8\) 20\(^1\)-21-22\(^8\) 23\(^8\)-24-26\(^8\) 27\(^8\)-iii
Coarse, thick parchment. Rule of Gregory is observed, H/H. Quires 8 and 9 are slightly thinner parchment, but 24-26 are coarser and darker.

**Layout:** Prickings are visible on the outer margins. Quires 1-7 and 10-23 conform to pattern A below, 8 and 9 to pattern B, and 24-26 pattern C. Ruling done in lead for A pattern, crayon for others. Pattern A usually only displays the outer lines when there additional verses or music in the margins. The ruling between the header and footer vary depending on the number of lines of text relative to music staves. Staff lines drawn in red. Quire 9 is pricked for two-part music, but the scribe copied three-part music, squeezing the text in between two staff lines.

**Foliation:** The original foliation is in brown ink at the middle of the top. It began in Roman numerals, then changed to Arabic numerals in the middle of quire 4. Modern foliation reflecting the current state of the manuscript was added in the top right corner in pencil. Modern foliation used here.

**Quire Signatures:** none

**Script:** The script of the single hand writing the main text throughout the manuscript is in Northern textualis of the first half of the thirteenth century. Elements of a cursive document hand influence the script. The document hand can be seen in the long descenders, straight s below the line at the bottom of the page, and the tall open a in every position. The level of execution and rapidity varies.

Quires 1-7: relatively careful, though never with the care of a book hand
Quire 8: the script is more compact, and the signs of document hand fewer, although they are still visible in the long tailed g, as on fol. 51r.
Quire 9: the execution is very sloppy, and often strokes of the pen overlap or do not meet, as on fol. 57r, where the d and the a in the third line of text are careless.
Quires 10-12: neater execution of the first fascicles returns
Quires 13, 14 17, 18, 20-22: careful textualis execution
Quires 15, 16, 19: more compact
Quire 22, 24: careful textualis
Quires 25-27: compact textualis with more formata features and abbreviations. Rather sloppy with constructed letters.
INK: Quires 1-7: the ink of the text is fairly consistently black. But at the end of quire 7 the ink changes to a slightly lighter consistent brown with Gr. Propter veritatem, fol. 19v-20v
Quires 8-9: light brown
Quires 10-14, 17-18, 20-22, 24: black ink
Quires: 15, 16, 19: light brown. At the beginning of quire 19 light brown with fat nib and black ink with thinner nib alternate every word before settling in light brown for the rest of the quire.
Quires 25-27: light brown ink

ADDITIONS: At the end of quire 24 a short passage of music and text written in a later hand reads "Je lui [sic] liber est scriptus Walterus sit benedictus," before the only folio in the manuscript with a empty staff lines, fol. 175r. Verses added in the margin are also in the main hand, but are sometimes extremely cramped, and sloppy. There are a few later marginal notes and drawings by different hands scattered throughout the manuscript.

MUSIC NOTATION: Five-line staves are the standard for the upper voices, four lines for the tenor. In the conductus all voices have five line staves. The staves were drawn without guidelines and without a rake, resulting in uneven lines and skewed staves, as at the top of fol. 1r. The notation is square modal notation in black ink and follows the text in the level of execution.

DECORATION: Guide letters for initials in the margins in Quires 1-7 and in the text line in Quires 10-27, with the exception of Quires 8 and 9, where most of them are missing. The guide letters occasionally were placed in the margin when at the beginning of a line in Quires 10-15. Plain initials were painted in Quires 1-7, 10-24, alternating red and blue, in the margin and sometimes over the staff lines in the middle. No initials in Quires 8 and 9, and in 25-27 they are red only, with the exception of fols. 179v-181r, where blue and red initials alternated, then the blue initials are missing. The blue paint is faded in this section to green. The initials start at the text line and go down, rather than up to bracket the upper voices, which is the typical approach in polyphonic collections. The flourishes on initials are often drawn in Quires 1-24 in an amateur insular style characteristic of the first half of the thirteenth century.

PROVENANCE: Ex libris of the monastery of Saint Andrew the Apostle in Scotland on the second folio of Quire 9, fol. 56r.
CONTENTS:
Ludwig divided the manuscript into fascicles based on contents, given below.
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<td>IV</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35-42</td>
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<td>VII</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>55-62</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mass organum and Benedicamus setting</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>72-77</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
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<td>78-85</td>
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<td>mass organum, conductus, mass organum, clausula, trope setting</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>94-101</td>
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<td>136-143</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>144-151</td>
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<td>IX</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>160-167</td>
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<td>168-175</td>
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<td>XI</td>
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<td>trope settings, Alleluia organum, sequence,</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>sequences</td>
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<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>192-197</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>offertories, Sanctus tropes, Agnus dei tropes</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography:

Ludwig, Friedrich. *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili.*


APPENDIX II: PN 12036

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 12036

PN 12036: Diurnal for secular use in script of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Music for Invitatories and the incipits of antiphons added in the margins by a slightly later hand. Temporale of Sarum use, Sanctorale features several distinctive saints, including Withberga, Etheldreda, Sexburga, Brigit of Kildare, Cuthbert, and Oswold. Kentigern added in temporale. In Latin.

ORIGINS: Scotland, St Andrews - s. xiii 1/4
DIMENSIONS: Page: 323mm x 222mm; text frame: 126mm x 205mm; 200 ff.
QURIES: i + 1-258, Commendation of Souls is incomplete, suggesting a quire missing at the end
Parchment. Follows the Rule of Gregory, H/H.
LAYOUT: Pricking on recto side, right margin through the quaternion. Dry point ruled, traced over with pencil. Resembles Derolez no. 16. Above top line.
FOLIATION: foliated with modern Arabic numerals in black ink
COLLATION:
INK: Black with rubrics in red.
SCRIPT: One main text scribe throughout, writing in Praegothica: same as Pn 1218.
MARGINAL ADDITIONS: One music scribe added incipits and explicits for antiphons in square notation. Another scribe added music and text for the Invitatories for Matins in Northern Textualis currens and square notation, but more rounded than the other script.
DECORATION: 2 littera duplex, base red and blue with yellow, green and brown pen flourishes; ff. 1 and 68.
Otherwise blue and red initials alternate ornamented by the same initialer as Pn 1218.
BINDING: modern, leather bound with marble pastedowns. Fol 1r. has stamp from Bibliothque nationale, Ex libris from S. Mari Fossat marking No. 175 olim 1085 and 62, as well as 62 in the bottom left corner. "Santi Germanus a Prates" is written at the top.

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<th>Feast</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>1r</td>
<td>I Advent vespers</td>
<td>Ex libris at the top: “Sancti Germani a Pratis”&lt;br&gt;Ex libris at the bottom right: “N. 175. olim 1085. S Mauri Fassat. 62”</td>
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<td>5r</td>
<td>II Advent vespers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7r</td>
<td>O antiphons</td>
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<td>10r</td>
<td>IV Advent</td>
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<td>11v</td>
<td>St Thomas the Apostle</td>
<td>Instructions concerning the Feast</td>
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<td>Vigil of Christmas</td>
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<td>14r</td>
<td>Christmas day</td>
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<td>Page</td>
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<td>Lauds for Christmas</td>
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<td>Octave of Christmas</td>
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<td>St. John the Evangelist</td>
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<tr>
<td>22v</td>
<td>St Thomas of Canterbury, Martyr No music though staff lines are provided</td>
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<td>24v</td>
<td>St. Silvester No music or staff lines</td>
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<td>33r</td>
<td>Octave of Epiphany</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>42v</td>
<td>Quadragesima Antiphons “In te domine” “Caderit alatere tuo” and “Benedicat nos christi” have staff but no music</td>
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<td>61v</td>
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<td>68r</td>
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<td>83r</td>
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<td>86r</td>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
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<td>88r</td>
<td>I post Pentecost</td>
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<td>99r</td>
<td>XXIII post Pentecost</td>
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<td>Sunday before Advent</td>
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<td>Dedication of a church</td>
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<td>St Nicholas of Myra</td>
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<td>Conception of BVM</td>
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<td>St. Julian</td>
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<td>St. Brigit of Kildard</td>
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<td>SS. Vedast and Amand S. Scolastica</td>
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<td>St. Ermenilda</td>
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<td>Pope Gregory the Great</td>
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<td>St. Withberga, St. Edward, St. Cuthbert</td>
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<td>138v</td>
<td>St. John, Evangelist</td>
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<td>140v</td>
<td>Ss. John and Paul</td>
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<td>Vigil of Apostles Peter and Paul</td>
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<td>Translation and Ordination of St.</td>
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<td>Martin St. Sexburga, St. Withberga, Translation of St. Swithun</td>
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<td>St. Kenelm St. Maria Magdalena No music though there are staff lines</td>
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<td>148r</td>
<td>St. James, Apostle</td>
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<td>149r</td>
<td>Chains of St. Peter</td>
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<td>St. Oswald</td>
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<td>St. Hypolitus</td>
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<td>Vigil of the Assumption of BVM</td>
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<td>Octave of Assumption of BVM</td>
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<td>St. Augustine Decollation of St. John, the Baptist prayer full office with music</td>
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<td>Translation of St. Cuthbert</td>
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<td>Nativity of BVM</td>
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<td>166r</td>
<td>St. Matthew, Apostle</td>
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<td>St. Michael, Archangel alternative responsory given in the margin</td>
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<td>St. Edmund</td>
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<td>185r</td>
<td>Common</td>
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<td>200r</td>
<td>Commendation of souls Explicit: “Deus cui soli competit medicinam”</td>
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APPENDIX III: PN 1218

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 1218

PN 1218: Text manuscript with three- or four-line staff added above the line for antiphon incipits. List of churches dedicated by Bishops of St Andrews, David de Bernham and William Wishart. In Latin with square notation in hand of the first half of the thirteenth century.

ORIGINS: Scotland, St. Andrews – s. xiii 1/2
DIMENSIONS: Page: 235mm x 165mm; text frame: 141mm x 100mm; 141 ff.
QUIRE: Thick but clean parchment. Follows the Rule of Gregory, H / H.
LAYOUT: Pricking on recto side, right margin, through the quaternion. Dry point ruled, traced over with pencil. Resembles Derolez no. 16. Above top line.
FOLIATION: foliated with modern Arabic numerals in pencil
CATCHWORDS: at the bottom middle of the end of each quire, in similar ink to those in Pn 12036
COLLATION: iii + 1-16 8 17 10
INK: Black with rubrics in red.
SCRIPT: One main text scribe throughout, writing in Praegothica: both the ampersand and Tironien ‘et’ appear, and round ‘r’, but the appearance of minims makes it a late example of Praegothica. Two hands in cursiva anglicana entered the records of church dedications on fols. 2 and 3.
MUSIC: Red staff lines, added after text. Chant in square notation, similar to that in the margins of Pn 12036, but more square.
DECORATION: First initial flourished in red, yellow, green and blue, fol 4; alternation of blue and red for flourished and undecorated initials. Some capitals, including all of the saints first letter in the Litany, have traces of gold or yellow, now worn off.
BINDING: modern, leather bound, gold stamp with marble pastedowns. The leather binding reads “Pontificale Anglicanum”
CONTENTS:
Rites for the Dedication and Reconciliation of a Church

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<th>Contents</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Inscription: “pater ex inserta SS. litania esse Anglicanum. Scriptum anno circiter:”</td>
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<tr>
<td>2r</td>
<td>Haec sunt ecclesiae quas dedicavit episcopus David</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3r</td>
<td>Haec sunt ecclesiae quas dedicavit episcopus Willis</td>
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<td>3v</td>
<td>Table of contents and added rubric at the</td>
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<td>Litany sung in the procession around the church</td>
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<td>7r</td>
<td>Litany continued</td>
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<td>“Andrea.” is followed by “ii.”</td>
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<td>8r</td>
<td>Litany continued</td>
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<td>Includes confessors Kentigern, Cuthbert, Dunstan and Patrick.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15r</td>
<td>Litany continues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15r</td>
<td>Andrew again is followed by “ii.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15r</td>
<td>The litany is this time shortened to Apostles: Peter, Paul, Andrew, Johannes; Martyrs: Stephan, Laurence, Vincent, Thomas; Confessors: Martin, Kentigern, Nicholas, Cuthbert, Gregory, Ambrose, Benedict, Leonard; Virgins: Maria Magdalene, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v</td>
<td>Post Letanii dicat episcopus alta voce hymnus “Veni creator spiritus”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v</td>
<td>There is room for an incipit of music above the hymn, but no music or staff. “Post letanii . . . Dominus” is in a different, later hand, and all small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76r</td>
<td>Consecration of the altar; Litany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76r</td>
<td>Includes Kentigern, Cuthbert and Edmund but Andrew only mentioned once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136v-140v</td>
<td>Missa de reconciliatione de ecclesiae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marginal note concerning the antiphon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography:

APPENDIX IV: THE REGISTER OF ST ANDREWS

Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland GD 45/27/8

REGISTER: Medieval copies of charters pertaining to the affairs of the diocese of St Andrews. Multiple scribes writing between the early thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

DIMENSIONS: 236-7 x 163-173mm

QUIRE: iii 112-34 216-1 3-5 610 7-9 10-12 13 14 14 1 2 15 14 16-2 3 17 14 18 19 8 20 18 21 14 18

FOLIATION: Original foliation in the top center of the recto, beginning on fol. 14r. Modern foliation in Arabic numerals written in pencil in top right corner. Modern used here.

QUIRE SIGNATURES: none

SCRIPT: Numerous scripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

DECORATIONS:

BINDING: Modern brown leather. "Registrum Prioratus S. Andreae" printed on binding.

PROVENANCE: Cathedral of St Andrews, Scotland

CONTENTS:

<table>
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<th>Quires</th>
<th>Fols.</th>
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<th>Hands</th>
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<td>1-14</td>
<td>Table of Contents, Charters of Lochleven</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>15-32</td>
<td>Foundation and Charters of Lochleven, 1395-1451, taxation records, miscellaneous charters pertaining to lands of St. A. priory</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>33-40</td>
<td>Paper bulls and confirmations 1144-1183</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>41-48</td>
<td>Paper bulls and confirmations 1187-1216</td>
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<td>49-56</td>
<td>Paper bulls and confirmations 1166-1245</td>
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<td>D (57-62r); Miscellaneous (62v-66)</td>
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<td>67-74</td>
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<td>75-82</td>
<td>Episcopal charters 1165-1235</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>83-90</td>
<td>Episcopal charters 1240-1270, Episcopal Charter concerning Loch Leven 1165-1295; 1252-1268; 296.</td>
<td>F (83r) G(83v-85) H(85v-86r) B(86v, 90v) miscellaneous hands (87-90)</td>
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<td>Page</td>
<td>Lines</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>91-100</td>
<td>Royal Charters 1136-1161; Charters of Ada de Warenne 1153-1178</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>101-110</td>
<td>Royal Charters 1172-1228</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>111-120</td>
<td>Royal Charter 1228; Charters Earls of Huntingdon, Fife, Mar and Atholl, Buchan and Winchester 1190-1237, 1172-1178, 1190, 1165-1178, 1214-1233, 1170-1178, 1207-1219</td>
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<td>121-128</td>
<td>Confirmations of churches to church and canons of St Andrews 1177-1241;</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>129-135</td>
<td>Confirmations of church to church and canons of St Andrews 1202-1261; Charters concerning the church of Lochres 1188-1197; Charters concerning other lands for St Andrews church 1172-1251</td>
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<td>Royal Charter 1251; Charters from Dunkeld 1170-1230; Charters from Aberdeen 1165-1247; Miscellaneous 1172-1168</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>144-148</td>
<td>Agreements and settlements of the convent 1173-1236 (out of order)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>149-156</td>
<td>Charters of the convent 1224-1242; Miscellaneous 1178-1257; Lands of convent 1162-1280</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>157-162</td>
<td>Papal bulls concerning case of Leuchars 1205-1207; Grants of lands 1182-1200; Valuations of church lands and bishoprics; Rents and grants to Monymusk 1222-1268</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>163-170</td>
<td>Grants to May 1200-1279; Settlements with May 1206-128; Miscellaneous grants 1295-1340</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>171-174</td>
<td>Assessments and grants 1235-1348</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>175-188</td>
<td>Miscellaneous charters 1284-1449</td>
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APPENDIX V: SAINTS IN THE LITANY, PN1218, FOL 7R

Sancta Maria
Sancta Dei genitrix
Sancta Virgo Virignum
Sancte Michael
Sancte Gabriel
Sancte Raphael
Omnès Sancti angeli et archangeli
Omnès Sancti beatorum spiriūrum ordinis
Sancte Johannes baptista
Omnès Sancte patriarche et prophete
Sancte Petre
Sancte Paule
Sancte Andrea ii
Sancte Johannes evangelista
Sancte Jacobe
Sancte Philippe
Sancte Bartholomee
Sancte Matthe
Sancte Thoma
Sancte Jacobe
Sancte Symon
Sancte Thadee
Sancte Mathia
Sancte Barnaba
Sancte Luca
Sancte Marce
Sancti apostoli et evangeliste
Sancti discipuli domini
Sancti innocentes
Sancte Stephane
Sancte Laurenti
Sancte Vincenti
Sancte Clemens
Sancte Alexander
Sancte Dionisi cum sociis tuis
Sancte Maurici cum sociis tuis
Sancte Albane
Sancte Thoma
Sancte Eadmunde
Sancte Gervasi
Sancte Prothasi
Omnès Sancti martyres
Sancte Silvester
Sancte Martine
Sancte Nicholas
Sancte Augustine
Sancte Gregori
Sancte Ambrosi
Sancte Kентegerne
Sancte Cuthberte
Sancte Dunstane
Sancte Benedicte
Sancte Jeronime
Sancte Leonardi
Sancte Patrici
Sancti confessores
Sancti monachi et hermite
Sancta Maria magdalena
Sancta Felicitas
Sancta Perpetua
Sancta Agatha
Sancta Agnes
Sancta Lucia
Sancta Cecilia
Sancta Petronilla
Sancta Scolastica
Sancta Brigida
Sancta Katerina
Omnès Sancte virgines
Omnès Sancti

298.
APPENDIX VI

Chants in the Temporale and Commons in Pn 12036 not found in the Sarum Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fol.</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Chant</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Cao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4v</td>
<td>Advent I, Feria III</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Quaerite dominum dum inveniri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28r</td>
<td>Vigil of Epiphany</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Nato domino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28r</td>
<td>Vigil of Epiphany</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A-B</td>
<td>Virgo ubero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42v</td>
<td>Dom. 1 Quadragesimae</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Signatum est super</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42v</td>
<td>Dom. 1 Quadragesimae</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>In te domine speravi non</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42v</td>
<td>Dom. 1 Quadragesimae</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Cadent a latere tuo mille</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42v</td>
<td>Dom. 1 Quadragesimae</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Benedicat nos christe filius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43v</td>
<td>Dom. 1 Quadragesimae</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>In manibus portabunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54v</td>
<td>In passio domini</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Hodie si vocem domini audieritis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195v</td>
<td>Common for many confessors</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>A9</td>
<td>O quam gloriosum est regnum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198r</td>
<td>Common for virgin and martyr</td>
<td>V2</td>
<td>A-M</td>
<td>Prudens et vigilans virgo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198v</td>
<td>Common for virgin non martyr</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Leva eius sub capite meo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198v</td>
<td>Common for virgin non martyr</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Cum esseet rex in accubitu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198v</td>
<td>Common for virgin non martyr</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Jam enim hyemps transiit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198v</td>
<td>Common for virgin non martyr</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Sicut malum inter ligna silvarum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199r</td>
<td>Common for virgin non martyr</td>
<td>VV</td>
<td>A-M</td>
<td>Accinxit fortitudo lumbos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199r</td>
<td>Common for many virgins</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>A-M</td>
<td>Quinque prudentes virgines acceperunt</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VII

The Antiphons and Responsories for Matins on the Feast of Gregory the Great in Pn 12036 (fol. 125r-v) and WOc F 160 (fol. 209v-211r)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pn 12036</th>
<th>WOc F 160</th>
<th>CAO (WOc F 160 only)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Gloriosa magnifici voluntas</td>
<td>Gloriosa magnifici voluntas</td>
<td>201981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Instabat enim precibus</td>
<td>Instabat enim precibus</td>
<td>202576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Erat ei pro ominus</td>
<td>Erat ei pro ominus</td>
<td>201675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Exaudivit ergo deus</td>
<td>Exaudivit ergo deus</td>
<td>201699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Ecce gens quae prius</td>
<td>Ecce gens quae prius</td>
<td>201461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Nunc ergo nomen domini</td>
<td>Nunc ergo nomen domini</td>
<td>203344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Dominus de summo</td>
<td>Dominus de summo</td>
<td>201373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>Quomodo multiplicasti tuam</td>
<td>Quoniam non fuit dolus</td>
<td>204217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>Beatus gregorius a diebus</td>
<td>Quomodo multiplicasti tuam</td>
<td>204211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>Beatus Gregorius a diebus</td>
<td>Beatus Gregorius a diebus</td>
<td>200562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>Carnales viriliter edomuit</td>
<td>Carnales viriliter edomuit</td>
<td>200741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>Ab adolescentia pugnando</td>
<td>Ab adolescentia pugnando</td>
<td>200034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1</td>
<td>Fulgebat in venerando dupplex decus</td>
<td>Fulgebat in venerando dupplex decus</td>
<td>6752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v1</td>
<td>Beatus vir qui meruit</td>
<td>Beatus vir qui timet</td>
<td>6752a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>Propter intollerabiles</td>
<td>Propter intollerabiles</td>
<td>7439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v2</td>
<td>Nec fecit proximo</td>
<td>Nec fecit proximo</td>
<td>7439a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Videns ergo vir beatus anglorum casu pueros</td>
<td>Videns ergo vir beatus</td>
<td>602452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v3</td>
<td>Quoniam domini est regnum</td>
<td>Quoniam domini est regnum</td>
<td>602452a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R4</td>
<td>Dum oraret in obscuro</td>
<td>Dum oraret in obscuro</td>
<td>6551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v4</td>
<td>Quia misericordiam</td>
<td>Quia misericordiam</td>
<td>6551a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R5</td>
<td>Vere felice praesulem</td>
<td>Orante beatissimo ad dominum</td>
<td>7329</td>
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<td>v5</td>
<td>A domino</td>
<td>Multum enim valet deprecatio</td>
<td>7329a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R6</td>
<td>Laudabile miraculum per</td>
<td>Vere felicem praesulem verae</td>
<td>7844</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v6</td>
<td>Omnia quicunque voluit</td>
<td>A domino factum est</td>
<td>7844a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R7</td>
<td>Hodie preclarissimus deo</td>
<td>Laudabile miraculum per</td>
<td>601314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v7</td>
<td>Ecce vere israelita in</td>
<td>Omnia quaecumque voluit</td>
<td>601314b</td>
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<tr>
<td>R8</td>
<td>Electus et dilectus domini</td>
<td>Hodie praeclarissimus deo</td>
<td>6862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v8</td>
<td>Tercia jejunii nocte</td>
<td>Ecce vere Israelita in quo</td>
<td>6862a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R9</td>
<td>O pastor apostolice</td>
<td>Iste est de prioribus</td>
<td>6997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v9</td>
<td>Memor esto congregationis</td>
<td>Hic est Gregorius praesul</td>
<td>6997a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hic in annis adolescentiae</td>
<td>6835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hic itaque non solum</td>
<td>6835zb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R11</td>
<td>Electus et dilectus domini</td>
<td></td>
<td>6646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v11</td>
<td>Tercia jejunii nocte</td>
<td></td>
<td>6646a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R12</td>
<td>O pastor apostolice Gregori</td>
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<td>7279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v12</td>
<td>Memor esto congregationis</td>
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<td>7279a</td>
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## APPENDIX VIII

The Office Organa in W1 and their Assignments in Paris and Pn 12036 (Parisian Use copied from MLO VII, xli-li)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organum</th>
<th>Parisian Assignment</th>
<th>Pn 12036 Assignment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sancte germanae</td>
<td>VR Common of a Confessor Bishop</td>
<td>M9+ Common of a Confessor Bishop (193r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iudea et iherusalem v. Constantes estote</td>
<td>VR Christmas</td>
<td>VP Christmas (13v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendit de celis v. Tamquam sponsus</td>
<td>M3 Christmas</td>
<td>M3 Christmas (14r)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaude maria v. Gabrielem</td>
<td>M9, WR Purification (121r, 121v)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>In columbe v. Vox domini</td>
<td>VR Epiphany</td>
<td>VR Epiphany octave (31r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non conturbetur v. Ego rogbo</td>
<td>VR Ascension</td>
<td>VR, WR Ascension (79v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dum complerentur v. Repleti sunt</td>
<td>VR Pentecost</td>
<td>M1 (v. Loquebantur) Vigil of Pentecost (83v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter natos v. Fuit homo</td>
<td>VR St John the Baptist, VR Common of one martyr</td>
<td>VR St John the Baptist (138v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concede v. Aduient nos</td>
<td>VR All Saints, VR Common of several martyrs</td>
<td>M9 All Saints (175r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sint lumbi v. Vigilate ergo</td>
<td>M9 Common of many confessors (195v)</td>
<td>M7 All Saints (175r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex eius tumba c. catervatim</td>
<td>VR St Nicholas</td>
<td>M9 St Nicholas (106r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regnum mundi v. Eructavit cor meum</td>
<td>VR Common of Virgin</td>
<td>VR, M9 Common of Virgin (198v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vir perfecte v. Imitator v.</td>
<td>VR St Andrew (102v)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gloria</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vir iste v. pro eo ut</td>
<td></td>
<td>M9, WR St Andrew (103v, 104r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedit angelus v. crucifixum in carne</td>
<td>VP Easter</td>
<td>VP Easter (70v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirps yesse v. virgo dei genitrix</td>
<td>VR Assumption BVM Day</td>
<td>VR, M3, IOVR Nativity of the BVM (161r, 161v, 164r)</td>
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**APPENDIX IX**

The Office for the Feast of Thomas of Canterbury in Pn 12036, fol. 22v-24r (cao numbers based on textual incipit only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>cao</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>A Martyr thoma martyr dei</td>
<td>203041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>I Exultemus domino summi</td>
<td>100126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A1 Armore fervens</td>
<td>200365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A2 Verbo potens et actibus</td>
<td>205154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A3 Dei praeventus gratia</td>
<td>201146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R1 Sacrat Thomas primordia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R2 Vir invicte constantiae</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R3 Instabant modis variis</td>
<td>601201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A4 Preces Thomae cum fletibus</td>
<td>203948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A5 Thomae fides et actio</td>
<td>204913</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A6 Lactentium proscriptio</td>
<td>202814</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R4 Patris dum crebescunt</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>R5 Testantur tria pro martyre</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R6 Ex summa rerum</td>
<td>600814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A7 Arcum tetendit impius</td>
<td>200360</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A8 Montem virtutum scandere</td>
<td>203162</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A9 Pro sancti Thomae</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R7 Ad sedandam tyrannorum</td>
<td>600050</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>R8 Quam pulchra quam sancta</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R9 Ut constaret omnibus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A1 O thomas martyr</td>
<td>203593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A2 Consummatus in gloria</td>
<td>200890</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Digne conjuctus es</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Auxilio divino fortis</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Portas mortis et inferni</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A-B</td>
<td>Gloria in excelsis deo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Ad sedandum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>In paradiso ecclesiae</td>
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APPENDIX X

Ornaments described in Jerome of Moray's *Tractatus de Musica*, Chapter 25 as hypothetically applied to the Lady Mass music of W\textsubscript{v}, Fascicle XI

a. *reverberatio*: pes beginning on semi-tone or whole tone below concord with tenor  
b. *flores longi*: long followed by two semi-breves  
c. *flores subiti*: long followed by plicated long  
d. *flores longi* with *vibratio* at a semi-tone: long followed by two semi-breves a half step below, concluded by pes ending on concord with tenor  
e. Cadential formula: clivis followed by porrectus, or "upper appogiatura and mordent" figure

+ indicates two ornaments are joined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Insular Cantus Firmus Concordances</th>
<th>Ornaments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie i</td>
<td>Rex virginum amator 24</td>
<td>a+b, e</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyrie ii</td>
<td>Creator puritatis 1 (text only)</td>
<td>e, e, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie iii</td>
<td>Lux et gloria 2</td>
<td>a+b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie iv</td>
<td>Kyrie virginei lux 1</td>
<td>a+b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie v</td>
<td>O mariae creator pie 0</td>
<td>e, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie vi</td>
<td>Kyrie virginitatis amator 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie vii</td>
<td>Conditor mariae omnium regine 1</td>
<td>c, e, e, e, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Gloria in excelsis ... per precem piisimam 0</td>
<td>e, e, c, c, (at the first trope element) c, e, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia i</td>
<td>v. Virga dei mater pia 0</td>
<td>a+c, c, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia ii</td>
<td>v. Virga yesse floruit virgo</td>
<td>Common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia iii</td>
<td>v. Salve virgo dei mater 5</td>
<td>a+b+c, a+b+c, e, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia iv</td>
<td>v. Virga florem 1</td>
<td>a+b+c, a+b+c, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia v</td>
<td>v. Post partum</td>
<td>Common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia vi</td>
<td>v. Per te dei genitrix</td>
<td>Common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia</td>
<td>v. Ave maria gratia</td>
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<th>vii</th>
<th>Alleluia</th>
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<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>v. Virgo intermerata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>v. Angelus domini nuntiavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract</td>
<td>Gaude maria virgo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sequence i | Mittet ad virginem | 22 | a+b+c, e |
| Sequence ii | Paranympthus salutat virginem | 7 | e, e |
| Sequence iii | Ave maria gratia plena | 35 |
| Sequence iv | Hodierne lux diei celebris | 36 |
| Sequence v | Ave mundi spes maria | 34 | e, e |
| Sequence vi | Virgini mariae laudes | 26 | a, e |
|Sequence vii | Laudes christo decantemus | 4 |
| Sequence i | Missus gabriel de celis verbi | 22 | e |
| Sequence ii | Virgo mitis vere vitis | 0 |
| Sequence iii | Reginarum dominam laudemus | 0 | a, e |
| Sequence iv | Ave celi imperatrix aput deum mediatrix | 0 | b |
| Sequence v | Hac clara die turma | 31 | c, c, e, e |
| Sequence vi | Virgo parens gaudent | 2 | c, e, e |
| Sequence vii | Verbum bonum et suave | 31 | +b+c, e |

<p>| Offertory i | Ave maria gratia plena viris | 0 | e |
| Offertory ii | Recordare virgo mater . . . Ab hac familia | Common | a |
| Offertory iii | O vere beata . . . Alle psallite celi | 3 (Le Puy, York Hereford) | e |
| Offertory iv | Felix namque es | Common |
| Offertory v | Ave regina celerorum mater regis angelorum | Common | e |
| Offertory | Ave maria gratia plena | Common | e, e |</p>
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<th></th>
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<td>vi</td>
<td>Offertory vii</td>
<td>Preter rerum seriem</td>
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<td>vii</td>
<td>Offertory viii</td>
<td>Inviolata integra et castes maria</td>
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<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>Sanctus i</td>
<td>Mater mitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Sanctus ii</td>
<td>Maria mater egregia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>Sanctus iii</td>
<td>de Virgine nato</td>
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<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Sanctus iv</td>
<td>Voce vita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Agnus dei i</td>
<td>Factus homo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Agnus dei ii</td>
<td>Mortis dira ferens</td>
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APPENDIX XI

Concordances for Sanctus and Agnus Dei Tropes in W₁

Sanctus Tropes

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<tr>
<th>Poetic Form</th>
<th>AH</th>
<th>Mel</th>
<th>Textual Concordances</th>
<th>Textual and Melodic concordances</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3x8pp, and leonine hexameter on last line</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Hexameters and pentameters</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhymed on 'O'</td>
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<td>223</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhymed on 'A'</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>3 (GB-Lbl Royal 2.b.iv; GB-WOc F 160; Pa 135; GB-Ob Lat lit b5; )</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leonine Hexameter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leonine Hexameter</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3 (CH-SGS 383, 378b, 546)</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>4 (E-Bcd 1408 IX; Pn 3719; CH-SGS 383, 546)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leonine Hexameter</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Ab aeterno</td>
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<td>MATER MITIS</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>203</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Maria mater egregia</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>3 (D-Mbs 5539; Pa 135; E-TO 135)</td>
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<td>De virgine nato</td>
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<td>116</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voce vita</td>
<td>XX XIV, 51</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>4 (F-Ass 695 add, Pa 135; GB-Ob Lat lit b5; GB-Cjc 102)</td>
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**Agnus Dei Tropes**

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<th>Textual Concordances</th>
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<td>Lux lucis</td>
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<td>Mortis dira ferras</td>
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<td>114</td>
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<td>Fons indeficiens</td>
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<td>136</td>
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<td>Deus deorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archtypi mundi</td>
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<td>136</td>
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<td>Pectoris alta rigans</td>
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<td>Qui de virgineo</td>
<td>Leonine hexameter</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Pa 135; CH-SG546)</td>
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<td>Vulnere quorum</td>
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<td>136</td>
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<td>Hexameter</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4 (Ass 695 add; GB-CgJ 27, Ob Lat lit b 5, Pa 135)</td>
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<td>Leonine hexameter</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>12 (insular, E-To 135, D-Es 314; SGS 382 add)</td>
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<td>Qui de carne</td>
<td>8p+8p+7pp</td>
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<td>3 (Pa 135, SGS 546, GB-Lbl Add. 27630)</td>
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The Office for the Feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle in British Manuscripts representing St Andrews, York, Sarum and Worcester Uses

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<th>Worcester WOc F 160</th>
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<td>Unus ex duobus qui securi</td>
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<td>Dignum sibi dominus</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>Dilexit andream</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Andreas Christi famulus</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Qui persequebatur justum</td>
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<td>Cap.</td>
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<td>Corde creditur</td>
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<td>Vir perfecte pietatis et</td>
<td>Homo dei ducebatur ut</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>Andrea pie</td>
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<td>Cum pervenisset beatus</td>
<td>Ambulans Jesus juxta mare</td>
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<td>Quesumus omnipotens</td>
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<td>H</td>
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<td>Aeterna Christi</td>
<td>Andrea pie/annue christi</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cum pervenisset beatus</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>Antequam te ascenderet</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>Amator tuus semper fui et</td>
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<td>Mox ut vocem domini</td>
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<td>Ad unius jussionis vocem</td>
<td>Ad unius jussionis vocem</td>
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<td>Egeas dixit: cum</td>
<td>Egeas dixit: miror te</td>
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<td>Homo dei ducebatur ut</td>
<td>Homo dei ducebatur ut</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>Cumque carnifices ducerent</td>
<td>Cumque carnifices ducerent</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>Antequam te ascenderet</td>
<td>Antequam te ascenderet</td>
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<td>Videns Andreas crucem</td>
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<td>Videntibus cunctis splendor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Andreas Christi famulus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Constitues eos</td>
<td>Constitues eos</td>
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314.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>L4</th>
<th>Hec et his similia</th>
<th>Egeas dixit: ego quidem patienter te audiam</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Doctor bonus et amicus dei</td>
<td>Doctor bonus et amicus dei</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>Salve crux quae in corpore</td>
<td>Salve crux quae in corpore</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>L5</td>
<td>Populus vero dixit ad egeam</td>
<td>Andreas respondit: non per audaciam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>O bona crux quae decorem et</td>
<td>Salve crux quae in corpore</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Securus et gaudens venio ad te</td>
<td>Securus et gaudens venio ad te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>L6</td>
<td>Igitur sanctus andreas voce</td>
<td>Andreas respondit: Omnipotenti deo qui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Oravit sanctus Gloriosus apostolus</td>
<td>Oravit sanctus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Tu es magister meus Christe</td>
<td>Tu es magister meus Christe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Oravit sanctus</td>
<td>Oravit sanctus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Tu es magister meus Christe</td>
<td>Tu es magister meus Christe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Accedentes carnifices</td>
<td>Accedentes carnifices</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A8</td>
<td>Omnis interea populus</td>
<td>Omnis interea populus</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>A9</td>
<td>Tunc sanctus Andreas ait jam</td>
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315.
<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<tr>
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<td>Nimis honorati</td>
<td>Nimis honorati</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>L7</td>
<td>Ambulans</td>
<td>In illo tempore: Ambulans</td>
<td>In illo tempore: Ambulans....Au distis fratres</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>L7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nulla miracula fratres adhuc Jesum</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Expandi manus meas tota die</td>
<td>Doctor bonus et amicus dei</td>
<td>Expandi manus meas tota die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Deus ultionum dominus deus</td>
<td>Cum vero pervenisset</td>
<td>Deus ultionum dominus deus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>L8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quid fratres carissimi</td>
<td>In caelo jam sedet et qui de conversione</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Dilexit Andream dominus in</td>
<td>Dilexit Andream dominus in</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vir iste in populo suo</td>
<td>Elegit eum dominus</td>
<td>Vir iste in populo suo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>L9</td>
<td>Multum ergo petrus et andreas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fortasse aliquis tacitus sibi</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Vir iste in populo suo</td>
<td>Vir iste in populo suo</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Pro eo ut me diligerent</td>
<td>Pro eo ut me diligerent</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>R</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vir iste in populo suo</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>Pro eo ut me diligerent</td>
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<td>v</td>
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<td>Dilexit Andream dominus in</td>
<td>Dilexit Andream dominus in</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Salve crux pretiosa suscipe</td>
<td>Salve crux pretiosa suscipe</td>
<td>Salve crux pretiosa suscipe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A2</td>
<td>Beatus Andreas orabat dicens</td>
<td>Concede nobis hominem justum</td>
<td>Beatus Andreas orabat dicens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Non me permittas domine</td>
<td>Biduo vivens pendebat in</td>
<td>Non me permittas domine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Maximilla Christo amabilis</td>
<td>Beatus Andreas orabat dicens</td>
<td>Maximilla Christo amabilis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Qui persequebatur justum</td>
<td>Non me permittas domine</td>
<td>Qui persequebatur justum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Cap.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>H</td>
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<td>Exultet caelum</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>Annunciaverunt</td>
<td>Dedisti hed.</td>
<td>Annunciaverunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>A-B</td>
<td>Concede nobis hominem justum</td>
<td>Ambulans Jesus juxta mare</td>
<td>Domine Jesu Christe magister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Maestatem tuam</td>
<td>Maestatem tuam</td>
<td>Maestatem tuam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 2</td>
<td>Cap.</td>
<td>Corde creditur</td>
<td>Corde creditur</td>
<td>Corde creditur</td>
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<tr>
<td>V 2</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Vir iste in populo suo</td>
<td>Gloriosus apostolus</td>
<td>Vir perfecte pietatis et</td>
</tr>
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<td>V 2</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Pro eo ut me diligerent</td>
<td>Imitator Jesu Christi sub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 2</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Exultet caelum</td>
<td>Exultet caelum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prosa O morum doctor egregie</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>Annunciaverunt</td>
<td>Dilexit Andream</td>
<td>Annunciaverunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>A-M</td>
<td>Sanctorum mitissime andrea</td>
<td>Domine ihesu christe magister</td>
<td>Domine ihesu christe magister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>A-M</td>
<td>Domine ihesu christe magister</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maestatem tuam</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
I have attempted to give a faithful edition, aided by Ussher’s text where the manuscript is illegible, marked by [ ]. The italics indicate marginal additions. I have modified punctuation.


Andreas qui interpretatur secundum hebraem ethimologiam decorus siue respondens sermone enim greco a viro [virilis interpretatur.\(^{599}\) ger]manus beati petri apostoli\(^{600}\) secundum carnem, coherens\(^{601}\) autem eius gratia. secundum iohanem evangelistam primus apostolus, a christo ihesu domino nostro electus, secundum uero matheum marcumque, secundus.

Hic sorte predicationis aquilonales [regiones] scitai pictonesque. postrem[e Achaias], ipsamque civitatem nomine patras accepit. In qua etiam cruci suspensus est pridie kalendarum decembrium, ibique occubuit. Et ibi custodita sunt ossa illius\(^{602}\) usque ad tempus constantini magni filii elene [filiorumque] eius, constantii, constantini, cum constante, quasi spatio ducentorum septuaginta trium annorum. In quorum regno. a constantinopolitanis civibus miro famosoque ductu inde suscepta. atque transleta sunt constantinopolim, [et cum magn]na gloria et maximo honore ibidem\(^{603}\) recondita sunt. manent semper usque ad tempus theodosii christiani imperatoris, spatio scilicet centum et decem annorum.

599 From Saint Jerome’s *Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum*: “Andreas, decus in statione, vel respondens pabulo, sed hoc violentum. Melius autem est, ut secundum Graecam etymologiam . . . id est, a viro, virilis appelletur.” CCSL 72: 134. Also from Isidore of Seville’s *De Ortu et Obitu prophetarum et apostolorum*, PL 83: 151; “Andreas, qui interpretatur decorus, frater Petri, secundum Joannem primus, juxta Matthaeum a primo secundus. Hic in sorte praedicationis Scythiam atque Achaiam accepit, in qua etiam civitate Patris cruce suspensus occubuit.”

600 Ant: ‘Andreas, Christi famulus, dignus Dei apostolus, germanus Petri apostoli et in passione socius.’ CAO 1396

601 U: cohaeres

602 U: ejus

603 U: lacking

Eo tempore, omnes pene totius insule gentes. unanimo / fol 94v / [impetu venientes, circumdederunt eum, volentes eum cum omni exercitu suo penitus delere. Altera autem die evenit regi] predicto cum septem comitibus amicissimis ambulare. et circumfulsit eos divina lux, et proni in facies suas eam non valentes sustinere ceciderunt in terram. Et ecce vox de celo audita est "Ungus ungus, audi me apostolum christi andream nomine, qui missus sum ad te defenden[dui, atque custodiendum.] Surge. vide signum crucis christi, quod stat in aere, atque te precedat contra inimicos tuos. Veruntamen decimam hereditatis tuæ partem in eleemosynam deo omnipotenti, et in honore sancti andree apostoli eius, offer."

[Tertia autem die, divina] voce ammn[nitum, suum] exercitum in tredecim turmas divisit, et signum crucis unamquamque partem precedebat. Lux autem divinae de unius suisque signo fulgebatur. Tunc victores facti, Deo omnipotenti atque sancto andree apostolo gratias egerunt. Patriam autem venientes incolumes, decimam suæ hereditatis partem Deo et Sancto Andree Apostolo venerabili volentes offere, implendo quod scriptum est, Date eleemosynam. et ecce omnia mundi sunt vobis. 605 [incertum vero habeabat in quo loco specialiter vectigalem deo principalemque civitatem sancto andree apostolo ordinarent.


Postremo Dei ordinatione rex cum suo exercitu venit ad locum, quem dominis illi cecus qui illuminiatus fuerat ostendit. Regulus vero monachus a constantinopolitana urbe, regi obviavit. cum reliquis sancti andree apostoli quas secum adduxerat, ad portam que dicitur martha id est mordurus. Salutaveruntque se invicem cives et hospites, atque tentoria ibi fixerunt. ubi nunc est aul[a] regis. Rex uero unguus locum hunc et hanc civitatem omnipotenti deo.

604 U: ibi
605 Luke 11:41
606 VL Genesis 12:1 and Actus Apostolorum 7:3. Also found in the Life of Patrick, Betha Colum Cille, Ninian.
sanctoque andree apostolo ea semper libertate dedit ut sit caput et mater omnium ecclesi[arum] que sunt in regno scotorum.

end mark This mark is illegible, but given that there are no markings indicating readings after this point, and this is a logical place in the narrative to break the readings, I interpret the illegible mark as indicating the end of the three readings.


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