Re-envisioning the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in Medieval Germany:
The Intersection of Plainchant, Liturgy, Epic, and Reform

by

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I dedicate this work to my parents, Paul and Linda Batoff;

their fortitude and patience inspire me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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AMS Hesbert, René-Jean, ed. *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*. Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1935.

CANTUS A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: Indices of Chants in Selected Manuscripts and Early Printed Sources of the Liturgical Office, University of Waterloo, http://cantusdatabase.org

CAO Hesbert, René-Jean, ed. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*. 6 vols. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta 7-12. Rome: Herder, 1963-1979.

CT Björkvall, Gunilla, Gunilla Iversen, Ritva Jonsson, eds. *Corpus Troporum III: Tropes du Propre de la Messe 2 Cycle de Pâques*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 25. Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell International, 1982.

Lip. Lipphardt, Walther. ed. *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*. 9 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975-1990.

RGP Vogel, Cyrille, ed. *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*. 3 vols. Studi e testi: (Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican) 226, 227, 269. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963-1972.

RISM Zentralredaktion in den Ländergruppen des RISM, ed. *RISM-Bibliothekssigel: Gesamtverzeichnis*. Munich: G. Henle, 1999.

CHAPTER 1

Constructing and Dismantling Liturgical Drama

<u>Introduction</u>

On Easter Sunday, medieval monastic and cathedral communities celebrated

Christ's Resurrection by reenacting the *Visitatio sepulchri*. Those present at Matins saw

the events of the Resurrection brought to life, as monks and clerics assumed the roles of

the Marys and angels. Those portraying the Marys, with covered heads and incense in

hand, sought to anoint Christ at his tomb, while those representing the angels wore white

albs. Some communities went so far as to erect structures representing the sepulcher, the

tomb hewn out of stone that was the focal point of the action. In doing so, they made the

events of the first Easter Sunday immediate by reenacting them.

What first attracted me to studying *Visitationes sepulchri* was that they were

called liturgical dramas, at least in textbooks and encyclopedia articles.[1] Sitting in my

first music history survey class, I was fascinated to learn that a type of sung drama based

mainly on biblical accounts was performed on important feast days in medieval

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[1] J. Peter Burkholder, Donald J. Grout, and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 64-65; Mark Evan Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture*, 3rd ed., (Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010), 47; K. Marie Stolba, *The Development of Western Music: A History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: WCB Brown & Benchmark, 1994), 53-54; Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 175-181; John Stephens, et al., "Liturgical Drama," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 1 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article_citations/grove/music/41996pg2; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Liturgische Dramen, Geistliche Spiele."

cathedrals and monasteries. The idea that those living in the Middle Ages assumed the roles of biblical characters, complete with props, costumes, and staging made liturgical drama seem more accessible than the other medieval music we had studied. It was not until early in my doctoral studies, when I began seriously engaging with editions of liturgical dramas and secondary literature, that I realized how problematic the term liturgical drama is. Whether the *Visitatio sepulchri*, *Ordo stellae* (Ceremony of the Magi), *Ordo pastores* (Ceremony of the Shepherds), *Peregrinus* (The Pilgrim), and similar Latin sung reenactments should be interpreted as dramas is controversial. The possibility that those who performed and witnessed them may not have thought of them as dramas — the very aspect that had first attracted me to studying them — was as disappointing as it was intriguing. I felt a similar combination of disappointment and curiosity when my advisor, Professor James Borders, shared with me an exchange that he had with Professor Ruth Steiner at the beginning of my doctoral work. When he informed her that he had a student intending to write a dissertation on liturgical drama, she grabbed his arm and implored him to dissuade me, describing it as "the graveyard of dissertations."

Although Professor Steiner did not expand on why the topic is problematic, it is easy enough to identify challenges, including the fraught historiography of the term liturgical drama, the heterogeneity of sung reenactments traditionally called liturgical dramas, and the absence of primary sources explaining what medieval monastics and clerics thought of these performances. With *Visitationes sepulchri*, the earliest type of liturgical drama, one encounters two more problems: the unknown origins of the *Quem queritis* (the Marys and angels' sung dialogue that is the core of all *Visitationes*) and

uncertainty about the dialogue's original liturgical placement, since it survives in the earliest sources as a trope to the Easter Sunday Introit and as part of the *Visitatio* performed at Matins. Even the large numbers of *Visitationes* that survive (more than one thousand) prove a mixed blessing because the selection and order of chants are highly variable, making it difficult to generalize about them or establish how the *Visitationes* preserved in different manuscripts related to one another. Even the large quantity of scholarship that musicologists, theater historians, literary historians, religious scholars, and others have written about *Visitationes*, the *Quem queritis* dialogue, and liturgical drama leaves one wondering, is there anything new to be said? All of these would be good reasons to sidestep the topic of liturgical drama.

Many of these problems can be lessened by abandoning the term liturgical drama, modifying the types of questions that are asked, consulting a wide variety of medieval primary sources, and building on important scholarly contributions on the so-called liturgical drama, *Visitationes*, and tropes, many of which have been written during the past fifteen years. As to whether *Visitationes* have been thoroughly exhausted as a topic of inquiry, that is not the case. Although a considerable quantity of scholarship has been written about *Visitationes*, most of it concentrates on the origins of the *Quem queritis* and whether *Visitationes* and other Latin sung re-enactments should be considered dramas.[2]

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[2] Scholarship addressing the origins of the *Quem queritis* includes Edmund K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols., (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), 2:2-3; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 1:1; O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*, 178-219 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), 190-1, 198-99; Timothy McGee, "The Liturgical Placements of the *Quem queritis* Dialogue," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29, no. 1 (Spring, 1976): 6; David Bjork, "On the Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis* and the *Visitatio sepulchri* and the Chronology of Their Early Sources," *Comparative Drama* 14, no. 1

Although the dissertation touches on these topics, it does not dwell on them. Instead, it focuses on *Visitationes* known in the secondary literature as type two, which only Michael Norton has investigated.[3] This dissertation poses new questions, such as why type-two *Visitationes* emerged in the German lands during the twelfth century when type one had been known there since the tenth century, and why antiphons were composed specifically for it.

This dissertation examines the history of sung reenactments of Christ's Resurrection performed on Easter Sunday in medieval Germany. It is the first study of the *Visitatio sepulchri* to investigate how and why a new form, type two, gained precedence in the twelfth century over type one. In contrast with previous scholarly assertions, the dissertation argues that type-two *Visitationes* were not a direct outgrowth or development of type one, as they shared little, musically and textually, with type one and emerged under different circumstances.

As the dissertation will demonstrate, type-two *Visitationes* originated in Augustinian communities that the reforming Archbishop Konrad of Salzburg (1075-1147) founded for the purpose of educating the clergy, among other reasons. They grew out of an earlier German tradition of public, sung performances of Gospel Harmonies,

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(Spring, 1980): 49; Johann Drumble, *Quem Quaeritis: Teatro sacro dell'alto medioevo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), 134-138. Secondary literature concerned with whether or not *Visitationes* and other sung Latin reenactments should be considered dramas includes C. Clifford Flanigan, "Medieval Liturgy and the Arts. Visitatio Sepulchri as Paradigm," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen, 9-25 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1996), 14, 30; Nils Holger Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy," in *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, ed. Eric Csapo and Margaret Miller, 329-360 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 331, 339-340, 348.

[3] Michael Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio sepulchri*: A Repertorial Study," (Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1983).

texts that combined the four Gospels into a single, unified narrative. Similar harmonization is encountered in the more than two hundred type-two *Visitationes* covered in this dissertation, and their sung performance connects them with earlier renditions of Gospel Harmonies as epics.

The first and second chapters lay the groundwork. Chapter 1 makes a case for rejecting the term liturgical drama, a label that has been problematic since its first usage in 1834. The chapter then examines theories about why *Visitationes* were performed and what medieval Christians may have experienced when participating in them or witnessing their performance. This survey of literature creates a context for the central question that the dissertation attempts to answer: why did medieval Christians living in the German lands create and perform type-two *Visitationes*?

The second chapter turns to the earliest *Quem queritis* dialogues, those preserved in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, and theorizes about the emergence and early history of the *Quem queritis*. The chapter speculates about the *terminus post quem non* for the dialogue, whether it was initially transmitted with music, and what its variable liturgical placements may reveal about its early history. The theories offered here are informed by melodic and textual analyses of tenth- and eleventh-century *Quem queritis* dialogues, and scholarship on the transmission and dissemination of tropes, much of which was written after inquiries into the origins of the dialogue ceased to occupy a central place in the scholarship.[4]

Chapter 3, which provides the first detailed comparison of type-one and type-two

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[4] Scholarship on the origins of the *Quem queritis* has rapidly declined since the 1980s, when scholars began concluding that the origins of the dialogue are likely irrecoverable, at least in the absence of new primary sources being discovered. Bjork, "On the Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis*," 63.

Visitationes in secondary literature, establishes that type two differed from type one with respect to the selection of the dialogue, sources of chants, musical style, and sources of chant texts. It also demonstrates that type-two *Visitationes* employed the technique known as Gospel harmonization: the conflation of events and wordings from all four Gospel accounts of the Resurrection into a single narrative. Chapter 4 argues that type-two *Visitationes* borrowed this technique from earlier Gospel Harmonies, theological works that combined the four Gospels into one account. The chapter posits that type-two *Visitationes* predominated in the German lands from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, because they synthesized three favorite traditions: Gospel harmonization, sung epics, and the reenactment of the Marys' visit. The final chapter examines the religious and cultural contexts in which type-two *Visitationes* emerged, arguing that Archbishop Konrad of Salzburg's reforms inaugurated in 1121 created ideal conditions for the dissemination of type-two *Visitationes*. It also offers a detailed analysis of the music and rubrics of one of the earliest sources for the type-two *Visitatio*, an ordinal from Salzburg cathedral (Salzburg Ms. II 6), copied around 1180.

Before proceeding further, three terms used throughout the dissertation must be defined. Latin sung reenactments (sometimes shortened to sung reenactments) designates enactments of biblical accounts or of saint's lives performed by monastics and clerics who often imitated the actions and gestures of the biblical figures they portrayed. These were sung monophonically in Latin on important feast days, usually as part of the liturgy.[5] The term Latin sung reenactments is preferred to liturgical drama because it does

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[5] Susan Rankin. "Liturgical Drama," in *The New Oxford History of Music*. Vol II. *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 310.

not assume that the *Visitatio sepulchri*, *Ordo stellae*, *Ordo pastores*, and other such

performances were considered dramas in the Middle Ages. The distinction between

Quem queritis in sepulchro and the *Visitatio sepulchri* also requires explanation. The

Quem queritis was a sung dialogue between the Marys and angels at the tomb. It was

performed in three liturgical placements: as an Introit trope during Easter Sunday Mass,

as part of a procession before Mass, and at Matins.[6] The term *Visitatio sepulchri* will be

used to differentiate *Quem queritis* dialogues performed at Matins from those performed

in other placements. Those performed at Matins were distinctive: they were typically part

of a longer narrative about the Marys' visit of the sepulcher, comprising the dialogue and

other chants. By contrast, when the dialogue was performed in other liturgical placements

it was not part of a larger narrative of the Resurrection.[7] The best reason for making the

distinction, however, is that in many manuscripts the heading *Visitatio sepulchri* (or

something similar) precedes the *Quem queritis* when it is performed at Matins.[8]

An Introduction of the Sources

The dissertation focuses on *Visitationes* in manuscript sources from the medieval

Kingdom of Germany and the Patriarchate of Aquileia dating from the tenth through the

fifteenth centuries. The Kingdom of Germany covered a vast expanse of land now

occupied by modern-day Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and

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[6] On the different liturgical placements of the *Quem queritis* dialogue, see Bjork, "On the Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis*," 46; Gunilla Iversen, "Aspects of the Transmission of the *Quem Quaeritis*," *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 3 (1987), 163; McGee, "Liturgical Placements of the *Quem quaeritis*," 1-29.
[7] Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:80, 201, 220-1.
[8] Rankin, "Liturgical Drama," in *The New Oxford History of Music*, 311.

the eastern portion of France (in and around Metz and Verdun).[9] *Visitationes* in Aquileian

sources have been included because they are nearly identical to type-two *Visitationes*

from Germany in their selection of chants and overall narrative, and because the

Patriarchate of Aquileia had close ties with the German Kingdom.[10] The borders of the

Kingdom of Germany as they existed at the end of the Salian dynasty (1125), serve as the

geographical boundaries of the study. By this time the duchies of Austria, Styria, and

Carinthia, with their rich traditions of performing type-two *Visitationes*, had already been

incorporated into the kingdom, as shown in figure 1.1.[11]

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[9] Donald Matthew, *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (New York: Facts on File, 1983), 94; Andrew Jotischky and Caroline Hull, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Medieval World* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 43; Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Atlas of the Medieval World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 127.

[10] In March 1026 the first Salian King, Conrad II, was crowned King of Italy and the German and Italian Kingdoms shared a close relationship until the end of the Hohenstaufen Era. Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. Barbara Bowlus (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1999), 45-46, 49.

[11] The map is reproduced from John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), xv.

Figure 1.1. Map of the German Kingdom during the Salian Dynasty.

Three-hundred and thirty-seven *Visitationes* are found in pre sixteenth-century German and Aquileian manuscripts. Printed sources from 1477 on are excluded because they mostly contain versions of the *Visitatio* found in earlier manuscripts. The manuscripts that form the basis of the study are listed in the first two appendices. Appendix A gives the shelf marks, provenance, dating, manuscript type, and other information for the sources of type-one *Visitationes*, and appendix B provides this

information for type two. A detailed legend of abbreviations used in the appendices precedes them, but the codes listed in the first column and used throughout the dissertation call for explanation here. Each manuscript has been assigned an abbreviation that will be used instead of its *RISM* siglum and shelf mark.[12] These abbreviations provide information about the provenance of a *Visitatio*, its place in the chronology of all *Visitationes* from a given locality, and whenever possible the type of religious institution for which the manuscript was intended. For example, in the abbreviation AQU-3-c the capital letters indicate the source's provenance, Aquileia, the number indicates that it is third in a chronological series of Aquileian sources, and the lowercase "c" indicates that the manuscript was used at a secular religious institution like a cathedral, collegiate church, or parish church. Other lowercase letters include "b" for Benedictine monasteries, abbeys, and convents, and "a" for chapters of Augustinian canons and canonesses. In the cases of cathedrals that Augustinian canons populated, such as that of Salzburg, the manuscripts are assigned two letters for the religious institution [e.g., SLZ-1-c(a)].

More fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts preserving *Visitationes* survive than earlier ones. Of the total 337 *Visitationes*, only sixteen date from the tenth and eleventh centuries, eighty-four date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and 237 survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth.[13] The manuscripts are from all the duchies in the German Kingdom, as well as the Marches of Brandenburg and Meissen, with the greatest concentration of sources coming from the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia,

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[12] *RISM* stands for *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales*. Zentralredaktion in den Ländergruppen des RISM, ed., *RISM-Bibliothekssigel: Gesamtverzeichnis* (Munich: G. Henle, 1999).

[13] The dating and provenance for most extant *Visitationes* are based on Lipphardt's text edition of Easter ceremonies and Easter plays. Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin: Walter De Gruynter, 1975-1990).

Bavaria, and Lower Lorraine. *Visitationes* are found in seven different types of liturgical

books: graduals, which contain Proper mass chants; antiphoners, chants books for the

Office; tropers, which contain tropes mostly for the Mass; and processionals, which

include antiphons and hymns sung for processions on feast days.[14] They are also found in

breviaries (books of Office prayers, readings, and chant texts) and less often in ordinals

and customaries.[15] Fewer than half the sources consulted — 160 manuscripts — provide

some music for the *Visitatio*, sometimes only incipits. In sixty-eight sources, the melodies

are notated in unheightened neumes indicating only the contours of melodies, and in

eighty-eight heightened notation is used.[16] In addition to the sources of *Visitationes*,

medieval exegetical treatises, sermons, pedagogical works, and medieval library

catalogues were consulted.

The dissertation builds on musicologist Michael Norton's 1983 dissertation, "The

Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*: A Repertorial Study."[17] He studied more than 340

Visitationes of German and eastern European provenance and his work remains the only

large-scale study of German *Visitationes*.[18] He also deserves the distinction of having

developed the two-part categorization system for *Visitationes* according to which version

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[14] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 295, 304, 314, 318.

[15] Ordinals list all the prayers, readings, and chant texts performed in the liturgy, often with detailed rubrics describing liturgical actions. Customaries primarily described the non-liturgical activities that were carried out in a specific monastic or secular community, but some offer detailed descriptions of the Mass and Office for particular feast days, such as Easter Sunday. Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993), trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 213-217 and 221-2.

[16] KOL-7, MTZ-4-b, ROR-1-c, WMS?-1 were not available for the study, and it is unclear what type of musical notation they employ.

[17] Michael Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio sepulchri*: A Repertorial Study," (Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1983).

[18] Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 20.

of the dialogue was employed. Type-one *Visitationes* incorporated the dialogue *Quem queritis in sepulchro*, whereas type-two featured a new dialogue, *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres*.[19] Earlier categorization systems, such as Karl Young's, proposed in 1933, and philologist Helmut de Boor's, introduced in 1967, grouped *Visitationes* according to criteria other than selection of chants. Young arranged *Visitationes* into three stages (*Stüfen*) based on which characters were portrayed.[20] De Boor categorized all *Visitationes*, except those featuring Mary Magdalene and the risen Christ, as type one if they incorporated *Quem queritis in sepulchro* and as type two if they employed *Quem queritis o tremule*.[21] He designated those that included Mary Magdalene's encounter with Christ as type three.[22] Norton's system improves on Young's and de Boor's classifications in two respects. His two types comprise *Visitationes* that are more homogenous in the selection of chants than those comprising Young's stages and de Boor's types. Also, Norton's type-two *Visitationes* were delimited with respect to the provenances of sources, a consequence of the fact that *Visitationes* incorporating the new dialogue came exclusively from the German Kingdom, and the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland. For these reasons, Norton's terminology and classification system are employed here.

The present work differs from Norton's in three significant ways. First, it examines both type-one and type-two *Visitationes* of German provenance, establishing how they differed musically and textually — Norton focused only on type two, so his comparisons between the two types were limited. Second, in this project questions about

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[19] Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 4, 19.
[20] Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:239.
[21] Helmut de Boor, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1967), 131-133, 166-72.
[22] de Boor, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 237-238.

why type-two *Visitationes* may have developed are of primary importance, whereas

Norton was more interested in tracing the dissemination of type-two *Visitationes* and

identifying what he described as local, regional, and supra-regional traditions of

Visitationes based on musical and textual variants.[23] Third, appendices providing

transcriptions of thirty type-two *Visitationes* in heightened notation are given here,

whereas Norton offered few musical examples. This study furthers our knowledge about

the vibrant — and well-documented — tradition of performing *Visitationes* in the

German lands.

The Creation of Liturgical Drama

Liturgical drama, a label often applied to medieval sung, Latin reenactments of

biblical events and saint's lives, is avoided in the dissertation for several reasons. Among

the most important is that the term did not exist in the Middle Ages. In 1834, Charles

Magnin, a professor at the Sorbonne and curator at the Bibliothèque Royale, seems to

have coined the term. It was fraught from the beginning.[24] In a course that he taught on

the origins of modern theater from 1834-1835, he challenged the dominant view that

there was a gap in theater history between Greek and Roman dramas from antiquity and

the mystery and morality plays that emerged during the thirteenth century.[25] He argued

that earlier dramas performed in the church were precursors to the later mysteries and

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[23] Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 21-22, 28, 48.
[24] Charles Magnin, *Les origines du théâtre moderne*; *ou*, *Du théâtre moderne ou du théâtre antique au IVe siècle* (Paris, Edition Hachette, 1838), i, vii.
[25] Magnin, *Les origines du théâtre moderne*, iii-iv.

moralities cultivated in confraternities.[26] Although he had intended to turn his lecture

notes into a book tracing the origins of modern theater, he completed only the first

volume covering the period from antiquity through the second century. His ideas about

medieval drama are not entirely lost, because he published his first lecture as an

introduction to the book. In it he employed the term liturgical drama (*drame litugique*)

when explaining the origins of opera:

> *Il [opéra] est la continuation immédiate de ces drames que les confréries
> demi-ecclésiastiques, et demi-laïques n'ont cessé d'exécuter, du XIIIᵉ au
> XVIᵉ siècle ... représentations qui succédaient elles-mêmes à d'autres bien
> plus solennelles et plus graves, véritables drames liturgiques, approvés
> par la papauté et par les conciles, admis dans les diurnaux et dans les
> rituels, joués et chantés aux processions et dans les cathédrales, parties
> nécessaires et intégrantes de la solennisation des saints offices.*

> Opera is the direct continuation of dramas that semi-ecclesiastical and
> semi-lay confraternities did not stop performing from the thirteenth
> century until the sixteenth ... These representations, which themselves
> came after others more appropriately solemn and serious, were true
> liturgical dramas, approved by the papacy and the councils, accepted into
> the diurnals and rituals, performed and sung at processions and in
> cathedrals, and were necessary and integral parts for the celebration of the
> saints' offices.[27]

Given that this is the first known use of the term, one might expect Magnin to define it

and give examples of what did or did not constitute liturgical drama, but he did not. He

did, however, identify some characteristics of liturgical dramas: they had a serious tone,

the papacy sanctioned them, they were preserved in liturgical manuscripts, and were

performed during Offices. The picture that he presents, however, is confusing.[28] If

liturgical dramas were integral to celebrating the Office, why does he state that they were

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[26] Magnin, *Les origines du théatre moderne,* vii.

[27] I would like to thank Salma Yacoubi for her valuable feedback on my translation. Ibid.,
vii.

[28] Ibid., vii.

preserved in diurnals and rituals (specialized liturgical books), rather than in Office books like breviaries and antiphoners? Moreover, what did Magnin have in mind when he stated that they were "performed and sung at processions and in cathedrals"? That *Visitationes sepulchri*, *Ordo stellae*, and other Latin sung reenactments were performed in cathedrals is well known, but his reference to liturgical dramas being performed in processions ("joués et chantés aux processions et dans les cathédrales") is less so. By listing processions and cathedrals as two separate performance contexts (i.e., at processions and in cathedrals), he seems to imply that the processions to which he refers occurred outside of the cathedral, but gives no examples. Because of this ambiguity, it is hard to assess what he meant by liturgical drama.

Adding to the confusion, Magnin identifies subcategories of medieval drama, but does not label any of them as liturgical drama.[29] His three subcategories were religious theater (*le théâtre religieux*), aristocratic theater (*le théâtre seigneurial et royal*), and popular theater (*le théâtre populaire et forain*).[30] Although presumably liturgical drama was connected in some way to *théâtre religieux*, he never explains whether it was a subset of religious theater or a synonym for it. He does, however, identify examples of religious theater that he considered to be true dramas (*véritables drames*), citing those that were performed at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter (*Ordo pastores*, *Ordo stellae*, and *Visitatio sepulchri*).[31] In light of the way Magnin employed the term liturgical drama in the passage above, his sole use of the term in his book, the expression might best be

[29] Nils Holger Petersen made a similar observation that liturgical drama "does not — in this [Magnin's] general introductory text — play a particularly important role." Nils Holger Petersen, "The Concept of Liturgical Drama: Charles-Edmond de Coussemaker and Charles Magnin," *Études Grégoriennes* 36 (2009), 311.
[30] Ibid., xi-xii.
[31] Magnin, *Les origines du théâtre moderne*, xviii-xix.

interpreted as a description rather than as a label for a genre. Because Magnin had not yet

introduced the different types of medieval theater at this point in the lecture, describing

the precursors to moralities and miracles as liturgical dramas may have been a convenient

way to accentuate a key distinction between the two groups: earlier dramas were

performed as part of the liturgy and moralities and mysteries were not. If any conclusion

can be drawn from Magnin's writing, it is that in its earliest use the term liturgical drama

was neither carefully nor systematically defined.

Magnin's ambiguous use of the expression liturgical drama was likely why his

successors interpreted the term in different ways. Félix Clément, in a series of articles

entitled "Le drame liturgique au Moyen Age," published in *Annales Archéologiques* from

1847-1851, identified a variety of different liturgical observances as liturgical dramas.[32]

Before discussing the particulars, it should be acknowledged that the publisher of

Annales Archéologiques, Adolphe Didron, who proposed the article series, was Magnin's

student. Shortly after the course he embarked on a research trip to uncover additional

sources of liturgical drama.[33] Although he did not have time to write a book based on his

findings, his tentative title, "Dramatic Liturgy or Liturgical Drama," offers insight into

his conceptualization of liturgical drama, one that Clément, who wrote the articles,

apparently shared.[34] Many of Clément's examples of liturgical drama are not what

scholars have come to recognize as such. He discusses the extinguishing of candles

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[32] Félix Clément, "Liturgie, musique et drame au moyen âge," *Annales Archéologiques* 7
(1847), 303-320; Clément, "Liturgie, musique et drame au moyen âge,"*Annales
Archéologiques* 8 (1848), 34-48, 77-87. The article titles then change to "Le drame
liturgique," *Annales Archéologiques* 8 (1848), 304-311; *Annales Archéologiques* 9
(1849), 27-40; 10 (1850), 154-160; 11 (1851), 6-15.
[33] Clément, "Liturgie, musique et drame du moyen âge" *Annales Archéologiques* 7
(1847), 303-5.
[34] Ibid., 305.

(*tenebrae*) after the readings and psalms on Maundy Thursday, the adoration of the cross

on Good Friday, and the performing of sequences and processions.[35] Alongside these

miscellaneous liturgical practices, he also examines the *Visitatio sepulchro*, *Ordo*

pastores, and *Ordo stellae*.[36] As was the case with Magnin, Clément does not define

liturgical drama. Based on the types of chants and religious observances that he wrote

about, however, apparently he viewed liturgical drama as being roughly synonymous

with dramatic liturgy.[37]

It was musicologist Edmund Coussemaker who first defined the term liturgical

drama, although he did so with difficulty. In 1860 Coussemaker, a student of Magnin's,

published *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, an edition of the music and texts of twenty-

two liturgical dramas.[38] Finding the religious drama subcategory that Magnin had devised

to be too broad, Coussemaker created two subgroups, one comprising what he identified

as liturgical dramas and the other, mystery plays (*mystères*).[39] Liturgical dramas "were

intimately attached to the ceremonies of the cult" and were performed exclusively in

churches and monasteries by clerics and monks. [40] By contrast, mystery plays were

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[35] Clément, "Le drame liturgique," *Annales Archéologiques* 9 (1849), 27-28, 29, 32-35; *Annales Archéologiques* 10 (1850), 154-160; *Annales Archéologiques* 11 (1851), 7-9.

[36] Clément, *Annales Archéologiques* 7, 314-15; *Annales Archéologiques* 9, 162-167.

[37] Michael Norton makes a similar observation about Clément's use of the term liturgical drama in an unpublished paper. Michael Norton, "What Was Liturgical Drama?" (The 42nd Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 10, 2007). I thank him for providing me with a copy.

[38] Edmund de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge* (Paris: Didron, 1861), v.

[39] Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, vii-viii.

[40] The French is as follows: "Les drames liturgiques sont ceux qui se liaient d'une manière intime aux cérémonies du culte." Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, viii; Translation by Nils Holger Petersen, "The Concept of Liturgical Drama: Coussemaker and Modern Scholarship," in *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l'interprétation du patrimoine musical à l'historiographie*, ed. Barbara Haggh and

performed in lay communities, first in Latin and later in French."[41] After making this

subdivision Coussemaker still was not satisfied, since some liturgical dramas were

closely connected to the liturgy and others were not.[42] The latter group — those

performed in churches but lacking close liturgical ties — he characterized as "true

dramatic creations" (*véritables créations dramatiques*). In saying this, it is unclear

whether or not he was implying that other liturgical dramas were *not* true dramas.[43]

<div align="center">Dismantling Liturgical Drama</div>

    Coussemaker's desire to subdivide *Visitationes* into two groups suggests that the

heterogeneity of sung reenactments conventionally labeled as liturgical dramas posed

problems for him. This heterogeneity has also plagued some later scholars. In a 1991

article, comparative literature scholar C. Clifford Flanigan commented on significant

differences among sung reenactments traditionally referred to as liturgical dramas:

> Modern scholarship has subsumed a number of different medieval
> performance practices under the term 'liturgical drama'. On the one hand is
> the relatively small number of highly developed literary and musical
> forms, mostly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which are readily
> recognised as drama, as the term has been defined since the Renaissance.
> On the other, there are brief musical and verbal texts preserved primarily
> in medieval liturgical books which record practices, mainly for Easter and

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Frédéric Billiet, with the assistance by Claire Chamiyé and Sandrine Dumont, 59-73
(Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009), 64.

[41] Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, viii.

[42] Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, ix-x. "Ceux-ci etaient de deux sortes: les uns se
liaient étroitement aux cérémonies religieuses, et faisaient en quelque sorte corps avec
elles ... Les autres, tout en ayant le même caractère religieux, n'avaient pas une liaison
aussi intime avec le culte. Ils ont pour sujet le texte sacré; mais le développement qu'on y
donna en fit des compositions spéciales dont l'étendue ne permit plus de conserver leur
place dans les offices."

[43] Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, ix.

Christmas, that were part of the ritual cursus of monasteries, cathedrals and parish churches.[44]

The first group to which Flanigan refers includes *Ludus Danielis* (Play of Daniel) and the ten sung reenactments compiled in the Fleury Playbook; the second much larger group encompasses the *Visitatio sepulchri*, *Ordo pastores*, and *Ordo stellae*, and similar sung reenactments performed as part of the liturgy. Similarly, Nils Holger Petersen, writing in 2007, observed that there was something distinctive about the Fleury Playbook, which he cited as evidence that "the development of a 'genre' consciousness of what modern observers would call 'drama' was underway in the twelfth century."[45] Theater historian Glynne Wickham posits that the rubrics of some sung reenactments suggest "a gradual transformation" from ceremony into play.[46] He cites as evidence of the change the introduction of costumes in *Ludus Danielis* that were not ecclesiastical garments, but were appropriate to the characters portrayed, such as Daniel's "gorgeous robe" (*veste splendida*) and Elizabeth's female clothing. As further evidence of this shift toward drama, he also cites the use of physical objects to differentiate locations where the action unfolds, as is the case in *Filius Getronis* (The Son of Getron), from the Fleury Playbook,

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[44] C. Clifford Flanigan, "Medieval Latin Music-Drama" in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe*, ed. Eckehard Simon, 21-41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 22.
[45] Nils Holger Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy" in *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, ed. Eric Csapo and Margaret Miller, 329-360 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 339. Flanigan posited that the twelfth-century redactor of the Fleury Playbook had some notion of drama. Flanigan, "The Fleury *Playbook*, the Traditions of Medieval Latin Drama, and Modern Scholarship" in *The Fleury Playbook: Essays and Studies*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell and Clifford Davidson, 1-25 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), 14-15.
[46] Glynne Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 43.

and *Ludus Danielis*.[47] By contrast, those reenactments comprising the second group may

exhibit no traits that differentiate them from other parts of the liturgy.[48] For example,

some German *Visitationes* include only the dialogue and Office antiphon, *Surrexit*

Dominus (*CAO* 5079), with no rubrics indicating that the singers assumed the roles of the

Marys and angels.[49] While such reenactments are liturgical, it is debatable whether

anyone living in the Middle Ages would have considered them drama.

The manner in which these sung reenactments were identified in manuscripts

offers further justification for abandoning the term liturgical drama. The term *ludus*

(play) is rarely found in headings or rubrics for reenactments traditionally labeled as

liturgical dramas.[50] Out of more than a thousand sources, only the headings for the Easter

play from *Carmina Burana* (D-Mbs. lat. 4660a), *Ludus Danielis* (Play of Daniel), and

Hilarius' *Ludus super iconia Sancti Nicolai* (The Play on the Icon of Saint Nicholas)

contain the term *ludus*.[51] Instead nearly all so-called liturgical dramas with opening

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[47] Wickham, *The Medieval Theater*, 44-47.

[48] With respect to the *Visitatio* preserved in the *Regularis Concordia*, Petersen concludes that "nothing points to the existence of a particular awareness in this document of the specific qualities of the *quem quaeritis* ceremony that for modern scholars have distinguished it from other practices in the rule that use representational techniques." Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals," *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond*, 339-340.

[49] The abbreviation *CAO* refers to René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963-79).

[50] The term *ludus* designated both mimetic activities (e.g., plays and theater) and athletic ones (e.g., wrestling, gladiator tournaments), and accordingly the word could be translated as play, game, or recreation. Wickham, *The Medieval Theatre*, 2-3.

[51] Several scholars have commented on the scarcity of the word *ludus* in the sources. Susan Rankin. "Liturgical Drama," in *The New Oxford History of Music*, 310; William Smolden, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, ed. Cynthia Bourgeault. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 334-5; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 251-2; Michael Norton, "What Was Liturgical Drama?" (The 42nd Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 10, 2007), 5.

rubrics were identified according to subject matter, sometimes with additional qualifiers

such as *officium* or *ordo* (ceremony) or *representatio* (representation). Such headings

include *ordo ad visitandum sepulchrum* (ceremony for the purposes of visiting the

sepulcher), *ad representandam conversionem beati Pauli* (for representing the conversion

of Saint Paul), and *ordo ad peregrinum* (ceremony for the pilgrim).

Despite the problems with the term liturgical drama outlined here, the norm

through much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been to interpret *Visitationes*

and other sung reenactments as plays or dramas. Theater historians and musicologists

have frequently cited the rubrics of the earliest extant *Visitatio sepulchri*, preserved in the

Regularis Concordia, a late tenth-century customary from Winchester Cathedral, as clear

evidence of dramatic intent:

> *Dum tertia recitatur lectio quattuor fratres induant se quorum unus alba*
> *indutus ac si ad aliud agendum ingrediatur atque latenter sepulcri locum*
> *adeat ibique manu tenens palmam quietus sedeat. Dumque tertium*
> *percelebratur responsorium residui tres succedant omnes quidem cappis*
> *induti turibula cum incensu manibus gestantes ac pedetemptim ad*
> *similitudinem quaerentium quid veniant ante locum sepulcri. Aguntur*
> *enim haec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum*
> *cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Ihesu.*

> While the third lesson is being read, four of the brethren shall vest, one of
> whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose, shall enter
> and go stealthily to the place of the sepulchre and sit there quietly, holding
> a palm in his hand. Then, while the third respond is being sung, the other
> three brethren, vested in copes and holding thuribles in their hands, shall
> enter in their turn and go to the place of the sepulchre, step by step, as
> though searching for something. Now these things are done in imitation of
> the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to
> anoint the body of Jesus.[52]

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[52] Translation by Thomas Symons, *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the*
Monks and Nuns of the English Nation (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1953),
49-50.

Karl Young, whose views on what constituted medieval church drama held sway from the 1930s through much of the twentieth century, considered the above *Visitatio* to be drama, because the rubrics indicated that the participants imitated the Marys and angels.[53] According to Young, impersonation of characters was the key criterion that differentiated medieval church dramas from parts of the liturgy that were merely dramatic.[54] For Young and many who followed, the rubrics describing the Marys processing toward the sepulcher "as though searching for something" (*ad similitudem querentium*), with someone sitting in the sepulcher "in imitation of the angel" (*ad imitationem angeli*), were clear evidence of dramatic performance.[55] O. B. Hardison, Jr., writing in 1967, similarly concluded that in the *Visitatio* of the *Regularis Concordia* a "sophisticated use of stage properties and dramatic gesture is evident."[56] Musicologist William Smolden, in his 1980 posthumous monograph on medieval music drama, also interpreted the *Visitatio* as a play, using vocabulary borrowed from theater history. He stated, "here is a truly dramatic piece ... In it, setting, costuming, and action are carefully detailed, even to the length of the Marys' approach being 'as though searching for something' (no doubt the producer gave some thought to this!)"[57] The issue is whether or not words and phrases such as *representatio* (representation), *signum* (sign), *figura* (form or shape), *ad imitationem* (in imitation), and *in similitudine* (in likeness), found in the rubrics of so-called liturgical dramas, are evidence of dramatic intent. Young, Hardison, Smolden, and others writing

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[53] Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 1:249-50.
[54] Ibid., 80.
[55] Ibid., 250.
[56] O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*, 178-219 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), 194.
[57] Smolden, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, 90, 92.

through much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had no doubt that this was the case and did not consider other possibilities. There has been a change in the past forty years, however, toward non-theatrical interpretations of *Visitationes*. Before considering these interpretations, theories about what motivated medieval Christians to perform *Visitationes* will be examined, since these were often closely connected to scholars' views of whether or not *Visitationes* constituted dramas.

<div align="center">Theories about Why Visitationes Were Performed</div>

Scholars who interpreted *Visitationes* as dramas often posited that they fulfilled pedagogical objectives. Carl Lange, a nineteenth-century scholar whose contributions included publishing the texts of 224 *Visitationes* in his 1887 edition *Die lateinischen Osterfeier*, and classifying them into three *Stüfen* (stages), speculated about why *Visitationes* were performed.[58] To explain why *Visitationes* were lengthened to include more than just the dialogue, he posited that "the desire for an expansion of the action [was] in the interest of the laity, who did not understand Latin words."[59] The more actions from the Resurrection that could be enacted physically, the better the laity's comprehension of the biblical accounts would have been. The angels sang the Office antiphon *Venite et videte* (*CAO* 5352), "Come and see the place where the Lord was laid,"

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[58] Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern: Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der liturgisch-dramatischen Auferstehungsfeier* (Munich: Ernst Stahl, 1887), 2.

[59] *Der Wunsch nach Ausdehnung der Handlung im Interesse des schauenden Volkes, welches die lateinischen Worte nicht verstand, führte zur Aufnahme neuer, die Handlung begleitender Sätze, welche die Scene vervollständigten und leicht aus dem Ritual aufgenommen wurden.* Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 76.

to enlarge the dramatic action, since it prompted the Marys to examine the sepulcher.[60] The addition of the Office antiphon, *Currebant duo* (*CAO* 2081), had a similar effect since the actions described in the text, Peter and John running to the tomb, could be reenacted for the laity's benefit.[61] But it was the moment when the Marys showed the laity the abandoned linen cloths that once wrapped Christ's body, that was of utmost importance. According to Lange, the grave cloths were displayed "to the laity, as evidence of the Resurrection of the Lord, with the words *Surrexit*" (*als Beweis für die Auferstehung des Herrn dem Volke, mit den Worten Surrexit*).[62] A problem with Lange's theory is that it assumes the laity would have been present, not accounting for the fact that many sources of the *Visitatio* come from Benedictine monasteries. But his idea that sung reenactments of the Marys' visit would have been more easily comprehended by the laity than the readings from the Gospels seems reasonable, so long as the laity were somewhat familiar with the Resurrection accounts.

In the 1950s and 1960s Richard Donovan and O. B. Hardison individually addressed the question of why *Visitationes* were performed. Both argued that they were pedagogical because of rubrics in the *Regularis Concordia* (*c*. 970) that read:

> *Nam quia ea die depositionem Corporis Salvatoris nostri celebramus,*
> *usum quorundam religiosorum imitabilem ad fidem indocti vulgi ac*
> *neofitorum corrobarandam equiparando sequi si ita cui visum fuerit vel*
> *sibi taliter placuerit hoc modo decrevimus. Sit autem in una parte altaris,*
> *qua vacuum fuerit quedam assimilatio sepulchri velamenque quoddam in*
> *gyro tensum quod dum sancta crux adorata fuerit deponatur hoc ordine.*

> Now since on that day we solemnize the burial of the Body of our Saviour,
> if anyone should care or think it fit to follow in a becoming manner certain
> religious men in a practice worthy to be imitated for the strengthening of

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[60] Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 76.
[61] Ibid., 77.
[62] Ibid., 77.

the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes, we have decreed this only: on that part of the altar where there is space for it there shall be a representation as it were of a sepulchre, hung about with a curtain, in which the holy Cross, when it has been venerated, shall be placed in the following manner.[63]

Donovan cited the passages concerning "the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes" as evidence of a pedagogical intent. He states that "in the portion of the work which discussed the ceremonies of Holy Week, we find not only a description of the *Depositio* of Good Friday, but explicit directions for the staging of an Easter play 'for the edification of the faithful.' It is none other than our trope, now become an authentic play."[64]

Based on the same passage, Hardison concluded that "the *Depositio-Visitatio* sequence was explicitly described as a method of instructing the lay congregation and the newly baptized converts."[65] The *Depositio-Visitatio* sequence to which he refers comprises three Easter religious observances involving the sepulcher: the *Depositio* (the symbolic burial of the cross), the *Elevatio* (the raising of the cross), and the *Visitatio*. He is likely mistaken, however, in assuming that the rubrics apply to the *Visitatio*, since they precede the *Depositio* on Good Friday, not the *Visitatio* on Easter Sunday. Moreover, the rubrics refer to "a practice worthy to be imitated" *(usum ... imitabilem)*, not practices, as one would expect if they pertained to all three religious observances. Because Hardison assumed that these rubrics applied to the *Quem queritis*, he concluded that "it [the *Quem queritis*] functioned both as a device of instruction and as a means of preparing for the

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[63] Translated by Symons, ed., *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, 44.

[64] Richard Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 12.

[65] Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 197.

vigil Mass."[66] He did not elaborate on what type of pedagogical purpose the dialogue served; neither did Lange and Donovan. All three scholars claim a didactic objective behind the *Visitatio* but do not develop arguments to support the view.

<u>Later Theories about How Medieval Christians Experienced and Understood *Visitationes*</u>

Starting in the 1970s, scholars began offering non-theatrical interpretations of the *Quem queritis*. At the same time, they either stopped discussing a possible didactic usage for the *Visitatio* or rejected the possibility that it fulfilled such a purpose.[67] In two articles published in 1974, C. Clifford Flanigan interpreted the *Quem queritis* as a religious ritual and theorized about how its performance contributed to the religious experiences of medieval Christians. Before describing his interpretations, a few words must be said about his understanding of ritual.

Flanigan defined ritual as "an act in which its celebrants seek to imitate the actions of the gods in such a way that the past events which are commemorated are thought to be rendered present once again for the benefit of the cultic community."[68] Flanigan's notion that rituals imitated acts of the gods and that they rendered past events present is based on Mircea Eliade's *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (1957). In this book, Eliade investigated how humans experienced religion, identifying commonalities that he contended were shared cross-culturally and across different time

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[66] Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 99.

[67] C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 43 (1974), 281; Michael Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 38.

[68] C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," *Comparative Drama* 8, no. 1 (1974), 48.

periods.[69] One such commonality was the experience of what he described as sacred time, which was distinct from daily, profane time.[70] Sacred time unfolded when religious communities gathered together in a sacred space and performed rituals in which they imitated the actions of the gods, emulating events that unfolded at the time of creation or, in the case of Christians, commemorating historical events from the time when "Christ lived, suffered, and rose again."[71] Sacred time was repeatable, since the same events were often memorialized annually, as is the case in the Catholic Church.[72] Eliade contended that performing rituals did more than commemorate mythic or historical events: it reactualized them. Although he does not define reactualization, from his use of the term one can ascertain that it meant making a past, sacred event present, so that "it is no longer today's historical time that is present — the time that is experienced, for example, in the adjacent streets — but the time in which the historical existence of Jesus Christ occurred, the time sanctified by his preaching, by his passion, death, and resurrection."[73]

Flanigan adopted Eliade's notion of reactualization to explain how medieval Christians may have experienced the *Quem queritis*. He contended that rituals eliminated the temporal and spatial divide between those involved in the original divine act and those reenacting it, allowing medieval worshippers "to be present at that first Easter long ago" and to participate in it.[74] To garner support for this argument, he observed that many

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[69] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), 14-15.
[70] Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 70-71.
[71] Ibid., 111.
[72] Ibid., 69.
[73] Ibid., 72.
[74] With respect to the divide between worshippers celebrating Easter Sunday and the historical events of Christ's Resurrection, Flanigan proposed that "in the celebration of

of the tropes preceding the *Quem queritis* referred to the Resurrection in the present tense, often including the word *hodie* (today), suggesting a "special sense of ritual time."[75] The worshippers were not mere observers of the Marys' visit of the sepulcher; Flanigan claimed that they became "identical with the Marys of the first century."[76] Like the Marys, they came seeking Christ; they heard the angels proclaim the Resurrection, and rejoiced in the Resurrection.[77] The singing of the *Quem queritis* trope and the Introit *Resurrexi* effected a theophany, whereby medieval worshippers were placed in direct contact with the divine; first they encountered angels and then the risen Christ, the speaker of the *Resurrexi* introit, who announced that "I have risen and I am still with you."[78]

Flanigan departs from earlier scholars who posited pedagogical objectives for *Visitationes*. He argued that the *Visitatio* "seeks neither to entertain nor to instruct in the usual sense of the word; instead, it attempts to involve the entire cultic community in the events of the first Easter."[79] He offers no explanation for his view and in later articles never again discussed the issue. Perhaps he found his reactualization theory to be incompatible with a didactic intent or maybe in an attempt to advance his ritual

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the Easter liturgy all barriers of profane time and space are rolled back." Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," 49, 52.

[75] Ibid.," 58.

[76] Ibid.," 55.

[77] Ibid., 55. Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," 165.

[78] Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," 51, 56-7.

[79] Flanigan's qualification to his claim that *Visitationes* did not instruct "in the usual sense of the word" is likely connected to his theory that the *Quem queritis* developed in the Frankish lands when the Roman liturgy was replacing the Gallican. He argued that when communities felt that their rituals risked being misunderstood, the essential characteristics of these rituals became explicit. Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," 281.

interpretation, he felt it necessary to reject the pedagogy theory, which had gone hand in hand with interpretations of *Visitationes* as plays since the nineteenth century.

Flanigan's articles are significant because they demonstrate that *Visitationes* could be viewed as something other than dramas and he made compelling arguments for interpreting them as rituals. He identified characteristics of the *Visitatio* that ritual theorists traditionally associated with sacred rituals: the *Visitatio* recounted an event of great significance (in this case the Resurrection), it was communally experienced by medieval Christians in a sacred space, and it was repeated annually.[80] The major weakness, however, is that he offers no evidence that medieval Christians experienced the *Quem quem* as a reactualization and that they would have associated themselves with the Marys. He took as a given Eliade's theory that events from Christ's life and death were made present when medieval Christians partook in the liturgy.[81] Despite this one weakness, however, Flanigan's work has been tremendously influential, and has prompted what one might describe as a paradigm shift in scholarship on sung Latin reenactments. No longer was it a given that *Visitationes* and other sung reenactments should be viewed as dramas. Flanigan's influence is particularly evident in Gunilla

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[80] Flanigan, "The Roman Rite," 264-5; C. Clifford Flanigan, "Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: Visitatio Sepulchri as Paradigm," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, ed. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen, 9-35 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1996). 16. See Catherine Bell's discussion of calendrical rites in her *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 102-108, especially 105.

[81] Flanigan went so far as to state that "we can therefore take it as axiomatic that a ritual is thought to function in such a way that the past events of salvation history are made present for the worshipping community." Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," 50.

Iversen's, Michael Norton's, and Nils Holger Petersen's works.[82] Iversen described how

the *Quem queritis* unfolded in "a liturgical here-and-now, *hic et nunc*" and identified

parallels between the worshippers gathered to celebrate Easter and the Marys seeking

Christ; both cases betray Flanigan's influence.[83] Flanigan's influence is also apparent

when Norton concluded that type-two *Visitationes* "served primarily a ritual, rather than

dramatic or didactic, purpose."[84]

A recent trend has been to characterize *Visitationes* as representational practices,

rather than referring to them as dramas or rituals. Theater historian Michal Kobialka's

This is my Body (1999) examines how concepts of representation were defined and

understood in the Middle Ages. Since the nineteenth century, the notion of representation

has been the skeleton in the closet in the debates about whether the *Visitatio* and other

sung reenactments were thought of as drama in the Middle Ages. This question, however,

deserves to be central to the debates. Without first interrogating what representation

meant in the Middle Ages and how our conceptualizations may differ, one cannot

determine that *representatio* and similar words, when found in rubrics of *Visitationes*,

indicate a dramatic performance.[85] Kobialka makes the case that the norm for many

scholars, including E. K. Chambers, Karl Young, O. B. Hardison, Glynne Wickham, and

others, has been to treat the *Regularis Concordia* as the earliest source for medieval

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[82] Flanigan's influence is particularly evident in Nils Holger Petersen, "The
Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*," in *The White Mantle of Churches:
Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium*, ed. Nigel Hiscock (Turnhout,
Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 111-114; Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional
Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy," 340-1.
[83] Gunilla Iversen, "Aspects of the Transmission of the *Quem quaeritis*," *Text:
Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 3 (1987), 163-4.
[84] Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 219.
[85] Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle
Ages* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999), vii.

drama, without considering how the document was interpreted in the Middle Ages.[86]

Kobialka contends that, since the early modern period, representation has been viewed in

terms of perspectival relationships between "life and art, thought and its material form, or

what the subject is and what the object represents" and that scholars have projected this

conceptual framework onto *Visitationes*.[87] He proposes that notions of representation

were in flux from the late tenth century to 1215 (the period of his study), and that

multiple representational practices (a term he defines opaquely as "a dynamic field of

enunciative possibilities") existed.[88] His four chapters offer snapshots of the

representational practices that were in play at four points between the late tenth century

and the year 1215, and describe the theological, historical, and political conditions that

gave rise to these practices and helped define them.[89]

    In his first chapter, Kobialka offers new possibilities for interpreting the

representational practices described in the rubrics of *Regularis Concordia*. He observed

similarities between the rubrics of the *Visitatio* and those describing activities that do not

conform with modern notions of drama. The introductory rubrics of the *Visitatio* are

given below; the underlinings identify passages that the scholars listed above and others

have cited as evidence of theatrical performance.

> *Dum tertia recitatur lectio quattuor fratres induant se quorum unus alba*
> *indutus ac si ad aliud agendum ingrediatur atque latenter sepulcri locum*
> *adeat ibique manu tenens palmam quietus sedeat. Dumque tertium*
> *percelebratur responsorium residui tres succedant omnes quidem cappis*
> *induti turibula cum incensu manibus gestantes ac pedetemptim ad*
> *similitudinem quaerentium quid veniant ante locum sepulcri. Aguntur*

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[86] Ibid., 11, 12, 20-1.
[87] Ibid., 28.
[88] Ibid., 28-9.
[89] Ibid., 28-9.

> *enim haec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Ihesu.*

> While the third lesson is being read, four of the brethren shall vest, one of whom, wearing an alb <u>as though for some different purpose</u>, shall enter and go stealthily to the place of the sepulchre and sit there quietly, holding a palm in his hand. Then, while the third respond is being sung, the other three brethren, vested in copes and holding thuribles in their hands, shall enter in their turn and go to the place of the sepulchre, step by step, <u>as though searching for something</u>. Now these things are done <u>in imitation</u> of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus.[90]

The phrases *ac si* (as though), *ad similitudinem* (in likeness), and *ad imitationem* (in imitation) suggest that the four brothers in some way represented or resembled the Marys and angels in their movements and physical appearance. Kobialka argued that these expressions do not necessarily warrant a theatrical interpretation, however, because other passages in the *Regular Concordia* used similar vocabulary to describe liturgical observances unlikely to be interpreted as dramas. The rubrics for Maundy Thursday Matins, for example, describe a practice involving pairs of boys singing *Kyrie eleison* and *Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem* antiphonally, from different positions in the church.[91] Although the boys do not assume roles, some concept of representation was present when the litany was performed, as the rubrics describe it as a practice "whereby compunction of the soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of that which is spiritual" (*quod ad animarum compunctionem spiritualis rei indicium exorsum est*).[92] In this case, the act of representation involved making one's acts of contrition visible to the abbot and other monastics. This is just one of several

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[90] Translation by Symons, *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, 49-50.
[91] Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, 81.
[92] Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, 36.

practices recorded in *Regularis Concordia* aimed at monitoring the monk's behavior by

bringing about an "external and material representation of the most imperceptible

movement of the monk's thought."[93] Kobialka's examples are compelling evidence that

representatio, *imitatio*, and related terms do not always describe theatrical

representational practices. The purpose of these representational practices was to make

visible that which was invisible, such as the events of Christ's Resurrection or the inner

state of the monk's soul.[94] As such, it is dangerous to assume that the *Visitatio* in the

Regularis Concordia constituted drama merely because the rubrics employ the phrases *ad*

similitudinem and *ad imitationem*.

Kobialka makes a strong case that notions of representation changed during the

Middle Ages. What influence these changes may have on the *Visitatio*, his point of

departure, however, is not always clear. He offers few examples of sung Latin

reenactments, and his analysis of them is brief. The one exception is his treatment of a

twelfth-century *Visitatio* from Ripoll. He convincingly argues that twelfth-century

corporeal interpretations of the Eucharist are evident in this *Visitatio*, because it features

the risen Christ, who is not depicted in pre-twelfth-century *Visitationes*. Comparing this

Visitatio with earlier ones, he observes that the Ripoll *Visitatio* "is marked by giving a

physical or material shape to that which had thus far been invisible or missing — the

body of Christ, which until now had been only referred to but never seen."[95] Further

emphasis on the corporeal is also evident in Mary Magdalene's lament, in which she

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[93] The *Regularis Concordia* aimed to regularize all aspects of monastic life by monitoring not only the monk's behaviors, which were easily observable, but also their thoughts and the state of their conscience, which were less easily perceived. Kobialka, *This is My Body*, 61, 65, 93.

[94] Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, 93, 99.

[95] Ibid., 167.

expresses great concern over Christ's body, his suffering, and other aspects of his humanity, ideas that are common in corporeal interpretations of the Eucharist.[96] Kobialka's linking of the introduction of Christ into *Visitationes* during the twelfth century with changing understandings about the nature of the Eucharist, is a major contribution to the study of the *Visitatio*. So too is his persuasive case that concepts of representation were unstable during the Middle Ages, a conclusion that provides a further disincentive against labeling *Visitationes* as liturgical dramas.[97]

Recently Nils Holger Petersen has offered a promising new way of interpreting the *Visitatio* and other Latin sung reenactments. Following Kobialka, he views *Visitationes* as one of several representational practices concerned with making that which is "invisible (or no longer) visible ... visible for the assembled congregation."[98] Petersen's conceptualization of what could be made visible through representational practices, however, was less restrictive than Kobialka's. The representational practices Kobialka described involved making Christ's body visible in the liturgy, whether as the Sacrament of the Eucharist (under the guise of the Eucharistic elements) or in the *Visitatio sepulchri*.[99] For Petersen, by contrast, representational practices made not only

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[96] Ibid., 165-7.

[97] Ibid., 30.

[98] Nils Holger Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual, and the Question of 'Liturgical Drama,' in *Sapientia et eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell, 163-201 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 182.

[99] Kobialka develops a theory that from the eleventh through the early thirteenth centuries the notion of representation was connected to ongoing debates about the nature of the Eucharist. These debates centered on whether Christ's body and blood were substantively or spiritually present in the Eucharist, topics that were written about extensively in theological treatises. In chapter 3, he discusses the ternary mode of understanding the Eucharist (the corporeal, spiritual, and ecclesiological) that developed in the twelfth century. The corporeal emphasized Christ's humanity and the physical and spiritual

Christ's body visible, but those of other biblical figures. Representational practices also made sacred acts visible, such as Christ's burial.[100] The advantage of Petersen's theory is that it is well suited to sung reenactments where Christ is not portrayed, as is the case with most *Visitationes*. It also offers a valuable means of analyzing rituals that imitated past sacred actions, such as Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the *Depositio crucis* and the *Elevatio crucis*.[101]

Petersen perceived parallels between early *Visitationes* and the sacraments, the ceremonies or signs that made sacred acts visible, such as God's conferral of grace through baptism or penance. Sacraments also made sacred things visible, such as Christ's body in the Eucharist.[102] Petersen contends that prior to Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, published mid-twelfth century, the term sacrament was not restricted to the seven sacraments celebrated today (marriage, penance, etc.), but was used more generally for signs that made visible that which is sacred.[103] To support his position, Petersen cites Hugh of St. Victor, who states that, "a sacrament is the sign of a sacred thing"

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unions between him and his followers that were created whenever Christians consumed the Eucharist (148-50). Kobialka describes the relationship between concepts of representation and the Eucharist debates as follows, "I contend that the medieval concept of representation was enshrined in the interpretation of *Hoc est corpus meum* [This is my body] — the words spoken by Christ at the Last Supper and repeated by a priest every time he celebrates the sacrament of the Eucharist during the Mass — and in establishing the visibility of the body that had disappeared both for the women at the tomb and for the faithful gathered on Easter Sunday for the moment of resurrection." Kobialka, *This Is My Body*, vii; Nils Holger Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual," 172.

[100] Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual," 181-2.

[101] Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy," 341.

[102] Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual," 179.

[103] Ibid., 179.

(*sacramentum est sacrae rei signum*).[104] Viewing sacraments in this pre-mid twelfth-

century way, Petersen reasons that:

> It seems possible to imagine that the early *Quem queritis* ceremonies —
> and by extension also other representational devotional practices where
> Christ and other sacred persons are represented bodily, both visually and
> audibly — could have been conceived as sacramental at the time.[105]

Petersen's idea of interpreting the *Quem queritis* in this way is advantageous because it

takes into account both physical and spiritual aspects. The events presented in the *Quem*

queritis are at once figural (they are representations of historical events by monastics or

clerics portraying the Marys and angels) and reflect a spiritual reality (the worshippers

are in the presence of the Marys and angels). Petersen explains that as with the

sacraments, the *Quem queritis* can be understood both spiritually and figuratively:

> A sacrament may represent the divine figuratively, in reality, or both. This
> corresponds well with the understanding of *Quem queritis* ceremonies ...
> where the importance lies in the congregation's spiritual witnessing of the
> Resurrection through a material (bodily) representation in a ceremony
> carried out on Easter morning before a congregation. The spiritual
> understanding of the ceremony in no way stands in conflict with the
> physical act; in such an understanding, what the representation does may
> be interpreted spiritually as reality. Physically, the act may at the same
> time be seen as a figurative representation of the divine miracle of the
> historical Resurrection.[106]

What Petersen describes as a spiritual understanding relates to Eliade's theory of ritual

reactualization and to Flanigan's application of those ideas: the worshippers become

contemporaries of the Marys and angels and receive the news of the Resurrection like

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[104] The quotation is from *De sacramentis Christinae fidei* from the 1130s, cited in
Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual" 179.
[105] Ibid., 181-2.
[106] Ibid., 182.

those who were present at the first Easter.[107] Petersen's interpretation of *Visitationes* as

sacraments is more inclusive than Flanigan's reactualization theory, because it also takes

into account the physical acts that unfolded in the medieval church on Easter Sunday.

Flanigan, Kobialka, and Petersen's writings have presented new possibilities for

interpreting *Visitationes* and other sung re-enactments as rituals and as representational

practices. Their writings are invaluable, but questions about how medieval Christians

would have conceptualized sung Latin reenactments are far from being resolved. While it

is problematic to assume that Latin sung reenactments should be interpreted as dramas

for all the reasons outlined here, it can also be problematic to assume that Latin sung

reenactments were either dramas or rituals, as though the two were mutually exclusive. In

a 1993 keynote address that Flanigan gave in the last year of his life, he acknowledged

that although he had "been concerned with the line of dichotomy between ritual and

drama for almost a quarter century, and written much about what divides them," he had:

> gradually come to understand that this line is less important than the
> scholarly reflection has made it seem. First, the line is fluid and depends
> on the audience. What a thing is is not ontologically determined, but based
> on its use, which in turn is based on the experiences and expectations of its
> performers and audiences.[108]

According to Flanigan, how Latin sung reenactments should be interpreted depends on

various factors, including how they were used, and what the performers and audience

members experienced and expected. Most importantly, Flanigan demonstrated how

complex the relationship between ritual and drama was.

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[107] Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual," 172; Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals," 340.

[108] C. Clifford Flanigan, "Medieval Liturgy and the Arts: Visitatio Sepulchri as Paradigm," in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, edited by Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen, 9-35 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1996), 30.

Performance theorist Richard Schechner offers an invaluable model for understanding the complex relationship between ritual and drama that does not assume that ritual and drama are dichotomous (i.e, mutually exclusive). According to Schechner, ritual, drama, and interactions between humans in their daily lives, are all performances and have characteristics in common. He views different types of performances as nodes "on a continuum that reaches from ritualization in animal behavior (including humans) through performances in everyday life — greetings, displays of emotion … — to rites, ceremonies and performances: large-scale theatrical events."[109] According to Schechner, ritual and drama enjoy a particularly close relationship and should not be viewed in opposition to one another.[110] In actuality, the basic opposition

> is between efficacy and entertainment, not between ritual and theatre. Whether one calls a specific performance ritual or theatre depends on the degree to which the performance tends toward efficacy or entertainment. No performance is pure efficacy or pure entertainment.[111]

Generally, when efficacy is more important than entertainment, the performance is better considered ritual, and when entertainment is more important than efficacy, the performance is better viewed as theater.[112] What is most valuable about Schechner's model is that he lists nine characteristics that differentiate efficacious performances from entertainment, allowing one to situate a performance on the continuum between efficacy and entertainment depending on how many characteristics it exhibits from each category. According to Schechner, efficacious performances are enacted to bring about results of

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[109] Richard Schechner, *Essays on Performance Theory 1970-1976* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1977), 1.

[110] Schechner, "From Ritual to Theatre and Back: The Structure/Process of the Efficacy-Entertainment Dyad," in *Essays on Performance Theory 1970-1976*, 63-98 (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1977), 75.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

some kind (i.e., to create social cohesion, mark rites of passage, turn enemies into friends) and to connect participants to "an absent Other." They unfold in symbolic time (i.e., ritually detached time), the audience participates, and they believe what has transpired. Entertainment, by contrast, is for fun and for the benefit of those present. The emphasis is on the present; the audience watches the performance and appreciates it.[113]

Different sung Latin reenactments will fall at different points on Schechner's continuum. But generally, *Visitationes* would be situated closer to the efficacy end of the continuum than the entertainment end, because they were performed to connect those present with the "absent Other" (God and the risen Christ). Moreover, those present are participants in the liturgy rather than audience members, who believed the events of the Resurrection being portrayed. As chapter five will demonstrate, type-two *Visitationes*, especially those from Salzburg, tended more towards the efficacy side of the continuum than other German *Visitationes* because they helped create social cohesion among laity and clergy and made everyone present active participants in the reenactment. Perhaps what is most compelling about Schechner's continuum is its comprehensiveness. It takes into account all the factors that Flanigan contended were key to determining whether a performance was more ritual-like or theatrical, including how it was used and what the performers' and audience's expectations and experiences were.

Performance theory offers a more sophisticated way of understanding Latin sung reenactments than scholarship that treats them as either drama or ritual. Before one can appreciate the degrees to which different sung reenactments tend towards ritual or theater, one must abandon the term liturgical drama. This nomenclature not only

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[113] Schechner, "From Ritual to Theatre and Back," 75.

predetermines that a given performance is drama, it obscures more than it clarifies. To employ the term is to impose the concept of drama on Latin sung reenactments when they were not identified as such in medieval manuscripts. Moreover, given that the meaning of the term liturgical drama has been ambiguous since it was coined in the nineteenth century, one gains nothing in adopting it. The sung Latin reenactments typically identified as liturgical dramas are heterogeneous — some being on the theatrical side of the continuum without close ties to the liturgy, and others being on the ritual side, inseparable from the liturgy. In the end, the term is a misnomer for all Latin sung reenactments. But there is more at stake here than terminology. If we are ever to understand why medieval monastic and cathedral communities commemorated Easter Sunday with the *Visitatio sepulchri*, and why different types of *Visitationes* developed, we must situate them in the social, religious, and historical contexts in which they emerged, and acknowledge that the relationship between ritual and drama was fluid.

CHAPTER 2

The Emergence of the *Quem queritis* Dialogue and Its Early History in Medieval Germany

Since the nineteenth century, the origins of the *Quem queritis* have intrigued and perplexed musicologists, theater historians, and literary scholars, and there is still no consensus on what the dialogue's dating or first liturgical usage may have been. The emergence of the *Quem queritis* remains shrouded in mystery because the earliest sources preserving the dialogue, which date from the tenth century, do not document the dialogue's earliest manifestations, but a later stage in its development. By the tenth century, *Quem queritis* was already known in the kingdoms of France, Germany, and England where it was performed in different liturgical placements: as an Introit trope at Easter Mass and as part of the *Visitatio sepulchri* at Matins. The text and melody even varied from one source to the next. This variability makes it challenging, if not impossible, to determine which of the earliest sources — if any — transmit the dialogue in its original form and liturgical placement.

The first part of the chapter theorizes about the origins of the *Quem queritis*, the sung dialogue between the Marys and angels at Christ's tomb, which was a key component of *Visitationes*. The dialogue's dating, whether it initially circulated with music, and its earliest liturgical placement will be the focii. In the second part of the chapter, attention shifts to the early history of the *Quem queritis* in the German lands. A

possible order in which the dialogue was transmitted from one religious institution to the next is posited and the dialogue's different liturgical placements are compared.

<center>Origins of the *Quem queritis*</center>

Dating of the *Quem queritis*

The earliest sources come from the tenth century, but the dialogue's wide circulation and high degree of variability suggest an earlier date of composition. By the tenth century, *Quem queritis* was known in France, Germany, and England, and regional variants involving the endings of the dialogue and selection of chants that accompanied it already existed, as philologist Helmut de Boor has demonstrated in his 1967 study of text variants.[1] Presumably it would have taken time for the dialogue to become so widely disseminated and for regional variants to develop, making it likely that the *Quem queritis* predated the tenth century.

Michel Huglo's work on the dissemination of proper chants, tropes, and other musical compositions supports this view. According to Huglo, the Treaty of Verdun (843), which divided the Frankish Kingdom into Eastern, Middle, and Western Kingdoms, greatly affected the transmission of tropes and other musical compositions.[2] After the partition, chants had a more limited circulation, rarely passing from Western

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[1] Helmut de Boor, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Tübingen, Germany: Max Niemeyer, 1967), 67-8.
[2] Michel Huglo, "Division de la tradition monodique en deux groupes 'est' et 'ouest'," *Revue de Musicologie* 85, no. 1 (1999), 5.

Francia into Eastern Francia or vice versa.[3] Huglo contended that proper chants and tropes that circulated widely across the Frankish lands were transmitted during the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the period when the Frankish empire was unified politically.[4] This suggests that 843 must be the *terminus post quem non* for the *Quem queritis* and that the earliest sources are about a hundred years later than the period when the dialogue was created.

Transmission of the *Quem queritis* Melody

The question of whether or not the music was affixed to the text of the *Quem queritis* at its inception may elucidate aspects of its early history. If the same melody is given in all the earliest sources, one can assume that the dialogue was set to music before it circulated across the Frankish lands. If there are substantial differences, the possibility that the dialogue was first disseminated as a text, and then set to music at different religious institutions, must be considered. After comparing the melodies of five early sources of disparate provenance, Rankin concluded that the earliest sources transmit the same melody and "relate to one conception, an original composition of the dialogue with its music."[5] To ascertain whether her conclusion holds when a larger sample size is examined, the melodies of twenty of the twenty-four tenth- and eleventh-century German

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[3] Huglo, "Division de la tradition monodique," 5, 24.
[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] The five *Quem queritis* dialogues Rankin compared were from St. Martial, Autun, Winchester, Mainz, and St. Gall. Susan Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in England and in France*, 2 vols., (Garland: New York, 1989), 1:20.

sources will be compared with a representative sample of those from France, England, and Italy.

Since the melodies of the earliest sources are notated in unheightened neumes, it is possible only to identify the contour and number of pitches per syllable, but not the magnitude from one interval to the next. To better understand what types of melodic variants may be present in the unheightened sources, and whether these indicated that the dialogue circulated with more than one musical setting, seven *Quem queritis* melodies in heightened notation will first be compared.[6] The melodies transcribed in example 2.1 are from German, Italian, southern French, and northern French sources. The Laon transcription is from Rankin's *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and England*, while James Borders kindly provided transcriptions from I-PS 121 and I-RC 1741.[7]

Each source presents the same *Quem queritis* melody, with certain regional and sometimes local variants. One of the most notable differences among them is modal design; example 2.1 shows the three possibilities. Some melodies are in mode I on D throughout, as is the case with St. Martial, St. Maur, and Nonantola. Those from Ahrweiler and Laon transpose the mode-one melody to G, and those from Aachen and

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[6] For information about the German sources, see appendix A. *CT* and Lip. were consulted for the provenance and dating of the sources. The provenance and dating of the non-German sources are as follows: I-PS 121, Pistoia, XIIin; I-RC 174, Nonantola, XIex; F-Pn lat. 909, St. Martial de Limoges, 1000-1034; F-Pn. lat. 12044, St. Maur des Fossés, XII; F-LA Ms. 263, Laon, XII.

[7] Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 2:12-14; James Borders, ed., *Early Medieval Chants from Nonantola*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 31, Pt. 2 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1996), xxxvi.

Piacenza have a partial transposition (the first two lines are transposed to G and the last two are untransposed).[8]

Example 2.1-a. First Phrase of *Quem queritis* in Heightened Notation.

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[8] Despite the transposition, the melodies remain in mode I because of the inclusion of B-flats in the Piacenza and Laon sources and the avoidance of B in the German sources.

Example 2.1-b. Second Phrase of *Quem queritis*.

The heightened sources present the same melody with minor variants, save for the

christicole and *celicole* cadences, which differ significantly. In example 2.1-a, there are

five different cadences on *christicole* (Aachen and Ahrweiler have different but related

ones; Piacenza, Nonantola, and St. Martial transmit another; and St. Maur and Laon a

fourth and fifth). Four different cadences are found on *celicole* in example 2.1-b; the

German sources have the same cadence; Nonantola, St. Martial, and St. Maur present

another (with slight melodic variants); and Piacenza and Laon a third and fourth. In some

sources *christicole* and *celicole* have identical cadences, creating musical rhyme. Rankin

suggested that the presence or absence of musical rhyme might offer clues about the

relative chronology of different versions of the *Quem queritis*. She posited that "a

deliberate change was [has been] made to the older melody, in order to create a musical

rhyme with the cadence phrase," a reasonable assertion given that many of the earliest

versions of the *Quem queritis* lack musical rhyme.[9] Since musical rhyme is ubiquitous in

the heightened German sources (see appendix E for transcriptions) this suggests that the

melodies they transmit are not as old as those from elsewhere.

Example 2.1-c. Third Phrase of *Quem queritis*.

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[9] Susan Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in England and in France*, 2:57.

Example 2.1-d. Fourth Phrase of *Quem queritis*.

With the exception of cadences, variants in the heightened versions are minor.

These include the presence or absence of a liquescence, quilisma, or oriscus, the filling in

of thirds, and a torculus or porrectus being used instead of a clivis or pes.[10] The third and

fourth phrases are more variable than the first two. The leap of a fifth on *non est hic* can

occur on any of the three syllables (see example 2.1-c), and the cadence on *predixerat* is

sometimes approached from above and sometimes from below. In the fourth phrase,

given as example 2.1-d, there are five different musical treatments of *ite* and six of

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[10] In his study on the transmission of Gregorian chant, David Hughes identified certain variants as trivial ("a minor change that would likely pass by unnoticed," 381) and others as substantive (one that "creates a perceptibly new version of the melody," 381). The types of variants present in the first two phrases of *Quem queritis* are those that Hughes identified as trivial. David Hughes, "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 381-4.

surrexit, yet they have similar contours and share some pitches.[11] When all the melodic

similarities and differences are taken into account, it is evident that the seven sources

transmit the same melody, albeit different versions of it.

Variants are frequent among tenth- and eleventh-century sources of the *Quem*

queritis notated in unheightened neumes. In what follows, melodies of twenty of the

twenty-three early notated German sources will be compared to assess how consistently

the *Quem queritis* was transmitted.[12] Before comparing the melodies of the tenth- and

eleventh-century German sources of the *Quem queritis*, however, the twenty-four sources

listed in appendix C will be introduced.[13] Twenty-three of them have unheightened St.

Gall, German, and Messine notation and one is text only. The sources include eleven

tropers, six graduals, two Office books (an antiphoner and a breviary), and folios from an

antiphoner, rituale, and a breviary bound in miscellanies or surviving as fragments.[14] The

dialogue circulated almost exclusively in a Benedictine milieu in the German lands. All

but four of the manuscripts originated in Benedictine monasteries, including six of the

most illustrious in medieval Germany, namely St. Gall, St. Emmeram, Rheinau,

Reichenau, St. Alban of Mainz, and St. Matthias of Trier.[15] Yet even the three non-

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[11] AHR-1-c and Laon, which have idiosyncratic passages, are the exceptions.

[12] RHE-1-b and RHE-2-b could not be considered because I was unable to examine them in person and could not obtain legible images of them. TR-1-b has been omitted because only the first line is neumed. It should be noted that the melody of TR-1-b is more florid than what is typically found in German sources, but its contour is similar to those found in other unheightened sources.

[13] The dating and provenance of the tropers is based on *CT III*, 34-41 and Lip. for the other sources.

[14] The *Quem queritis* dialogues in ECH-1-b and MNZ-1-b are found on folios taken from an antiphoner and rituale respectively, and ME-1-b is a binding fragment from a breviary. In TR-1-b the dialogue was added to a miscellany, in a new hand, on blank folios, following a prayer for the exaltation of the cross, and it is marginalia in REG-1-b.

[15] MTZ-1-c MIN-1-c, MIN-2-c, and MIN-3-c are the four cathedral sources.

Benedictine sources from Minden cathedral exhibit a strong Benedictine influence with respect to particular saints venerated and the repertory of tropes and sequences, which is unsurprising since MIN-1-c was likely copied at St Gall.[16] Even taking into account the likelihood of lost sources, the prevalence of the *Quem queritis* from Benedictine houses suggests its usage in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany was primarily monastic.

The *Quem queritis* melody was fairly stably transmitted in the German lands during the tenth and eleventh centuries, insofar as one can ascertain from unheightened notation.[17] In appendix D, melodies of ten German sources are collated; when multiple sources survive from one religious institution, the transcription of only one source is given.[18] One of the most striking similarities among the German sources involves the

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[16] MIN-1-c, for example, includes Masses for St. Gall (fol. 69v-70v) and St. Otmarus (fol. 72v-73v), patrons of St. Gall. Karlheinz Schlager, "*Hodie cantandus est nobis ... Anmerkungen zur Notation und zu den Gesangsgattungen im Mindener Tropar — Sequentiar*," in *Tropi carminum/ Liber hymnorum Notkeri Balbuli: Berlin, Ehem. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. theol. lat. qu. 11 (z. Zt. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Depositum)*, ed. Schlager and Andreas Haug, 7-20 (Munich: Helga Lengenfelder, 1993), 14. On MIN-1-c being copied at St. Gall, see Rankin, "From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts," 401; Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381: Edited in Facsimile with Commentary by Arlt and Rankin*, 3 vols. (Winterthur: Switzerland: Amandeum, 1996), 11. It should be acknowledged that Andreas Haug has argued against MIN-1-c being copied at St. Gall because it contains tropes not found in the St. Gall sources. Andreas Haug, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Stellung des Mindener Tropars — Sequentiars," in *Tropi carminum*, ed. Schalger and Haug, 21-26 (Munich: Helga Lengenfelder, 1993), 22-25.

[17] Only the source from Metz transmits a different version of the melody than the other German sources. The chant text and melody of MTZ-1-c are more similar to the *Quem queritis* from Châlons, in northern France, than the German sources. The second line in both sources reads *Ihesum Nazarenum querimus crucifixum* (we seek Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified), and the dialogue ends with *ite nunciate quia surrexit a morte*. The musical contour and text-syllable distribution are also similar as both melodies include a punctum on *Non est*, rather than a clivis, and descending neumes on *ite* rather than a clivis.

[18] The unheigthened neumes transcribed in appendix D are approximations of those found in the early sources. The basic neume shapes are recorded, but rhythmic indicators (i.e.

christicole / *caelicole* cadences. These cadences have the same contours and text settings in seven of the sources, probably indicating musical rhyme, given how ubiquitous the technique is in later German sources.[19] The melodic contours of the earliest German sources mostly agree: *crucifixum*, *hic*, *surrexit*, and *ite nunciate* are the only points where one finds ascending neumes in some sources and descending ones in others. Differences in the syllable-note distribution are more frequent than those involving melodic contour. The variants are regionally circumscribed, meaning that sources from the eastern German Kingdom, namely those from St. Gall, Reichenau, Minden, and Heidenheim, typically display one set of variants, and those from Lotharingia (Echternach and Prüm) exhibit another. Mainz, located in central Germany, shares similarities with both groups, as do St. Emmeram and Seeon, monasteries located in the east but involved in the Gorzian reforms emanating from Lotharingia.[20]

These groupings mostly agree with those that David Hiley uncovered while investigating how closely or distantly related various tropers were based on the collections of tropes they contained. He observed that St. Gall, Minden, Heidenheim, and Seeon shared at least 82 percent of their tropes, as did Echternach and Prüm.[21] These groupings also mostly agree with de Boor's *regionalen Formen* (regional forms) of the *Quem queritis*, which he arrived at by studying text variants and selection of texts. His

episema and *litterae significativae*) are omitted, and when there is an oriscus, an extra punctum is notated in its place.

[19] Since the music scribe of PRM-1-b failed to record some of the neumes in the first line, it is impossible to ascertain whether musical rhyme would have been used.

[20] Clifford H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1989), 87, 103-4.

[21] David Hiley, "Some Observations on the Interrelationships between Trope Repertories," in *Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History, and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm, June 1-3, 1981*, ed., Gunilla Iversen, 29-37 (Almquist & Wiksell International, 1983), 31.

Lotharingian-Rheinlandish group, comprising the duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine,

corresponded to what is identified here as the Lotharingian group, and the St. Gall group

corresponded to the eastern group.[22] In other words, *Quem queritis* dialogues with similar

melodic variants often shared similar text variants and were transmitted in tropers with

similar collections of tropes.

      Now that it has been established that the tenth- and eleventh-century German

sources transmit the same melody, albeit with regional variants, the melodies found in the

earliest German, French, English, and Italian sources will be compared to demonstrate

that from the tenth century onward (the earliest period from which sources survive) a

single melody circulated across the Frankish lands. In example 2.2 the melodies of *Quem

queritis* dialogues found in some of the earliest German, Italian, French, and English

sources, namely SG-2-b, I-VEcap CVII, F- Pn lat. 1240, and GB-Ccc 473, are collated.[23]

Several heightened sources are provided for comparison.

[22] de Boor, *Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 67-8. The Lotharingian-Rheinlandish group typically had an "o" preceding *Christicole*, ended with *quia surrexit dicentes*, and used *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro* (*CAO* 5079). The St. Gall group lacked the first "o," had the *quia surrexit de sepulchro* ending, and used *Surrexit enim.*

[23] James Borders kindly shared his transcription of I-VEcap CVII. According to *CT*, the provenance and dating of the non-German sources are as follows: I-VEcap CVII, Mantova, XI$^{1/2}$; F-Pn lat. 1240, Limoges, Xin/m; and GB-Ccc 473, Winchester, 996-1006.

Example 2.2. Comparison of *Quem queritis* Melodies in Early German, Italian, French, and English Sources.

Two conclusions can be drawn about the musical relationships among the sources. First, since they transmit different versions of the same melody, the dialogue must have been affixed to music before it circulated across the Frankish Kingdom. Second, by the time the melody was first notated, regional variants involving ornamentation, text setting, and contour already existed.

Liturgical Placements of the Dialogue

The earliest sources transmit *Quem queritis* in a variety of liturgical placements: as an Introit trope, as part of a procession before Mass, as a core element of the *Visitatio sepulchri* performed at the end of Matins, and as a verse that introduced the Mass.[24] Scholars' theories about the dialogue's original liturgical placement differ. Karl Young, writing in the early twentieth century, proposed that the dialogue began as an Introit trope for Easter Sunday, since it was shortest and simplest in this liturgical placement.[25] In the 1960s, O. B. Hardison found evidence of a Darwinian influence in Young's thinking and rejected the trope hypothesis because it was "inconsistent with the chronology and content of the earliest manuscripts."[26] Hardison instead located the dialogue's origins in the Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday, arguing that it was a means of preparing for the Vigil Mass and for instructing the neophytes, the newly baptized Christians.[27] There are two reasons to doubt his Easter Vigil hypothesis: most of his sources are late and, as Alejandro Planchart has observed, GB-Ob MS Bodley 775 — Hardison's one early source where the dialogue is preserved among the Holy Saturday chants — contains frequent scribal errors. Because the dialogue is assigned to Easter Sunday in the more

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[24] Gunilla Iversen, "Aspects of the Transmission of the *Quem Quaeritis*," *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 3 (1987): 157.

[25] Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 1:viii-ix, 201, 223.

[26] O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*, 178-219 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), viii.

[27] Hardison's evidence that the dialogue was performed in the Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday comes from the eleventh-century Winchester Troper, GB-Ob MS. Bodley 775, where the dialogue is copied before the blessing of the candles ceremony on Holy Saturday. Hardison, "The Early History of the *Quem quaeritis*," in *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*, 190-1, 198-99.

reliable Winchester troper (GB-Ccc MS 473), Planchart interpreted the dialogue's unusual placement in MS Bodley 775 as a scribal error.[28] Timothy McGee, writing in 1974, posited that the dialogue began as "part of the pre-Mass *Collecta* ceremony."[29] He described the *Collecta* as a service that took place on important feast days "at a church known itself as a *Collecta* where the congregation and celebrants assembled for a short collect before processing to the stational church designated for the Mass of that feast."[30] His theory is suspect because it assumes that the religious communities that performed the dialogue as part of a procession celebrated a stational liturgy. However, it is unlikely that a stational liturgy was celebrated at the religious institutions that performed the dialogue as part of a procession since these were Benedictine rather than cathedral communities, a point that will be expanded on later in the chapter. Despite Young, Hardison, and McGee's attempts to clarify the earliest liturgical uses of the dialogue, its early history remains elusive.

This section will argue that the very aspects of the *Quem queritis*'s transmission that occlude its early history — its varied liturgical placements and wide dissemination — are the key to unlocking its early manifestations. Based on dissemination patterns and the manner in which scribes identified it, the argument will be made that from the beginning the dialogue lacked a fixed liturgical placement.

David Bjork was the first scholar to observe a correlation between the dialogue's liturgical placement and provenance, arguing that the distribution of sources preserving

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[28] Alejandro Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 1:239-40.

[29] Timothy McGee, "The Liturgical Placements of the *Quem queritis* Dialogue," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29, no. 1 (Spring, 1976): 6.

[30] Ibid.

the dialogue as a trope or as part of the *Visitatio* was not random, but geographical.[31]
Quem queritis was performed as an Introit trope in the south (southern France, Catalonia, and Italy) and as part of the *Visitatio sepulchri* in the north (England, northern France, and the German Kingdom), with few exceptions.[32] What may have caused two different performance traditions to develop, however, has not been sufficiently examined. If *Quem queritis* initially circulated without a fixed liturgical placement, members of different communities may have wanted to introduce the dialogue into the liturgy and found different ways of doing so. Someone in the south may have adopted it as an Introit trope and someone in the north may have incorporated it into Matins. These two practices could have spread to nearby communities, until different liturgical placements were widely known in the north and south. This scenario explains why multiple placements of the dialogue arose and circulated in different parts of the Frankish lands.

The manner in which scribes identified the dialogue in tenth- and eleventh-century sources further suggests that *Quem queritis* lacked a fixed liturgical placement initially. No genre is typically indicated for it, even in manuscripts where the scribe felicitously recorded the genre for the other chants. Only when *Quem queritis* is preserved in tropers, where headings identify the collection of chants that followed as tropes, is a genre specified.[33] More frequently only the performance indications *interrogatio* (question) and *responsorio* (answer) precede the angels' and Marys'

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[31] David Bjork, "On the Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis* and the *Visitatio sepulchri* and the Chronology of Their Early Sources," *Comparative Drama* 14, no. 1 (Spring, 1980): 49.

[32] Ibid.

[33] The heading on fol. 4 of SG-1-b reads, "Here begins the tropes of chants for different feasts of masses about to be sung" (*Incipiunt tropi carminum in diversis festivitatibus missarum canendi*).

exchanges. Frankish scribes may not have indicated the genre because they had a difficult time categorizing *Quem queritis*. As a sung text set as a dialogue between two groups of biblical figures, it seems to be *sui generis*.[34] The fact that *Quem queritis* stood out from other liturgical chants and that it circulated in different liturgical placements in the north and south support the argument that the dialogue initially lacked a fixed liturgical position.

The theories that have been presented about the origins of the dialogue are necessarily speculative, but are based on careful source study of the music and texts of the *Quem queritis* dialogue. The three theories can be summarized as follows. First, *Quem queritis* predated the Treaty of Verdun in 843, which divided the Frankish Empire into three kingdoms. Second, it was initially transmitted with music (or acquired a melody early on), before it circulated across the Frankish Empire. Third, *Quem queritis* lacked a firm liturgical assignment at its initial dissemination, prompting different religious communities to develop their own strategies for integrating it into the liturgy.

<u>The *Quem Queritis* in Medieval Germany in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries</u>

At this point, the focus will shift from broad questions about the origins of the *Quem queritis* to the dialogue's earliest documented uses in the German lands. The objectives of the section are three: first, to theorize about how the dialogue spread from one religious institution to the next during the tenth and eleventh centuries; second, to identify differences in how *Quem queritis* was performed in the German lands and

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[34] The tropes for Christmas and the Ascension that were cast as dialogues were modeled on the *Quem queritis*.

elsewhere; and third, to describe, and in some cases reconstruct, how the dialogue may have been performed in different liturgical placements.

<u>The Circulation of *Quem queritis* in the German Lands</u>

Although the provenances are known for most of the twenty-four earliest German sources containing the *Quem queritis* (listed in appendix C), determining which monasteries and churches played important roles in the dialogue's dissemination, how it passed from one institution to the next, and in what order this occurred, pose formidable challenges. Fortunately, scholarship on the dissemination of tropes in Germany written during the past twenty years, can help to clarify some aspects of the dialogue's transmission because *Quem queritis* was included in many of the same manuscripts as tropes. Information about religious affiliations between communities, characteristics of the manuscripts preserving the dialogue, and musical and textual variants help with these endeavors. Although it is impossible to reconstruct all the channels through which the dialogue circulated, one can identify several lines of dissemination in the eastern German lands and establish an order in which the *Quem queritis* may have been transmitted from one religious institution to another.

St. Gall, the home of two of the earliest sources of *Quem queritis*, played an important role in disseminating the dialogue; however, the dialogue likely did not originate there. Characteristics of the earliest tropers, SG-1-b and SG-2-b, offer clues that the dialogue was more likely imported to St. Gall rather than created there. On the grounds of the codicology and organization of SG-1-b and SG-2-b, Rankin argued that

these tenth-century tropers were compilations that brought together the contents from several tropers.[35] She observed that SG-1-b had an irregular gathering structure, and when multiple tropes are recorded for the same feast day, those of the same genre (e.g. Introit) were not necessarily gathered together. Instead the scribe recorded one set of proper tropes for a given feast day, then another, and another, going through the entire cycle of tropes for the feast before starting again with the introit.[36] Rankin concluded that the scribe of SG-1-b was "assembling a collection, probably containing everything he could get his hands on" rather than recording "an ostensibly fixed repertory," as is the case with the more orderly eleventh-century tropers.[37] She contended that the unusual order in which the tropes were copied indicates that the scribe was working from multiple exemplars.[38] Since he was trying to assemble a collection of tropes, working from whatever sources he could, there is a good chance that *Quem queritis* was not native to St. Gall, but rather imported from some hitherto unidentified religious institution. If this is correct, then the dialogue arrived before or during the third quarter of the tenth century, when SG-1-b and SG-2-b were copied.[39]

   Quem queritis was disseminated from St. Gall to other religious institutions in eastern Germany. It likely arrived at Minden Cathedral via St. Gall during Bishop Sigebert of Minden's episcopate, from 1022-36. The Bishop commissioned the St. Gall scriptorium to copy a number of liturgical manuscripts for use at the cathedral; MIN-1-c

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[35] Susan Rankin, "From Tuotilio to the First Manuscripts: The Shaping of a Trope Repertory at Saint Gall," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, 365-413 (Stockholm, Sweden: Almquist & Wiksell, 1993), 405.
[36] Ibid., 405.
[37] Ibid., 409.
[38] Ibid., 405.
[39] On the dating of the manuscripts Ibid., 399.

may have been one such manuscript.[40] Knowing that Minden and St. Gall were affiliated,

insofar as St. Gall served as a scriptorium for Minden, elucidates how the dialogue,

which flourished at Benedictine monasteries, became part of Minden's Easter liturgy. St.

Gall also likely transmitted the dialogue to other religious communities. Rheinau, a

nearby monastery in modern day Switzerland, may have received *Quem queritis* at the

same time tropes composed at St. Gall, which are found in RHE-1-b, were transmitted. If

this is the case, it would indicate that *Quem queritis* was known at Rheinau before

RHE-1-b, an eleventh-century troper, was copied.[41]

The manner in which *Quem queritis* was recorded in REG-1-b and the regional

variants that it exhibits offer clues about when the dialogue may have arrived at St.

Emmeram and from where it came. When REG-1-b was copied at the end of the tenth

century, *Quem queritis* was not recorded in the troper (fols. 92r - 95v); instead the Introit

trope, *Hodie resurrexit Dominus* (*CT*, Resur. intro 129), was assigned to Easter Sunday.[42]

Quem queritis is recorded at the end of the troper, on a folio where a second trope

complex for Easter Sunday was entered. It was not in the main writing area, but in the

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[40] Ibid., 401; Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381: edited in facsimile with commentary by Arlt and Rankin*, 3 vols. (Switzerland: Amandeum, 1996), 11. Andreas Haug has questioned whether MIN-1-c was copied at St. Gall because it contains tropes not found in the St. Gall sources. Andreas Haug, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Stellung des Mindener Tropars — Sequentiars," in *Tropi carminum*, ed. Karlheinz Schalger and Andreas Haug, 21-26 (Munich: Helga Lengenfelder, 1993), 22-25.

[41] On the reception of St. Gall tropes at Rheinau see Arlt and Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 11. Ekkehard identified several tropes composed and sung at St. Gall including *Hodie cantandus, Omnium virtutum gemmis, Quoniam Dominus Ihesus Christus, Omnipotens genitor fons et origo*, and *Gaudete et cantate*. Rankin, "From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts," 395.

[42] On the dating of REG-1-b see David Hiley, "Some Observations on the Repertory of Tropes at St Emmeram, Regensburg" *Cantus Planus* 1990, 337.

bottom left margin, as given in figure 2.1. It should be mentioned that the dialogue is only partially visible because the folio was trimmed.

Figure 2.1. REG-1-b, fol. 94v.
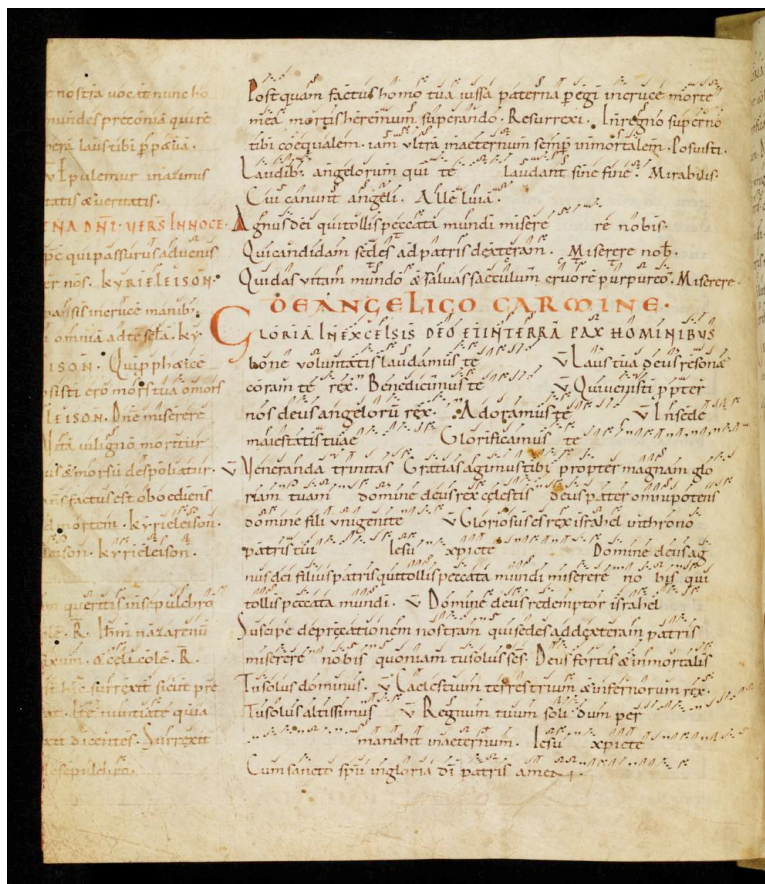
Because *Quem queritis* is written in the primary scribe's hand, one can assume that the marginalia are from about the same period as the rest of the manuscript.[43] This may indicate that the scribe was unfamiliar with *Quem queritis* when he copied the troper, but was later exposed to it and decided to enter it in the margins.

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[43] On the contents and paleography of REG-1-b, see Günter Michael Paucker, *Das Graduale Msc. Lit. 6 der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg: Eine Handschriften-Monographie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires und der Notation*, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 30 (Regensburg: Gustave Bosse, 1986), 21-3.

Textual characteristics of the dialogue and knowledge about religious reforms in Germany are key to understanding when the *Quem queritis* may have been introduced at St. Emmeram. Although this monastery was situated in the eastern Frankish lands, the use of the *dicentes* ending and *Surrexit Dominus* reflects Lotharingian practice. The *Quem queritis* was most likely introduced to St. Emmeram from Lotharingia during Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg's episcopate (972-994). It was during this period that he required St. Emmeram to adopt the customary of Gorze, an abbey near Metz where Benedictine reforms began in 933 before spreading across Lotharingia, Hesse, Swabia, and Bavaria.[44] That REG-1-b was being copied at the time the Gorzian reforms were being implemented at St. Emmeram elucidates why *Quem queritis* was copied in the margins instead of the main writing area. The copying of REG-1-b, implementing the Gorzian reforms, and introduction of *Quem queritis* to St. Emmeram, likely occurred contemporaneously.

St. Emmeram was likely responsible for further disseminating the dialogue in the eastern German lands. According to Hiley, St. Emmeram imposed Gorzian reforms on nearby monasteries, including Seeon, from which SEE?-1-b came.[45] That the music and text of *Quem queritis* in SEE?-1-b resemble *Quem queritis* dialogues from St. Emmeram increases the probability that the dialogue arrived at Seeon via St. Emmeram.

The preceding section creates a partial picture of the dialogue's circulation in the German lands. Based on manuscript evidence, institutional affiliations, and musical and textual variants, it is possible to draw several conclusions about the early history of the

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[44] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 87, 103-4.

[45] David Hiley, "Some Observations on the Repertory of Tropes at St Emmeram, Regensburg," 343.

Quem queritis in Germany. Although the origins of the dialogue are unknown,

manuscript evidence suggests that it was not created at St. Gall (contrary to Karl Young's

assertions), or at St. Emmeram.[46] It is clear that the dialogue was known in Germany by

at least the third quarter of the tenth century, when SG-1-b and SG-2-b (the earliest

German sources) were copied. *Quem queritis* was then disseminated to St. Emmeram

during the final quarter of the tenth century, not via St. Gall, but from Lotharingia.

During the eleventh century, St. Emmeram and St. Gall both played vital roles in

disseminating the dialogue throughout eastern Germany, transmitting it near and far.

Most likely it was through these two channels that the dialogue was introduced to the

Rheinau and Seeon monasteries, Minden cathedral, and to other religious institutions.

Performing the *Quem queritis* Dialogue in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Germany

In its three placements, as the core of the *Visitatio sepulchri* at Matins, as part of a

procession before Mass, and as an Introit trope, the types of chants accompanying the

dialogue and the manner of performance differed. When scholars have discussed how

Quem queritis was performed in each of these placements, they have done so in a broad

geographical context and at least some of their observations do not apply to early German

practice. Using evidence gleaned from the twenty-four earliest sources, the objective here

will be to establish what the different liturgical uses for the dialogue entailed. In the

process of doing so, the form and contents of the earliest German *Visitationes* will be

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[46] Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:204-5.

investigated, and a tentative reconstruction of the Easter Sunday procession will be offered.

<u>Matins Placement</u>

The end of Matins was the most widely known liturgical context for the *Quem queritis* dialogue and only in this position can we be certain that it was re-enacted. At least thirteen of the twenty-four earliest German sources, listed in table 2.1, preserve the dialogue as part of the *Visitatio sepulchri*.[47]

Table 2.1. Tenth- and Eleventh-Century German *Visitationes*.

Abbreviation	Date	Type of Source
ECH-1-b	11i	Miscellany
ECH-2-b	$11^{2/2}$	Troper
ME-1-b	11	Binding fragment
MTZ-1-c	11m	Troper
MIN-1-c	11i (1024-1027)	Troper
MIN-2-c	11i (1024-1027)	Gradual
MIN-3-c	11i	Gradual
PRM-1-b	10x (990-995)	Gradual
REG-2-b	11im (1031-1037ca)	Troper
RCH-1-b	11i (1001)	Troper
RHE-2-b	11	Troper
SEE?-1-b	11i	Troper
TR-1-b	10/11	Miscellany

The *Visitationes* in these thirteen sources share three characteristics. First, the Marys and angels are the only characters portrayed. Second, they are short, comprising no more than

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[47] In the tables and appendices that follow, *i* indicates sources dating to the first third of the century, *m* signals manuscripts dating from the second third, and *x* indicates those from the last third of the century. For additional information, please see the legend preceding the appendices.

three chants. Third, they include the dialogue *Quem queritis in sepulchro* and at least one antiphon.

The thirteen *Visitationes* are not however identical; their length and selection of chants may differ. The shortest and simplest comprised the dialogue plus one antiphon: nine of the thirteen are of this variety.[48] Six of these included *Quem queritis* and the Office antiphon *Surrexit Dominus* (*CAO* 5079).[49] Another three — all from Minden — included the dialogue and the Office antiphon *Surrexit enim* (*CAO* 5082). The remaining four pair *Quem queritis* with two antiphons.

Two-Chant Visitationes

These *Visitationes* included two episodes: the Marys' encounter with the angels at the sepulcher who informed them of the Resurrection and the singing of *Surrexit Dominus* or *Surrexit enim* to announce the Resurrection, as examples 2.3-a and 2.3-b demonstrate.

Example 2.3-a. Rubrics and Chant Texts of ECH-2-b, Two-Chant *Visitatio*.

AD VISITANDUM SEPULCHRUM	FOR VISITING THE SEPULCHER
INTERROGATIO	QUESTION
Quem queritis in sepulchro	*Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,*
o christicolae	*O followers of Christ?*

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[48] The two-chant *Visitationes* are as follows: ECH-2-b, ME-1-b, MTZ-1-c, MIN-1-c, MIN-2-c, MIN-3-c, PRM-1-b, SEE?-1-b, and TR-1-b.

[49] ECH-2-b, ME-1-b, MTZ-1-c, PRM-1-b, and TR-1-b use *Surrexit Dominus*. SEE?-1-b, provides only the incipit *Surrexit* without accompanying music, making it impossible to determine whether *Surrexit Dominus* or *Surrexit enim* was sung.

RESPONSIO
Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum
o caelicolae

ANSWER
Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified,
O heavenly ones.

ITEM
Non est hic surrexit sicut
predixerat ite nunciate
quia surrexit dicentes

SIMILARILY
He is not here, He has risen as
He foretold. Go, announce
that He has risen, saying:

ANTIPHONA
Surrexit Dominus [*de sepulchro*
qui pro nobis pependit in ligno alleluia]

ANTIPHON
The Lord has risen from the sepulcher,
He who for us hung on the cross. Alleluia.

Example 2.3-b. Rubrics and Chant Texts of MIN-3-c, Two-Chant *Visitatio*.

IN DIE SANCTO PASCHE PRIMO
MANE AD VISITANDUM
SEPULCHRUM DOMINI

VISIT TO THE SEPULCHER OF THE
LORD ON THE HOLY DAY OF
EASTER EARLY IN THE MORNING

INTERROGATIO
Quem quaeritis in sepulchro o christicolae

QUESTION
Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,
O followers of Christ?

RESPONSIO
Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum o caelicolae

ANSWER
Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified,
O heavenly ones.

Non est hic surrexit sicut praedixerat
ite nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro

He is not here, He has risen as
He foretold. Go announce
that He has risen from the sepulcher.

ANTIPHONA
Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus
et praecedet vos in Galileam alleluia
ibi eum videbitis alleluia alleluia alleluia

ANTIPHON
For the Lord has risen, as he foretold;
He is going ahead of you into Galilee.
Alleluia. There you will see him.
Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

De Boor and later scholars referred to *Surrexit Dominus* and *Surrexit enim* as

announcement antiphons (*Kündungsantiphonen*) because the texts proclaim the

Resurrection. This nomenclature will be adopted here as well because rubrics suggest that these antiphons functioned as announcements.[50] In TR-1-b the word *annunciacio* (announcement) precedes *Surrexit Dominus*, and the rubrics of ME-1-b indicate that the Marys faced the assembled brothers when they sang *Surrexit Dominus*, validating de Boor's terminology.[51]

Although neither source explicitly indicates that the visit of the sepulcher was reenacted, there are three subtle indications that this was the case. First, the headings specify that the action occurred at the sepulcher, the same place where the original events unfolded, represented in some churches by a structure resembling a tomb and in others by the altar. Second, the words 'question' (*interrogatio*) and 'answer' (*responsio*) demarcate the sections of the dialogue, implying an alternation of singers, a standard component of most reenactments. Third, the responsory and antiphons preceding and following *Quem queritis* recounted events that took place before and after the Marys' encounter with the angels, constructing a narrative context for the dialogue.[52] That the singers portrayed the angels and Marys and the events were reenacted is confirmed in ME-1-b, the only two-chant *Visitatio* that identifies the speakers. According to the rubrics, two priests

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[50] de Boor, *Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 49-67. Clyde Brockett and Michael Norton also used the term. Brockett, "Ambiguities in the Designation of Antiphons for the Tenth-Century *Quem quaeritis*," *Musica Disciplina: A Yearbook of the History of Music* 51 (1997): 190; Norton, "Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 70.

[51] *Nunciantes autem convertuntur ad fratres voce clara cantantes antiphonam* (announcing, they however are turned toward the brothers, singing in a loud voice the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*).

[52] The text of *Dum transisset sabbatum* (*CAO* 6565), the third responsory of Matins that preceded the *Visitatio sepulchri*, describes the Marys traveling to the sepulcher, and the Marys sang *Surrexit Dominus* or *Surrexit enim* to proclaim the Resurrection, all of which could have been enacted.

(*sacerdotes*) who portrayed the angels, and two deacons (*diaconi*), who portrayed the

Marys, sang the dialogue:

> After the third responsory, two priests in albs and copes should
> go behind the altar and give the appearance of angels
> sitting at the sepulcher of the Lord. Two deacons in dalmatics carrying
> incense in two thuribles should come, with covered heads, in suggestion of
> the women with spices seeking the Lord at the sepulcher.[53]

The descriptions of the deacons, with covered heads, carrying incense, "in suggestion" of

the Marys carrying spices, and the priests sitting in the sepulcher wearing albs and copes,

are compelling evidence that the *Visitatio sepulchri* was enacted. Thus the headings,

alternation of speakers, expanded narrative context for the dialogue, and rubrics in

ME-1-b suggest that two-chant *Visitationes* were reenacted.

Three-Chant Visitationes

Two antiphons framed the dialogue in four of the thirteen *Visitationes*: one was

sung as the Marys walked to the sepulcher and the other was an announcement antiphon.

One version, transmitted in RCH-1-b and RHE-2-b, began with *Et dicebant* (*CAO* 2697),

and ended with *Surrexit enim*, the antiphon sung in the two-chant *Visitationes* from

Minden. The other, recorded in REG-2-b and ECH-1-b, began with *Quis revolvet nobis*

and ended with *Surrexit Dominus*. The chant texts and rubrics of RCH-1-b and REG-2-b

are given in example 2.4.

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[53] *Post tercium responsorium veniant duo sacerdotes in albis cappis retro altare qui angeli sedentis ad sepulchrum Domini vicem debent gerere et veniant duo diaconi in dalmaticis portantes incensum in duobus turibulis amictis capitibus in significatione mulierum dominum querientium cum aromatibus ad sepulchrum.*

Example 2.4. Comparison of Chants and Rubrics in RCH-1-b and REG-2-b.

<div style="text-align:center">RCH-1-b</div>

AD VISITANDUM SEPULCHRUM
PRESBITERI VICE MULIERUM

Et dicebant ad invicem
quis revolvit nobis lapidem ab hostio
monumenti alleluia alleluia

INTERROGATIO ANGEL[ORUM]
Quem quaeritis in sepulchro christicole

RESPONSIO
Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum o caelicolae

E CONTRA
Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat
ite nunciate quia surrexit de sepulchro

PRESBITERI
Surrexit enim [*sicut dixit Dominus*
praecedit vos in Galilaeam alleluia
ibi eum videbitis alleluia alleluia alleluia]

<div style="text-align:center">REG-2-b</div>

INTERROGATIO ANTIPHONA

Quis revolvet nobis lapidem [*ab hostio*
monumenti alleluia alleluia]

PRESBITERI
Quem queritis in sepulchro christicolae

DIACONI
Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum o caelicolae

RESPONDENT PRESBITERI
Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat
ite nuntiate quia surrexit dicentes

ANTIPHONA
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro [*qui pro*
nobis pependit in ligno alleluia]

<div style="text-align:center">* * *</div>

<div style="text-align:center">RCH-1-b</div>

VISIT TO THE SEPULCHER
PRIESTS IN PLACE OF
WOMEN

And they were saying to one another,
who will roll away the stone for us
from the entrance of the tomb?
Alleluia, alleluia.

QUESTION OF THE ANGELS
Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,
followers of Christ?

ANSWER
Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified,
O heavenly ones.

<div style="text-align:center">REG-2-b</div>

QUESTION
ANTIPHON

Who will roll away the stone for us
from the entrance of the tomb?
Alleluia, alleluia.

PRIESTS
Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,
followers of Christ?

DEACONS
Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified,
O heavenly ones.

AND IN REPLY
He is not here. He has risen as He foretold. Go, announce that he has risen from the sepulcher.

PRIESTS

For the Lord has risen, just as He foretold; He is going ahead of you into Galilee, alleluia; there you will see him, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

THE PRIESTS ANSWER
He is not here. He has risen as He foretold. Go, announce that He has risen, saying:

ANTIPHON

The Lord has risen from the sepulcher, He who for us hung on the cross for us. Alleluia.

The rubrics of three-chant *Visitationes* specify the speakers more frequently than those with only two chants. REG-2-b gives the liturgical rank of those involved, and ECH-1-b names the biblical figures portrayed, strong indications that the participants assumed roles, as was the case with the two-chant *Visitationes*.

The opening antiphons, *Et dicebant ad invicem* and *Quis revolvet nobis*, are closely related textually and musically. The text source for both is Mark 16:3, which reads *Et dicebant ad invicem quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti* (And they were saying to one another: "Who will roll away the stone for us from the entrance of the tomb?") *Et dicebant ad invicem* sets the entire verse, whereas *Quis revolvet nobis* omits the opening passage, *Et dicebant* (And they were saying to one another). The melodies are also similar. If one compares the portion of melody of *Et dicebant* starting at the arrow (example 2.5-a) with that of *Quis revolvet nobis lapidem* (example 2.5-b) their

interrelationship is apparent. *Quis revolvet nobis lapidem* is an abbreviation of *Et dicebant*.[54] Only repeated pitches, passing notes, and liquescences differentiate them.

Example 2.5-a. *Et dicebant ad invicem*, SLB-4-b.

Example 2.5-b. *Et dicebant ad invicem*, SLB-4-b.

Karl Young and William Smolden have both proposed that *Et dicebant* was abbreviated to make it better suited for enactment.[55] Textual evidence supports this hypothesis. The

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[54] The melodies in example 2.5 are transcribed from later sources that were written in heightened notation. The melody for *Et dicebant ad invicem* comes from Easter Sunday lauds, another liturgical placement of the antiphon, because the only heightened version found in a *Visitatio,* KN-1-a, is idiosyncratic and its contour differs from that of RCH-1-b. In her study of French and English *Visitationes*, Rankin observed that *Quis revolvet nobis* sometimes used the same melody as *Et dicebant* and in other cases it was newly composed. See Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:43-45, 49. In German *Visitationes*, the melody of *Quis revolvet nobis* is always a shortened version of *Et dicebant.*

[55] Young described this opening phrase as a "naïve dramatic blemish which the ecclesiastical playwrights did not fail to recognize, for it is not found often." Young,

text is in the third person. A narrator, Mark (16:3), relays the Marys' conversation by prefacing their speech as follows, "and they were saying to one another." This text was unnecessary in the *Visitatio* because the verbal exchanges were enacted.

The prevalence of Office antiphons differentiated German *Visitationes* from those performed elsewhere. Three of the four chants that accompanied the dialogue in two- and three-chant *Visitationes* are Office antiphons, and *Quis revolvet nobis* was merely an abbreviated version of the Office antiphon, *Et dicebant*. By contrast, Office antiphons are rarely found in French *Visitationes*: only eight of the seventy-four French *Visitationes* included them.[56] Instead, tropes of the Easter Sunday Introit were more common, suggesting that vestiges of the trope usage remained in France even when the dialogue was performed at Matins. By contrast, German *Visitationes* have no such vestiges of an earlier trope usage, suggesting the dialogue was incorporated into Matins at an early date.

Procession

The dialogue was sometimes performed as part of a procession before Mass.[57] Although Easter Sunday processions were common in the German lands,[58] the inclusion

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Drama of the Medieval Church, 1:260; William Smolden, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas*, ed. Cynthia Bourgeault (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 160-1.

[56] Walther Lipphardt, ed. *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, vols. 1, 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975-1990).

[57] McGee identified a processional usage for the dialogue in a large number of manuscripts of disparate provenance. David Bjork has challenged McGee's interpretation of the evidence, stating that "the number of sources clearly placing *Quem quaeritis* in the procession is small, much smaller than McGee would have us believe." Bjork, "Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis*," 68 (fn. 40). I find fault with McGee because he assumed that when processional antiphons were recorded near the dialogue in a source this meant the dialogue was part of the procession. He even identified *Te Deum* as a processional antiphon, without proving that it was used for that purpose, and ignored its

of the *Quem queritis* as part of the procession seems to have been limited to Swabia since all seven sources preserving the dialogue in a processional context come from there.[59] Headings that precede the dialogue, such as *In die resurrectionis ad processionem* (On the day of the Resurrection for the purposes of processing) or *Ad processionem* (for processing) indicate that the dialogue was part of a procession.

What the procession may have entailed and how the dialogue was performed in this context are open to debate, since the rubrics offer no details about when and where the procession unfolded. McGee's theory that the *Quem queritis* was performed as part of a pre-Mass service used to conduct the congregation and celebrants to the stational church, however, is suspect for three reasons. First, to better comprehend the processional context of the *Quem queritis*, he consulted the Romano-German Pontical (henceforth *RGP*), a problematic choice because it did not contain the dialogue.[60] The second and third problems stem from his argument that the pre-Mass procession described in *RGP* is likely "the one that took place before Mass at St. Gall" and elsewhere because the liturgical practices described in *RGP* "can be regarded as a fair representative of European liturgical practices from the ninth to the twelfth centuries."[61] However, Sarah Hamilton has convincingly challenged the long-held assumption that *RGP* was uniformly

standard usage at the end of Matins. Thus, some of the sources he identified as having a processional usage because of *Te Deum,* were most likely performed at Matins. He also overlooked the fact that *Quem queritis* dialogues and processional antiphons copied successively in tropers may have been performed hours apart, since tropers contained only tropes and other special compositions.

[58] Easter Sunday processions are found in twelve of the twenty-four earliest German sources studied here, and in the *Romano-Germanique Pontical* from Mainz. Cyrille Vogel, ed., *Le Pontificel romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, in collaboration with Reinhard Elze (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1963-1972), 113-4.

[59] The sources are HDH-1-b, RHE-1-b, and SG-3-b - SG-7-b.

[60] McGee, "The Liturgical Placements of the Quem quaeritis," 4.

[61] Ibid., 3.

adopted, arguing that its circulation was mostly limited to the archdioceses of Mainz and

Salzburg in Germany and to parts of Italy, whereas it was "seemingly even less important

in northern France and England."[62] Third, the procession must have served a different

function in a German Benedictine milieu than in Rome. The procession described in *RGP*

was part of the stational liturgy; yet most sources of the *Quem queritis* are from

Benedictine monasteries.[63] The plan for the monastery of St. Gall, dated 819-26, shows

that the community had only one church within its walled precincts.[64] Thus, at St. Gall,

from which five of the seven sources preserving the dialogue in a processional context

come, Easter Sunday Mass would not have been celebrated in a church other than the

main one. The absence of the *Quem queritis* in *RGP*, the limited circulation of the

pontifical, and the fact that all seven sources that include the dialogue as part of a

procession are Benedictine, are reasons to doubt McGee's argument.

    The Easter processions performed at St. Gall and other German monasteries were

probably of a different variety, one that Terence Bailey described as following "a

circuitous route entirely within the church or church ground, pausing for remembrances

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[62] Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society: Boydell Press, 2001), 131, 134-5.

[63] Cyrille Vogel, ed. *Le pontificel romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, in collaboration with Reinhard Elze (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1963-1972), 113-4.

[64] The shelf mark for the plan is CH-SG 1092. The abbey depicted appears to have been self-sufficient with farms, a mill, a shoemaker, goldsmiths, as well as servants' quarters within its walls. It should be observed that the Plan of St. Gall was a depiction of what buildings an "exemplary Carolingian monastery should" comprise and did not necessarily record the actual layout of the St. Gall precincts. With that being said, however, even in this ideal depiction, there is only one church. Walter William Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture & Economy of, & Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 1:20.

at church fixtures."[65] A customary from Fulda Abbey describes such a procession, which

was performed on Easter Sunday between prime and terce, the same liturgical placement

as the Easter procession from Saint Gall:[66]

Example 2.6. Preparations for Easter Sunday Mass in an Eleventh-Century Fulda
Customary.

Peracto capitulo in die sancto et post revestitum statim signum tertie primum pulsetur a custode ad quod omnes in albis glomerentur in choro.	The chapter having been finished on this holy day, and after everyone had changed clothes, immediately the first bell for terce must be sounded by the custodian, at which point all dressed in albs should be assembled in the choir.
Missa vero prior non cantatur eo quod illa hora revestiendum sit vel cappe dande.	The Mass is not sung sooner on that account because in that hour one must change attire or put on copes.
Postquam benedicta aqua spargitur procedant ad processionem cum crucibus per claustra.	After the Holy Water is sprinkled, they should proceed in procession with crosses through the cloisters.
Qua peracta intrent in chorum iubilando et cantent tertiam deinde missam festive.	With this having been finished they should enter into the choir rejoicing and sing terce, and then the festive mass.

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[65] Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), 103.

[66]The liturgical placement of the Easter procession can be gleaned from the rubrics of the breviary, SG-5-b, which indicate that the procession occurred between prime and terce. The Fulda customary is an expansion of a tenth-century customary from the Benedictine monastery of Saint Emmeram of Regensburg. Kassius Hallinger, who edited the text in *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, vol. 7, pt. 3, referred to it as *Redactio Fuldensis-Trevirensis*. The presumed original was from Fulda, and it was transmitted in two fifteenth-century sources on which Hallinger based his text edition: TR-9-b and CH-SG 942. The former was from St. Matthias Benedictine Monastery in Trier. Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 7, pt. 3 (Siegburg, DE: Franciscum Schmitt Success, 1984), 305-6.

The rubrics indicate that the procession began and ended in the choir and unfolded within the monastery; the participants wore albs and held crosses, and Holy Water was sprinkled.

Although no such rubrics are found in the St. Gall sources, the heading of SG-6-b, texts of the processional antiphons, and the layout of the church in the St. Gall plan provide a point of departure for recreating how the procession may have been conducted. The heading for SG-6-b, which reads "on Sunday on the day of Holy Easter in a procession to the sepulcher," identifies the sepulcher as the destination of the procession.[67] The texts of the chants sung as part of the procession, listed in example 2.7, may offer clues about the route the participants took.

Example 2.7-a. Easter Procession in SG-3-b.

IN DIE RESURRECTIONIS AD PROCESSIONEM	ON THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION FOR PROCESSING

In die resurrectionis meae (*CAO* 3222)
Vidi aquam (*CAO* 5403)
Quem queritis (no *CAO*)
Surrexit enim (*CAO* 5081)
Sedit angelus ad sepulcrum (*CAO* 4858)

The texts of *Vidi aquam* and *In die resurrectionis*, translated below, describe water being poured, which may offer clues about the processional route.

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[67] *In dominico die sancti pascae in processione ad sepulcrum.*

Example 2.7-b. Easter Procession in SG-3-b.

In die resurrectionis meae dicit Dominus
alleluia congregabo gentes et colligam
*regna et effundam super vos aquam*
mundam alleluia

On the day of my Resurrection, the
Lord said, alleluia: I will assemble the
people and gather the kings and
I will pour Holy Water on them, alleluia

Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a
latere dextero alleluia et omnes ad quos
pervenit aqua ista salvi facti sunt et
dicent alleluia alleluia

I saw the water pouring from the temple,
on the right side, alleluia, and everyone
whom the water touched was saved and
will say alleluia alleluia

One can imagine the brothers first processing to the baptismal font while singing *In die*

resurrectionis and *Vidi aquam*, antiphons commonly sung during processions to the

baptismal font at second vespers on Easter Sunday (according to the sources index by

CANTUS). The ninth-century architectural plan of St. Gall indicates that the baptismal

font was situated between the choir and the altar of the holy cross. A modern recreation

of this plan is given in figure 2.2, with an arrow indicating the baptismal font.

Figure 2.2. Modern Recreation of the Ninth-Century Plan of St. Gall.
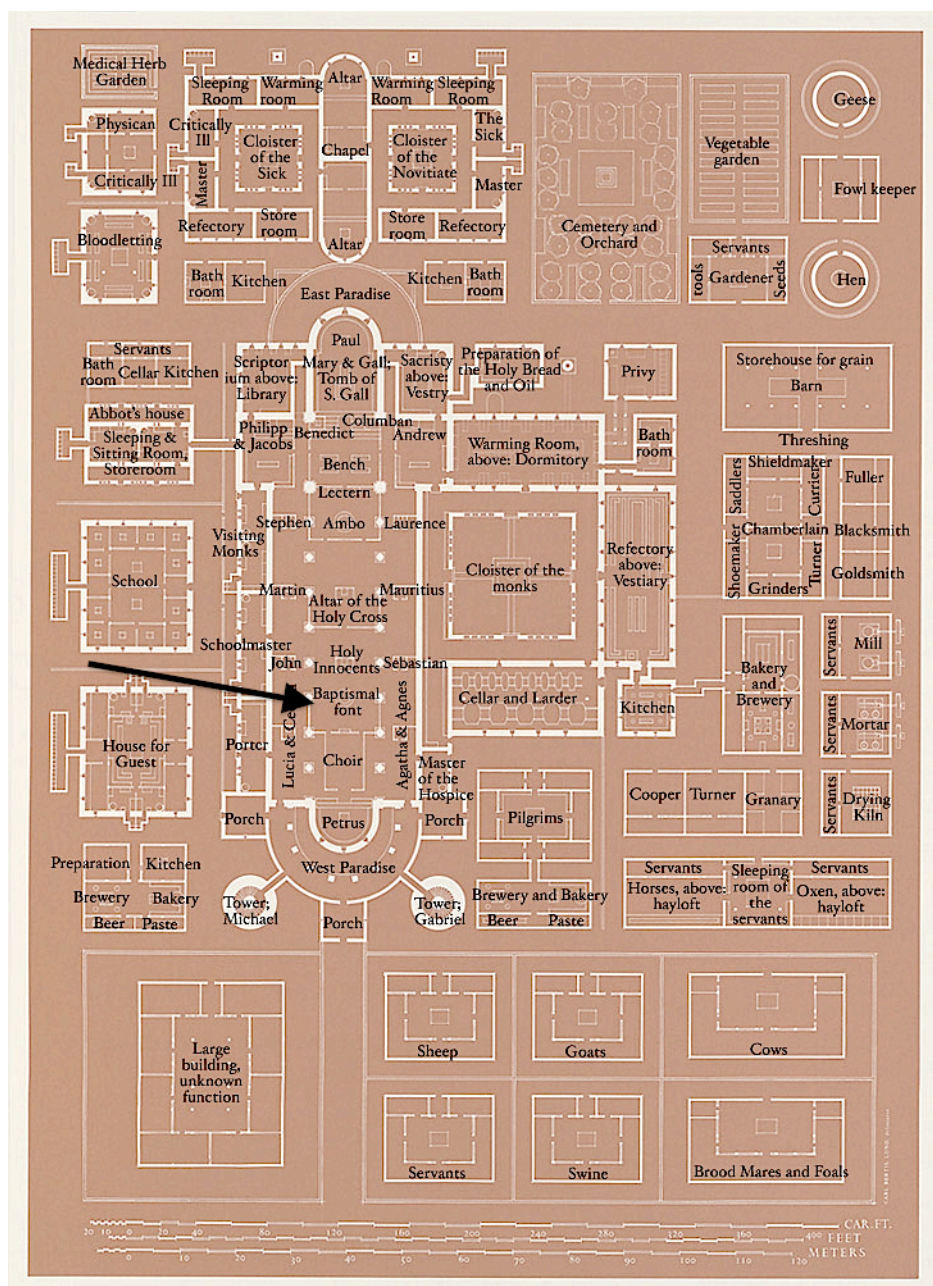
Based on the layout, one can envision the brothers assembling in the choir before terce and processing first to the baptismal font and then to the main altar, which served as the sepulcher in many communities. Since the choir, baptismal font, and altar were

apparently situated close together, some of the antiphons may have been sung as the brothers paused "for remembrances at church fixtures," as Bailey described.[68] *Vidi aquam* and *In die resurrectionis* may have been sung while the brothers processed to the font, paused there, and continued on to the sepulcher. *Quem queritis* and *Surrexit enim* were sung at the sepulcher, and *Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum* may have been sung as the monastics returned to the choir. Although one cannot know for certain how the *Quem queritis* and the procession to which it belonged were carried out, the theory offered here has at least one advantage over McGee's: it takes into account the monastic provenance of the sources.

Quem queritis as a Trope

In the German lands, *Quem queritis* was least frequently used as an Introit trope. It functions as a trope in only two tenth-century tropers from St. Gall, SG-1-b and SG-2-b.[69] The one characteristic that differentiated the *Quem queritis* Introit tropes in SG-1-b and SG-2-b from those found in most French and Italian manuscripts is that the three-line dialogue led directly into the Introit.[70] The standard practice in southern and

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[68] Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and The Western Church*, 103.

[69] On fol. 4 of SG-2-b the heading reads, "Here begins the tropes of chants for different feasts of Masses about to be sung" (*Incipiunt tropi carminum in diversis festivitatibus missarum canendi*). For inventories and an excellent discussion of the relationship between these two sources, see Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, ed., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 3 vols. (Winterthur, CH: Amadeum, 1996).

[70] This only occurred in twelve of the sixty-four manuscripts listed in *Corpus Troporum* Björkvall, Iversen, and Jonsson, ed., *Corpus Troporum III: Tropes du propre de la messe 2: Cycle de Pâques*, 217-9. In addition to the two St. Gall sources, eight were Italian and there was one each from Southern France and Catalonia. Italian sources: three from Vercelli, I-VCd 146, 161, and 162; two from Verona, I-VEcap 90 and 107; two from

northern France, England, Spain, and parts of Italy was to follow the three-line dialogue

with another line, such as *Alleluia Resurrexit Dominus*, or additional trope elements. The

sung texts that were added helped to create a transition between the dialogue and Introit

text, making the change in speaker, from the angel to Christ, seem less abrupt. Rather

than adding sung text to create a smoother transition to the Introit, apparently the solution

at St. Gall was to abandon the trope usage altogether by the eleventh century and

incorporate the dialogue into a procession before Mass.[71]

In Germany, the ways the *Quem queritis* dialogue was integrated into the liturgy,

during the tenth and eleventh centuries, differ from what occurred elsewhere in three

respects. First, the trope usage of the dialogue was apparently almost unknown in

medieval Germany, whereas it flourished elsewhere. Second, the *Quem queritis* tropes

preserved in two St. Gall sources are unusual because they led directly into the *Resurrexi*

Introit, without any trope elements preceding or following them, whereas in France and

Italy trope elements created a transition between the dialogue and Introit. Third, in

medieval Germany a practice of performing the dialogue as part of the pre-Mass Easter

Sunday procession existed, a usage that was rare elsewhere.[72] The evidence suggests that

the trope and processional usages of dialogue had limited circulation in the German lands

and were short lived: by the end of the eleventh century only the *Visitatio sepulchri*,

performed at the end of Matins, remained. It was in this context that the *Quem queritis*

Nonontola I-Rc 1741 and I-Rn 1343, and one from Bobbio, I-Bu 2824. In addition, there
is one source from St. Martial, southern France, F-Pn lat. 1121, and one from Vic,
Catalonia, E-VI 105.

[71] *Quem queritis* is not found in the four eleventh-century tropers from St. Gall.

[72] The dialogue was performed immediately following a pre-Mass procession in some
sources, such as the eleventh-century customary from Fruttuaria (A-GÖ Cod. Lambac.
106, Lip. 9), but was not sung in the midst of a procession, as was the case at St. Gall.

was widely disseminated across the German lands and came to be performed in some of the most illustrious Benedictine monasteries and cathedrals. These *Visitationes* comprised mainly Office antiphons rather than trope elements, differentiating German *Visitationes* from French ones, where trope elements were commonly incorporated rather than Office antiphons. All of these differences support the theory advanced earlier in the chapter that the *Quem queritis* initially circulated without a liturgical placement, and religious institutions found different ways of drawing the dialogue into their commemorations and celebrations of Christ's Resurrection.

CHAPTER 3

Compilation and Composition of *Visitationes* in the German Kingdom

The twelfth century was a period of expansion and reinvention of *Visitationes*

sepulchri. Some employed the well-known *Quem queritis in sepulchro* dialogue found in

tenth- and eleventh-century *Visitationes*, but comprised a greater number of antiphons

and other chants. Others constituted a new type of *Visitatio*, developed at the turn of the

twelfth century in southeastern Germany, that used a new version of the dialogue, *Quem*

queritis o tremule. Following Michael Norton's terminology and classification scheme,

the two *Visitationes* described above will be referred to as type one and type two

respectively, with the choice of the dialogue being the criterion for differentiating them.[1]

Norton's 1983 dissertation focused on type-two *Visitationes* and was the first

study to identify some of their characteristics and what he described as regional forms.[2]

The relationship between the two types of *Visitationes*, however, fell outside the scope of

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[1] Michael Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio sepulchri*: A Repertorial Study," (Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1983), 4, 19. Helmut de Boor employed a similar categorization system, identifying *Visitationes* with *Quem queritis in sepulchro* as type one and those with *Quem queritis o tremule* as type two. His system is problematic because he treats *Visitationes* with the Mary Magdalene episode as a separate type (type 3) despite the fact that they incorporated one of the two forms of the dialogue. Helmut de Boor, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Tübingen: Niemayer, 1967), 28, 147-50, 237-8.

[2] Norton identified which chants constituted the core of the type two and whether the chants were liturgical. He determined regional groupings based on differences in the selection of chants and musical and textual variants, naming the forms according to the geographical regions from which most sources came. Norton, "Type II *Visitatio sepulchri*," 8, 30-32, 50, 129-136.

his work and will be the focus of this chapter.[3] Carl Lange and Karl Young, writing in

1887 and 1933 respectively, addressed the question, but they referred to the groupings as

Stufen (stages) rather than types, and categorized *Visitationes* according to the number of

biblical figures portrayed.[4] Although their groupings do not correspond exactly with

Norton's, there is overlap since stage-one *Visitationes* (those that included only the Marys

and angels) typically employed *Quem queritis in sepulchro* (Norton's type one) and stage

two (those that included Peter and John) used *Quem queritis o tremule* (type two).

According to Lange and Young, *Visitationes* that depicted the apostles were mere

expansions of those involving only the Marys and angels.[5]

Helmut de Boor, writing in 1967, challenged Lange and Young because the

Visitationes with the apostles' scene, and those portraying only the Marys and angels,

employed different collections of chants.[6] For de Boor, type-two *Visitationes* were not

more developed versions of type one, but new creations.[7] He failed to sufficiently

develop this argument, however, because he did not establish what was "new" about them

beyond identifying a different selection of chants. He did not take into account whether

the chants comprising type-two *Visitationes* were preexisting liturgical chants or newly

composed and whether the texts were based on the Gospels or were non-scriptural.[8]

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[3] Ibid., 1.

[4] Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, (Munich: Ernst Stahl, 1887), 17-18; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 1:239, 307.

[5] Ibid.

[6] de Boor, *Textgeschichte des lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 131-2.

[7] Ibid., 132. He described the type-two *Visitatio* as a *neue Textform* (new text form) and as a *Neuschöpfung* (new creation).

[8] de Boor identified biblical sources for some chant texts that quoted scripture verbatim, but did not observe the more subtle biblical borrowings. de Boor, *Textgeschichte des lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 30.

The chapter attempts to fill this void by comparing the music and texts of type-one and -two *Visitationes* from the German lands, with the goal of clarifying their relationship. The dialogues, sources of the chants, musical style, and sources of the chant texts will be examined. The chapter will argue that type-two *Visitationes* were not mere expansions of type one, as earlier scholars have claimed, but new creations, as de Boor contended. What is presented here goes beyond de Boor's work by establishing how type-one and type-two *Visitationes* differed, identifying ways in which type-two *Visitationes* broke with earlier conventions, and speculating about why a new type of *Visitatio* may have been created when type one was already known in the southeastern German lands.[9]

Before comparing the two types of *Visitationes*, the sources preserving them will be discussed. Type-one *Visitationes* survive in 132 German manuscripts dating from the tenth through fifteenth centuries (listed in appendix A). The sources mostly come from the western, central, and northern parts of the German lands (Upper and Lower Lorraine, Franconia, and Saxony), but a small number are from the southeast (Swabia and Bavaria). Most of the post-1100 sources for type one are Office books (antiphoners and breviaries), or ordinals, unlike earlier type-one *Visitationes*, which were preserved in Mass books (graduals and tropers). Type-two *Visitationes* are found in 205 manuscripts copied before the sixteenth century (listed in appendix B). This number represents more than 60 percent of the total number of German *Visitationes* (337). Sources come mostly from Bavaria, the Austrian duchies, and Aquileia. Type-two *Visitationes* are found in the same types of liturgical books as post-1100 type-one *Visitationes*: antiphoners, breviaries, and ordinals.

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[9] Type-one *Visitationes* survive from St. Emmeram of Regensburg and Klosterneuburg (KN-1-a).

Indebtedness of Type-Two *Visitationes* to Type One

The two types of *Visitationes* were related, although the connections between them are less numerous than one might expect. Type-two *Visitationes* recount many of the same biblical episodes in the same order as type one, as example 3.1 demonstrates.

Example 3.1. Structure of Type-One and Type-Two *Visitationes*.

Type One	Type Two
The Marys travel to the sepulcher with Spices	The Marys travel to the sepulcher with Spices
They ask who will roll back the stone	They ask who will roll back the stone
Dialogue with the angel	Dialogue with the angel
Marys announce the Resurrection	Marys announce the Resurrection
	Peter and John run to the tomb
	They announce the Resurrection

The Marys' procession, the dialogue, and the Marys' announcement of the Resurrection are three events found in most type-one and -two *Visitationes* from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. The major difference is that type-one *Visitationes* end after the Marys announce the Resurrection whereas type two include the apostles running to the tomb, removing the abandoned linen cloths, and announcing the Resurrection.

The text of *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres* was probably modeled on the earlier dialogue. The texts are compared in example 3.2.

Example 3.2. Comparison of *Quem queritis in sepulchro* and *Quem queritis o tremule*.

Quem queritis in sepulchro o christicole   *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres*
                                                       in hoc tumulo gementes

Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum o celicole   *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus*

Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat   *Non est hic quem queritis*
ite nunciate quia surrexit de sepulchro   *sed cito euntes nuntiate discipulis*
                                                       eius et Petro quia surrexit Ihesus

Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,   Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,
O followers of Christ?   O trembling and weeping women?

Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified,   We seek the crucified Jesus of Nazareth.
O heavenly ones.

He is not here; He has risen as He foretold.   He, whom you seek, is not here,
Go announce that He has risen from the   but go quickly tell His disciples and
sepulcher.   Peter that Jesus has risen.

Both versions share the same structure — the angels ask the Marys whom they seek, the

Marys reply, and the angels proclaim the Resurrection and instruct the Marys to spread

the news. They also share text, underlined in example 3.2. Each of the exchanges

between the angel and Marys begins the same way, strongly suggesting that whoever

created *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres* modeled it on the earlier dialogue. Yet the

dialogues differ in two ways. First, *Quem queritis o tremule* depicts the Marys in a

personal and vivid manner, referring to them as trembling and weeping, rather than

austerely as "followers of Christ."[10] Second, in *Quem queritis o tremule* the angels tell the

Marys to announce the Resurrection to Peter and the disciples, which does not occur in

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[10] de Boor observed that *Quem queritis o tremule* depicted the women more realistically
and humanly than *Quem queritis in sepulchro*. de Boor, *Textgeschichte der lateinischen
Osterfeiern*, 148.

Quem queritis in sepulchro. As such, the type-two dialogue imitated *Quem queritis in sepulchro* and simultaneously deviated from it.

<div align="center">Differences Between Type-One and Type-Two Visitationes</div>

The two types of *Visitationes* differed in four ways. These differences involve the melodies of the dialogues, sources of the chants, melodies of the antiphons, and sources of the chant texts.

The Dialogues

The musical differences between the two dialogues are greater than those involving the texts. The melodies are compared in examples 3.3 and 3.4.

Example 3.3. *Quem queritis in sepulchro* from AHR-1-c.

Example 3.4. *Quem queritis o tremule* from KN-14-a.

Quem queritis in sepulchro and *Quem queritis o tremule* are set to different melodies and

the modes differ. *Quem queritis in sepulchro* begins in Mode II, transposed to G, with an

ambitus that extends a fourth below and a fourth above the *finalis*. At *Non est hic* the

melody changes to Mode I, transposed to G. The typical mode-one intonation pattern

with leaps from G to D to F emphasizes the authentic range and new reciting tone (D).[11]

The shift to Mode I corresponds with the most climatic point in the dialogue, when the

angels announce the Resurrection (*Non est hic*). This change to a new mode sets the

angels' proclamation apart from everything that preceded it, contributing to the climax of

the dialogue and, indeed, of the *Visitatio*.

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[11] KOL-1-c is the only German heightened source without a leap of a fifth followed by a leap of a third. In AAC-1-c, AAC-2-c, AAC-3-c, MNZ-7-c, MÜN-2-c, MÜN-3-c, OST-1-c, and REG-9-c, the second half of the *Quem queritis* (from *non est hic* to the end) is written in untransposed mode I. AHR-1-c, BA-7-c, HIL-2-c, KOL-1-c, KOL-8-c, and TR-4-c remain transposed throughout. Concerning issues of modality in the *Quem queritis* see Sister Marie Dolores Moore, "The *Visitatio sepulchri* of the Medieval Church: A Historical, Geographical, and Liturgical Survey," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1971), 1:7-94.

The modal design of *Quem queritis o tremule* is more straightforward, but the angelic proclamation is also emphasized. The dialogue has E as its final and a central tonal space spanning a fourth from C^4 to F^4.[12] In the first two sections (the angels' question and the Marys' response), the melody moves mostly within this central tonal space with only brief excursions into the upper tonal space at *tremule* and *crucifixum*. At *Non est hic*, the melody settles in the upper tonal space (G^4 and A^4); the angels' proclamation begins on A^4, which is both the reciting tone and the highest pitch used in *Quem queritis o tremule*, and is approached by a leap of an ascending fourth to A. Starting the phrase on the highest pitch — one that has only been sounded twice prior to this point — and approaching it by leap accentuates the climax. Despite using different techniques, the musical settings of both dialogues contribute to the climatic moment when Christ's Resurrection was announced.

Musical repetition heightens textual repetition in both dialogues, although scholars have only observed this feature in *Quem queritis in sepulchro*. As discussed in chapter 2, Susan Rankin recognized that some versions of *Quem queritis in sepulchro* feature musical rhyme, which accentuates the textual rhyme of *o christicole* and *o*

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[12] Pitches are numbered according to the ASA system. Middle C is designated as C^4 and the C above is C^5. The system is outlined in James Cowdery, ed., *How to Write About Music: The RILM Manual of Style* (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2005), 54. Crocker's description of how Gregorian chant moves through different tonal spaces provides useful vocabulary for discussing the new dialogue. Referring to the final as the reference pitch, he proposed that "the pitches *next* to a reference pitch are just as prominent, forming together with the reference pitch a band or zone of three, or four, or five pitches." Referring to this zone as the "central tonal space," Crocker described how melodies moved above, below, or through it. Richard Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 32-3.

caelicole.[13] This is the case with AHR-1-c, given as example 3.3, where the cadences on

o christicole and *o caelicole* are identical. A different technique is used in *Quem queritis*

o tremule: musical repetition accentuates the textual repetition of the verb *querere*. This

verb meaning "to seek" is important because the Marys learn of Christ's Resurrection by

seeking him at the tomb. It is repeated in each of the three sections: first in the angels'

initial question, then in the Marys' response that *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus*

(we seek the crucified Jesus of Nazareth), and finally in the angels' proclamation *Non est*

hic quem queritis (He, whom you seek, is not here), as example 3.5 illustrates.

Example 3.5. Comparison of the Musical Treatment of *Querere* in HLB-1-c, KN-14-a,
and MAR-1-a.

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[13] Susan Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and England*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 56-57; Rankin, "Musical and Ritual Aspects of *Quem queritis*," in *Liturgische Tropen: Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, 181-192 (Munich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1985), 190.

Three versions of the dialogue are given because each differs in its musical treatment of *queritis*. In HLB-1-c *querimus* and both iterations of *queritis* are set to the same motive, given in boxes above. In KN-14-a and MAR-1-a, only two of the iterations share the same musical motive; the third has a different, but closely related motive. This more elaborate motive, circled above, is identical to the boxed motive save for two additional pitches at the beginning. The repetition of identical or nearly identical motives emphasized the importance of the Marys' search for Christ, notable because it brought news of the Resurrection to light. By way of summary, the text of *Quem queritis o tremule* was modeled on the earlier dialogue, but the music was not. Although the texts begin the same, *Quem queritis o tremule* depicts the Marys more vividly and includes details about the Marys' visit not given in the earlier text. The melodies of the dialogues differ with respect to mode, contour, and musical features used to highlight textual ones. *Quem queritis o tremule* was a new musical creation, with a chant text indebted to the earlier dialogue.

Variability in Type-One *Visitationes*

Comparing type one and type two requires generalizing, to some degree, about the

musical and textual characteristics of *Visitationes* found in different sources. In the case

of the 116 type-one *Visitationes* preserved in post-1100 German manuscripts, such

generalizations risk obscuring the high degree of variability that they exhibit. Before the

music and chant texts of type-one and -two *Visitationes* can be compared, the variability

of type-one *Visitationes* must be acknowledged. Forty-two versions of the type-one

Visitatio are preserved in post-1100 German manuscripts. These differ in length and also

in the selection and order of chants. Table 3.1 indicates the form and contents of 109 of

the 116 type-one *Visitationes* (omitting fragmentary settings and highly idiosyncratic

ones).[14] Each chant is assigned a number; Q indicates *Quem queritis*, and table 3.2

provides a legend. The left column of table 3.1 lists the different versions, the middle

column indicates the sources for each version, and the right column lists the provenances

of the sources.[15] The table divides the forty-two versions into four groups based on how

similar they are to the four versions found in pre-1100 sources, a division that is practical

since earlier two- and three-chant *Visitationes* provided the frameworks for most later

Visitationes (these frameworks are shaded in the table). The first group uses the two-

chant framework of the dialogue and *Surrexit Dominus*. The second group transmits or

expands on the three-chant framework (consisting of *Quis revolvet nobis*, the dialogue,

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[14] KRE-1-b, SG-10-b, KOL-3-c, and PDR-2-c were excluded because they are
fragmentary or incomplete, and EIN-1-b, RHE-5-b, SG-11-b were excluded because they
are idiosyncratic.

[15] Some sources in table 3.1 are underlined because short textual incipits make it
impossible to distinguish which chant was sung, as is the case with the incipit *Surrexit* in
HIL-2-c and RHE-3-b, which could indicate *Surrexit Dominus* or *Surrexit enim*.

and *Surrexit Dominus*). The third group is a variation on the second: the *Visitationes* adopt a three-chant framework, but replace *Quis revolvet nobis* with other chants. The fourth group employs either the two-chant framework comprising the dialogue and *Surrexit enim* or the three-item scaffolding comprising *Et dicebant*, the dialogue, and *Surrexit enim*. Only six of the forty-two versions do not adopt these frameworks; these versions are grouped with *Visitationes* with which they share the greatest number of chants. In many cases the groupings also reflect provenance. Groups 1, 2, and 3 are mainly from the western, central, and northern parts of the German lands (Upper and Lower Lorraine, Franconia, and Saxony), where *Surrexit Dominus* was the standard announcement antiphon. Most *Visitationes* in Group 4 come from the south (the duchies of Swabia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Bavaria), where *Surrexit enim* was the most common announcement antiphon.

Table 3.1. Versions of German Type-One *Visitationes* Postdating 1100.

Order of Chants (see table 3.2 for a legend)	Sources (see appendix A)	Provenance
GROUP 1 (*Quem queritis* and *Surrexit Dominus* framework)		
Q … 21	PDR-1-c, PDR-3-c, SPE-2-c, TR-9-b, UT-1-c, UT-2-c, VRD-1, VRD-2, VRD-3	Wide dissemination (Saxony, Franconia, Friesland, Upper and Lower Lorraine)
Q 3 …	FUL-1-b	Fulda, Franconia
Q 3 16 …	SPE-1-c, WMS?-1	Speyer, Franconia; Worms?, Swabia
Q 3 16 … 18	MNZ-2-(c), MNZ-4-c, MNZ-6-c, MNZ-7-c	Mainz, Franconia
Q 3 … 18	MNZ-5-c	Mainz, Franconia
Q 3 …	HIL?-5-b	Hildesheim, Saxony
Q 3 6 …	ANG-1-b, BA-6-c, HIL-1-c, HIL-2-c, HIL-3-c, HIL-4-c, KBL-3-c, REG-4-a, REG-8-c, REG-9-c, TR-5-b	Hildesheim, Saxony; Lower Lorraine; Bamberg, Franconia
Q 3 6 8 7 …	TR-2-c, TR-14-b	Trier, Lower Lorraine
Q 3 6 8 7 …	TR-3-c	Trier, Lower Lorraine
Q 3 6 7 …	KBL-1-c, KBL-2-c, KBL-4-(c), KBL-6-c, KBL-7-c, TR-4-c, TR-6-c, TR-8-c	Trier and Koblenz, Lower Lorraine
Q 3 6 7 … 19	TR-10-c, TR-11-c, TR-12-c, TR-13-c	Trier, Lower Lorraine
GROUP 2 (*Quis revolvet*, Q, *Surrexit Dominus* framework)		
4 Q 3 … 8 22 13	AHR-1-c, HE-1-c, KLE-1-c, KOL-2, KOL-4, KOL-5-c, KOL-6-Frh, KOL-7, KOL-8-c, KOL-9-a, SIE-1-b, WMS-2	mostly Lower Lorraine; also Heidelberg, Franconia and Worms, Franconia.
4 Q 3 6 8 …	KBL-5-c, MNS-1-b	Koblenz, Lower Lorraine; Munsterschwarzach, Franconia
4 Q 3 6 8 …	TR-7-c	Trier, Lower Lorraine
4 Q 31 32 3 …	ME-6-b	Melk, Austrian duchies
4 Q 3 … 8	AAC-1-c, AAC-2-c, AAC-3-c, ANB-1-b, MTZ-2-c	Aachen and Andenne, Lower Lorraine; Metz, Upper Lorraine
4 Q … 14	WMS-3	Worms, Franconia
4 Q 3 … 29	REG-3-b	Regensburg, Bavaria
4 Q 3 … 30 13	KOL-1-c	Koln, Lower Lorraine
26 Q 3 24 25 …	MTZ-3-b, MTZ-4-b, MTZ-5-b	Metz, Upper Lorraine
17 4 Q 3 27 5 8 14 28	DIS-1-b	Disibodenberg, Franconia
20 4 Q 3 … 28	REG-6-b, REG-7-b	Regensburg, Bavaria

Table 3.1 (cont.)

GROUP 3 (Variations on *Quis revolvet*, Q, *Surrexit Dominus* core)

					Sigla	Location
9					LUT-1-c, LUT-2-c	Liège and Gerresheim, Lower Lorraine
9	Q	3			GER-1-c	Bamberg, Franconia
15	Q	3	6		BA-1-c, BA-4-c, BA-5-c, BA-7-c	
15	Q	3	6	8	BA-2-c, BA-3-c, BA-8-c	
10	Q	3		14	SBL-1-b	St. Blasien, Swabia
12	Q				BOR-1-c, MÜN-4-c, OLF-1-c, OST-1-c	Münster (and environs), Saxony
12	Q	3			MÜN-2, MÜN-3-c, ROR-1-c	
4	Q	3			MÜN-1-c	
12						

GROUP 4 (Two- or three-chant framework with *Surrexit enim*)

								Sigla	Location
9	Q	3				2	13	SG-8-b	St. Gall, Swabia
	Q	3	7			2		KN-1-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria
	Q	3				2		KRZ-1-a	Kreuzlingen, Swabia
4	Q	3	5			2		AD-1-b, RHE-3-b, RHE-4-b	Admont, Austria; Rheinau, Swabia
	Q	3	6	5		1		AUG?-2	Augsburg, Swabia
9	Q	9	22	23	5	2		SGR-2-b	Southern Germany
10?	Q				5			SWZ-1-b	Schwarzwald region, Swabia
10	Q	3			5	2		HIR-1-b, ZWF-1-b	Hirsau, Franconia; Zwiefalten, Swabia
10	Q	3			5	2	11	PRF-1-b	Prüfening, Bavaria
10	Q	3		5	6		2	REG-5-b	Regensburg, Bavaria
	Q	3		5			2	STR-1-c, STR-2-c	Strasbourg, Lower Lorraine
	Q	3			2		11	NEW-1-b	Neuweiler, Swabia

Table 3.2. Legend for Chants Listed in Table 3.1.

THE MOST FREQUENT CHANTS
(in *Visitationes* from ten or more religious institutions)

Abbreviation	Chant
1	*Surrexit Dominus* (*CAO* 5079)
2	*Surrexit enim* (*CAO* 5081)
3	*Venite et videte* (*CAO* 5352)
4	*Quis revolvet nobis* (*cf. CAO* 2697)
5	*Dicant nunc* (no *CAO*)
6	*Cito euntes* (*CAO* 1813)

THE LESS FREQUENT CHANTS
(in *Visitationes* from two to five religious institutions)

Abbreviation	Chant
7	*Et recordate* (*CAO* 2717)
8	*Victimae pascali laudes* (sequence)
9	*Et dicebant* (*CAO* 2697)
10	*Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* (no *CAO*)
11	*Surrexit Christus et illuxit* (*CAO* 5077)
12	*Maria Magdalena et alia* (no *CAO*)
13	*Christus resurgens* V. *Dicant nunc Iudei* (*CAO* 1796)
14	*Christ ist erstanden* (no *CAO*, hymn in vernacular)

THE LEAST FREQUENT CHANTS
(in *Visitationes* from one religious institution)

Abbreviation	Chant
15	*Ad tumulum venere gementes* (no *CAO*)
16	*Ad sepulchrum Domini gementes venimus* (no *CAO*)
17	*Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi* (*CAO* 3702)
18	*Cum rex gloriae Christus* (antiphon, no *CAO*)
19	*In resurrectione* (*CAO* 8100)
20	*Aurora diem nunciat* (no *CAO*)
21	*Deo gratias* (no *CAO*)
22	*Ad monumentum venimus* (no *CAO*)
23	*Currebant duo* (*CAO* 2081)
24	*Alleluia, Resurrexit Dominus hodie* (line from non-German *Q*)
25	*Ite, nuntiate, quia surrexit a mortuis* (no *CAO*; line from *Q*)
26	*O Deus, quis revolvet nobis* (*cf. CAO* 2697)
27	*Resurrexit victor ab inferis* (no *CAO*)

28	*Alleluia, surrexit pastor* (*CAO* 7742)
29	*Iam domnus optatas reddit* (no *CAO*; alleluia trope)
30	*Alleluia*. V. *Confitemini Domino* (*AMS*, Easter Vigil)
31	*Alleluia*. *Resurrexit victor* (no *CAO*)
32	*Nolite expavescere* (*CAO* 3893)

No one version of the type-one *Visitatio* predominates, as no version is found in more than twelve manuscripts and most survive in fewer than five. In fact, half of the versions (twenty-one of forty-two) are preserved in only one manuscript. Eleven versions are found in multiple sources from the same religious institutions or nearby institutions (e.g., Trier and Koblenz cathedrals or cathedrals in and around Münster). This data suggests that post-1100 *Visitationes* were local adaptations. When two- or three-chant *Visitationes* reached different religious communities, monastics or clerics incorporated additional chants to frame the dialogue.[16] The choice of which chant(s) to add was likely a matter of local preference: a total of thirty-two Office antiphons and non-Office chants are found in at least one type-one *Visitatio*. It is clear that from 1100 onward type-one *Visitationes* lacked a standard form and selection of chants, strongly suggesting that monastics and clerics played an active role in shaping the *Visitationes* they performed.

Despite a lack of standardization, the types of chants accompanying the dialogue, musical style, and sources of chant texts are consistent in most type-one *Visitationes*, allowing for comparison with type-two *Visitationes*. The music and chant texts of type-one and type-two *Visitationes* will now be compared to demonstrate that the two types of *Visitationes* shared few similarities with respect to the selection of chants, musical style, and sources of the chant texts.

[16] Eighty of the 109 *Visitationes* in table 3.1 include at least four chants and the longest, ME-6-b, comprises nine. Only twelve contain just the dialogue plus an additional antiphon and seventeen comprise three chants.

<u>Selection of Chants</u>

One of the most significant differences between type-one and type-two *Visitationes* involves the sources of the chants that precede and follow the dialogues. Most chants in later type-one *Visitationes* are Office antiphons; less frequently other Office or Mass chants for Easter Sunday or the octave of Easter were introduced. By contrast, type-two *Visitationes* comprised mostly non-Office antiphons composed specifically for the *Visitatio*. Most type-one *Visitationes* in table 3.1 (sixty-one of the 109) include only the dialogue and Office antiphons. Twenty-three additional sources comprise only liturgical chants, which included Office antiphons, Mass chants (the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, an *alleluia*, and the trope *Iam domus optatas reddit*), and the Latin translation of a Byzantine *sticheron*, *Dicant nunc*.[17]

A small number of *Visitationes* (twenty-five sources from eleven religious institutions) incorporated non-liturgical chants including verses, such as *Ad tumulum venere gementes* and *Ad sepulchrum Domini gementes venimus*, and the vernacular *lied*, *Christ ist erstanden. Visitationes* with non-liturgical chants did not typically circulate beyond individual religious communities and their environs. *Ad tumulum venere*

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[17] *Dicant nunc* is a processional antiphon with a text based on an old Byzantine *sticheron* that was translated from Greek into Latin. Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), 173-4; James Borders, "The Northern Italian Antiphons *ante evangelium* and the Gallican Connection," *The Journal of Musicological Research* 8 (1988), 17; Peter Jeffery, "The Early Oktōēchoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery, 147-209 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2001), 206; Christian Troelsgard, "The Musical Structure of Five Byzantine Stichera and their Parallels among Western Antiphons," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 61 (1991), 26-31.

gementes was apparently a local chant, performed in *Visitationes* from Bamberg cathedral, and *Ad sepulchrum Domini gementes venimus* was particular to Mainz cathedral.

The standard practice for creating type-one *Visitationes* was to incorporate pre-existing chants rather than newly composed ones. These chants, mostly Office antiphons, are found in some of the earliest chant sources, including two ninth-century sources, the Compiègne antiphoner and the Metz tonary, and likely dated to the eighth century.[18] As such, they were not composed specifically for type-one *Visitationes* but appropriated for this purpose. Thus, type-one *Visitationes* were exercises in compilation rather than composition: preexisting liturgical chants were taken from one context and reused in another.

Type-two *Visitationes* employed a different collection of chants than those found in type one with few exceptions. The inclusion of new characters (Peter and John) and the introduction of new events, such as the apostles' visit, required additional antiphons not found in type one. Yet some antiphons incorporated into type-two *Visitationes* fulfilled similar functions to their counterparts in type one. Comparing the texts of one of the earliest *Visitationes*, REG-2-b, with a typical type-two *Visitatio*, SLZ-1-c(a), highlights differences in the selection of chants. Example 3.6-a gives the texts in Latin, example 3.6-b translates REG-2-b, and example 3.6-c translates SLZ-1-c(a).

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[18] The ninth-century antiphoner from Compiègne is one of the sources included in Hesbert's *CAO*. The tonary from Metz, dating from 869-877, was edited by Walther Lipphardt, *Der Karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 75, 96. The tonary of Metz lists all but two Office antiphons incorporated into type-one *Visitationes*: *Christus resurgens* (*CAO* 1796) and *Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi* (*CAO* 3702).

Example 3.6-a. Comparison of Chant Texts and Rubrics of REG-2-b and SLZ-1-c(a).

REG-2-b (Type One)	SLZ-1-c(a) (Type Two)
	POST GLORIA PATRI REPETATUR RESPONSORIUM A PRINCIPIO ET INTERIM CLERUS PORTANS CEREOS ACCENSOS PROCEDIT AD VISITANDUM SEPULCHRUM DYACONUS VERO QUI LEGEBAT EVANGELIUM ACTURUS OFFICIUM ANGELI PRECEDAT SEDEATQUE IN DEXTERA PARTE SEPULCHRI COOPERTUS STOLA CANDIDA ET CHORUS CANTARE INCIPIT
	Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata Dominum querentes in monumento
INTERROGATIO ANTIPHONA	ET FIGURAM MULIERUM TENENTES PROCEDANT VERSUS SEPULCHRUM ET STANTES CANTANT
Quis revolvet nobis lapidem [*ab ostio monumenti alleluia alleluia*]	*Quis revolvet nobis ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus Sepulchrum*
PRESBITERI *Quem queritis in sepulchro o christicolae*	ANGELUS RESPONDIT *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres in hoc tumulo plorantes*
DIACONI *Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum o celicole*	ITERUM MULIERES *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus*
RESPONDENT PRESBITERI *Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat ite nuntiate quia surrexit dicentes*	ANGELUS *Non est hic quem queritis sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Ihesus*
	ET CUM HEC CEPERIT CANTARE ANGELUS *SED CITO EUNTES* UT SUPRA MULIERES THURIFICENT SEPULCHRUM ET FESTINANTER REDEANT ET VERSUS CHORUM STANTES CANTANT MULIERES

*Ad monumentum venimus gementes
angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et
dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus alleluia*

TUNC CHORUS IMPONAT
ANTIPHONAM
*Currebant duo simul et ille alius
discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et
venit prior ad monumentum alleluia*

ET DUO QUASI PETRUS ET
IOHANNES CURRANT
PRECURRATQUE IOHANNES PETRO
ET ITA VENIUNT AD
MONUMENTUM ET AUFERANT
LINTHEAMINA ET SUDARIUM
QUIBUS INVOLUTA ERAT YMAGO
ET VERTENTES SE AD POPULUM
OSTENDENDO CANTENT
*Cernitis o socii ecce lintheamina et
sudarium et corpus non est inventum*

ANTIPHONA
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro [*qui pro
nobis pependit in lingo
alleluia alleluia alleluia*]

CHORUS RESPONDET
*Surrexit enim sicut dixit Dominus
precedet vos in Galileam alleluia
ibi eum videbitis alleluia alleluia*

ET POPULUS CUM HOC INCIPIAT
CANTARE
*Crist ist erstanden von der marter
[alle des solln wir alle froh sein Christ
will unser trost sein Kyrie eleison]*

Example 3.6-b. REG-2-b Translation.

INTERROGATIO   QUESTION
ANTIPHONA   ANTIPHON

Quis revolvet nobis lapidem [*ab ostio*   *Who will roll back the stone for us from*
monumenti alleluia alleluia]   *the entrance of the tomb?*
                                            Alleluia, alleluia.

PRESBITERI   PRIESTS
Quem queritis in sepulchro o christicolae *Whom do you seek in the sepulcher,*
                                            O followers of Christ?

DIACONI   DEACONS
Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum o celicole   *Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified,*
                                            O heavenly ones.

RESPONDENT PRESBITERI   THE PRIESTS ANSWER
Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat   *He is not here. He has risen as He*
ite nuntiate quia surrexit dicentes   *foretold. Go, announce that He has risen,*
                                            saying:

ANTIPHONA   ANTIPHON
Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro [*qui pro*   *The Lord has risen from the sepulcher,*
nobis pependit in lingo   *He who for us hung on the cross.*
alleluia alleluia alleluia]   *Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.*

Example 3.6-c. Translation of SLZ-1-c(a).

Post *Gloria Patri* repetatur responsorium   After the *Gloria Patri*, let the responsory
a principio et omnis clerus portans cereos   be repeated from the beginning, and all
accensos procedit ad visitandum   the clergy carrying lit candles proceed
sepulchrum diaconus vero qui legerat   to visit the sepulcher. The deacon,
evangelium acturus officium angeli   who had read the Gospel, and who is
procedat sedeatque in dextera parte   about to perform the office of the angel,
coopertus stola candida ad ubi chorus   should move forward and sit on the right
cantare inceperit.   side, having been covered with a white
                                            stole, at which point the schola will have
                                            begun to sing:

Maria Magdalena [*et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata Dominus querentes in monumento*]

At dawn, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were carrying spices, seeking the Lord in the tomb.

Tres presbiteri induti cappis cum totidem thuribulis et incenso procedunt versus sepulchrum et stantes cantant

Three priests, having been clothed with copes, with the same number of thuribles and incense, proceed toward the sepulcher and standing, they sing:

Quis revolvet nobis [*ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum*]

Who will roll back the stone from the entrance for us, which as we see covers the holy sepulcher?

Angelus
Quem queritis o tremule [*mulieres in hoc tumulo gementes*]

Angel
Whom do you seek, o trembling women, in this sepulcher, weeping?

Mulieres
Ihesum Nazarenum [*crucifixum querimus*]

Women
We seek the crucified Jesus of Nazareth

Angelus
Non est hic quem queritis [*sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Ihesus*]

Angel
He, whom you seek, is not here, but go quickly announce to His disciples and Peter that Jesus has risen.

Et cum ceperit cantare angelus *sed cito euntes* mulieres thurificent sepulchrum et festinanter redeunt et versus chorum stantes cantant mulieres

And when the angel begins to sing "but go quickly," let the women cense the sepulcher and quickly go back and standing, facing the choir, the women sing:

Ad monumentum venimus gementes [*angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus*]

We came to the sepulcher weeping; we saw the angel of the Lord sitting and saying that Jesus has risen.

Tunc chorus imponat antiphonam *Currebant duo simul* [*et ille alius discipulis precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum*]

Then let the schola sing the antiphon: *The two were running together, and the other disciple ran ahead faster than Peter and came to the tomb first.*

Et cantores quasi Petrus et Iohannes currant precurratque Iohannes sequente Petro et ita veniunt ad monumentum et auferant linteamina et sudarium quibus involuta ymago Domini et vertentes se ad chorum ostendo ea cantant

And let the choir members as Peter and John run, and let John run ahead with Peter following, and thus they remove the grave cloths and sheet, with which the Lord's image had been covered, and turning themselves toward the choir,

for the purposes of showing those things, they sing:

Cernitis o socii ecce lintheamina [*et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum*]

Behold, o companions, examine the grave cloths and white sheet and the body is not found in the sepulcher.

Surrexit enim sicut dixit [*Dominus et precedet vos in Galileam alleluia ibi eum videbitis alleluia alleluia alleluia*]

For the Lord has risen, as He foretold. He is going ahead of you into Galilee. Alleluia. There you will see Him. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

Populus
Christus ist erstanden von der marter [*alle des solln wir alle froh sein Christ will unser trost sein Kyrie eleison*]

The people:
Christ is risen from all His torments; we should all be joyful at this; Christ wants to be our consolation. Lord have mercy.

REG-2-b includes only the dialogue and two antiphons, while SLZ-1-c(a) incorporates the dialogue, six antiphons, and one hymn in Old High German, *Christ ist erstanden*.[19] REG-2-b and SLZ-1-c(a) do not have a single chant in common. In type-two *Visitationes*, two antiphons accompanied the Marys' procession (*Maria Magdalena et alia Maria* and *Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere*), an antiphon and hymn announced the Resurrection (*Surrexit enim* and *Christ ist erstanden*), and three antiphons introduced events not portrayed in type-one *Visitationes*: After the angel instructs the Marys to announce the Resurrection, they turn toward the choir, telling them the news, singing *Ad monumentum venimus*. Peter and John then run to the sepulcher, while the choir narrates their journey, singing *Currebant duo* (*CAO* 2081). Rubrics then describe the apostles

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[19] Primary sources identify the non-Office chants in type-two *Visitationes* as antiphons or verses. They are identified as antiphons in the dissertation because they resemble them in length, musical style, and textual characteristics.

entering the tomb, removing the grave cloths and white sheet, and showing them to the assembly, while singing *Cernitis o socii*.

The selection of chants in type-two *Visitationes* is more consistent from one source to the next than is the case with type one. Most type-two *Visitationes* shared what one might describe as a stable core of the dialogue plus four antiphons, which were sung in the order listed below:

> *Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere* (no *CAO*)
> *Quem queritis o tremule* (no *CAO*)
> *Ad monumentum venimus* (no *CAO*)
> *Currebant duo simul* (*CAO* 2081)
> *Cernitis o socii* (no *CAO*)

This core is found in 170 of the 205 type-two settings.[20] A fifth antiphon, *Maria Magdalena*, is found in 143 of 205. It is prevalent in the archdiocese of Salzburg, the central area of transmission of type-two *Visitationes*, and because of this, *Maria Magdalena* should perhaps be considered part of the core.[21] Some of these chants fulfill the same functions as their counterparts in type-one *Visitationes*, such as what the Marys sang when they asked who would roll back the stone (*Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*

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[20] Michael Norton identified the listed antiphons as the core, Norton, "Type II *Visitatio sepulchri*," 49-50 and 70.

[21] *Visitationes* lacking *Maria Magdalena* or one or more of the core chants usually come from places geographically or politically distant from Salzburg and Saxony. The remaining thirty-seven *Visitationes* constitute one of three subgroups. The first comprises fifteen Magdalene *Visitationes*, which include an episode between Christ and Mary Magdalene. Most are from the Duchy of Swabia. Belonging to the second subgroup are eleven *Visitationes* that combine chants typically found in both type-one and type-two *Visitationes*. These settings used the type-two dialogue, *Quem queritis o tremule*, with antiphons typically sung in type-one *Visitationes* and are found primarily in manuscripts from Franconia and Swabia. The eleven *Visitationes* in the third subgroup, which lack *Maria Magdalena*, *Currebant duo*, and sometimes other core antiphons, are restricted to Aquileia and the diocese of Eichstätt. The archdiocese of Salzburg, which encompassed large parts of Bavaria and the Austrian duchies, is considered the central area of transmission because of the high concentration of type-two *Visitationes* coming from there, and for other reasons that will be elucidated in chapter 5.

replaced *Quis revolvet nobis lapidem*) and the angels and Marys' dialogue (where *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres* replaced *Quem queritis in sepulchro*). Given the differences in the selection of chants, it is apparent that type-two *Visitationes* did not expand on type one. They were new manifestations of the *Visitatio* comprising a different collection of chants, and were therefore only loosely related to type one.

Although type-two *Visitationes* have a consistently transmitted core, this is not to suggest that regional preferences did not occasionally figure into the selection of chants. Additional chants were sometimes added to the core. *Victimae paschali laudes* is found almost exclusively in *Visitationes* from the Passau diocese, and *Christ ist erstanden* in those from the dioceses of Passau and Salzburg.[22] *Dicant nunc* was included in *Visitationes* from Klosterneuburg and nearby religious institutions and *Venite et videte* in *Visitationes* from southern Benedictine institutions.[23] Differences from one type-two *Visitatio* to the next were merely expansions of a well-established and carefully transmitted core, unlike the highly variable type-one *Visitationes*.

Because the antiphons comprising type-two *Visitationes* are predominantly newly composed, type-two *Visitationes* are best understood as creations rather than compilations. They included four antiphons that had no place in the Office, namely *Maria Magdalena*, *Quis revolvet nobis quem tegere*, *Ad monumentum venimus*, and *Cernitis o socii*. These antiphons are not documented before the twelfth century and are found only in the context of the *Visitatio*, suggesting they were composed solely for this

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[22] Concerning the regional distribution of type-two *Visitationes* with *Victimae paschali laudes*, see de Boor, *Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 181, 197.

[23] WN-1-a and REI-1-a, situated near Klosterneuburg, also included *Dicant nunc*, as did NE-1-a from Neustift near Brixen, the Augustinian house that deacon Hartmann founded after reforming Klosterneuburg.

use and likely dated to the turn of the twelfth century. Only two antiphons included in most type-two *Visitationes* were borrowed the Office, *Currebant duo* and *Surrexit enim*, the latter being one of the few chants type-one and type-two *Visitationes* shared.

Type-two *Visitationes* and the newly composed antiphons they comprise were likely created at one time and place. The anonymous creator or creators apparently rejected the chants found in type one, and instead opted to reinvent the *Visitatio* by composing a dialogue and antiphons anew. In other words, there was compositional planning behind type-two *Visitationes*, unlike type-one *Visitationes*, which lacked a central tradition. Textual continuities among type-two *Visitationes* further support the idea that type-two *Visitationes* involved compositional planning. De Boor described the type-two *Visitatio* as a "unified new creation" inspired by a new conception involving textual connections among the antiphons and dialogue.[24] He viewed as a continuity the angel's instruction for the Marys to "go, tell His disciples and Peter that Jesus has risen" in *Quem queritis o tremule*, and Peter and John's subsequent rush to the tomb in *Currebant duo*.[25] There is further continuity between *Ad monumentum venimus*, the dialogue, and *Currebant duo*. By singing this verse, the Marys recounted what had happened at the sepulcher to the disciples, thus obeying the angel's instruction to spread the news and creating an impetus for Peter and John's visit. De Boor further observed a connection between the dialogue and *Ad monumentum venimus*. In both chants the

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[24] He describes how the type-two *Visitatio* "... *ist nicht nur im formalen Aufbau eine geschlossene Neuschöpfung, er ist aus einer neuen inneren Konzeption gestaltet*." de Boor, *Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 132, 148. Rankin, following de Boor, described it as having "an entirely new inner conception." Rankin, "Liturgical Drama," in *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, 310-56 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 330.
[25] de Boor, *Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 149.

women are described as weeping (*gementes* or *plorantes*).[26] The consistent transmission

of the core and textual continuities suggest that the type two was created at one time and

place, unlike type-one *Visitationes*, which were compiled at numerous religious

institutions in a less systematic manner, as monks and clergy found different ways of

expanding the Marys and angel's visit.

Musical Style of Type-One and Type-Two *Visitationes*

The musical style of the antiphons included in type-one and type-two *Visitationes*

further differentiates them and is a product of the different times in which the chants were

composed. The Office antiphons incorporated into type-one *Visitationes* are among the

earliest in the repertory. Found in ninth-century chant sources, they likely dated to the

eighth or ninth centuries. The newly composed antiphons incorporated into type-two

Visitationes (*Maria Magdalena*, *Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere*, *Ad monumentum*

venimus, and *Cernitis o socii*) were composed approximately three centuries later and

might be described as post-Gregorian, a designation applied to Offices composed from

the tenth century onward after the initial formation and dissemination of Offices during

the eighth and ninth centuries.[27] This section will argue that the manner of composition,

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[26] Ibid., 149.

[27] When these antiphons are listed in the *CANTUS* database, an online inventory of 137 liturgical manuscripts of the Office, they are found only in type-two *Visitationes*. CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: Indices of Chants in Selected Manuscripts and Early Printed Sources of the Liturgical Office, University of Waterloo, http://cantusdatabase.org/ (accessed August 28, 2012). Roman Hanklen described a new style of chant that emerged in the tenth century, but did not call it post-Gregogrian. Roman Hankeln, "Antiphonen süddeutscher Heiligen-Offizien des Hochmittelalters," in *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th*

modality, cadences, and melodic motion of type-two antiphons are characteristic of post-Gregorian chant. They exhibit a musical style also displayed in prose *historiae* (Offices of Saint's lives) composed during the same period.

David Hiley and Roman Hankeln identified six stylistic traits that differentiated the chants of late Offices (tenth century onward) from earlier ones (those found in *CAO*). The characteristics are as follows: 1) antiphons and responsories are arranged numerically by mode, 2) the responsories lack melodic formulae found in earlier responsories and the antiphons do not follow August Gevaert and Walter Howard Frere's standard themes,[28] 3) the *finalis*, fifth, and octave are present at structurally significant points, 4) cadences are approached from below,[29] 5) antiphons and responsories include leaps or scalar passages spanning more than a fourth,[30] and 6) the melodies quickly traverse the upper and lower parts of the *ambitus* (range).[31] The antiphons comprising type-two *Visitationes* are not arranged modally, but when considered collectively *Maria Magdalena*, *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*, *Ad monumentum venimus*, and *Cernitis o socii*

Meeting, ed. László Dobszay, 151-172 (Budapest, Hungary: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 2001).

[28] François Auguste Gevaert, *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine* (Ghent: A Hoste, 1895); Walter Howard Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Analytical Index*, 5 vols. (Westmead, England: Gregg Press Limited, 1966), 64-76.

[29] David Hiley, ed., *Historia Sancti Emmerammi*, Musicological Studies 65, no. 2 (Ottawa, ON: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996), xxv; David Hiley, "Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld, 369-399 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 371.

[30] Hankeln, "Antiphonen süddeutscher Heiligen-Offizien," 156-7.

[31] Roman Hankeln, "Old and New in Medieval Chant: Finding Methods of Investigating an Unknown Region," in *A Due: Musical Essays in Honour of John D. Bergsagel and Heinrich W. Schwab*, ed. Ole Kongsted et al., 161-180 (Copenhagen: The Royal Library and Section, 2008), 173-6.

exhibit the other five characteristics, as the musical examples that follow will demonstrate.

Method of Composition

Comparing type-two antiphons with traditional ones in the same modes reveals that the type-two antiphons were neither based on model melodies (melodies that were reused and adapted to accommodate different texts) nor did they follow the same overall compositional plans (i.e., intonations, contours of individual phrases, and cadence pitches) as traditional antiphons. This conclusion was reached after comparing the type-two antiphons with August Gevaert's and Walter Howard Frere's themes, and with the entire collection of antiphons in László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei's edition.[32]

Although type-two antiphons were new compositions, they sometimes incorporated musical ideas from traditional antiphons in unconventional ways. Example 3.7-a compares a standard mode III intonation with the opening of *Maria Magdalena*,

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[32] Gevaert, *La Mélopée Antique*. Frere's themes are groups of antiphons sharing similar intonations and final cadences, sometimes with similar melodic contours and internal cadences. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 64-76. Dobszay and Szendrei organized the entire repertory of antiphons of the Esztergom rite and of Hungarian Franciscans into classes, tune families, and small groups, and transcribed each antiphon. Since no edition of antiphons of German provenance exists and the editors contend that "the Hungarian sources are as appropriate as any other regional sources to represent the common European chant heritage," antiphons of Hungarian provenance must suffice. László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, ed. *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, Vol. 5 Antiphonen (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1999), 15. Only three other classifications of entire repertories of antiphons exist: Terence Bailey and Paul Merkley, *The Antiphons of the Ambrosian Office* (Ottawa, ON: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989); Bailey and Merkley, *The Melodic Tradition of the Ambrosian Office - Antiphons* (Ottawa, ON: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990); and Edward Nowacki's study of Old Roman antiphons, "The Gregorian Office Antiphons and the Comparative Method," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985): 243-275.

and 3.7-b compares a mode I intonation with the beginning of *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*. Square brackets indicate shared material.

Example 3.7-a. Mode III Intonation and Opening of *Maria Magdalena*.

Example 3.7-b. Mode I Intonation and Opening of *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*.

Maria Magdalena and *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* employ the same intonation pattern, but in different modes.[33] The intonation is compressed in both, with the opening pitch being repeated once instead of twice.

    Maria Magdalena and *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* did not just incorporate the standard intonation pattern at the beginning of the antiphon; the intonation is treated as a motive that was a building block for both compositions. In *Maria Magdalena* the intonation pattern is heard three times, as the Xs in example 3.8 indicate.

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[33] Of the twenty-one manuscripts with heighted notation, *Maria Magdalena* is on D in eight, on E (or transposed to A with B-flats) in twelve, and in a mixed mode (starts in E and ends on D) in one. The above intonation pattern could be used in both modes I and III because it did not include the second scale degree; thus, the defining intervals of both modes are not sounded making the above intonation versatile.

Example 3.8. *Maria Magdalena* in KN-14-a.

Motive X is one of only two motives on which *Maria Magdalena* is based (the other,

motive Y, is a cadential formula found at the ends of phrases 3 and 6). Repetition and

variation are the primary compositional techniques employed, with the second iteration of

X expanding the motive through repetitions of E, G, and A. With each iteration the

motive cadences on a higher pitch, creating momentum that becomes most intense during

the third iteration, where the motive ends on the fifth.

In *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* the intonation is heard twice, as indicated with Xs

in example 3.9.

Example 3.9. *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* in KN-4-a.

The repetition of X at the beginnings of the first and second phrases accentuates the

modal ambiguity of *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*. Although the antiphon opens with one

of the two most common mode-one intonations, the melody does not remain in that mode

for long.[34] In the second phrase the intonation pattern is transposed up a fifth so that A

serves as a new final; the melody is now in mode IV (transposed to A), as the B-flats and

ambitus extending to a third below the final (to F) suggest. Regino of Prüm's *De*

harmonica institutione (*c*. 900) confirms that antiphons could begin in one mode and

change to another, identifying as *nothae* fifteen antiphons that behaved in this manner.[35]

Repeating motive X as the intonation to the first and second phrases creates symmetry

while accentuating the change of mode. "A" is the last pitch of the first phrase and the

first pitch of the second phrase, but its function differs: it is the reciting tone of phrase 1

and the final from phrase 2 to the end. This change in mode created a smooth transition to

Quem queritis o tremule, which is also in mode IV, and followed *Quis revolvet ... quem*

tegere.

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[34] Most antiphons in Dobszay and Szendrei's Class B (antiphons 1028-1167) use the same intonation as *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* and *Maria Magdalena*. Dobszay and Szendrei, ed. *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, Vol. 5, pt. 1: 9-82.

[35] Martin Gerbert, ed. *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (1784; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), 1:231; Charles Atkinson, "The 'Parapteres: Nothi' or Not?," *The Musical Quarterly* 68, No. 1 (January, 1982): 46. Thank you to Prof. Atkinson for examining *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*, offering suggestions for interpreting the modality, and for drawing my attention to the Regino of Prüm citation. Interpreting phrases two to four of *Quis revolvet .. quem tegere* as mode IV is not without problems because the reciting tone of mode IV (D in the transposed mode) is sounded only twice from *ab hostio* onward. Another possible interpretation is that the antiphon is in mode II throughout, with a partial transposition to A at *ab hostio*, if one assumes that B-flat and E-flat would have been sung in the untransposed mode. The transposition up a fifth may have been a way of avoiding the necessity of writing E-flats from the second phrase onward (neither B nor E is sounded in the first phrase so the pitches do not pose notational challenges). A third interpretation is that *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* is in mode IV throughout, but transposed up a fourth. The scribes of two sources, KN CCl 66 and SP-3-a, viewed it in that way. A scribe from Klosterneuburg erroneously included *differentiae* for the type-two antiphons as though they were sung with psalm verses. He interpreted the antiphon as ending in mode IV. SP-3-a is unusual in that the scribe notated the melody in untransposed mode IV, so that the melody began on A (a fourth below the final) and the second phrase began on the final E (see the transcriptions of *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* in appendix 5).

The manner of composing *Maria Magdalena*, *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*, *Ad monumentum*, and *Cernitis o socii* was typical of post-Gregorian antiphons. They were not based on model melodies or standard themes, but incorporated intonation patterns or other short musical gestures found in traditional Office antiphons. By contrast, some of the Office antiphons comprising type-one *Visitationes* employed standard themes, most notably *Surrexit Dominus* and *Cito euntes*, differentiating type-one and type-two *Visitationes*.[36]

Approach to Modality

The newly composed type-two antiphons emphasize the *finalis* and fifth more than earlier antiphons did. Most cadences end on either the *finalis* or the fifth, a characteristic that Hankeln observed in *Historiae* from southern Germany.[37] *Ad monumentum venimus*, given as example 3.10, exemplifies this characteristic. Vertical lines indicate phrasing and the numbers identify the scale degrees on which cadences end.

Example 3.10. *Ad monumentum venimus* from KN-4-a.

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[36] *Surrexit Dominus* (mode IV) follows Frere's IV[1]I theme, *Venite et videte* his VIII[1]I e theme, and *Cito euntes* his VII[1]5 b. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, I:70, 72, 73-4.
[37] Hankeln, "Antiphonen süddeutscher Heiligen-Offizien," 152.

The melody is in mode I with a final on D and a reciting tone on A. All four cadences end on either the *finalis* or the fifth, as is typical of post-Gregorian chants. This is also the case with *Maria Magdalena*, where all four cadences end on the *finalis*, and with *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*, where all but one phrase cadences on the final. In traditional Office antiphons the final and reciting tone are the goals of some melodic motion, but not all. Cadences on the *finalis* and reciting tone are common, but so are cadences on the third, fourth, and *subtonium*.[38] *Venite et videte*, an Office antiphon commonly found in type-one *Visitationes*, has cadences on pitches other than the *finalis* and fifth, as indicated in example 3.11.

Example 3.11. *Venite et videte* from MÜN-2.

Venite et videte is in mode VIII and the first and second phrases cadence on the *subtonium* (F) and the fourth (C) respectively. Only the final cadence ends on the *finalis*. The greater variety of pitches at cadence points in traditional Office antiphons makes type-one *Visitationes* sound different from type two.

The *finalis* and fifth are also emphasized at the ends of individual words, further contributing to the modality of type-two *Visitationes*.[39] More than half the words end on

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[38] Gevaert, *La mélopée antique*, 228. Frère's Mode I themes cadence on the *finalis*, fifth, fourth, and seventh. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 1:64-69.

[39] Hankeln identified this as a characteristic of prose *historiae*. Hankeln, "Old and New in Medieval Chant," 162, 171-2.

the final or fifth in *Maria Magdalena* (seven of twelve), *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere*

(eight of eleven), and *Ad monumentum venimus* (seven of thirteen). Repetition of the

finalis within phrases is also common. In example 3.12, numbers indicate words

beginning or ending on the *finalis* or fifth, and circles indicate repetitions of the *finalis*

within individual words.

Example 3.12. Repetition of the Final in *Maria Magdalena*.

In *Maria Magdalena*, the fifth and final are emphasized in three ways: cadences on the

final and fifth in all but one phrase, ten of twelve words beginning and/or ending on those

pitches, and the repetition of the *finalis* as many as four times consecutively. These

repetitions ensure that the melody remains firmly grounded on E, without wandering to

different modal areas. The repetitions also divide the antiphon into relatively short

phrases that lack a sense of longer periodicity, something Hiley described as a "shortness

of breath" and a "concentration on short, self-contained lines."[40] By contrast, Office

antiphons may explore different modal areas, temporarily straying from the *finalis*, as is

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[40] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 276-8.

the case with *Surrexit Dominus*, given in example 3.13.[41] Vertical lines mark ends of

phrases; "F" denotes the final, and "R" the reciting tone.

Example 3.13. Repetition of the Final and Reciting Tone in *Surrexit Dominus*.

Both phrases end on the *finalis* (E), but fewer words begin or end on the final or reciting

tone than is the case with the type-two antiphons. Repetitions of the final are also less

common, occurring only at the end of the antiphon. In the second phrase, E is not

sounded until the end of the phrase; meanwhile the melody explores a secondary modal

area (mode I), as is typical of traditional Office antiphons. The prominence of the *finalis*

and fifth at structurally significant points, frequent repetition of these pitches at the

beginnings and ends of words, and within phrases, differentiate type-two *Visitationes*

from type one.

Melodic Motion

The newly composed antiphons in type-two *Visitationes* exhibit three more

characteristics common in post-Gregorian antiphons: cadences approached from below,

leaps or scales spanning a fifth or more, and quick movement from the upper and lower

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[41] Two melodies circulated for *Surrexit Dominus*: one in Mode IV (like the one given
here) and another in Mode VIII.

parts of the *ambitus*.[42] *Maria Magdalena, Quis revolvet ... quem tegere, Ad monumentum venimus*, and *Cernitis o socii* include cadences approached from the step below, often referred to as Gallican cadences; these cadences are rare in earlier chant.[43] *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* in example 3.14 includes such cadences.

Example 3.14. *Quis revovet ... quem tegere* in REI-1-a.

Three of the four cadences are approached stepwise from below; square brackets identify them. Only the cadence on *sanctum* is traditional, with stepwise descending motion from above leading to a cadence on F. Gallican cadences are frequent in type-two antiphons, accounting for nine of nineteen cadences. By contrast, descending cadences are far more common in traditional antiphons, as is the case with *Quis revolvet nobis* in example 3.15.

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[42] Hankeln, "Antiphonen süddeutscher Heiligenoffizien," 156-8; Hankeln, "Old and New in Medieval Chant," 163.

[43] On the importance of subtone cadences in post-Gregorian chant see David Hiley, ed., *Historia Sancti Emmerammi*, xxv; David Hiley, "Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene," 371.

Example 3.15. Descending Cadences in *Quis revolvet nobis*.

Quis revolvet nobis has three descending cadences and no Gallican ones. The prevalence of descending cadences in type-one *Visitationes* and Gallican cadences in type two further differentiates the two types of *Visitationes*.

Leaps or scalar passages of more than a fourth and passages quickly traversing the upper and lower portions of the *ambitus*, which are typical in post-Gregorian antiphons, are found in type-two *Visitationes*. *Ad monumentum venimus* and *Cernitis o socii* have ascending leaps of a fifth, and *Quis revolvet ... quem tegere* and *Cernitis o socii* have scalar passages spanning a fifth. In *Cernitis o socii*, given in example 3.16, the leap of a fifth is circled, and brackets indicate scalar passages spanning a fifth.

Example 3.16. Leaps and Scalar Passages Larger than a Fourth in *Cernitis o socii*.

Cernitis o socii is in mode I and exhibits characteristics of both traditional Office antiphons and post-Gregorian ones. The cadences at the ends of the second and fourth phrases, for example, are traditional, descending ones, but the descending, scalar passages span a fifth, a characteristic of post-Gregorian chant. *Ad monumentum venimus*, given in example 3.17, traverses the *ambitus* quickly, shifting into a higher part of the octave for the final phrase.

Example 3.17. *Ad monumentum venimus* in KN-4-a.

The melody has a leap of a fifth, followed by a leap of a third from the last syllable of *dicentem* to *qui-* of *quia*. Because of this leap combination, the melody moves quickly from the lower part of the *ambitus* (D) to the upper part (a seventh above on C). In the most common type-one antiphons, *Quis revolvet*, *Surrexit Dominus* (modes IV and VIII), *Surrexit enim*, *Venite et videte*, and *Cito euntes*, leaps and scalar passages larger than a fourth are uncommon: only *Surrexit Dominus* (mode IV) has a leap of a fifth, and only *Surrexit Dominus* (mode VIII) and *Cito euntes* have scalar passages spanning more than a fourth.

Type-two antiphons belong to the same compositional stratum as other post-Gregorian chants, including those found in prose *historiae*. The fact that the newly composed type-two antiphons are not based on model melodies and frequently emphasize the final and fifth, use Gallican cadences, and include leaps and scalar passages larger than a fourth situates them amidst twelfth-century stylistic trends. These novel musical

characteristics simultaneously differentiate type-two *Visitationes* from the more traditional type-one *Visitationes* and the eighth- or ninth-century antiphons they comprised.

Sources of the Chant Texts

The sources of the chant texts further differentiate type-one and type-two *Visitationes*, and these differences help clarify why newly composed antiphons are prevalent in type-two *Visitationes*. The Gospel accounts of the Resurrection were the obvious inspiration for *Visitationes* and were also the sources of chant texts for many of the antiphons they comprised. Because Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John's accounts of the Marys' visit differ, however, it cannot suffice to merely identify the Gospels as the sources; one must consider how type-one and type-two *Visitationes* followed one evangelist's account or combined events and wordings from two or more Gospels. As early as the nineteenth century, scholars have recognized this indebtedness, but they identified only verbatim quotations, overlooking subtler ways in which chant texts drew on the Gospels.[44] The section will propose that type-one *Visitationes* recounted the Marys' visit according to Matthew and Mark, portraying events and incorporating wording from their accounts. By contrast, type-two *Visitationes* conflated events and wordings from all four Gospels.

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[44] Gustav Milchsack, *Die Oster- und Passionspiele: Literarhistorische Untersuchungen ueber den Ursprung und die Entwickelung derselben bis zum Siebenzehnten Jahrhundert vornhemlich in Deutschland* (Wolfenbüttel: Julius Zwissler, 1880), 27; Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 19. Karl Young, Helmut de Boor, and Michael Norton continued this trend of identifying verbatim quotations, but not the subtler scriptural borrowings and paraphrases.

Type One

The texts of most chants included in type-one *Visitationes* are verbatim quotations from Matthew and Mark's accounts or are non-scriptural. Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 identify the text sources and methods of composition (i.e., direct quotation, short textual borrowings, or non-scriptural) for the thirty-two antiphons, responsories, sequences, hymns, verses, and tropes incorporated into type-one *Visitationes*. The term direct quotation is self-explanatory; short textual borrowings is not. These chant texts include one or more biblical quotation comprising between two and six words, while the rest of the text is newly composed. In the table the abbreviation *cf.* indicates chant texts that paraphrase content from the scriptures, ranging from small textual details (such as the Marys carrying spices) to biblical events or figures being mentioned (e.g., the guards in Matthew's account). Paraphrased scriptural content is present in chant texts with short textual borrowings and those that were newly composed. The chants are distributed into the three tables depending on how frequently they occur in type-one *Visitationes*. Those listed in table 3.3 are most characteristic, whereas those in table 3.4 are uncommon, and those in table 3.5 are rare, each occurring in only one of the 137 type-one *Visitationes*.

Table 3.3. Sources of Chant Texts for the Most Frequent Chants (in Type-One
Visitationes from Ten or More Religious Institutions).

Chant	Sources	Method of Composition
Cito euntes (*CAO* 1813)	Matthew 28:7	Direct quotation
Quis revolvet nobis (*cf. CAO* 2697)	Mark 16:3	Direct quotation
Surrexit enim (*CAO* 5081)	Matthew 28:6-7	Direct quotation
Venite et videte (*CAO* 5352)	Matthew 28:6	Direct quotation
Quem queritis in sepulchri	*cf.* John 20:13; text fragment: Mark 16:6; Matthew 28:6; Luke 24:6	Short textual borrowings and non-scriptural material
Dicant nunc (no *CAO*)	*cf.* Matthew 27: 65-6	Newly composed
Surrexit Dominus (*CAO* 5079)		Newly composed

Table 3.4. Sources of Chant Texts for Less Frequent Chants (in Type-One *Visitationes*
from Two to Five Religious Institutions).

Chant	Source	Method of Composition
Christus resurgens (*CAO* 1796)	Romans 6: 9-10	Direct quotation
Et dicebant ad invicem (*CAO* 2697)	Mark 16:3	Direct quotation
Et recordate sunt (*CAO* 2717)	Luke 24:8-9	Direct quotation
Maria Magdalena (no *CAO*)	Matt. 28:1, *cf.* Mark 16:1, Luke 24:2	Short textual borrowings and non-scriptural text
Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere (no *CAO*)	Mark 16:3	Short textual borrowings and non-scriptural text
Christ ist erstanden (no *CAO*)		Newly composed
Surrrexit Christus et illuxit (*CAO* 5077)		Newly composed
Victimae paschali laudes (sequence)	*cf.* Luke 24:12 and John 20:7	Newly composed

Table 3.5. Sources of Chant Texts for the Least Frequent Chants (in Type-One
Visitationes from Only One Religious Institution).

Chant	Text Source	Method of Composition
Currebant duo (*CAO* 2081)	John 20:4	Direct quotation
Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi (*CAO* 3702)	Mark 16:1	Direct quotation
Nolite expavescere (*CAO* 3893)	Mark 16:6-7	Direct quotation
Alleluia V. *Confitemini Domino* (*AMS*, Easter vigil)	Ps. 135, 1; 104,1; 105,1; 106,1; 117,1	Short textual borrowings and non-scriptural material
O Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere (no *CAO*)	Mark 16:3	Short textual borrowings and non-scriptural material
Ad monumentum venimus (no *CAO*)		Newly composed
Ad tumulum venere gementes (no *CAO*)	*cf*. Matthew 28:2; Mark 16:1; and Luke 24:1	Newly composed
Ad sepulchrum Domini gementes venimus (no *CAO*)	*cf*. John 22:12; Matthew 28:7; Mark 16:7	Newly composed
Alleluia resurrexit Dominus hodie (line from *Q*)		Newly composed
Alleluia. Resurrexit victor (Alleluia trope)		Newly composed
Alleluia surrexit pastor (*CAO* 7742)		Newly composed
Aurora diem nunciat (no *CAO*)	*cf*. Mark 16:1; Mark 16:3; Luke 24:1	Newly composed
Cum rex gloriae Christus (antiphon, no *CAO*)		Newly composed
Iam domnus optatas reddit (Alleluia trope, CT vol. II: 1, no. 12, 1)		Newly composed
In resurrectione tua Christe (*CAO* 8100)		Newly composed
Ite nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis (line from *Q*)		Newly composed
Resurrexit victor ab inferis (no *CAO*)		Newly composed

Ten of the chant texts are direct quotations from scripture, seventeen are newly composed, and only five comprise short quotations. Matthew and Mark's accounts were the sources for most chant texts based on scripture: the texts of seven Office antiphons quote Matthew or Mark verbatim, and eight incorporate short quotations or paraphrase content from them.

Few chant texts draw on other books of the Bible: the texts of *Christus resurgens ex mortuis*, *Et recordate sunt*, and *Currebant duo* quote verbatim Romans, Luke, and John respectively, while the well-known Easter sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes*, mentions the grave cloths and handkerchief that Luke and John described as laying abandoned in the sepulcher. Yet most *Visitationes* that include one of the four aforementioned chants still recount the Mary's visit according to Matthew and Mark: *Christus resurgens ex mortuis* and *Et recordate sunt* do not introduce events or content from Luke or John's accounts of the visit, although *Et recordate sunt* incorporated Luke's wording. *Currebant duo* and *Victimae paschali laudes* are the only chants that introduce events or details from Luke and John, and in the case of *Victimae paschali laudes* only a minor detail comes from Luke and John: that Christ's abandoned grave cloths were found in the tomb. The sole type-one *Visitatio* that drew on Gospels other than Matthew and Mark's in any significant way is SGR-2-b. This unusual *Visitatio* might best be understood as a hybrid between type one and type two, as it comprised *Quem queritis in sepulchro* and also antiphons from type-two *Visitationes* (*Ad monumentum venimus* and *Currebant duo*). Thus, despite the variability from one type-one *Visitatio* to the next, the events recounted and even the wording of most chant texts, are borrowed directly from Matthew and Mark.

The narrative of the Marys' visit that type-one *Visitationes* recounted and how the individual chant texts drew on the Gospels are best demonstrated by examining a typical type-one *Visitatio*. KBL-5-c, given as example 3.18, was selected because it comprises antiphons that were most prevalent in type-one *Visitationes*. Solid underlinings indicate direct quotations; the broken underlining denotes wording that is similar to that found in the Bible.

Example 3.18. Text of KBL-5-c with Sources Identified.

Chant Texts	**Text Sources**
AD SEPULCHRUM MULIERES ANTIPHONAM	
Quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti alleluya alleluia	Mark 16:3
ANGELI *Quem queritis in sepulchro o christicole*	*cf*. John 20:15
ANGELI *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum o celicole*	Mark 16:6
ANGELI *Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat ite nunciate quia surrexit de sepulchro*	Matthew 28:6; Mark 16:6; Luke 24:6
ANTIPHONA *Venite et videte locum . . .*	Matthew 28:6
ANTIPHONA *Cito euntes ...*	Matthew 28:7
MULIERES DISCIPULIS ANTIPHONAM *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno alleluia*	

The sequence of events follows Matthew and Mark. The Marys ask themselves who will roll back the stone and discover it has already been rolled back (Mark). Next they encounter angels, who tell them that Christ had risen and direct them to spread the news (Matthew and Mark). The Marys then announce the Resurrection to the disciples (Matthew and Luke). The chant texts are direct quotations from Matthew and Mark, with the exception of *Quem queritis in sepulchro*, which combines short scriptural quotations with non-scriptural text, and *Surrexit Dominus*, which was newly composed. In these two cases, direct biblical quotations could not be used as chant texts because the Marys are silent in the synoptic Gospels; the angels tell the Marys about the Resurrection, but there is no dialogue between the two groups, nor do the Gospels report what the Marys said when announcing the Resurrection. Chants with non-scriptural texts or texts that combined brief biblical quotations and newly composed text were typically used in type-one *Visitationes* only in situations such as these, when no text from the Gospels could fulfill a desired function.

Since *Quem queritis* is the most important chant featured in type-one *Visitationes* and its text is the most complex of all type-one chants, it will be discussed in detail. Each of the three parts of the exchange includes Gospel texts, but different speakers may deliver them than recounted in the Bible. For example, the angels' initial question (*Quem queritis*) is similar to Jesus' question to Mary Magdalene in John 20:15, in which he asked, "woman, why are you crying, whom are you seeking?" (*mulier quid ploras quem quaeris*). The Marys' reply, *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum*, was spoken by the angel in Mark 16:6, but it is the Marys who reply in the *Quem queritis*. The angels' reply incorporates *non est hic*, a short quotation assigned to the angels in all synoptic Gospels.

The rest of the text was non-scriptural, including the *o christicole* and *o celicole* endings to the first and second exchanges and the angels' announcement of the Resurrection. If Robert Jungman is correct, the use of the word *christicole* may suggest that the poetry of the Christian poet, Prudentius (b. 348), was a further influence on the creator of the *Quem queritis*.[45] His hypothesis is compelling not only because *christicole*, which is uncommon in medieval Latin, is found in many of Prudentius' poems, but also because in his hymn to St. Eulalia, *christicole* and the verb *querere* (to seek) — key words in the *Quem queritis* — are found in close succession.[46] Both scripture and Christian poetry seem to have been sources for the *Quem queritis*.

Two conditions surrounding the creation of type-one *Visitationes* may explain why they most often drew on Matthew and Mark's accounts. First, most Office antiphons with texts concerning the Marys' visit were based on Matthew and Mark. Naturally, since type-one *Visitationes* comprised mostly preexisting Office antiphons, it follows that chants with texts drawn from Matthew and Mark would be prevalent. Second, the greater number of Office antiphons based on Matthew and Mark than Luke and John may be attributed to the readings in the Easter liturgy of Matthew and Mark's accounts of the Resurrection, a practice first documented in the seventh century.[47] At the Easter vigil, Matthew's account was read; Easter Sunday Mark's telling of the same events was read at Matins and Mass. These passages, read annually, would likely have been most familiar to the members of religious communities and to those creating Office antiphons. It is most

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[45] Robert E. Jungman, "'Christicolae,' Prudentius, and the *Quem Quaeritis* Easter Dialogue," *Comparative Drama* 12, no. 4 (1978/1979): 301.

[46] Jungman, "'Christicolae,' Prudentius, and *Quem Quaeritis*," 302-3.

[47] Dom G. Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu de VIIe siècle: D'après les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg" *Revue Bénédictine* 28 (1911): 304.

likely that Matthew and Mark's accounts are prevalent in type-one *Visitationes* because antiphons setting texts from those Gospels on the topic of the Marys' visit were commonly read in Easter services.

Type Two

By contrast, type-two *Visitationes* drew together material from all four Gospels into a single narrative. Example 3.19 presents the text and rubrics of a type-two *Visitatio*, which is found in a twelfth-century ordinal from Salzburg cathedral, one of the oldest sources of type two. Solid underlinings denote quotations; broken underlinings indicate wording that is similar to the scriptural sources, but may differ in order, case, or conjugation.

Example 3.19. Type-Two *Visitatio sepulchri*, SLZ-1-c(a), with Textual Sources Indicated.

Post *Gloria Patri* repetatur responsorium a principio et omnis clerus portans cereos accensos procedit ad visitandum sepulchrum diaconus vero qui legerat evangelium acturus officium angeli procedat sedeatque in dextera parte coopertus stola candida ad ubi chorus cantare inceperit.

After the *Gloria Patri*, let the responsory be repeated from the beginning, and all the clergy carrying lit candles proceed to visit the sepulcher. The deacon, who had read the Gospel, and who is about to perform the office of the angel, should move forward and sit on the right side, having been covered with a white stole, at which point the schola will have begun to sing:

Maria Magdalena [*et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata Dominus querentes in monumento*]
(*cf.* Matt, 28:1, *cf.* Mark 16:1; *cf.* Luke 24:2)

At dawn, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were carrying spices, seeking the Lord in the tomb.

Tres presbiteri induti cappis cum totidem thuribulis et incenso procedunt versus

Three priests, having been clothed with copes, with the same number of thuribles

sepulchrum et stantes cantant

and incense, proceed toward the sepulcher and standing, they sing:

Quis revolvet nobis [*ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum*] (Mark 16:3)

Who will roll back the stone from the entrance for us, which as we see covers the holy sepulcher?

Angelus
Quem queritis o tremule [*mulieres in hoc tumulo gementes*]
(*cf.* John 20:15)

Angel
Whom do you seek, o trembling women, in this sepulcher, weeping?

Mulieres
Ihesum Nazarenum [*crucifixum querimus*]
(Mark 16:6; *cf.* Matt. 28:5)

Women
We seek the crucified, Jesus of Nazareth.

Angelus
Non est hic quem queritis [*sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Ihesus*]
line 1. (Matt. 28:6; Mark 16:6; Luke 24:6)
lines 1-3 (Matt. 28:7; *cf.* Mark 16:6)

Angel
He, whom you seek, is not here, but go quickly announce to His disciples and Peter that Jesus has risen.

Et cum ceperit cantare angelus sed cito euntes mulieres thurificent sepulchrum et festinanter redeunt et versus chorum stantes cantant mulieres

And when the angel begins to sing "but go quickly," let the women cense the sepulcher and quickly go back and standing, facing the choir, the women sing:

Ad monumentum venimus gementes [*angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus*]
(*cf.* Matt. 28:2; Mark 16:5)

We came to the sepulcher weeping; we saw the angel of the Lord sitting and saying that Jesus has risen.

Tunc chorus imponat antiphonam
Currebant duo simul [*et ille alius discipulis precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum*]
(John 20:4)

Then let the schola sing the antiphon:
The two were running together, and the other disciple ran ahead faster than Peter and came to the tomb first.

Et cantores quasi Petrus et Iohannes currant precurratque Iohannes sequente auferant linteamina et sudarium quibus involuta ymago Domini et vertentes se ad chorum ostendo ea cantant

And let the choir members as Peter and John run, and let John run ahead with Peter following, and thus they remove the grave cloths and white sheet, with which the image of the Lord had been

covered, and turning themselves toward the choir for the purposes of showing those things, they sing:

Cernitis o socii ecce lintheamina [*et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum*] (*cf.* John 20:7; *cf.* Luke 24:12)	*Behold, o companions, examine the grave cloths and sheet and the body is not found in the sepulcher.*
Chorus *Surrexit enim sicut dixit* [*Dominus et precedet vos in Galileam alleluia ibi eum videbitis alleluia alleluia alleluia*] (Matt. 28:6-7)	Schola *For the Lord has risen, as He foretold. He is going ahead of you into Galilee. Alleluia. There you will see Him. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.*
Populus *Christus ist erstanden von der marter* [*alle des solln wir alle froh sein Christ will unser trost sein Kyrie eleison*]	The people *Christ is risen from all His torments; we should all be joyful at this; Christ wants to be our consolation. Lord have mercy.*

The *Visitatio* opens with events drawn from Mark's account: the Marys travel to the sepulcher with spices, discuss among themselves who will roll back the stone, and encounter an angel who announces Christ's Resurrection. Only Luke and John recount the next events: Peter and John run to the sepulcher where they find the linen in which Christ's body had been wrapped; confirming He had risen, they announce the Resurrection. When considered as a whole, the chant texts comprising type-two *Visitationes* conflated events and wordings from the four accounts of the Resurrection.

With the exception of *Currebant duo* (*CAO* 2081), the core chants of type-two *Visitationes* had newly composed texts, further differentiating them from type one. The sources and manner of composition are summarized in table 3.6 for the most prevalent chants included in type-two *Visitationes*.

Table 3.6. The Sources of the Texts of the Most Common Chants in Type-Two
    Visitationes.

Chant	Text Sources	Method of Composition
Maria Magdalena et alia (no *CAO*)	Matthew 28:1; *cf.* Mark 16:1; *cf.* Luke 24:2	Brief quotations and non-scriptural text
Quis revolvet ...quem tegere (no *CAO*)	Mark 16:3	Brief quotations and non-scriptural text
Quem queritis o tremule (no *CAO*)	Matt. 28:6, Matt. 28:7; Mark 16:6; Mark 16:7; Luke 24:6; *cf.* John 20:15	Brief quotations and non-scriptural text
Ad monumentum venimus (no *CAO*)		Newly composed
Currebant duo (*CAO* 2081)	John 20:4	Verbatim quotation
Cernitis o socii	*cf.* John 20:7; *cf.* Luke 24:12	Newly composed

Only the text of the Office antiphon *Currebant duo* is a verbatim biblical quotation. The

texts of the other antiphons and dialogue were composed in two ways: *Maria Magdalena*,

Quis revolvet ... quem tegere, and *Quem queritis o tremule* combine short biblical

quotations with non-scriptural text. By contrast, the texts of *Ad monumentum venimus*

and *Cernitis o socii* recount biblical episodes —the Marys relaying what had transpired at

the tomb, and Christ's abandoned linen cloths signaling to John and Peter that Christ had

risen — but do not incorporate wording from the Bible.

Type-two *Visitationes* not only conflated accounts of the Resurrection at the

narrative level, but some individual chant texts also drew together wording and content

from more than one Gospel. The text of *Quem queritis o tremule* is most complex, as it

interlaced brief quotations from Matthew and Mark. The angel's instruction to the Marys

to proclaim the Resurrection comprises a short quotation from Mark 16:6 interpolated

into a longer quotation from Matthew 28:7. Example 3.20-a gives the verses from

Matthew and Mark, with underlinings indicating borrowed material; textual example

3.20-b provides the last line of *Quem queritis o tremule* for comparison, with brackets indicating text from Mark, and unbracketed, underlined text indicating quotations from Matthew.

Example 3.20-a. Texts of Matthew 28:7 and Mark 16:7.

> <u>Matthew 28:7</u>
> *et <u>cito euntes dicite discipulis eius quia surrexit</u> et ecce praecedit vos in Galilaeam ibi eum videbitis ecce praedixi vobis*

> <u>Mark 16:7</u>
> *sed ite et dicite discipulis eius <u>et Petro</u> quia praecedit vos in Galilaeam ibi eum videbitis sicut dixit vobis.*

Example 3.20-b. Final Line of *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres*, Based on Above Sources.

> *Sed <u>cito euntes dicite discipulis eius</u> [et Petro] <u>quia surrexit</u> Ihesus.*

For the most part the angel's speeches in Matthew 28:7 and Mark 16:7 relate the same events but with different wordings. In both, the angel directed the Marys to announce the news that Christ had risen and that they would see him in Galilee. The only difference concerns who the audience was for the Marys' announcement. In Matthew the angel instructs them to tell the disciples, whereas in Mark the angel directs them to tell the disciples and Peter, singling Peter out by naming him. In *Quem queritis o tremule*, the wording of the angel's reply comes from Matthew, but is interrupted by the two-word quotation, "et Petro," from Mark, so that the reply reads, "but go quickly and announce to His disciples and Peter." This interpolation anticipates what followed, namely, that Peter and John ran to the sepulcher, ensuring continuity between the Marys' dialogue with the

angels and the apostles' scene at the sepulcher.

The newly composed parts of the dialogue introduce details from other accounts that helped depict the Marys in a more realistic manner than in *Quem queritis in sepulchro*. The angel describes the Marys as trembling (Matthew 28:5, Mark 16:6, Luke 24:5) and weeping. The mention of weeping was likely inspired by John's depiction of Mary Magdalene weeping outside the sepulcher (John 20:11). The text of *Maria Magdalena* also conflates wording and content from more than one Gospel. It begins with short quotations from Matthew, but non-scriptural text describes the Marys carrying spices, a detail found in Mark and Luke, but not in Matthew. Creating type-two chant texts anew allowed the creator(s) the flexibility to conflate the Gospels within individual chant texts, resulting in a more comprehensive and detailed account of the visit of the sepulcher. If the creator or creators' desire was to construct a narrative of the Marys' visit based on the four evangelists' accounts, the preexisting antiphons with texts recounting the Marys' visit would have been too limiting: they were verbatim quotations from individual Gospels, and as such did not combine wordings and details from multiple accounts.

The preceding discussion has shown that type-two *Visitationes* share little with type one. They include a different collection of antiphons, most of which were newly composed rather than borrowed from the Easter liturgy. The post-Gregorian musical style of the newly composed antiphons was distinct from that of traditional Office antiphons, further differentiating type-two *Visitationes* from type one. The stable transmission of type-two *Visitationes* is a further distinction. Type-one *Visitationes*, by contrast, were compilations of mostly preexisting Office antiphons and seem to be local adaptations of

the Marys' visit because they survive in forty-two versions with different collections of chants. Perhaps the most striking difference, however, is with respect to how the two types of *Visitationes* were related to the four Gospels of the Marys' visit. Type-two *Visitationes* conflated the four accounts into a single, unified narrative, sometimes interlacing wordings and details from more than one account within a single chant text. Type-one *Visitationes*, by contrast, recounted the visit according to Matthew and Mark, mostly employing biblical quotations as chant texts.

Given the many musical and textual differences between the two types of *Visitationes*, it would be incorrect to assume that type-two *Visitationes* were simple outgrowths or developments of type one, as Carl Lange and Karl Young had assumed.[48] Whoever invented type-two *Visitationes* did not merely add the apostles to earlier *Visitationes*, the impression that Lange's and Young's works give. Instead, they replaced most Office antiphons comprising type one, with post-Gregorian chants created specifically for the *Visitatio* and, arguably, for the purposes of conflating the Gospels. At the same time, similarities in the events portrayed and structures of the dialogues, suggest that the creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* was cognizant of type one. He purposely decided to reinvent the *Visitatio*, composing new antiphons with non-scriptural texts and rejecting preexisting ones, even when Office antiphons existed with texts appropriate to the biblical episodes portrayed. The chants comprising type-two *Visitationes* accomplished something that type-one *Visitationes* did not: they harmonized the four Gospels of the Marys' Resurrection into one account. The chapter that follows will argue

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[48] Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, (Munich: Ernst Stahl, 1887), 17-18; Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 1:239, 307.

that it was a desire to reconcile discrepancies among the Gospels that prompted the

creation of type-two *Visitationes*.

CHAPTER 4

Harmonizing the Gospels in the German Lands

The conflation of the four Gospel accounts into a single narrative, observed in type-two *Visitationes*, was well known in the Middle Ages. As early as the second century, Christian theologians created works known as Gospel Harmonies that combined the events recounted by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John into a continuous narrative. These works typically drew together all the events of Christ's life, death, and Resurrection, in an effort to solve a perplexing theological quandary: how could the Gospels be authoritative and true when they differed from one another in their details?

This chapter argues that Gospel Harmonies played a central role in the creation of type-two *Visitationes*. Type-two *Visitationes* were part of a venerable tradition of harmonizing the Gospels in the German lands dating back to the eighth century. Works such as the anonymous poet's *Heliand* (*c*. 830) and Otfrid of Weißenburg's *Evangelienbuch* (written between 863 and 871) were precursors to type-two *Visitationes*, since they were intended to be recited aloud in public rather than only being studied privately. To better understand the relationship between type-two *Visitationes* and earlier Gospel Harmonies the sequence of events relayed in type-two *Visitationes* and manner of drawing on the Gospels will be compared. After considering the provenances of the Gospel Harmonies — Tatian's *Diatessaron*, Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*,

Anonymous' *Heliand*, and Otfrid of Weißenburg's *Evangelienbuch* — the chapter makes

the case that the creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* was likely exposed to the technique of

harmonization through one of the earlier Gospel Harmonies known in the German lands.

<u>History of Gospel Harmonies in the German Lands</u>

<u>St. Boniface and Gospel Harmonies in the Eighth Century</u>

The first extant evidence for the use of Gospel Harmonies in German lands dates

from the eighth century and is in connection with one of the most important missionaries

in Germany, St. Boniface (672/5-754). The famous Anglo-Saxon apostle and bishop

spent almost forty years in northeastern Germany, from 719 until his death, regularizing

Christian practices and promoting orthodoxy.[1] He likely possessed a copy of the earliest

Gospel Harmony, Tatian's *Diatessaron* (*Harmony of the Four Gospels*), composed *c*.

165-180.[2] One of the three codices that the monks of Fulda (the monastery Boniface

founded) believe he had with him at the time of his death was the *Diatessaron*.[3] The

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[1] Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744-c. 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 20, 22.

[2] The *Diatessaron* was widely disseminated in both the West and East in the Middle Ages. In the West, it was translated into Latin as early as the sixth century, Old High German by the ninth, Middle Dutch and Middle High Germany by *c*. 1280, and Middle Italian by the thirteenth or fourteenth century. William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 445-489.

[3] These three manuscripts, now known as the *Codices Bonifatiani*, were Tatian's *Diatessaron*, an evangeliary, and a manuscript containing Pope Leo's letters and passages from theological works of various authors. Christine Jakobi-Mirwald, ed., *Die Illuminierten Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, Part 1 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1993), 15-16, 19, 21.

codex reportedly arrived at Fulda abbey at the same time as Boniface's corpse, where the

manuscript remains to this day and is venerated as a relic.[4] Boniface's three codices are

especially famous because, according to popular belief, the damage to one of them — a

manuscript containing Pope Leo's letters— was sustained when Boniface used it as a

shield when he was martyred in 754 at Frisia, a scene depicted in example 4.1.[5]

Figure 4.1. Boniface's Martyrdom, Fulda Sacramentary, *c*. 997-1011 (D-BAs Lit. 1, 126v).

Although the account and iconographic evidence may embellish the events, further

evidence linking Boniface to Tatian's *Diatessaron* exists. According to Malcolm Parkes,

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[4] Jakobi-Mirwald, ed., *Illuminierten Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek*, 15; Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, 81.

[5] Jakobi-Mirwald, ed., *Illuminierten Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek*, 15. Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda: Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994), 86-7.

the manuscript known today as Codex Bonifatianus 1, which is incidentally the earliest

extant copy of *Diatessaron*, contains annotations in Boniface's hand.[6] If Parkes is correct,

the annotations prove that Boniface, one of the most esteemed reformers of the German

lands, was not only familiar with Tatian's *Diatessaron*, but he also studied it carefully.

The nature of Boniface's work and the contents of the *Codices Bonifatiani* (the

codices he possessed at the time of his death) strongly indicate that Gospel Harmonies

were used for pedagogical and evangelizing purposes in the German lands as early as the

eighth century. Boniface's primary task was not converting pagans to Christianity, since

earlier missionaries had already done so in the areas where Boniface worked.[7] Rather, he

sought to eliminate the unorthodox beliefs and practices that proliferated among recently

converted Christians and regularize the way Christianity was practiced, undertakings that

both Pope Gregory II (715-731) and Charles Martel (714-741) endorsed.[8] Boniface's

approach was to found monasteries, which were used as outposts for preaching to the

laity, and create dioceses so that bishops could oversee the practice of Christianity at the

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[6] The manuscript bears the shelfmark Fulda Landesbibliothek Bonif. 1 and dates to 546. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 45-48; Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Handwriting of St. Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1976) 167-8.

[7] Ian Wood described Boniface's work in Hesse and Thuringia as "organising a somewhat unstructured and sometimes heretical group of Christian churches, rather than preaching to the pagans." Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (New York: Pearson Education, 2001), 59-60; Timothy Reuter, "Saint Boniface and Europe," in *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton*, ed. Timothy Reuter, 71-94 (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1980), 75-6, 80.

[8] For letters exchanged between Boniface and Pope Gregory II and Charles Martel, see Ephraim Emerton, trans., *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 10-11, 25; Raaijmakers, *Making of the Monastic Community*, 20-21; Reuter, "Saint Boniface and Europe," 80.

religious institutions in their bishoprics.[9]

Since Boniface was far from his outpost at Fulda at the time of his death, the codices he brought with him must have been carefully selected. With his three codices he had recourse to theological writings and Pope Leo's letters, which would have been helpful as he attempted to correct Christians' errant religious practices; an evangeliary for teaching about Christ's life and miracles; and the *Diatessaron* for helping address questions that may have arisen about the Gospels. Tatian's *Diatessaron* was a good choice for Boniface's purposes because it presented a continuous narrative constructed from the four Gospels, rather than complex arguments about why the Gospels agreed. It is not difficult to imagine that the errant clerics and laity whom he encountered may have pressed him about apparent conflicts among the Gospels; reading (or translating) the harmonized narratives had the potential to silence their concerns.[10] As a famous teacher, former head of the abbey school at Nursling, and esteemed commentator on scripture, Boniface would have recognized the pedagogical value of Gospel Harmonies.[11] Since the second century, theologians and pedagogues had viewed Gospel Harmonies as effective ways of quelling concerns that the Gospels disagreed. Because these works took the evangelists' seemingly discordant narratives and organized them into satisfying accounts of Christ's life and death, they were powerful testimonies that the Gospels agreed and

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[9] Boniface founded the dioceses of Würzburg, Erfurt, and Büraburg. Raaijmakers, *Making of the Monastic Community*, 25; Thomas Noble, introduction to *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. Ephraim Emerton (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), xviii.

[10] From one of Boniface's exchanges with Pope Gregory II, it is known that one of Boniface's tasks was reforming the clergy. See letter 26 in Emerton, trans., *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, 33.

[11] George Greenaway, "Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters," in *The Greatest Englishman*, ed. Reuter, 33-46, (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1980), 35; Raaijmakers, *Making of the Monastic Community*, 19.

were indeed authoritative. For any charge that one might level against the Gospels,

Boniface needed only read aloud the harmonized accounts to demonstrate that the

Gospels were free of contradiction and made sense when considered together.

The provenance of Boniface's copy of the *Diatessaron* offers evidence that

Gospel Harmonies were highly valued pedagogical tools for reforming Christianity. The

manuscript that Boniface possessed was copied in southern Italy, *c*. 546.[12] Bishop Victor

of Capua (bishop 541, died 554) had commissioned it to be copied, and given its age and

connection with the late bishop, presumably it would not have fallen into just anybody's

hands.[13] How the manuscript travelled from southern Italy to the German lands is

unknown, but there are at least two possible channels. Boniface may have received it

from Pope Gregory II to aid in his mission when he first visited the pope in 718, prior to

undertaking his missionary work, or in 722 when the pope consecrated him as bishop.[14]

According to Boniface's letters, the pope supplied him with canon law books on the

second trip so that he would have the resources to identify and correct unorthodox beliefs

and practices that he might encounter.[15] Perhaps one of the codices that the pope gave to

Boniface was the precious sixth-century copy of *Diatessaron*. Another possibility is that

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[12] Today this manuscript has the distinctions of being the oldest extant Latin version of *Diatessaron* and one of the oldest vulgatized versions of the New Testament. Ulrich Schmid, "Evangelienharmonien des Mittelalters: Forschungsgeschichtliche und Systematische Aspekte," in *Evangelien-harmonien des Mittelalters*, ed. Christoph Burger, August den Hollander, and Ulrich Schmid, 1-15 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), 4.

[13] The manuscript was copied in southern Italy at the request of Bishop Victor of Capua (bishop 541, died 554). Heinrich Joseph Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1919), 4; Regina Hausmann, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600: Codices Bonifatiani 1-3; Aa 1-145a* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 4.

[14] Noble, introduction to *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, xi-xiii.

[15] Ibid., xiii.

Boniface's supporters in his native land may have furnished him with the codex. In several letters he begged them for books for pedagogical purposes, requesting books that served as "an aid to sacred learning."[16] He requested a commentary on St. Paul's epistles, Bede's commentaries on scripture, a copy of Paul's epistle illuminated in gold, and a martyrology.[17] Perhaps Boniface made a similar request for Tatian's *Diatessaron*. In any case, for him to have possessed so valuable a manuscript and to have brought it with him on his evangelizing mission in Frisia, where the amount of cargo he could bring with him was likely limited, indicates that by the eighth century Gospel Harmonies were recognized as useful resources for educating and evangelizing Christians.

Gospel Harmonies at Fulda and Beyond in the Ninth Century

CH-SG 56 and Tatian's Diatessaron

The pedagogical value of Gospel Harmonies continued to be recognized at Fulda in the ninth century. Students of renowned theologian, teacher, and bishop Hrabanus Maurus (780-856) copied the *Diatessaron*, translated it into the vernacular, and invented new Gospel Harmonies, also in the vernacular. Two ninth-century manuscripts transmitting *Diatessaron* in Latin are believed to have been copied at Fulda, namely, D-Kl theol. fol. 31 and CH-SG 56.[18] The latter, copied *c*. 825, is one most interesting

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[16] Greenaway, "Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters," 42.

[17] Greenaway, "Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters, 40-3; Emerton, trans., *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, 41-2, 43. See letter 34, to Abbot of Duddo (734), and letter 35, requesting that abbess of Eadburga make a copy of the epistles of St. Peter, written in gold, "to impress the honor and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures visibly upon the carnally minded to whom I preach."

[18] Konrad Wiedemann, *Manuscripta theologica: Die Handschriften in Folio*, Bd. 1,

witnesses to the *Diatessaron* tradition in Germany, as it contains the Latin and Old High German translations of *Diatessaron* in parallel columns on the same folio.[19] It is the second oldest extant translation of the Gospels into German.[20]

There are three good reasons to suspect that CH-SG 56 was created for the monks, schoolboys, and possibly the laity to facilitate their learning of the Gospels. First, it begins with Eusebian canon tables (fols. 5-18), which identify material shared among two or more Gospels. The Gospels are compared in a series of ten tables in all possible combinations, starting with a table revealing the similarities among the four accounts, reproduced in figure 4.2, followed by a table comparing Matthew, Mark, and Luke, then one comparing Matthew, Luke, and so on, until all combinations were exhausted.[21]

T 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 37-38.

[19] Fulda is assumed to be the place of origin because of codicological and linguistic evidence. Because Old High German is an East Frankish dialect, the manuscript cannot have come from St. Gall. See Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 87. For dating see Juw fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965), 7.

[20] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 88.

[21] Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 185.

Figure 4.2. Eusebian Canon Table, St. Gall, 9th century (CH-SG 56, fol. 5).

These tables, named for their creator, Eusebius (*c*. 260- *c*. 339), exegete and bishop of

Caesarea, are found in numerous evangeliaries and Gospel Harmonies. CH-SG 56

follows the standard practice of presenting each account in a different column, so that

section numbers for the passages shared among them line up horizontally. The *mise-en-*

page facilitated the study of the Gospels by enabling readers to easily identify shared material.[22] Rather than emphasizing the differences among the accounts, they demonstrated visually how considerable the similarities are.[23] Second, annotations in the margins, to the left of Tatian's harmonized account, offer further evidence of a pedagogical use. The annotations identified the Gospel sources and the Eusebian section numbers (precursors to chapter and verse divisions) of the main text.[24] They enabled the reader to discern easily which passages Tatian conflated. The canon tables and annotations were likely intended for the teacher (*magister*) or other well educated monastics that read the manuscript aloud to others or studied it privately.

Third, the inclusion of the vernacular beside the Latin is further evidence of pedagogical intent. The Old High German was likely for the benefit of the schoolboys and perhaps the laity. Although neither group would have read directly from the manuscript, the *magister* or another monk read aloud the harmonized accounts. The parallel translations increased the manuscript's versatility as a pedagogical aid. When the *magister* was teaching the schoolboys, he likely read the Latin translation, but for passages that perplexed his students, he had recourse to the Old High German. By contrast, when monks were evangelizing the laity, they probably read the Old High German translation. In doing so, they honored their founder Boniface's wishes for monastics to evangelize and educate the laity.[25] The fact that Tatian's *Diatessaron* was copied with parallel translation made the manuscript a versatile pedagogical tool for those proficient in Latin and those who were not.

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[22] Ibid., 185.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Raaijmakers, *Making of the Monastic Community*, 25.

Heliand

New Gospel Harmonies were also written in the vernacular in the ninth century, such as the anonymous *Heliand* (The Savior). This epic poem in Old Saxon comprising 5,983 rhymed lines was written around 830 at Fulda or near Werden, in northwestern Germany.[26] Based mainly on the *Diatessaron*, it followed the same order of events, but excluded almost half of the *Diatessaron*'s content.[27] That the composition of *Heliand* came in the wake of the two large-scale Christian missions to the German lands is likely not a coincidence. By the late eighth century, the Saxons were the only large group inhabiting Germany who were not Christian.[28] Charlemagne sought to complete the task of Christianizing all Germans, begun by Boniface and other Anglo-Saxon missionaries, by forcing the Saxons to adopt Christianity. James E. Cathey situates the *Heliand* in the aftermath of Charlemagne's forced baptism of the Saxons at Paderborn in 775, the monks from Fulda destroying Saxon sacred sites, and Charlemagne's edict making attendance at mass mandatory.[29] Forced baptism and compulsory attendance at Mass, however, were only first steps in Christianizing the Saxons. The monks charged with the Saxons' care had the immense challenge of teaching them the precepts of their new faith and

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[26] The text alternates between strict alliterative verse and prose. James E. Cathey, ed., *Hêliand: Text and Commentary* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2002), 16, 19. On the Fulda provenance, see G. Ronald Murphy, "The Old Saxon *Heliand*," in *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand: Introductory and Critical Essays*, ed. Valentine A. Pakis, 34-62 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2010), 35, fn. 5. On the Werden provenance, see Cyril Edwards, "German Vernacular Literature," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 141-170, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 153.
[27] fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, 1-2.
[28] Cathey, ed., *Heliand: Text and Commentary*, 9.
[29] On October 2, 797, Charlemagne issued this edict in a charter entitled *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, in which he ordered the death of anyone following heathen beliefs or participating in such practices. Cathey, ed., *Heliand: Text and Commentary*, 10-12.

convincing them of Christianity's validity.[30] The *Heliand* was likely written for these purposes.

The prologue, the content of the poem, and poetic style offer compelling evidence that *Heliand* was written for pedagogical reasons and to make Christianity attractive to the Saxons. The prologue describes how King Louis the Pious (778-840) commissioned a famous Saxon poet to translate the Gospels "into the Germanic language, in order that the sacred reading of the divine precepts might reach not merely the literate but also the illiterate."[31] Presenting the Gospels in Old Saxon was one way of making the Christian teachings accessible. Including material from Bede's, Alcuin's, and Maurus' Gospel commentaries to elucidate challenging passages was another.[32]

Many of the Christian concepts, however, were so foreign to the Saxons' experiences that translation and exegesis were not enough. The anonymous poet drew analogies between the Gospels and Saxon culture to make the Gospels comprehensible to the Saxons.[33] To accomplish this, he described biblical figures using terminology from

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[30] Cathey, ed., *Heliand: Text and Commentary*, 16-7; Murphy, "The Old Saxon *Heliand*," 34-5.

[31] The translation is Cyril Edwards, "German Vernacular Literature," 152-3. The Latin is as follows: ... *in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam inliteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur.* The prologue is not attached to the two complete manuscripts of *Der Heliand*, but most scholars agree that at one time it was. James E. Cathey, *Heliand Text and Commentary*, 21. Tonya Dewey proposed that the preface may refer to Louis the German, not Louis the Pious. Tonya Kim Dewey, *An Annotated English Translation of the Old Saxon Heliand: A Ninth-Century Biblical Paraphrase in the Germanic Epic Style* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), vi.

[32] fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, 1-2.

[33] "The poet's purpose in composing the *Heliand* was to introduce the Gospel story to a population of recently converted Christians or to those in the process of conversion. Because of this social context, a great deal of pagan vocabulary found its way into the *Heliand*, at times clashing with aspects of Christianity … because it was the only

epics and Germanic feudal society, referring to Christ as a chieftain, his disciples as warrior-companions, and the Marys as noble ladies. The angel's announcement of the Resurrection illustrates the poet's paraphrasing and adaptations of biblical content: "I know that you are looking for your Chieftain, Christ the Rescuer, from hill-fort Nazareth, whom the Jewish people tortured, crucified and, though innocent, laid here in the grave. He is not here now, He has gotten up for you."[34] Another way of making the Gospels approachable to the Saxons was by blending Christian customs with Saxon ones. For example, Christ was laid in a sepulcher, but according to Saxon custom his body was buried within the tomb.[35] The *Heliand* poet also drew analogies between biblical events and events the Saxons had experienced. He alluded to the Saxons' recent baptism in his telling of Christ's baptism by describing a "great mass of people" that was baptized alongside Christ.[36]

The *Heliand* was set in alliterative verse to make the Gospels more comprehensible to the Saxons. Alliterative verse was the poetic style of German heroic epics, and accent marks in the manuscripts suggest that the poem was recited aloud.[37] Drawing on a popular, secular style of versification as a vehicle for delivering a Christian message, was a purposeful attempt to reach out to the Saxons, many of whom were hostile toward their new religion.[38] In essence, the *Heliand* was a recasting of

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religious vocabulary available in the vernacular language of the Low German speech area." Dewey, *Annotated English Translation of the Old Saxon Heliand*, vii.

[34] Murphy, trans., *The Heliand: The Saxon Gospel; A Translation and Commentary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 192-3.

[35] Ibid., 189-190.

[36] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 29-30.

[37] Dewey, *English Translation of the Old Saxon Heliand*, vii-viii.

[38] Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 28.

Diatessaron as a heroic epic, a creative way of appeasing the Saxons, easing their

catechism, and making their new religion seem less foreign.

Otfrid of Weißenburg's Evangelienbuch

Another Gospel Harmony, Otfrid of Weißenburg's ninth-century *Evangelienbuch*

(Gospel book), composed in Old High German approximately forty years later than the

Heliand, represents an intermediary between read Gospel Harmonies and re-enacted

type-two *Visitationes*. Otfrid (*c*. 800- *c*. 875), a Benedictine monk, was educated under

theologian Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda, where he was likely exposed to the technique of

harmonization.[39] Around 830, he moved to the monastery of Weißenburg, where he spent

most of his adult life. Between 863 and 871 he composed *Evangelienbuch* and oversaw

its copying.[40] Rather than basing the work on *Diatessaron*, Otfrid created a new Gospel

Harmony, paraphrasing the Gospels in a poem comprising 7104 long-lines, rhyming

couplets with several stressed syllables.[41]

Lexical and non-lexical evidence reveal Otfrid's pedagogical objectives. Otfrid's

letters about the work, sent to King Louis II and important clergy and monks, provide

direct evidence of his reasons for undertaking the work.[42] For example, in a letter

addressed to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz from 863-889, Otfrid explained that he

presented his Gospel Harmony in the vernacular:

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[39] Linda Archibald, "Otfrid of Weissenburg," in *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Brian Murdoch, 139-156 (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), 140.
[40] Archibald, "Otfrid of Weissenburg," 140, 391.
[41] Ibid., 143.
[42] These clergy and monastics were Solomon I, Bishop of Constance; Luitbert, Archbishop of Mainz; and Hartmuat and Werinbert, monks at St. Gall.

*ut qui in illis alienae linguae difficultatem horrescit, hic propria
lingua cognoscat sanctissima verba. Deique legem sua lingua
intelligens, inde se vel parum quid deviare mente propria
pertimescat.*

in order that whoever is put off by the difficulty of a foreign
language in their regard, might comprehend the most holy words
here in his own language, and understanding the law of God in his
own language, might shrink from deviating from it even a little
through his own thinking.[43]

For Otfrid, comprehension was a necessary first step toward edification, his ultimate

pedagogical goal. He reasoned that if Christians did not understand the Gospels they

could not live according to "the law of God." Presenting the *Evangelienbuch* in the

vernacular made the precepts the Gospels contained accessible to those who either

struggled with, or could not read, Latin. Although he never identified his intended

audience, young schoolboys, the laity, and even the clergy may have benefitted from it.[44]

Evangelienbuch shows other signs that Otfrid was pedagogically minded and

aware of the interpretive challenges the conflicting Gospels posed. He eliminated one

challenge, the seeming discrepancies among the accounts, by "acting as a mediator

among the four evangelists" (*inter quattuor evangelistas incedens medius*), as he

explained in his letter to Archbishop Luitbert of Mainz. He also interpolated expository

passages from Gospel commentaries including Bede's on Luke, Alcuin's on John, and

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[43] Translated by James Marchand, Professor Emeritus of Germanic Language and
Literatures at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, "Otfrid's Preface to his Gospel
Harmony A.D. 870," University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1992,
http://www.harbornet.com/ folks/theedrich/hive/Medieval/Otfrid.htm (accessed August 5
2012)

[44] By this time, the effects of Charlemagne's pedagogical reforms had started to wane and
clerics' competency with Latin had decreased.

Maurus' on Matthew into the Gospel Harmony, allowing him to elucidate the text for his audience.[45]

Verses from the Latin Vulgate found in the margins of the manuscripts of *Evangelienbuch* suggest further pedagogical uses: the verses identified the biblical sources for passages in the text. These markings would have been of little use to Otfrid's audience that was "put off by the difficulty of a foreign language," but enabled the Latin-literate reader and preacher to compare Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* with the Gospels.[46] Such well educated readers would have included the recipients of Otfrid's letters promoting his work: Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz; Bishop Salomo; Hartmuat and Werinbert, monks at St. Gall, and those from their circles.[47] Otfrid apparently had two different audiences in mind, one Latinate, the other not, and tried to cater to both with scholarly annotations for the first group and the Old High German text for the second.[48]

Continuities Between Otfrid's Evangelienbuch and Type-Two Visitationes

Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* was a more direct precursor to type-two *Visitationes* than earlier Gospel Harmonies. Manuscript evidence suggests that the text was sung aloud in

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[45] Johann Kelle, ed. *Otfrids von Weissenburg: Evangelienbuch: Text und Einleitung*, 3 vols. (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1856-81), 1:46-7; Ernst Hellgardt, *Die exegetischen Quellen von Otfrids Evangelienbuch* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1981), 2.

[46] Dennis H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181.

[47] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 180.

[48] Ibid., 174.

public performances, not just read privately.[49] Three of the four manuscripts of

Evangelienbuch are particularly helpful for illuminating how Otfrid intended his work to

be performed as they were copied during his lifetime or shortly thereafter at Weißenburg,

the monastery where he spent most of his life as a scribe.[50] The earliest of the

manuscripts, A-Wn 2687, copied around 865, is of particular interest because Otfrid

made corrections to the manuscript after the primary scribe had finished copying the text,

and it served as the exemplar for the other sources. Four types of symbols found in the

manuscripts strongly suggest that *Evangelienbuch* was recited aloud. The most frequent

symbols are acute accent marks, shown in figure 4.3, which indicated accented syllables

in the poetry and are found throughout the four manuscripts.[51]

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[49] Green described *Evangelienbuch* (and other works that were both recited and read privately) as having an intermediary mode of reception. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 174, 179-183.

[50] Four copies of Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* are extant, A-Wn 2687 was the exemplar for the other three manuscripts: D-HEu Pal. Lat. 52, which was copied shortly after the Vienna manuscript, in the third quarter of the ninth century; D-Mbs cgm. 14, from the early tenth century; and fragments housed in Bonn, Berlin/Krakau, and Wolfenbüttel, comprising manuscript D, from the middle or second half of the tenth century. D-Mbs. cgm. 14 was copied at nearby Freising, while the other manuscripts were copied at Weißenburg. Otfrid of Weißenburg, *Evangelienbuch: Band I: Edition nach dem Wiener Codex 2687, Teil 2: Einleitung und Apparat*, ed. Wolfgang Kleiber with help from Rita Heuser (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 17; Otfrid of Weißenburg, *Evangelienbuch: Band II; Edition nach der Heidelberger Handschrift P (Codex Pal. Lat. 52) und der Handschrift D Codex Discissus (Bonn, Berlin/Krakau, Wolfenbüttel), Teil 2: Einleitung und Apparat*, ed. Wolfgang Kleiber with help from Rita Heuser (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 4.

[51] Otfrid, *Evangelienbuch: Band I*, Teil 2, 119. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 are reproduced from Ewald Jammers, "Das Mittelalterliche Deutsche Epos und die Musik," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher I* (1957): 42, 36.

Figure 4.3. Weißenburg, *c*. 870 (A-Wn lat. 2687, fol. 35v).
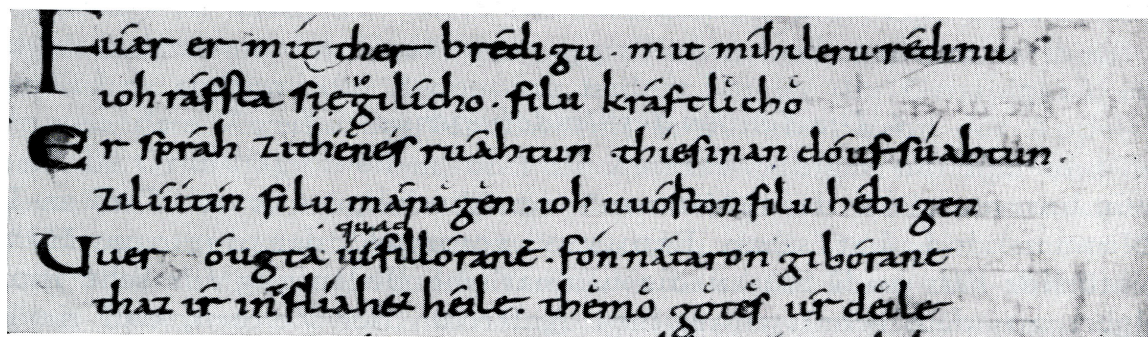
Otfrid, as the corrector of Vienna 2687, was meticulous about adding acute markings to identify accented syllables in the poetry, making approximately five hundred corrections to them.[52] If the text were intended for public recitation, it would explain Otfrid's concern that accented syllables be correctly indicated.

Other symbols known as "Romanian letters" or *litterae significativae* (signifying letters) denoted changes in the rate of text delivery.[53] Two such symbols are found in the Vienna manuscript in figure 4.3, *c* for *cito* or *celeriter*, which denoted a light, quick delivery, and *t* for *trahere*, which signaled a slowing down.[54] These symbols are recorded at the end of the second line on *kraftlicho* and in the sixth line on *in*, *themo*, *gotes*, and *urdeile*. *Litterae significativae* also turn up in German and Swiss chant manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries and in the passion accounts copied in evangeliaries.[55]

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[52] Ibid., 121.

[53] Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1957), 11.

[54] Otfrid, *Evangelienbuch, Band I: Teil 2*, 143-4. The letter *t* is also used in D-HEu Pal. Lat. 52.

[55] Ewald Jammers, "Das Mittelalterliche Deutsche Epos und die Musik," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher I* (1957): 40-41. On Romanian letters in music manuscripts see Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*, 11. On their use in evangeliaries, see Michael Klapper, "Musikhistorische Interpretationem," in *Evangelienbuch*, ed. Kleiber, 149.

Pronunciation marks resembling liquescent neumes are found in the Vienna source. The symbols alert the reciter to diphthongs and consecutive liquid consonants, the same phonemes that liquescent neumes denote in plainchant notation. Copious markings in the manuscripts strongly suggest that the delivery of *Evangelienbuch* was a performance; accentuation, rate of delivery, and pronunciation all mattered greatly. The texts were presented publically, as was the case with type-two *Visitationes*.

The continuities between harmonized *Visitationes* and the *Evangelienbuch* are not limited to public delivery. The presence of musical notation in one of the four sources of the *Evangelienbuch*, D-Heu Pal. Lat. 52, copied shortly after the Vienna manuscript in the second half of the ninth century, offers further evidence that the work was sung.[56] Musical notation is given for two rhyming couplets in Book I, shown in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4. D-Heu Pal. Lat. 52, Book V, Verse I, 23, ll. 33-38, fol. 17v.
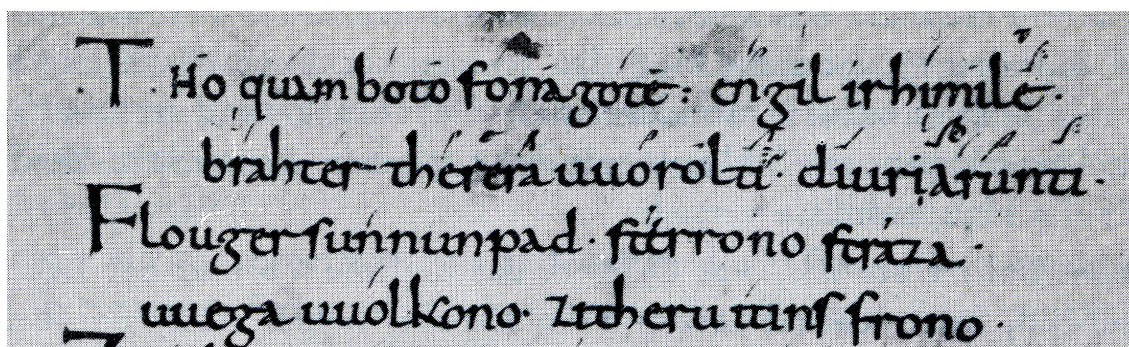
[56] On the history of the Heidelberg Manuscript see Norbert Kössinger, "Zur Geschichte der Heidelberger Handschrift und der Fragmente des Codex Discissus von ihrer Wiederentdeckung bis zu Graff" in Otfrid of Weißenburg, *Evangelienbuch: Band II: Edition nach der Heidelberger Handschrift P (Codex Pal. Lat. 52) und der Handschrift D Codex Discissus (Bonn, Berlin/Krakau, Wolfenbüttel), Teil 2: Einleitung und Apparat*, ed. Wolfgang Kleiber with assistance from Rita Heuser, 1-7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 4. Concerning the neumes in the Heidelberg manuscript see Weißenburg, *Evangelienbuch*, Part 1, 143.

The neumes are unheightened, but certain observations about the melody may still be made. The text setting is mostly syllabic, except for at the ends of hemistiches, where it becomes neumatic. The fact that the text was written in rhyming couplets and was divided into sections typically comprising no more than three folios, offers further evidence of public recitation; the sections were appropriate lengths to be sung at communal gatherings. That musical notation is rare suggests that the *Evangelienbuch* was sung very likely to melodic formulae in the manner of German epics.[57] These formulae were flexible and were varied to accommodate the text. Although the evidence does not allow a reconstruction of the melody, one can safely conclude that it was memorable enough that it did not need to be fully notated. Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* is not the only German Gospel Harmony with musical notation likely sung in this manner. Neumes also found in the *Heliand* further support the idea that a tradition of singing Gospel Harmonies existed in the German lands by the ninth century.

A further indication that *Evangelienbuch* was sung comes from Otfrid's letter to Archbishop Liutbert, where he described the circumstances precipitating the work, informing the archbishop that:

> *Dum rerum quondam sonus inutilium pulsaret aures quorundam*
> *probatissimorum virorum eorumque sanctitatem laicorum cantus*
> *inquietaret obscenus a quibusdam memoriae dignis fratribus rogatus,*
> *maximeque cuiusdam venerandae matronae verbis nimium flagitantis*
> *nomine iudith, partem evangeliorum eis theotisce conscriberem ut*
> *aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum saecularium vocum deleret et*

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[57] Ewald Jammers proposed that *Evangelienbuch* was sung to the *Accentus Moguntinus*, a lectionary tone known in the archdiocese of Mainz where Weißenburg was situated. It consisted of a reciting pitch and tones a third higher for accented syllables, with some thirds being filled in with passing notes. Jammers, "Das mittelalterliche deutsche Epos," 52-3. Michael Klapper has recently questioned Jammers' hypothesis because there is no evidence that *Accentus Moguntinus* was known before the late Middle Ages. Klapper, "Musikhistorische Interpretation," in *Evangelienbuch* Band I, 2, 148-9.

in evangeliorum propria lingua ocupati dulcedine sonum inutilium rerum noverint declinare.[58]

> When on a certain occasion the sound of ineffective singing struck the ears of certain men of the highest esteem and the abominable <u>song</u> of the laity disturbed their sanctity, — having been asked by certain brothers worthy of memory, and especially by the words of a certain revered noble lady, by the name Judith, who entreated me greatly — I wrote part of the Gospels in German for them in order that at least some part of this <u>singing</u> of the scripture may obliterate the ineptitude of untrained <u>lay voices</u>, and having been overtaken by the sweetness of the Gospels in their own language, they may learn to avoid the sound of <u>ineffective singing</u>.[59]

Otfrid describes the secular songs of the laity (*laicorum cantus ... obscenus*) disturbing the monks at Weißenburg. The vernacular songs clearly had no religious value (he twice described them as *inutilium rerum*), and they were so intrusive that several monks, as well as a woman named Judith, urged him to write the Gospels in the vernacular so as to put an end to their singing (*ludum saecularium vocum deleret*). Otfrid uses the word *cantus* (underlined above) to denote both the songs of the laity and his *Evangelienbuch*, compelling evidence that he appreciated an equivalence between the vulgar songs and the *Evangelienbuch*, and that he intended his work to be sung, as Green explains:

> If he hoped to drive out secular poetry he had to meet it on its own vocal ground, since to confine his own work to the written context would have meant avoiding the challenge from oral poetry. This oral poetry was sung poetry, so that Otfrid could not afford to make his appeal less persuasive than his rivals; for him to have reckoned with speech by contrast with their use of song (and music) would have undermined the force of his attack.[60]

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[58] Otfrid, *Evangelienbuch: Band I, Teil 2*, 4r.
[59] I would like to thank Donka Markus for the many improvements she made to the translation.
[60] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, 182.

Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* had all the attraction of epic performances and secular song, as it was sung in the vernacular, but it also edified the listeners and singers, making it a valuable device for evangelizing and teaching the laity.

In the ninth century, Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and its predecessor, *Der Heliand*, introduced important changes in the performance of Gospel Harmonies. Gospel Harmonies changed from being read aloud or studied privately, to being sung for an audience with almost as much attention paid to how they were delivered as to the content they conveyed. These works were powerful and versatile pedagogical tools, capable of serving the needs of different audiences. Annotations in the manuscripts and passages from Gospel Commentaries facilitated the study of scripture for the literate, while oral delivery and use of the vernacular targeted young *scholares* (students) and the laity. Gospel Harmonies such as Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and the *Heliand* were precursors to type-two *Visitationes*. All three employed the technique of harmonization to conflate the Gospels into one narrative and involved sung public performance, increasing their immediacy and memorability. Otfrid and the anonymous poet had yet to cross the threshold between sung recitation and reenactment, a development not realized until the twelfth century with the emergence of type-two *Visitationes*.

The Unity of the Gospels According to St. Augustine

No direct evidence exists concerning the emergence of the type-two *Visitatio* or about why its creator or creators harmonized the Gospel accounts. Nor do Tatian, the anonymous poet of *Heliand*, or Otfrid explain why they conflated the Gospels, although

the works were clearly pedagogical. Fortunately, St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) described his motivations for harmonizing the Gospels in his sermons and exegetical treatise, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (*On the Harmony of the Gospels*). Although Augustine was writing approximately six-hundred years before the creation of type-two *Visitationes*, and one cannot assume that his motivations for harmonizing the Gospels were those of the creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes*, his work offers a point of departure for understanding challenges the seeming discrepancies among the Gospels posed.

Those who were Latin-literate would have had ample opportunity to notice discrepancies among the Resurrection accounts because of the practice of reading different evangelists' accounts on consecutive days during the octave of Easter. This posed problems for Augustine's congregation, since he addressed the issue in a sermon on the Monday after Easter Sunday, saying:

> Yesterday, that is, during the night, the Resurrection of the savior was read from the Gospel, however, it was read from the Gospel according to Matthew. Today, as you heard the lector announce, the Resurrection of the Lord will be read aloud to us, as the evangelist Luke wrote. Because you must often be admonished and must remember that whatever one Gospel writer says ought not disturb you if the other Gospel writer omits something, because he who omits that which the other says, says something that the other had omitted. Anything the individual evangelists say, the other three do not say; anything two say, the others do not say; also anything three say, one does not say. However, the authority of the Holy Gospel is so great because one spirit speaks through the Gospel writers, so that whatever sort of thing even one evangelist said is true.[61]

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[61] Augustine's Sermon No. 235 for Easter. Text from Augustine, *Sermones ad populum omnes classibus quatuor nunc primum comprehensi*, *Patrologia latina* 38, ed. J. P. Minge (Paris: Garnieri Fratres, 1841), col. 1117. *Hesterno die, id est nocte, lecta est ex Evangelio resurrectio Salvatoris, lecta autem ex Evangelio secundum Matthaeum. Hodie vero, sicut audistis pronuntiare lectorem, recitata est nobis Domini resurrectio, sicut Lucas evangelista conscripsit. Quod saepe admonendi estis, et memoriter tenere debetis, non vos debet movere quod alius Evangelista dicit, si quid alius praetermittit, quia et ille qui praetermittit quod alius dicit, dicit aliquid quod ille praetermiserat. Aliqua vero singuli dicunt, alii tres non dicunt; aliqua duo dicunt, alii non dicunt; aliqua tres dicunt,*

In his sermon, Augustine asserted that all the evangelists' accounts were true, and that the seeming contradictions arose because each Gospel was incomplete. From this passage we can only infer that Augustine's congregation was disturbed by, and perhaps even argued about, the obvious differences they noted among the Gospel accounts of the Resurrection.

De Consensu Evangelistarum, written around 400, is primarily exegetical, interpolating brief Gospel harmonies into lengthy passages that explained why seemingly conflicting accounts were in complete agreement. Augustine argued that the four evangelists were in perfect harmony, even if their accounts seemed to differ.[62] To support this argument, he harmonized the evangelists' accounts of the Resurrection and other key events, making the work a hybrid between scriptural commentary and Gospel Harmony. Augustine described the circumstances that prompted his undertaking of the work in Book 1, explaining that some people questioned the veracity of the four evangelists' accounts because they differed, stating that:

> *Has Domini sanctas quadrigas, quibus per orbem vectus subigit populos leni suo iugo et sarcinae levi, quidam vel imperita temeritate calumniis appetunt, ut impia vanitate vel imperita temeritate calumniis appetunt, ut eis veracis narrationis derogent fidem.*[63]

> Certain people, either with wicked vanity or with ignorant temerity, assail with accusations these sacred four-horsed chariots of God, on which He drives throughout the world, subjugating people to His light yoke and to His light load, in order that through these accusations they detract from the credibility of the true account.

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et unus non dicit. Auctoritas autem tanta est Evangelii sancti, ut quia in eis loquebatur Spiritus unus, verum sit etiam quod dixerit unus.

[62] Heinrich Vogels proposed that Augustine wrote *De Consensu Evangelistarum* in the second half of 399 or the first half of 400. Heinrich Joseph Vogels, *St Augustins Schrift De Consensu Evangelistarum: Unter Vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung ihrer Harmonistischen Anschauungen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1908), 18.

[63] Saint Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum libri quattuor*, ed. Franz Weihrich, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 43 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1904), 10. (Book 1, Ch. 7)

The detractors whom Augustine had in mind were probably pagans, such as Porphyry of

Tyre (234-305), a neoplatonic philosopher who wrote a polemical treatise, *Adversus*

Christianos (Against the Christians), and Faustus, leader of the Manicheans, a gnostic

sect to which Augustine belonged from the 370s until 386. [64] Porphyry and Faustus

questioned the credibility of the Gospels because the accounts differed.[65]

    Augustine observed that detractors were not only preventing others from

becoming Christian, but were upsetting those who already were Christians, stating, "With

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[64] Porphyry's and Faustus' complete works are no longer extant, but early Christians quoted lengthy passages in apologetic writings. Concerning Porphyrius see Helmut Merkel, *Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien: Ihre polemische und apologetische Behandlung in der Alten Kirche bis zu Augustin* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), 14. For a reconstruction of Porphyrius' *Adversus Christianos* see Porphyry, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, Ancient Mediterranean and Medieval Texts and Contexts 1, trans. Robert Berchman (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Porphyry, *Porphyry's Against the Christians: The Literary Remains*, ed. and trans. R. Joseph Hoffmann (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1994). Faustus' arguments are quoted and refuted in Augustine's *Contra Faustum* (Against Faust). Augustine, *Sancti Aureli Augustini De utilitate credendi; De duabus animabus; Contra Fortunatum; Contra Adimantum; Contra epistulam fundamenti; Contra Faustum*, Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum 25, ed. Joseph Zycha (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891). *De Consensu Evangelistarum* was one of nine apologetic works written in the period after Augustine became bishop of Hippo (386) that was aimed at the Manicheans, namely *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (*On Genesis, Against the Manicheans*), *Acta contra Fortunatum Manicheaum* (*Debate with Fortunatus, the Manichean*), *De duabus animabus contra Manichaeos (On the Two Souls, Against the Manicheans*), *Contra epistolam Manichaei* (*Against the Letter of the Manicheans*), *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (*Against Faustus, the Manichean*), *Contra Felicem Manichaeum* (*Against Felix, the Manichean*), *Contra Hilarium Manichaeum* (*Against Hilarius, the Manichean*) (now lost), and *Contra secundium Manichaei* (*Against Secundinus, the Manichean*). For a list of Augustine's works with dates given, see Allan D. Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), xliii-il.

[65] Porphyry stated that "the evangelists were fiction writers — not observers or eyewitnesses to the life of Jesus. Each of the four contradicts the other in writing his account of the events of his suffering and crucifixion." Porphyry, *Porphyry's Against the Christians*, ed. and trans. R. Joseph Hoffmann, 32. Faustus denied that Christ was born because only Matthew and Luke provided genealogies for Christ and these differed. Augustine addressed Faustus' charge in *Contra Faustum* (*Against Faust*), Book 2. Augustine, *Sancti Aureli Augustini Contra Faustum*, Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum 25, 253-254.

their false accusations they still either hold back from faith many in order that they do not believe, or they now disturb by irritating the believers as much as they will be able."[66] Augustine indicated that he wrote the work for Christians who were being upset by detractors' claims against the authority of the Gospels, explaining:

> *Nonnulli autem fratres salva fide nosse desiderant, quid talibus*
> *respondeant quaestionibus, vel ad provectum scientiae suae vel ad illorum*
> *vaniloquia refellenda, inspirante adque adiuvante Domino deo nosto —*
> *quod utinam et ipsorum saluti prosit.*[67]

> There are many brethren with sound faith who want to know what they
> should respond to such questions, or who desire to know for the advancing
> of their knowledge or for refuting false claims of others, with our Lord
> God inspiring and aiding — and would that it benefit the salvation of
> those people.

Augustine makes it clear that the Gospels posed problems for devout Christians, not just non-believers, and that he wrote the work to educate Christians while preparing them to meet the challenges of those who questioned the authority of the Gospels. In this respect, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* is didactic, reading like a primer for educated Christians on how to refute claims that the Gospels disagreed. For any charge that could be leveled against the harmony of the Gospels, Augustine offered a rebuttal.

De Consensu Evangelistarum is of further interest because Augustine describes his process of harmonizing the Gospels. Traditional Gospel Harmonies, such as Tatian's *Diatessaron* or Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, provided only the finished product — harmonized narratives of Christ's life and death — not the author's underlying rationale for the decisions he made. To demonstrate that the Gospels did not disagree, Augustine

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[66] *Quia nonnullos adhuc calumniosis disputationibus suis vel retardant a fide, ne credant, vel iam credentes, quantum potuerint, exagitando perturbant.* Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. Weihrich, 11. (Book 1, Ch. 7)

[67] Ibid., 11. (Book 1, Ch. 7)

employed two techniques: exegesis and harmonization. In his exegesis, he dealt

exclusively with the literal or historical sense of scripture, rather than the allegorical,

typological, or tropological levels.[68] His approach was to identify all points at which the

Gospels posed problems because they seemed to conflict and then demonstrate that when

the accounts were read together the contradictions vanished.[69] When two evangelists

recounted an event differently, he contended that they described different events.[70]

With the most significant events in Christ's life and death, the Last Supper, the

Crucifixion, and Resurrection, however, Augustine could not claim that similar events

occurred at different times because Christians knew better. In his discussion of the

Resurrection accounts, he introduced additional techniques for reconciling apparent

contradictions.[71] When two evangelists differed in their descriptions of events, Augustine

rejected criticisms that the accounts disagreed, contending that reading the accounts

together yielded a more comprehensive narrative of what happened. For example, when

Matthew described the angel being seated outside of the sepulcher and Mark described it

being inside, Augustine argued that there were two angels: Matthew and Mark had

reported different ones.[72] He also qualified what the evangelists said to make the accounts

harmonious. When Matthew reported that the Marys announced the Resurrection to the

disciples, and Mark claimed that they told no one, Augustine maintained that although

the women did not tell the guards, whom they first encountered, they later told the

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[68] Carol Harrison, " 'Not Words but Things:' Harmonious Diversity in the Four Gospels," in *Augustine: Biblical Exegete*, ed. Frederick Van Fleteren and Joseph C. Schnaubelt, 157-173 (New York: Peter Lang, 2001): 161-2.

[69] Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. Weihrich, 268. (Book 3, Ch. 1).

[70] Harrison, " 'Not Words but Things,' " 160.

[71] Ibid., 161.

[72] Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 352. (Book 3, Ch. 24).

disciples, as Matthew had said.[73] His most important technique for demonstrating that the events agreed, however, was harmonization. To prove that the accounts of the Resurrection were not conflicting, Augustine arranged the incidents "which happened around the time of the Resurrection of the Lord, according to the testimonies of all the Evangelists into one certain narrative, insofar as the Lord may help us, as the events may have taken place."[74] In doing so, he harmonized the events of the Resurrection in a way similar to that found in type-two *Visitationes*.

Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum* is yet another example of the Gospels being harmonized for pedagogical purposes: this time for the purposes of training Christians to combat claims against the unity of the Gospels. Given the complexity of Augustine's arguments, one can assume that he wrote the work for those who were Latin-literate and educated, likely the clergy, monks, and anyone else who might be called upon to defend the Christian faith. The work's purposes were doubly pedagogical: it instructed teachers on how to educate others about the harmony of the Gospels, unlike the *Heliand* and *Evangelienbuch*, which reached the laity, and perhaps schoolboys, more directly, through public, sung performances. *De Consensu Evangelistarum* explained why the Gospels agreed, whereas typical Gospel Harmonies presented complete, harmonized accounts of events only, to demonstrate their unity.

The evidence suggests that the issues that caused Augustine's congregation consternation in the fourth century likely continued to be troublesome to twelfth-century Christians. The fact that Gospel Harmonies continued to be written and new ones were copied throughout the Middle Ages, even when attacks from polemics had long subsided

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[73] Ibid., 353. (Book 3, Ch. 24)
[74] Ibid., 361-2 (Book 3, Ch. 24).

(a point that will be expanded on later in the chapter), suggests that later Christians found the apparent discrepancies among the Gospels no less problematic than Augustine's congregation and that Augustine's sermons and *De Consensu Evangelistarum* may yield valuable insights into reasons why type-two *Visitationes* were created.

<p style="text-align:center">Comparisons of Gospel Harmonies</p>

To this point Gospel Harmonies have been described as precursors to type-two *Visitationes* because they employ harmonization and many were recited publically. This section will scrutinize the relationships between type-two *Visitationes* and earlier Gospel Harmonies by comparing the Resurrection narratives and wordings of type-two *Visitationes* with those from Tatian's *Diatessaron* and Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, the two Gospel Harmonies written in Latin. The objective will be to evaluate whether earlier Gospel Harmonies may have served as models for type-two *Visitationes* or whether other factors may have determined how type-two *Visitationes* were composed.

Tatian's *Diatessaron*

Tatian's reasons for constructing his Gospel Harmony influenced his wording, and selection and order of events. According to Tjitze Baarda, Tatian wrote the *Diatessaron* with an apologetic intent, most likely as a response to Celsus (*fl*. second half of the second century) and other pagans who had argued that the Gospels were fictitious tales

because they did not agree.[75] Tatian's decision to incorporate as much text from the

Gospels as possible without being redundant, and his use of direct quotations rather than

paraphrases, were likely influenced by his apologetic intent.[76] Omitting events and

changing the evangelists' wording may have been viewed as a sleight of hand, a way of

concealing the discrepancies among the accounts. Constructing a comprehensive, unified

account of the Gospels that maintained the evangelists' original wording was the most

effective way of showing that the accounts were authoritative and agreed with one

another.

The comprehensiveness of *Diatessaron* and *Heliand* (which was based on

Diatessaron) is apparent when the Resurrection accounts are compared with those found

in type-two *Visitationes*.[77] The events in each are laid out in table 4.1 with checkmarks

indicating shared events and X's for events found in only one account.

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[75] In *Alethes Logos* Celsus observed discrepancies among the Gospels of the Resurrection
with respect to the number of angels and Christ's apparitions. Tjitze Baarda, "ΔIAϕΩNIA
— ΣYMϕΩNIA: Factors in the Harmonization of the Gospels, Especially in the
Diatessaron of Tatian" in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions,
Text, and Transmission*, ed. William L. Petersen, 133-154 (Notre Dame: University of
Notre Dame Press, 1989), 133, 151, 153-154.

[76] This point requires qualification. In the second century the texts of the Gospels were in
flux. There are differences in wording between some passages in the *Diatessaron* and
what survives in the oldest extant Gospels. Some of these differences might be the result
of Tatian's using recensions of the Gospels that are now lost. See Petersen, *Tatian's
Diatessaron*, 10, 20.

[77] The selection of events in the *Heliand* is identical to those found in *Diatessaron*, but
the order differs in two places: in the *Heliand* the reference to the guards being terrified
occurs before the angel sits on the stone, not after, and the description of guards going
into town follows the Marys announcing the Resurrection to the disciples, rather than
after Mary Magdalene's exchange with Christ. G. Ronald Murphy, trans. *The Heliand:
The Saxon Gospel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 191-196.

Table 4.1. Sequence of Events in the *Diatessaron* and Type-Two *Visitationes*.

Diatessaron/Heliand	Type-Two *Visitationes*
The Marys travel to the sepulcher with spices.	✔
They ask, "Who will roll back the stone?"	✔
There is an earthquake, an angel descends from heaven, and removes the stone from the entrance of the tomb.	✖ The stone has already been rolled away.
The guards are terrified and act like dead men.	✖
The angel tells the Marys that Christ has risen and directs them to spread the news.	✔
The Marys then meet two more angels who repeat the information above.	✖
The Marys announce the Resurrection to the disciples and Peter.	✔
Peter and John run to the tomb and inspect it.	✔
Mary Magdalene encounters the risen Christ.	Occasionally
The guards go into town to report what transpired at the tomb.	✖

The main difference is that Tatian included more events than type-two *Visitationes*,

incorporating episodes with the guards (Matthew) and the angel rolling back the stone

(Matthew). Most striking is the fact that Tatian relayed two separate encounters between

the Marys and angels, with the first involving only one angel (Matthew and Mark) and

the second involving two (Luke and John). The creator of type-two *Visitationes* may have

omitted some events that would have been too challenging to portray (e.g., the

earthquake, with the angel descending from heaven) or required too many performers

(Tatian's account required guards and Christ; most type-two *Visitationes* involved only

the Marys, angels, Peter, and John).[78]

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[78] A handful of type-two *Visitationes* included Mary Magdalene's encounter with the risen Christ, but these were the exception rather than the norm. The Mary Magdalene

Tatian's prominent use of direct quotations further differentiates his work from type-two *Visitationes*. Example 4.1 reproduces part of Tatian's account of the visit as it appeared in Christian W. M. Grein's 1868 edition.[79]

Example 4.1. The Marys' Visit in Codex Cassellanus.

> (Mark 16:2) *Et valde mane . . . . orto jam sole* (Matthew 28:1) *venit Maria Magdalene et altera Maria* (Luke 14:1*) ad monumentum portantes* (Mark 16:1) *quae emerant aromata,* (Mark 16:1) *ut ungerent Jesum. Et dicebant ad invicem: Quis revolvet nobis lapidem de ostio monumenti? Erat quippe magnus valde.* (Matthew 28:2) *Et ecce terrae motus factus est magnus; angelus enim Domini descendit de coelo. Prae timore autem ejus exterriti sunt custodes et facti sunt velut mortui. Et ascendens angelus revolvit lapidem et sedebat super eum.*

> And very early . . . . when the sun had risen, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to the tomb bringing the spices that they had bought, so that they might anoint Jesus. And they were saying to one another: "Who will roll away the stone from the entrance of the tomb?" for it was obviously very large. And behold, a severe earthquake had occurred, for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven. The guards shook for fear of him and became like dead men. And the angel came and rolled away the stone and sat upon it.[80]

The above passage comprises direct quotations from three of the four Gospels, arranged so that they produced a single, unified narrative. The opening lines drew together short passages from the synoptic Gospels; these were followed by lengthier quotations from Mark and Matthew. The chant texts for certain antiphons in type-two *Visitationes* bear

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Visitationes pose issues of classification because they share certain chants with the type-two *Visitatio*, but they also include many chants not found in standard type-two *Visitationes*.

[79] Grein's edition was based on Kassel theol. fol. 31, a ninth-century source. Christian W. M. Grein, ed., *Die Quellen des Heliand: Nebst einem Anhang: Tatians Evangelienharmonie herausgegeben nach dem Codex Cassellanus* (Cassel: Theodor Kay, 1869), 47-8.

[80] Translation based on the *New American Standard Bible* (Anaheim, CA: Lockman Foundation, 1997).

similarities to Tatian's text. For example, the texts of *Maria Magdalena* and *Quem queritis o tremule* conflated short passages from multiple Gospels, as is the case at the opening of Tatian's Resurrection account. Otherwise, however, the methods of composition differed. Direct biblical quotations are infrequent in type-two *Visitationes* and paraphrase was prevalent, whereas Tatian restricted himself to biblical quotations, most of which were lengthy.

Paraphrasing the Gospels was necessary in type-two *Visitationes* because the events were reenacted, not just read aloud. The Gospels on which they were based are poorly suited to live performance because they were written in third person and dialogue is infrequent. Paraphrasing the texts allowed for a more vivid and lively portrayal of the Marys' visit, with third person accounts recast as dialogues. By contrast, direct biblical quotations were more appropriate for Tatian because *Diatessaron* was read and biblical quotations were more authoritative than paraphrases, and thus better suited to the apologetic purposes for which Tatian wrote his work. Type-two *Visitationes* differed from the *Diatessaron* with respect to which events were included, how the works drew on the Gospels, and how they were presented to audiences (e.g. through reading or sung reenactment).

The selection and order of events in type-two *Visitationes* also differed from Augustine's harmonized Resurrection account, as table 4.2 demonstrates.

Table 4.2. Comparison of Events Comprising the Marys' Visit as Recounted in
Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and Type-Two *Visitationes*.

Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*	Type-Two *Visitationes*
There was an earthquake and an angel descended from heaven and rolled back the stone.	✖
The guards are terrified and act like dead men.	✖
The Marys travel to the sepulcher with spices.	✔
✖	They ask, "Who will roll back the stone?"
They see the stone had been rolled away.	✔
✖	The angel tells the Marys that Christ has risen and directs them to spread the news.
✖	The Marys announce the Resurrection to the disciples and Peter.
Mary Magdalene departs to tell the disciples what she saw.	✖
Peter and John run to the tomb and inspect it.	✔
✖	Peter and John announce the Resurrection to the disciples.
Mary Magdalene encounters angels who tell her Christ has risen and direct them to spread the news.	Occasionally
Mary Magdalene encounters the risen Christ.	✖

Augustine's Resurrection account incorporated most of the events that were found in the

Diatessaron and *Heliand*, but not in type-two *Visitationes*, including episodes involving

the earthquake and guards. Augustine's order of events, however, differentiated his

account from type-two *Visitationes* and other Gospel Harmonies. When the Marys visited

the sepulcher, the women saw that the stone had been moved, and departed to find the

disciples without first encountering the angels. Augustine's manner of interweaving direct

quotations from the Gospels with expository passages further differentiates his

harmonization from type-two *Visitationes* and other Gospel Harmonies. His portrayal of

the Marys' visit exemplifies this intermingling of direction quotation and explanation:

> Now that which Matthew alone tells about the earthquake and the stone having been rolled back and the guards having been so terrified, that in some part they lay down as if they were dead, had taken place, Mary Magdalene came, however, just as John said, no doubt with the other women, who had served the Lord; Mary Magdalene was greatly fervent in her love so that it is very appropriate that John recalled Mary Magdalene alone, after having been silent about those women who were with her, as the other evangelists testify.[81]

Rather than presenting the events of the Resurrection as an uninterrupted narrative, Augustine explained why troubling passages, such as John mentioning only Mary Magdalene visiting the tomb, did not diminish the credibility of the Gospels. He offered his audience not only a final product — the harmonized account — but also a model for how to argue that the Gospels were in perfect harmony, an elucidative element lacking in type-two *Visitationes*.

Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and other early Gospel Harmonies were differentiated from type-two *Visitationes* with respect to the selection and order of events presented and, in many cases, how they incorporated wordings from the Gospels into their narratives. After comparing the four Gospel Harmonies, it is apparent that the *Diatessaron*, *Heliand*, and *De Consensu Evangelistarum* did not serve as direct models for type-two *Visitationes*. *Der Heliand* is most similar, however, to type-two *Visitationes* since it also paraphrases the Gospels and was performed aloud, although as an epic rather than a reenactment. The fact that type-two *Visitationes* were reenacted may help to

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[81] Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ed. Weihrich, 69 (Book 3, Ch. 24). *Iam factum erat, quod solus Mattheus commemorat de terrae motu et lapide revoluto conterritisque custodibus ita, ut in parte aliqua velut mortui iacerent. Venit autem, sicut Iohannes dicit, Maria Magdalene sine dubio ceteris mulieribus, quae Domino ministraverant, plurimum dilectione ferventior, ut non inmerito Iohannes solam commemoraret tacitis eis quae cum illa fuerunt, sicut alii testantur.*

explain the different selection of events presented in type-two *Visitationes* than in earlier

Gospel Harmonies. The creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* apparently excluded events

that were too difficult to portray. He and the anonymous author of *Der Heliand* may have

paraphrased rather than incorporate lengthy biblical quotations because the Gospels were

typically written in third person with little dialogue. Paraphrasing the text allowed them

to make the texts livelier and therefore more appropriate for reenacting and performing as

epics.

Differences among the *Diatessaron*, *Der Heliand*, and *De Consensu*

Evangelistarum suggest that there was no one way to harmonize the Gospels. The

intended purposes and performance mediums (i.e., sung reenactment, sung recitation, or

private reading) were the primary determinants in how comprehensive the accounts were

and what combinations of direct quotations, paraphrases, or expository passages were

employed. What type-two *Visitationes* shared with earlier Gospel Harmonies was the use

of harmonization, as they all conflated the four Gospels into one unified narrative.

The Circulation of Gospel Harmonies in the German Lands

Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*

The creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* was likely exposed to the technique of

harmonization from earlier Gospel Harmonies, although he did not model his *Visitatio* on

them. He may have been introduced to harmonization through Augustine's *De Consensu*

Evangelistarum, which was well known in the Middle Ages, judging by the 126 extant

manuscripts. Table 4.3 compares the number of pre-1600 extant sources for some of

Augustine's works to better understand how popular *De Consensu Evangelistarum* may

have been.[82]

Table 4.3. Number of Extant Manuscripts of Augustine's Works.

WORK	NUMBER OF SOURCES
De Civitate Dei	407
Confessionum	299
De Doctrina Christiana	270
De Genesis ad Litteram	163
De Consensu Evangelistarum	126
Contra Faustum Manichaeum	89

There are almost half as many extant sources of *De Consensu Evangelistarum* as *De*

Doctrina Christiana and more than two-fifths as many as *Confessionum,* impressive

ratios given that *De Doctrina Christiana* and *Confessionum* were two of his best-known

works. The survival rates of *De Consensu Evangelistarum* are more similar to works of

the same type, such as his apologetic work, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* or his

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[82] The numbers in the table are based on the eleven volumes on the transmission of Augustine's works published to date by the *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft*. Although the census of manuscript holdings of Augustine's works for most European and central European libraries is complete, the volumes on the French and American library holdings have yet to be published, so the survival rates are higher than the numbers in table 4.3 reflect. *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, vols. 1-11, Österreichische Akademie des Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte (Vienna: Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969-2010). The individual volumes are as follows: Manfred Oberleitner, ed., *Italien*, vol. 1, 1969; Franz Römer, ed. *Grossbritannien und Irland*, vol. 2, 1972; Franz Römer, ed., *Polen*, vol. 3, 1973; Johannes Divjak, ed. *Spanien und Portugal*, vol. 4, 1974; Rainer Kurz, ed., *Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 5, 1976; Dorothea Weber, *Österreich*, vol. 6, 1993; Clemens Weidmann, ed., *Tschechische Republik und Slowakische Republik*, vol. 7, 1997; Marie Therese Wieser, *Belgien, Luxemburg, und Niederland*, vol. 8, 2000; Sara Janner and Romain Jurot, eds. *Schweiz*, vol. 9, 2001; Isabella Schiller, *Ostdeutschland und Berlin,* vol. 10, 2009; Irina Galynina, Franz Lackner, Agnes Orosz, Dagmar Weltin, eds., *Russland, Slowenien und Ungarn*, vol. 11, 2010.

exegetical work, *De Genesis ad Litteram*.[83] Increasing the probability that the creator of

the type-two *Visitatio* was familiar with *De Consensu Evangelistarum* is the fact that the

work was known in or near the geographical area where type-two *Visitationes* flourished,

as medieval library lists from Admont, Salzburg, Reichenau, St. Gall, and Prüfening

attest.[84]

The conjecture that the anonymous creator(s) knew *De Consensu Evangelistarum*

becomes more compelling when the provenances of type-two *Visitationes* are considered.

Of the 205 type-two *Visitationes* from German lands, at least one hundred came from

Augustinian religious institutions, houses of canons living in common that followed the

so-called Rule of Saint Augustine.[85] Table 4.4 identifies the number of type-two

Visitationes from Augustine houses, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and other types of

religious institutions.

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[83] Thirty-seven more sources of *De Consensu Evangelistarum* survive than of *Contra Faustum Manicheaum* and only thirty-seven fewer than of *De Genesis ad Litteram*.
[84] Gerlinde Möser-Mersky, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 3, (Steiermark, Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1961), 19, 42; Gerlinde Möser-Mersky and Melanie Mihaliuk, eds., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 4 (Salzburg, Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1966), 20, 68; Gustav Heinrich Becker, ed., *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn: Max. Cohen and Son, 1885), 5, 32, 211.
[85] Norton observed the high correlation between type-two *Visitationes* and Augustinian communities. Michael Norton, "The Type II 'Visitatio Sepulchri': A Repertorial Study" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1983), 157-8. The Rule of St. Augustine comprised two documents, *Ordo monasterii* and *Praeceptum*. In recent years scholars have doubted Augustine's authorship of *Ordo monasterii*. Luc Verheijen argued that *Praeceptum* was written by Augustine and *Ordo monasterii* by Augustine's student, Alypius. Because Pope Urban II and others living in the twelfth century assumed that Augustine composed both sections himself, the document continues to be referred to as the Rule of St. Augustine. Stefan Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 1975), 236-9.

Table 4.4. Distribution of Type-Two *Visitationes* by Religious Institution.

Type of Religious Institution	Number of Sources				Dates			
		12th	12/13th	13th	13/14th	14th	14th/15th	15th
Augustinian	100	6	1	14	1	24	1	53
Other cathedrals, collegiate churches, and parish churches	46	2	1	4	1	15	3	20
Benedictine	26	2	3	8		4		9
Other (hospitals, Cistercian monasteries)	3					1		2
Unknown	29	1		2		10		16

In addition to the one hundred sources firmly attributable to Augustinian houses, forty-six *Visitationes* came from cathedrals and collegiate churches that may have adopted the Rule of St. Augustine, although one cannot be absolutely certain in all cases about the influence of the Augustinian reforms on these institutions.[86] Even with this uncertainty, almost half of the type-two *Visitationes*, and possibly more, come from Augustinian religious institutions. It is a reasonable assumption that Augustinian canons would have held works by Augustine, their order's patron, in high esteem. The high correlation between type-two *Visitationes* and houses of Augustinian canons increases the likelihood

[86] To determine this, each religious institution must be examined on a case-by-case basis, and charters or other documents indicating that the chapter followed the Rule of St. Augustine would have to survive. Stefan Weinfurter's work on the religious reforms in the Salzburg archdiocese has demonstrated that the Rule of St. Augustine was adopted not only in houses traditionally designated as Augustinian, but also by the canons at major cathedrals, such as Salzburg, in the twelfth century. Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform*, 20.

that the creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* would have been familiar with Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.

Even if the creator of type-two *Visitationes* did not encounter *De Consensu Evangelistarum* in its original form, he may have been exposed to parts of it incorporated into other exegetes' works. An anonymous Irish author, Maurus, and Bede interpolated quotations from *De Consensu Evangelistarum* into their commentaries on the Gospels, a further testament to the work's fame in the Middle Ages. The Irish author who wrote the *Liber Questionum in Evangeliis* (*The Book of Questions on the Gospels*) in the first quarter of the eighth century, quoted *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 207 times.[87] Maurus included seventy-nine borrowings in his *Expositio in Matthaeum* (*Commentary on Matthew*), some of which spanned several folios. His borrowings from *De Consensu* are particularly prominent in his exposition on the Resurrection, where he incorporated Augustine's harmonization in its entirety.[88] The Venerable Bede (*c.* 672 - 735), an English monk from Northumbria, included twenty-three quotations from the work into his commentary on Mark and fifteen into his commentary on Luke, most of which are long.[89] The fact that *De Consensu Evangelistarum* was regularly transmitted, copied, and incorporated into medieval Gospel Commentaries increases the probability that the

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[87] Jean Rittmueller, ed., *Liber Questionum in Evangeliis*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 108F, Scriptores Celtigenae (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 500-504.

[88] Maurus included Augustine's explanations about the time of day the Marys' visit occurred (ibid., 768), and the different angels Matthew and Mark reported seeing (ibid., 773-4). Augustine's harmonization of the visit of the sepulcher occupies four pages in the edition (ibid., 775-778). Hrabanus Maurus, *Hrabani Mauri: Expositio in Matthaeum*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 174 B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 830-1.

[89] Bede, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera: Pars II Opera Exegetica 3: In Lucae Evangelium Expositio. In Marci Evangelium Expositio*, ed. David Hurst, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), 672.

creator of type-two *Visitationes* had encountered Augustine's work on harmonization before composing the type-two *Visitatio*.

Circulation of *Evangelienbuch, Diatessaron,* and *Heliand*

The provenances of extant Gospel Harmonies show that copies of Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* and Tatian's *Diatessaron* were known in the southeastern German lands, the geographical area where type-two *Visitationes* flourished and presumably originated. Otfrid wrote his *Evangelienbuch* at Weißenburg, which is situated in the Eichstätt diocese in the southeast. The four extant sources of Otfrid's work were also copied in that area, three in Weißenburg and the fourth in nearby Freising.[90] Tatian's *Diatessaron* circulated widely, and at least two of the seventeen Latin translations of the work are from the same area where type-two *Visitationes* flourished (D-LEu Cod. lat. 193 from Nürnberg and D-Mbs. Clm 23977 from Amberg or Vienna).[91] Because the provenances for many manuscripts are unknown (seven of seventeen), the number may be higher, especially given that two of the manuscripts of unknown provenance are housed at the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, where most of the Latin manuscript collection is of Bavarian

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[90] Those copied at Weißenburg are A-Wn 2687, D-Heu Pal. Lat. 52, and the now fragmentary source known as Codex Discissus. D-Mbs cgm. 14 was copied in Freising at the beginning of the tenth century.

[91] Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 464-469, 481-483; Rudolf Helssig, ed., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig IV: Die lateinische und deutschen Handschriften, I. Die theologischen Handschriften* 4 (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1926), 273-4; Karl Halm, Georg von Laubmann, and Wilhelm Meyer, eds. *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis; T.4, P.4.* (Monachii: Libraria Regia Palmiana, 1881),113.

or Austrian provenance.[92]

The creator of type-two *Visitationes* may have encountered harmonization through *Der Heliand*, although he was less likely to have been exposed to this work than to the other three Gospel harmonies. The number of extant sources of *Heliand* is small: two complete manuscripts and four fragments. The sources come mostly from the central and northern Germany, where Old Saxon was spoken, although one manuscript is from England. G. Ronald Murphy describes the *Heliand* as having a "widespread readership and use both in Germany and England in the ninth and tenth centuries and possibly beyond."[93] It is possible that *Heliand* was known in the same geographical area where type-two *Visitationes* emerged, but the creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* more likely learned about harmonization from Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*. Given the manuscript evidence that these three Gospel Harmonies were known in the southeastern German lands, it is improbable that the creator of type-two *Visitationes* was unaware that he was using the technique of harmonization. He doubtless knew of the venerable tradition of harmonizing the Gospels in Germany and decided to elevate Gospel Harmonies by reenacting the events they conflated.

Conclusion

The copying and translating of *Diatessaron*, the circulating of *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, and the composing of new verse Gospel Harmonies, all suggest that in

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[92] D-Mbs clm. 23346 and D-Mbs clm. 7946.

[93] G. Ronald Murphy, "The Old Saxon *Heliand*" in *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand*, 36.

Germany there was interest in harmonizing the Gospels dating back to the eighth century, and that interest was sustained throughout to Middle Ages. Although no extant Gospel harmonies presented the accounts of the Marys' visit in an identical order or with the same wording as type-two *Visitationes*, the creator of harmonized *Visitationes* would have been exposed to harmonization. As was the case with earlier creators of Gospel Harmonies, he was not bound to the examples from earlier Gospel Harmonies, but invented an individual way of presenting the Marys' visit to suit pedagogical needs and make it appropriate for sung reenactment.

Type-two *Visitationes* were neither direct outgrowths of type-one *Visitationes* nor were they meticulously fashioned after earlier Gospel Harmonies. The compositional impetus behind the two types of *Visitationes* differed. Type-one *Visitationes* were pastiches of the *Quem queritis* dialogue and preexisting Office antiphons with texts that recounted Matthew and Mark's narratives. They brought to life, through sung reenactment, the day's reading: Mark's account of the Resurrection, which largely concurred with Matthew's account, read at the Easter vigil. In contrast, type-two *Visitationes* synthesized three favorite German traditions: Gospel harmonization, epic performance, and the reenactment of the Marys' visit. The creator(s) of type-two *Visitationes* appropriated the technique of harmonization from earlier Gospel Harmonies, but did not include as many events or verbatim quotations as most earlier Gospel Harmonies. From type-one *Visitationes* he adopted the basic framework and manner of performance, but replaced most Office antiphons with newly composed ones in post-Gregorian style. Doing so gave him the flexibility to create chant texts that paraphrased the Gospels and conflated content and wordings from multiple Gospels, like in the

Heliand. The type-two *Visitationes* that resulted from this merger were liturgical works that introduced harmonization into the Easter liturgy for the first time. Unlike the readings for Easter Sunday, where only Mark's account of events was read, type-two *Visitationes* presented the complete account of the Marys' visit. Performing harmonized type-two *Visitationes* would have been a significant moment in the life of any monastery or chapter. The harmonization was made more potent with the participants reenacting the conflated account of the Marys' visit publically, a fitting way to celebrate Easter Sunday, which was the highlight of the Christian year.

CHAPTER 5

The *Visitatio sepulchri* at Salzburg and Beyond

This chapter proposes that type-two *Visitationes* originated in the Salzburg archdiocese and were first transmitted from Salzburg cathedral to houses of Augustinian canons in the archdiocese as part of the religious reforms that Archbishop Konrad I (1106-1147) implemented during the first half of the twelfth century, and that his successors continued to propagate. It will posit historical, political, and social factors that made twelfth-century Salzburg an ideal environment for the emergence of the type-two *Visitatio* and led to its widespread adoption at cathedrals, collegiate churches, and houses of Augustinian canons within the archdiocese. As was the case with earlier Gospel Harmonies, type-two *Visitationes* served pedagogical objectives, but they also fulfilled a social function, which this chapter will demonstrate. They targeted two audiences, the *domicelli* (the future canons) and the laity, through a complex interplay of musical, textual, ritual, and visual elements, and the canons' and laity's differing degrees of involvement in the performance. A twelfth-century *Visitatio* from Salzburg cathedral, SLZ-1-c(a), will be the focal point of what follows. It is offered as a representative example of the performance aspects of type-two *Visitationes*, and the typical roles of the canons, *schola cantorum* (choir), and laity in the reenactment.

The Twelfth-Century Emergence and Dissemination of Type-Two *Visitationes* in the
Salzburg Archdiocese

The geographical distribution and dating of sources containing type-two

Visitationes suggest that type two originated in the archdiocese of Salzburg during the

twelfth century. Type-two *Visitationes* are particularly well represented in sources from

the archdiocese, which comprised the dioceses of Regensburg, Passau, Freising, Brixen,

and Salzburg. The map in figure 5.1 indicates the boundaries of the ecclesiastical

province of Salzburg.[1]

Figure 5.1. Boundaries of the Salzburg Archdiocese and Primary Area of Dissemination
of Type-Two *Visitationes*.

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[1] Figure 5.1 is reproduced from Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. Barbara M. Bowlus with an introduction by Charles R. Bowlus (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 23. The map shows the boundaries of the Salzburg Archdiocese during the Salian era (1024-1125).

Out of the 205 type-two *Visitationes* from the German lands, 148 are from the

Archdiocese of Salzburg and only fifty-seven come from elsewhere. Given that type-two

Visitationes circulated mainly within the archdiocese of Salzburg, it seems most likely

that harmonized *Visitationes* originated there. Twelfth-century sources of the harmonized

Visitatio survive from Salzburg cathedral [SLZ-1-c(a)] and the Augustinian house at

Seckau (SEK-1-a, SEK-2-a, SEK-3-a, SEK-4-a, SEK-5-a), located in the eastern part of

the archdiocese. Twelfth-century sources also exist from the Augsburg diocese

(AUG-1-c, AUG?-2) and Aquileia (MOG-1-b), two areas contiguous with the Salzburg

Archdiocese where Konrad exerted considerable influence.[2] Thirteenth-century sources,

which survive in greater numbers than those from the twelfth century, provide a more

complete picture of how widely disseminated type-two *Visitationes* were at a relatively

early date in the archdiocese of Salzburg; these are listed below:

Chiemsee (CHI-1-a)
Herzogenburg (HZG?-1-a)
Klosterneuburg (KN-2-a, KN-3-a, KN-4-a, KN-5-a)
Ranshofen (RAN-1-a)
Seckau (SEK-6-a, SEK-7-a)
St. Lambrecht (SLB-1-b, SLB-2-b)
St. Pölten (SP-1-a)
Vorau (VOR-1-a)

These sources, which come from all parts of the archdiocese, suggest that harmonized

Visitationes circulated widely. By the thirteenth century, type-two *Visitationes* were also

known in the dioceses of Constance, Utrecht, and Würzburg, situated beyond the

boundaries of the Salzburg archdiocese. Seven thirteenth-century manuscripts document

the tradition in these areas.

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[2] For a discussion of the geographical areas where the archbishop of Salzburg exerted influence see Stefan Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1975), 108, 293.

It may have been that type-two *Visitationes* had been imported from outside Salzburg, but this seems unlikely. If type-two *Visitationes* had emerged in one of those places, one would expect them to have more of a stronghold; yet in Constance and Würzburg, type-two *Visitationes* existed alongside type one. The limited and restricted circulation of type-two *Visitationes* outside the Salzburg archdiocese compared with how it flourished in Salzburg, suggests that type-two *Visitationes* were likely not created beyond the Salzburg archdiocese, but were disseminated to Aquileia and Augsburg during the twelfth century, and to Würzburg, Utrecht, and Constance by the thirteenth.

Type-two *Visitationes* were likely disseminated from Salzburg cathedral to other religious institutions within the archdiocese during the episcopate of Archbishop Konrad I of Salzburg (r. 1106 to 1147). During this period Konrad began implementing significant religious reforms in the archdiocese. In 1122 he mandated that the canons at Salzburg cathedral live in common (*vita communis*) in a cloister within the cathedral precincts, surrender personal property, and vow to adhere to a canonical lifestyle.[3] He also imposed the Rule of St. Augustine, a series of regulations for leading the common life in non-Benedictine communities.[4]

Prior to Konrad I's episcoplate, the Salzburg archdiocese had fallen into a state of religious and intellectual deprivation. Archbishop Gebhard (1060-1088) had permitted the clergy to reside outside of the cathedral, causing a relaxing of discipline. He also sold

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[3] Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 5, 24; Clifford Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1989), 164; Heinz Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg: Von den Anfängen bis zur Säkularisation," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg: Augustiner Chorherren zwichen Passau und Salzburg*, ed. Dietmar Straub, 171-188 (Linz, Austria: Land Oberösterreich, Amt der oö, Abteilung Kultur, 1984), 173.

[4] Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 20; Heinz Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 171-173.

many of the cathedral library's splendid holdings and the cathedral school may have closed during the last quarter of the eleventh century.[5] These factors alone would have provided sufficient motivation for Archbishop Konrad's reforms, but pressure from the papacy to reform the clergy was another impetus.[6] After Konrad reformed the cathedral canons, he imposed the Augustinian Rule on many of the archdioceses' collegiate and other churches and charged a deacon, the Blessed Hartmann, to ensure that the reforms were carried out.

There are good reasons to suspect that the harmonized *Visitatio* was transmitted from Salzburg cathedral to other religious institutions when the rule of Saint Augustine was being imposed in the archdiocese. During this period, Archbishop Konrad I organized the churches and houses of Augustinian canons into a federation, comparable to the Cluniac model (i.e. the abbot at the mother house [Cluny abbey] governed a number of monasteries, known as daughter houses).[7] All dictates for the daughter houses and the customary that they followed came from Cluny. Having a central authority under which the daughter houses were subjugated was key to regularizing the daily routines and liturgical practices of Cluniac-reformed monasteries.[8] A similar model existed in Salzburg, where the cathedral was the equivalent of the mother house and archbishop Konrad I and his provost were the central authority figures. The provost headed the

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[5] Hermann Spies, "Geschichte der Domschule zu Salzburg," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 78 (1938), 13-14; Heinz Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 177.

[6] On Pope Nicolas II's, Gregory VII's, and Urban II's preoccupation with canon reforms, and the limited success of these reforms in the second half of the eleventh century, see Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 5-7; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life*, 150.

[7] Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 25.

[8] Ibid., 24-26.

cathedral chapter, a regulatory board of canons who met daily to discuss the affairs of the cathedral and churches belonging to the cathedral.[9] Houses of Augustinian canons in the Salzburg diocese, such as Reichersberg, Chiemsee, Seckau, Reichenhall, and Vorau, were legally and financially bound to Salzburg cathedral, and followed the daily routines and liturgy of the cathedral.[10]

The political structure in the Salzburg archdiocese, whereby all directives came from Salzburg cathedral, created ideal circumstances for the spread of type-two *Visitationes*.[11] The liturgy and daily observances of Salzburg cathedral were imposed on other religious communities in the archdiocese. SLZ-1-c(a) deserves to be at the center of all discussions about the cathedral liturgy at Salzburg during the twelfth century. This ordinal, most sections of which were copied *c*. 1181, contains detailed prescriptions for carrying out the Mass and Office. It has the distinction of being one of the earliest liturgical books that survives from the cathedral, after a devastating fire in 1168 destroyed most of the cathedral's manuscript holdings.[12] The source is important for two

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[9] Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 171, 173; Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 25.

[10] Frank Karl Praßl, "Der älteste Salzburger Liber Ordinarius (Codex M II 6 der Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg)," in *Musica Sacra Mediaevalis: Geischliche Musik Salzburgs im Mittelalter; Salzburg, 6.-9. Juni 1996 Kongressbericht*, eds. Stefan Engels and Gerhard Walterskirchen, 31-47 (St. Ottilien, Germany: EOS Verlag, 1998), 31; Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 25.

[11] Konrad was able to exert his greatest influence in Salzburg diocese; although the other bishops in the archdiocese were subjugated to him, one observes diocesan variations in the *Visitationes* and the *Depositio crucis* and *Elevatio crucis*, suggesting that bishops had some control over the liturgy in their dioceses.

[12] Parts of the manuscript, including the calendar, were copied *c*. 1150. The main part of the manuscript must have been written after 1181 because the gradual contains a Mass for St. Virgil, which was not introduced until 1181, when his tomb was rediscovered. Peter Wind, "Zum Skriptorium des Salzburger Domstiftes," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, ed. Dietmar Straub, 189-203 (Linz, Austria: Amt der öo, 1984), 192. Praßl dates the calendar found in SLZ-1-c(a) as *c*. 1150 and the main part of the manuscript as postdating

reasons: it establishes how the cathedral liturgy was carried out at twelfth-century Salzburg, allowing for comparison with liturgical sources from other religious communities, and it is the source for one of the earliest type-two *Visitationes*. When one examines thirteenth-century ordinals for Ranshofen (RAN-1-a) and Suben (VOR-1-a), it is apparent that the Salzburg liturgy was imposed in these places, as the ordinals for these communities are copies of SLZ-1-c(a).[13]

Liturgical manuscripts that survive from other Augustinian communities within the Salzburg archdiocese reveal further conformance to the liturgy laid out in the Salzburg ordinal. Houses of Augustinian canons within the Salzburg archdiocese universally adopted the type-two *Visitatio*, insofar as one can tell from the extant sources. The type-two *Visitatio* was also part of Easter Sunday Matins at the cathedrals of Augsburg, Aquileia, Eichstätt, Freising, and Passau. Among the earliest sources of the harmonized *Visitatio* were those from Salzburg cathedral, Chiemsee, and Klosterneuburg, precisely those places that Hartmann visited — Chiemsee in 1129 and Klosterneuburg in 1133 — when he was implementing Archbishop Konrad's reforms. It may well have been that Hartmann himself transmitted the harmonized *Visitatio* to these communities and others. The other cathedral canons whom Konrad appointed as provosts of Augustinian houses, such as Wernher of Seckau and Kuno of Suben, may have also disseminated type-two *Visitationes*.[14] In many manuscripts the selection and order of chants for the harmonized *Visitatio* are identical to the type-two in SLZ-1-c(a). This is the case with *Visitationes* from Chiemsee, Diessen, Passau Cathedral, Ranshofen, Reichenhall, St.

1181, but predating 1198, when the new Salzburg cathedral was consecrated. Praßl, "Der älteste Salzburger Liber Ordinarius," in *Musica Sacra Mediaevalis*, 31-33.
[13] Praßl, "Der älteste Salzburger Liber Ordinarius," *Musica Sacra Mediaevalis*, 36-37.
[14] Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 107-108.

Florian, St. Pölten, and Vorau. The rubrics for the *Visitationes* in these sources,

moreover, are either identical to those of SLZ-1-c(a), or are shortened versions. Many

sources from the Salzburg archdiocese also transmit the same *Depositio crucis* on Good

Friday as SLZ-1-c(a).[15] The order and selection of chants and certain details of the

observance (like the use of silver candlesticks during the *elevatio*) are unique to the

Salzburg archdiocese. It is significant that the *Visitatio* and *Depositio* should be

transmitted so consistently in sources from the archdiocese of Salzburg, given that these

ceremonies are among the most variable liturgical observances of the church year. The

authority that Archbishop Konrad I commanded over the other religious institutions in the

archdiocese, and the mechanisms he had in place for ensuring that liturgical observances

were regularized (by installing his cathedral canons as provosts at other religious

communities, where they implemented his reforms) created ideal circumstances for the

proliferation of type-two *Visitationes* in the Salzburg archdiocese.

<u>Theories About Why Harmonized *Visitationes* Were Created</u>

The political and social dimensions of ecclesiastical life in twelfth-century

Salzburg were likely factors in the emergence and propagation of harmonized

Visitationes. Type-two *Visitationes* flourished during a period of great political and

religious upheaval within the archdiocese. When Archbishop Konrad I attempted to

convert the secular canons of Salzburg cathedral into regular canons, the canons resisted.

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[15] Lip., vol. 8: 598. Examples of religious institutions transmitting the same *Depositio* as Salzburg include Chiemsee, Klosterneuburg, Ranshofen, Reichenhall, Seckau, and Vorau. Although the selection of chants is the same, sometimes the order of responsories differs.

Because of this, his first attempts at reforming the Salzburg chapter, at the beginning of his episcopate, failed.[16] In 1121, he succeeded at reforming the cathedral chapter largely because of military support; he ultimately removed secular canons who were unwilling to become canons regular and replaced them with those who were.[17] Some of the replacements came from the Augustinian houses of St. Nikola at Passau and Klosterrath, where the canonical reforms had been successful at an earlier date.[18]

Archbishop Konrad I must, however, have recognized that bringing in Augustinian canons from other communities was a temporary solution. For his religious reforms to succeed long term, appropriate training of future canons was imperative. Such training was only possible if a revitalization of intellectual life first occurred at Salzburg cathedral, since his episcopate had followed a period of decline.[19] Indeed, regenerating the once flourishing scriptorium and cathedral school were two tasks that Archbishop Konrad I undertook. In 1122, he restored the scriptorium, which was key to stimulating the intellectual climate of the cathedral, by replacing the texts that Konrad's predecessor, Archbishop Gebhard, had sold.[20] If Heinz Dopsch is correct that the cathedral school closed during the Investiture Conflict in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century, Konrad's episcopate was also when the cathedral school reopened. If it did not close, Konrad certainly revitalized it.[21]

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[16] Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 30-32.

[17] Ibid., 32-33.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 177.

[20] Stefan Engels, "Geistliche Musik Salzburgs im Mittelalter — Quellen und Repertoire," in *Musical Sacra Mediaevalis: Geistliche Musik Salzburgs im Mittelalter*, ed. Stefan Engels and Gerhard Walterskirchen, 9-30 (St. Ottilien, Germany: EOS Verlag, 1998), 15; Spies, "Geschichte der Domschule zu Salzburg," 13.

[21] Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 171, 173.

The practices of admitting future canons to cathedral communities as boys in the German lands, coupled with the canon's obligations to perform pastoral duties, may have created a milieu where harmonized type-two *Visitationes* were helpful pedagogical devices. Julia Barrow has discovered that cathedral canons entered their communities at a much younger age in the German lands than elsewhere.[22] In France and England, for example, future canons typically entered cathedral chapters as adults, after having been educated elsewhere, sometimes after attending university.[23] In the German lands, by contrast, the *domicelli* (future canons) were offered to their communities as boys, and all their education took place within the cathedral close.[24] As Borrow explains, the typical sequence of events was as follows:

> At an early stage, probably when the boy started at school, his parents had to decide whether to offer him as an oblate to the cathedral, which meant that, if he turned out to be suitable, he would stay in the community for the rest of his life, becoming a full or senior canon when he reached adulthood and possibly a dignitary or even a bishop in the course of time.[25]

The *domicelli* lived at the cathedral and were under the charge of the teacher (*scholasticus*) at all times.[26] As they grew older, they became actively involved in carrying out the liturgy by singing chant and becoming acolytes at the onset of adolescence.[27] Over a number of years, they were groomed to become full-fledged community members, who could vote in chapter meetings and were no longer under the

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[22] Julia Barrow, "Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany 1100-1225," *Viator* 20 (1989): 121.

[23] Ibid., 132-133, 136-137.

[24] Ibid., 121.

[25] Ibid., 121.

[26] Spies, "Geschichte der Domschule zu Salzburg," 9.

[27] Barrow, "Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons," 121-123.

scholasticus' constant supervision.[28] This typically occurred in their twenty-first year,

when the bishop and senior canons nominated them to be emancipated, and they were

promoted to the rank of subdeacon.[29] Thus, the next generation of canons was the young

boys, whose beliefs had been formed, and knowledge and skills developed, through years

of training at the very cathedral where they would become full members. Their readiness

to carry out the duties of Augustinian canons was a direct result of their education at the

cathedral school and participation in the liturgy, putting a special onus on Konrad and his

successors to revitalize the intellectual and spiritual life at the cathedral.

   The young age of many *domicelli*, their constant contact with the teacher, and the

fact that they were being groomed to become canons, may have all contributed to the

development of type-two *Visitationes*. At the cathedral school, the boys learned to read,

write, and sing, and were trained in the seven liberal arts, first learning grammar,

dialectic, and rhetoric, and later arithmetic, geometry, music theory, and astronomy.[30]

They would have been exposed to the different accounts of the Resurrection in school,

where they studied scripture, and also when they heard Matthew's account read aloud at

the Easter Virgil and Mark's at Easter Sunday Mass.[31] In this context, one can imagine

ample opportunities for the clerical students to notice and perhaps be disturbed by

differences among the Gospels, as was the case with St. Augustine's congregation. Given

that the *domicelli* were constantly monitored, the teacher and perhaps other canons would

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[28] Ibid., 122.

[29] Ibid., 122-123.

[30] Spies, "Geschichte der Domschule zu Salzburg," 7-8; Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 177; David L. Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany: Regensburg, 1250-1500* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 86-87, 94-95.

[31] Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools c. 1100-c. 1280* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 2.

know if they struggled with the seeming discrepancies, and if they questioned whether the texts were authoritative.

Against the backdrop of Konrad's reforms, it would have been imperative that the *domicelli* be steadfast in the belief that the Gospels were infallible. Once they had become full-fledged canons and were ordained as priests, they would be required to perform pastoral duties, including teaching the laity central tenets of their faith and administering the sacraments at one of the many parish churches for which Salzburg cathedral was responsible.[32] Some of them would even become teachers of the *domicelli* one day. They would need to be prepared to answer any questions that the laity and boys might pose about seeming conflicts among the accounts, as St. Augustine did in the fourth century. However, the future canons could not succeed in this task if they themselves were not convinced of the harmony among the Gospels, particularly concerning the events of the Resurrection, the central tenet of the Christian faith.

Archbishop Konrad may have introduced harmonized *Visitationes* as a means of persuading the *domicelli* that the Gospels agreed. They were the future of the Augustinian community, and thus the long-term success of Konrad's reforms depended on them being firm in the precepts of their faith and knowledgeable about scripture. In this context, it may have been a priority for Konrad to demonstrate that the Resurrection accounts were in agreement. Since all the canon's education and training occurred within the cathedral, this meant that the onus was on Konrad, the *scholasticus*, and perhaps the other canons, to ensure that the future canons would be effective emissaries for Christianity. One solution might have been to introduce the future canons to Augustine's *De Consensus*

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[32] Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 173.

Evangelistarum, a work that was in the cathedral library in the twelfth century, according to a late twelfth-century inventory of library holdings.[33] The arguments that Augustine presents, however, may have been too complex for the *domicelli*, particularly those who had just begun to learn Latin.

Reenacting a single narrative of the Resurrection, which conflated events and wordings from all four, was more accessible than *De Consensu Evangelistarum*. Perhaps more importantly, reenacting the harmonized narrative increased its potency: the *domicelli* not only heard or read the events of the first Easter, but beheld them and participated by singing *Christ ist erstanden*. Some may even have played a more active role as part of the *schola cantorum*, assuming the roles of the disciples. The harmonization was repeated each year, helping to reinforce the fact that the Gospels were in complete agreement. Over the years, the harmonized Resurrection account may have become so familiar to the *domicelli* that it was the harmonized account of events, not the individual evangelists' accounts, that came to mind when the future canons reflected on the Resurrection. By the time they were emancipated, the new canons were prepared to defend the veracity of the Gospels to the laity, and to a new generation of *domicelli*. One day they might even be called upon to assume one of the main roles in the type-two *Visitatio*, fulfilling a vital role in their community by reenacting the harmonized narrative.

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[33] The manuscript in which the list is found is D-Mbs clm. lat. 15808, 122v-123r. Gerlinde Möser-Mersky and Melanie Mihaliuk, eds., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs.* Vol. 4 *Salzburg*, (Graz, Austria: Hermann Böhlaus, 1966), 19-20.

The Role of Type-Two *Visitationes* in Strengthening Community at Twelfth-Century Salzburg

While the *domicelli* were one audience for harmonized *Visitationes*, they were not the only one, and the type-two *Visitatio* was not merely a device of instruction for their benefit. It also served a social function. When Archbishop Konrad imposed the Rule of St. Augustine on the cathedral clergy, requiring them to live in a single religious community, his dictate created, in effect, a crisis for the Salzburg Augustinians: expected to live contemplative lives separate from the laity, they were simultaneously called upon to minister to them.[34] The Salzburg *Visitatio* emerged during this time of flux in the relationship between the clergy and laity. The Salzburg *Visitatio* helped resolve the canons' conflict of vocation, strengthening religious solidarity through the ritual and musical involvement of the canons and the *schola cantorum* (choir) while also satisfying the canons' pastoral obligation to the laity. The particular characteristics of the chants the clergy, *schola*, and laity sang differentiated these groups, setting the clergy and *schola* apart from the laity. The twelfth-century type-two *Visitatio* recorded in SLZ-1-c(a) will serve as a case study to understand how the involvement of the canons, *schola*, and the laity in performing the type-two *Visitatio* helped to foster a sense of inclusivity while reinforcing the social hierarchy within the cathedral.

The rubrics of SLZ-1-c(a) are more detailed than those found in other sources type-two *Visitationes*, affording the best opportunity to study how the *Visitatio* may have been performed. Example 5.1 compares the Latin and German texts and English

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[34]Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik*, 5, 20-1, 236-7; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life*, 167; Dopsch, "Das Domstift Salzburg," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichersberg*, 173.

translation of the type-two *Visitatio* from SLZ-1-c(a). The deacon, who would play the

angel, and the clergy situated themselves in the area designated as the sepulcher. The

Marys, carrying thuribles, then proceeded to the sepulcher, singing, "Who will roll back

the stone?" After encountering the angel, who informed them of the Resurrection, they

censed the sepulcher and proceeded toward the *schola*, which played the role of the

disciples. The Marys told them what had transpired, prompting Peter and John to run to

the tomb and inspect it. Turning toward to the *schola*, they held aloft Christ's abandoned

grave cloths and white sheet as proof of the Resurrection. The *schola*, in their role as

disciples, then sang, "For the Lord has risen just as he said," to which the laity responded,

"Christ is risen from all his torments." In this manner, the canons, *schola*, and laity all

had a role to play in the type-two *Visitatio* at Salzburg cathedral.

Example 5.1. Translation of SLZ-1-c(a).

Post *Gloria Patri* repetatur responsorium a principio et omnis clerus portans cereos accensos procedit ad visitandum sepulchrum diaconus vero qui legerat evangelium acturus officium angeli procedat sedeatque in dextera parte coopertus stola candida ad ubi chorus cantare inceperit.

After the *Gloria Patri*, let the responsory be repeated from the beginning, and all the clergy carrying lit candles proceed to visit the sepulcher. The deacon, who had read the Gospel, and who is about to perform the office of the angel, should move forward and sit on the right side, having been covered with a white stole, at which point the schola will have begun to sing:

Maria Magdalena [et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata Dominus querentes in monumento]

At dawn, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were carrying spices, seeking the Lord in the tomb.

Tres presbiteri induti cappis cum totidem thuribulis et incenso procedunt versus sepulchrum et stantes cantant

Three priests, having been clothed with copes, with the same number of thuribles and incense, proceed toward the sepulcher and standing, they sing:

Quis revolvet nobis [*ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum*]

Who will roll back the stone from the entrance for us, which as we see covers the holy sepulcher?

Angelus
Quem queritis o tremule [*mulieres in hoc tumulo gementes*]

Angel
Whom do you seek, o trembling women, in this sepulcher, weeping?

Mulieres
Ihesum Nazarenum [*crucifixum querimus*]

Women
We seek the crucified Jesus of Nazareth

Angelus
Non est hic quem queritis [*sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Ihesus*]

Angel
He, whom you seek, is not here, but go quickly announce to His disciples and Peter that Jesus has risen.

Et cum ceperit cantare angelus *sed cito euntes* mulieres thurificent sepulchrum et festinanter redeunt et versus chorum stantes cantant mulieres

And when the angel begins to sing "but go quickly," let the women cense the sepulcher and quickly go back and standing, facing the choir, the women sing:

Ad monumentum venimus gementes [*angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus*]

We came to the sepulcher weeping; we saw the angel of the Lord sitting and saying that Jesus has risen.

Tunc chorus imponat antiphonam *currebant duo simul* [et ille alius discipulis precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum]

Then let the schola sing the antiphon: *The two were running together, and the other disciple ran ahead faster than Peter and came to the tomb first.*

Et cantores quasi Petrus et Iohannes currant precurratque Iohannes sequente Petro et ita veniunt ad monumentum et auferant linteamina et sudarium quibus involuta ymago Domini et vertentes se ad chorum ostendo ea cantant

And let the choir members as Peter and John run, and let John run ahead with Peter following, and thus they remove the grave cloths and white sheet, with which the image of the Lord had been covered, and turning themselves toward the choir for the purposes of showing those things, they sing:

Cernitis o socii ecce lintheamina [*et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum*]

Behold, o companions, examine the grave cloths and white sheet and the body is not found in the sepulcher.

Chorus
Surrexit enim sicut dixit [*Dominus*

Schola
For the Lord has risen, as He foretold. He

et precedet vos in Galileam alleluia ibi	*is going ahead of you into Galilee.*
eum videbitis alleluia alleluia alleluia]	*Alleluia. There you will see Him. Alleluia,*
	alleluia, alleluia.

Populus
Christus ist erstanden von der marter
[alle des solln wir alle froh sein Christ
will unser trost sein Kyrie eleison]

The people
Christ is risen from all His torments;
we should all be joyful at this;
Christ wants to be our consolation.
Lord have mercy.

Involving the laity in the *Visitatio* was one way the Salzburg Augustinian canons engaged in their pastoral duties. In earlier type-one *Visitationes*, only the clergy played active roles. By contrast, the Salzburg *Visitatio* also involved the *schola*, which served as disciples and narrators and sang three antiphons, and the laity, who with the clergy sang an Old High German hymn, *Christ ist erstanden* (Christ has risen). The mention of the laity in connection with the Salzburg type-two *Visitatio* is the earliest such reference. Since the *Visitatio* was performed at the break of dawn, at Matins, a religious service normally intended for the cathedral clergy, one cannot assume the laity were present. But at Salzburg, rubrics in the ordinal mention the *populus* (people). Although *populus* could refer to the religious community as a whole, rather than the laity, rubrics describing the *populus'* participation in the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday clarify the usage. The rubrics describe the order in which members of the Salzburg religious community venerated the cross.

> *Quibus finitis portetur crux velata de sacrario a duobus sacerdotibus*
> *indutis sacerdotalibus vestibus et rubeis casulis et procedentes cantant*
> *versus* popule meus *quibus [finitis] tres scolares indutis cappis purpureis*
> *greco sermone succinunt* agios o theos *choro respondent interea veniat*
> *pontifex cum ministris et adorant crucem dei osculentur deinde presbyteri*
> *diaconi subdiaconi acolita ac ceteri per ordinem deinde populus cum*
> *genuflexionibus salutante vero clero et populo crucem chorus cantent*
> Dum fabricator mundi.

> After completing these actions, let the veiled cross be carried from the
> sacristy by two priests, clothed in priestly garments and red vestments, and
> proceeding they sing the verse *Popule meus*. After completing these
> actions, three members of the choir, having been dressed in purple copes,
> sing in Greek, *Agios o theos*. With the choir they respond ... Meanwhile,
> let the priest with the attendants arrive and worship. Let them kiss the
> cross of God. Then the priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, etc.
> according to rank, then the people with bent knees. As the clergy and
> people venerate the cross, let the choir sing, *Dum fabricator mundi*.

Three groups are mentioned: *clerus* (clergy), *chorus* (*schola*), and *populus*, suggesting

populus referred to a subgroup, not to the entire community.[35] Moreover, the fact that

they sang in Old High German, a non-liturgical language, strengthens the argument that

populus referred to the laity. Thus, at Salzburg one can be fairly certain the laity not only

witnessed the *Visitatio*, but were active participants, a rare occurrence in the medieval

church, at least as recounted in liturgical documents. It should be mentioned that singing

Christ ist erstanden as part of type-two *Visitationes* was not limited to Salzburg

cathedral; it was an integral part of many type-two *Visitationes* (ninty of the 205 include

it). By singing *Christ ist erstanden*, the laity announced the Resurrection. As the fifth and

final announcement in the course of the *Visitatio*, however, the laity's announcement

might seem superfluous. But it enabled them to proclaim and affirm their belief in the

Resurrection. The *Visitatio* reinforced Christian doctrine, a primary objective of the

Augustinian's pastoral work.[36] What better way to inspire devotion among the masses

than to have them announce the Resurrection through song?

Nils Holger Petersen's theory that medieval religious rituals, including

Visitationes and other sung Latin reenactments, comprised two different modes: a

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[35] The rubrics occur in SLZ-1-a[c], fol. 64r.

[36] Caroline Bynum Walker, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High
Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 36-9.

celebratory mode and representational mode, may help to explain why Christ's

Resurrection is announced so many times.[37] According to Petersen, in celebratory mode,

the participants praised God and proclaimed his sacred acts, creating contact between

humans and the divine.[38] These activities unfolded in a ritually detached time and place,

separate from ordinary time and place.[39] As Petersen explains, "medieval church

celebrations (which obviously also proceed in ordinary time) carry their participants

outside of ordinary time into a situation where (for instance) the praising of God takes

place directly around the heavenly throne," an argument that C. Clifford Flanigan had

first advanced.[40] In representational mode, by contrast, ritual participants reenact

narratives, typically biblical ones in the case of most Latin sung reenactments.[41] The final

three announcements of the Resurrection in the Salzburg type-two *Visitatio* might

constitute a change from representational mode to celebratory mode. Peter and John's

pronouncement of the Resurrection to the other disciplines, and the disciples' and laity's

subsequent proclamations, are not events recounted in the Gospels (although the text of

Surrexit enim is the angel's speech from Matthew). With the final three announcements,

the Christians celebrating Easter Sunday Matins at Salzburg cathedral may have crossed

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[37] Nils Holger Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy" in *The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, ed. Eric Csapo and Margaret C. Miller, 329-360 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 340.

[38] Ibid., 340.

[39] Petersen, "Liturgical Drama: New Approaches," in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales (1993-1998)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Turnhout, Belgium, Brepols, 2004), 636.

[40] C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 43 (1974), 48; Flanigan, "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," *Comparative Drama* 8, no. 1 (1974), 48; Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals," 340.

[41] Petersen, "Representation in European Devotional Rituals," 340.

the threshold between reenacting historical events and experiencing them, characteristic of Petersen's celebratory mode and of Eliade's and Flanigan's theories of reactualization.[42] Although we will never know, the participants may have entered into ritually detached time and, on a spiritual level, experienced the events that unfolded on the first Easter. Events that took place in the historical past became the *hic et nunc* (here and now), for the salvific benefit of the Salzburg community who rejoiced in learning of Christ's triumph over death, just as Christ's disciples did. It must be stated, however, that this shift to the celebratory mode was brief: it only occurred at the end of the type-two *Visitatio*, which was predominantly in representational mode and narrative-driven.

When in representational mode, the *Visitatio* emphasized the continuities between Christ's first followers and the Salzburg congregation. Having the *schola* play an integral role was a departure from earlier type-one *Visitationes*. The *schola* represented the disciples, the earliest Christians, whose devout and steadfast resolve to spread Christ's message were models for all Christians.[43] When members of this twelfth-century religious community saw the disciples represented before them, and watched them receive and spread the news of the Resurrection, it is hard to imagine that they did not feel connected to their venerable predecessors. Just as the disciples learned of the Resurrection and rejoiced in the news on that first Easter, the community at Salzburg was gathered to hear and proclaim that same news. Thus, the Salzburg *Visitatio* not only

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[42] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), 70-71; Flanigan "The Liturgical Context of the *Quem Queritis* Trope," 49, 52.
[43] Augustinian canons associated themselves with the apostles and aimed to live the apostolic life of serving their neighbors. Bynum Walker, *Jesus as Mother*, 29.

strengthened the sense of community among those present, but likely united them with all Christians, past and present.

Although the Salzburg *Visitatio* strengthened social cohesion by involving everyone in the performance, it developed a tripartite hierarchy in which the clerical actors were set apart from the *schola* and the laity. The order in which the announcements were made, with the clerical actors proclaiming the Resurrection first, followed by the *schola*, and finally the laity, was one way the hierarchy was expressed. The clergy, *schola*, and laity were further differentiated with respect to the music each sang. Music in the Salzburg ordinal was copied in unheightened neumes, making it impossible to transcribe the chants into modern notation without reference to later heightened sources.[44] For the purposes of transcription, antiphoners from Klosterneuburg were selected because these are among the earliest heightened sources from the German lands (some dating from the thirteenth century), and the melodic contours correspond most closely with those in the Salzburg ordinal. Moreover, the two institutions enjoyed a close relationship when Archbishop Konrad sent Hartmann to Klosterneuburg in 1133.[45] In the following discussion, the antiphons sung by the clergy and choir will be compared first; the hymn sung by the people will be examined second.

The antiphons the *schola* and clergy sang were composed at different times and exhibit different approaches to modality, cadences, and phrasing, differentiating those

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[44] The sources are Klosterneuburg CCl 66 (thirteenth-century antiphoner) and Klosterneuburg 589 (fifteenth-century antiphoner). The earlier source, CCl 66, was used for the transcriptions, except in cases where the melody was so well known that the scribe provided only an incipit, as is the case with the Office antiphon *Currebant duo* (*CAO* 2081). Trier MS. 322/1990, a fifteenth-century antiphoner from Eberhardsklausen, is the source of the *Christ ist erstanden* melody, because the Klosterneuburg sources give only incipits.

[45] Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert*, 52.

who sang them. Two of the three antiphons, *Currebant duo* (*CAO* 2081) and *Surrexit enim* (*CAO* 5081), were in Offices on Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.[46] These are found in some of the earliest chant sources, including two ninth-century sources, the Compiègne antiphoner and the Metz tonary, and likely dated to the eighth century.[47] By contrast, the chants sung by the clergy playing the Marys and the angel, *Quem queritis o tremule mulieres*, *Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere*, and *Ad monumentum venimus*, are post-Gregorian. They were presumably composed around the early twelfth century and expressly for the type-two *Visitatio*, as they first appear in early twelfth-century liturgical sources and only in the context of the *Visitatio*.[48]

The stylistic differences in the two layers of chant are best demonstrated by comparing *Currebant duo* from the Office with the twelfth-century antiphon, *Ad monumentum venimus*. In the Office antiphon sung by the disciples, *Currebant duo*, in example 5.2, pitches other than the final and reciting tones are often found at structurally important points. Bar lines demarcate phrases, the letter F identifies the final, and R the reciting tone. Arrows indicate pitches other than the final or reciting tone at beginning or ends of phrases.

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[46] *Currebant duo* and *Surrexit enim* are listed in vol. 3, 134 and 498 of Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*.

[47] The ninth-century antiphoner from Compiègne is one of the sources included in Hesbert's *CAO*. The tonary from Metz, dating from 869-877, was edited by Walther Lipphardt, *Der Karolingische Tonar von Metz* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 75, 96. Presumably these antiphons circulated orally for some time, before being notated in the early ninth century, with the advent of musical notation, which is my rationale for assuming that they dated to the eighth century.

[48] When these antiphons are listed in the *CANTUS* database, they are found only in type-two *Visitationes*.

Example 5.2. *Currebant duo* from Klosterneuburg CCl 66.

Currebant duo is in mode I, with a final on D and reciting tone on A. Three

characteristics contribute to the modality. First, the final and reciting tone are the goals of

some melodic motion, but not all. In the opening phrase, the triadic intonation pattern

rises to the reciting tone, temporarily continues on to the subtone (pitch under the final),

C, before returning to the reciting tone, clearly establishing mode one. In the second

phrase, by contrast, G is the focus, and the melody cadences on the subtone, C. In fact,

after the opening phrase, the final is not the goal of melodic motion until the end. Second,

the pitches at the beginnings and ends of phrases are variable. All three phrases open

and/or close with pitches other than the final and reciting tone, as indicated by arrows.

These pitches include the third (F) and the subtone (C), both of which are common

cadence points in Gregorian chant and traditional Office antiphons. Third, cadences are

approached from above, not from below, a standard characteristic of this layer of chant.[49]

In addition to the modality, long phrases are a further feature of this antiphon. The other

Office antiphon, *Surrexit enim*, exhibits these characteristics as well. The infrequent

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[49] Frederic W. Homan, "Final and Internal Cadential Patterns in Gregorian Chant,"
Journal of the American Musicological Society 17, no. 1 (Spring, 1964): 70.

repetition of the *final* and reciting tone at beginnings and ends of phrases, descending

cadences, and long phrasing are all features characterizing the music sung by the *schola*.

By contrast, the chants sung by the clerical actors exhibit characteristics typical of

post-Gregorian Office antiphons, setting them apart from those of the *schola*. The melody

of *Ad monumentum venimus*, given in example 5.3, demonstrates a different approach to

modality.

Example 5.3. Melody of *Ad monumentum venimus* from Klosterneuburg CCl 589.

The melody is in mode I with the final on D and the reciting tone on A. Four

characteristics differentiate *Ad monunumentum venimus* from the Office antiphons sung

by the *schola*. First, the melody remains firmly grounded on D throughout, as the final is

sounded at least once, and typically more than once, in each phrase. Second, the final and

reciting tones are frequently accentuated at the beginnings and ends of phrases. In fact, all

four phrases open and close on either the final or reciting tone. Third, the last pitch at the

end of the first phrase (A) is approached from the step below (G). This type of cadence is

a hallmark of post-Gregorian chant and is rare in earlier chant.[50] Fourth, the phrases are

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[50] On the importance of subtone cadences in post-Gregorian chant, see David Hiley, ed.,
Historia Sancti Emmerammi, Musicological Studies 65, no. 2 (Ottawa, Canada: The
Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1996), xxv; David Hiley, "Early Cycles of Office Chants
for the Feast of Mary Magdalene," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography*

relatively short, and lack a sense of longer periodicity.[51] The other antiphon sung by the

Marys, *Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere* and the dialogue *Quem queritis o tremule*

mulieres, exhibited many of the same characteristics. Because of the frequent use of the

final and reciting tone, cadences achieved from a tone below the goal-pitch, and short

phrases, the antiphons of the clerical actors sounded different from those of *schola*,

setting the two groups apart.

      The text and musical characteristics of the hymn sung by the laity, in turn, set it

apart from the music of both the clergy and choir. The text of *Christ ist erstanden* is in

Old High German, an obvious contrast from the Latin chant texts of the clergy and choir.

The use of the vernacular alone would have accentuated the laity's ties to the secular

world and lack of education, and would have seemed out of place in the worship service.

If the liturgical sources are of any indication, it was rare to sing in anything but Latin in

the Catholic Church until relatively recent times. The text setting of *Christ ist erstanden*

further distinguished it from what the clergy and choir sang, since it was syllabic and

declamatory rather than neumatic and lyrical. The melody is given in example 5.4 from a

1460 manuscript from Eberhardsklausen.[52]

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and Performance, ed. Haines and Rosenfeld, 369-399 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 371.

[51] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 276-8.

[52] This late source has been selected because it is written in heightened notation and gives the whole melody, whereas earlier sources are unheightened or provide only an incipit.

Example 5.4. *Christ ist erstanden* melody from Trier Ms. 322/1994.

The D, the final, and A are heard at the beginnings and ends of most phrases, as is typical

of post-Gregorian chant. The most interesting characteristic is that *Christ ist erstanden*

paraphrases the well-known Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, composed in the

first half of the eleventh century.[53] Passages similar to *Victimae paschali laudes* are

bracketed in example 5.4. The laity would have been familiar with the tune, which they

heard annually at Easter Mass. The drawing together of a vernacular text with melodic

passages from a liturgical chant creates a complex hermeneutic that matches the laity's

complicated position in the church. They are simultaneously insiders, because of shared

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[53] Walther Lipphardt, "Studien zur Musikpflege in den mittelalterlichen Augustiner-Chorherrenstiften des deutschen Sprachgebietes," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg. Neue Folge* 7 (1971): 41-43. For further information on *Christ ist erstanden* see Lipphardt, "Beispiele zur Hymnologie 'Christ ist erstanden' zur Geschichte des Liedes," *Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* 5 (1960): 96-114. The melody of *Victimae paschali laudes* known in southeastern Germany differed from the melody edited in the *Liber Usualis*, which is more familiar to modern listeners. The most significant differences occur at cadences. Some of the passages that differ between the southeast German version of *Victimae paschali laudes* and that found in *Liber usualis* are precisely those passages that *Christ ist erstanden* borrowed. For example, the cadences in the version found in the *Liber Usualis* are simpler, mostly involving stepwise descending motion, compared with those found in the southeast German version, which descend and ascend by step, followed by a descending leap of a third. Benedictines of Solesmes, ed., *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclee Company, 1961), 780.

beliefs, and outsiders, because they live in the profane world, lack the education of the clergy, and communicate in the vernacular.

The privileged status of the clerical actors relative to the *schola* and laity is accentuated in the assigning of the most important roles to them. The rubrics of the Salzburg ordinal specified, with unusual precision, who was to perform what. The rubrics begin, "the deacon, who had read the Gospel, who is about to perform the office of the angel, should move forward and sit on the right side, having been covered with a white stole."[54] Then "three priests, having been clothed with copes, with the same number of thuribles and incense, proceed toward the sepulcher."[55] These assignments, with a deacon portraying the angel and three priests the Marys, derive from earlier type-one *Visitationes*. Apparently one had to be an ordained cleric to assume these roles. Priests and deacons enjoyed considerable prestige and authority in the church: it was they who administered and assisted with the sacraments, making them well suited to perform these roles.

Similarities between deacons' liturgical duties and angels' roles as heavenly messengers may help to further explain why the deacon played the angel. One of the main duties of deacons was reading the Gospel. In doing so, they disseminated the word of God to humans, as did angels. Specifying that the deacon portraying the angel should be the same person who read the Gospel, ensured that this association would not go unnoticed. The specificity of the rubrics suggested that the assignments were

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[54] *Diaconus vero qui legerat evangelium acturus officium angeli procedat sedeatque in dextera parte coopertus stola candida* (fol. 67r).
[55] *Tres presbiteri induti cappis cum totidem thuribulis et incenso procedunt versus sepulchrum* (fol. 67r).

prescriptions, not recommendations, ensuring that someone of lower clerical status would not perform a main role.

The staging of the *Visitatio* further privileged the canons and the positions of the participants relative to the sepulcher made apparent the social hierarchy. The sepulcher was situated in the nave and the *schola* was in the choir where Mass was celebrated, and behind the sepulcher. [56] The laity were in the nave. When the Marys and Peter and John addressed the disciples, the rubrics specify that they turned around to face them.[57] Thus, at climatic moments — the announcement of the Resurrection and the display of the grave cloths — the principals faced away from the laity, suggesting the laity's subordinate position. By contrast, clergy with no role to play in the *Visitatio* had a better vantage point than the laity. Before the *Visitatio sepulchri* began, the spectator-clergy left the choir, where they had been situated for most of Matins, and moved toward the sepulcher with lit candles in hand; the rubrics state, "After the *Gloria Patri*, let the responsory be repeated from the beginning, and all the clergy carrying lit candles proceed

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[56] I have ascertained the location of the sepulcher based on two rubrics. The first describes the elevation of the cross, a ceremony preceding Easter Sunday Matins in which the cross was removed from the sepulcher. The rubric on fol. 66v indicates that the sepulcher was not located in the choir, since that is where the clergy brought the cross after having raised it: "Let them approach the sepulcher … and let them cense the image of the crucified one, and with the cross having been taken with them, from the sepulcher, it is carried into the choir before the altar." (*accedant ad sepulchrum ... et thurificent ymaginem crucifixi sublataque de sepulchro secum portatur in chorum ante altare*). Rubrics of the *Visitatio* suggest that the sepulcher was situated in front of the choir, as John and Peter are described as "vertentes se ad chorum" (turning themselves toward the choir) to show the grave cloths and handkerchief that they had removed from the sepulcher. The only location in front of the choir was the nave, where the congregation sat.

[57] After the Marys' exchange with the angel, their actions are described as follows: "Let the women cense the sepulcher and quickly go back, and standing, facing the choir, the women sing *Ad monumentum venimus*." (*Mulieres thurificent sepulchrum et festinanter redeunt et versus chorum stantes cantant mulieres* Ad monumentum venimus gementes).

to visit the sepulcher."[58] Thus the staging of the *Visitatio* maintained a separation between the clergy and laity, but also enabled the latter to view the reenactment, thereby achieving the Augustinians' pastoral objective.

As the chapter has shown, the creation of the Salzburg *Visitatio* was shaped by religious reforms at the cathedral, which had complicated the relationship between the clergy and laity. Features that distinguished it from earlier type-one *Visitationes* are best understood as the products of the conflicting vocations of Augustinian canons at Salzburg and efforts to harmonize the Gospels for the benefit of the *domicelli*. Although musical performance strengthened the solidarity within the community, the clergy, *schola*, and laity were not equals. The assignments of different roles among these groups reinforced social hierarchies; the music that each group sang further differentiated them. The staging of the Salzburg *Visitatio*, moreover, physically separated clergy and laity. Thus the *Visitatio* was not merely a re-enactment of the Gospels. It was a means of reconciling both the liturgical and pastoral obligations of Augustinians, allowing those from vastly different walks of life to celebrate the Resurrection, the highpoint of the Christian year and the foundation of their faith, as one.

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[58] *Post* Gloria Patri *repetatur responsorium a principio et interim clerus portans cereos accensos procedit ad visitandrum sepulchrum*.

CONCLUSION

The dissertation resuscitates and refines a long-abandoned theory that the *Visitatio sepulchri* was performed for pedagogical objectives. That *Visitationes* were incorporated into Easter Sunday Matins to teach the laity the story of the Resurrection was a foregone conclusion in scholarship dating from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s. Carl Lange, writing in the 1880s, assumed that reenactments of the *Visitatio* were for the benefit of the laity, who did not comprehend Latin.[1] He did not, however, take into account that many of his sources came from Benedictine monasteries, where the laity were unlikely to be present. O. B. Hardison and Richard Donovan, writing in the 1960s, also argued that *Visitationes* fulfilled pedagogical objectives, offering as evidence rubrics from the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia*.[2] It is doubtful that these rubrics pertained to the *Visitatio sepulchri*, however, since they appear on folios devoted to Good Friday, not Easter Sunday.

Lange, Hardison, and Donovan failed to take into account that differences in the religious, historical, and social contexts in which *Visitationes* were performed may have

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[1] Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern: Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Entwickelung der Liturgisch-Dramatischen Auferstehungsfeier* (Munich: Ernst Stahl, 1887), 2.

[2] Richard Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 12; Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, 197.

affected why different religious communities reenacted *Visitationes*. Given the problems

with earlier scholarship that posits pedagogical aims for *Visitationes*, it is unsurprising

that later scholars either rejected their predecessors' theories, as did Clifford Flanigan and

Michael Norton, or pursued new theories without entertaining the possibility that

Visitationes were performed for pedagogical reasons, as did Michal Kobialka and Nils

Holger Petersen.[3]

The present work has revisited the theory that *Visitationes* served educational

purposes, but has put forth a more focused and nuanced argument than one finds in

earlier scholarship. Rather than generalizing about all *Visitationes*, type-two *Visitationes*

in the Salzburg archdiocese are the focus. This study posited that type-two *Visitationes*

served multiple audiences and fulfilled at least two different purposes simultaneously.

They served pedagogical and rhetorical objectives by conflating the four accounts of the

Resurrection into one narrative to prove to the *domicelli*, and perhaps to some of the

canons, that the Gospels agreed. Simultaneously, the performance of type-two

Visitationes at Easter Sunday Matins strengthened the sense of community by involving

the canons, *schola*, and laity in the performance. Thus, the functions that type-two

Visitationes fulfilled were far more complex and varied than earlier scholars had realized.

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[3] C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Roman Rite and the Origins of the Liturgical Drama," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 43 (1974), 281; Michael Norton, "The Type II *Visitatio Sepulchri*," 38; Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Nils Holger Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual, and the Question of 'Liturgical Drama,' in *Sapientia et eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell, 163-201(Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 182.

Type-two *Visitationes* were sophisticated works that conflated events and wordings from the four Resurrection accounts into a single narrative. The physical reenactment of the events at the sepulcher, which likely appealed to the laity, was but one dimension of the performance. These works also served as Gospel Harmonies for those who were Latinate, including the *domicelli* and canons. The technique of harmonization employed in type-two *Visitationes* connects them to an honored tradition of harmonizing the Gospels in the German lands, first documented in the eighth century. Similarities between Gospel Harmonies and type-two *Visitationes* were not limited to harmonization, however, as they exhibited five further commonalities.

First, type-two *Visitationes* and Gospel Harmonies frequently served more than one audience simultaneously. The use of harmonization targeted the *domicelli* and other canons, while the visual nature of the performance made the *Visitatio* accessible to the laity. Similarly, D-SGs lat. 56, with its Latin and Old High German translations of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in parallel columns, was appropriate for schoolboys beginning their Latin training at Fulda, and also for Latin-literate monastics, who could study the canon tables and annotations. Second, type-two *Visitationes* were sung aloud publically, as were the anonymous poet's *Heliand* and Otfrid of Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch*.

A third similarity is that type-two *Visitationes* and some Gospel Harmonies employed the vernacular. Type-two *Visitationes* incorporated the Old High German hymn, *Christ ist erstandan*, while the *Heliand* and Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* were written in the vernacular. This rare intrusion of the vernacular into the medieval liturgy was likely a means of connecting with the laity; the Old Saxon text of the *Heliand* and Old High German of *Evangelienbuch* fulfilled similar aims. Fourth, newly composed

antiphons comprising type-two *Visitationes* were written in post-Gregorian style rather than in the earlier musical style of traditional Office antiphons, which may have made the harmonizations more appealing to the *domicelli* and canons. Similarly, setting the *Heliand* in alliterative verse, the poetic style of epics popular at the time, may have made the harmonization more attractive to the Saxons.

Fifth, type-two *Visitationes* and other Gospel Harmonies were written during periods of upheaval and conflict. The emergence of type-two *Visitationes* corresponded with Archbishop Konrad's imposition of the rule of St. Augustine on secular canons, reforms that secular canons often resisted. The *Heliand* was composed at Fulda after the forced conversion of the Saxons to Christianity under Charlemagne's edict. Both Archbishop Konrad and Charlemagne implemented their directives in the interest of improving Christianity, whether by requiring the clergy to adopt ascetic lifestyles or by attempting to complete the task of Christianizing all the Franks. In order for Konrad's reforms to succeed, it was imperative that the *domicelli* knew the Gospels well enough to teach them and assert their infallibility. Similarily, Charlemagne's aims at achieving political unity by Christianizing the Franks, could only succeed if the Saxons learned the precepts of their new faith and accepted them. In both cases, the composition of new Gospel Harmonies was the solution. These five similarities between type-two *Visitationes* and earlier Gospel harmonies are further evidence that knowledge of Gospel Harmonies is imperative for comprehending the early history of type-two *Visitationes*.

The dissertation has sought to demonstrate that the harmonized *Visitatio* was an affective (and effective) means of asserting the Gospel truth, the infallibility of Scripture. The students and others saw the events of the Resurrection harmonized and enacted

before their eyes. While Augustine's arguments about the harmony of the Gospels may have been too sophisticated for the *domicelli* at an early stage of their clerical education, type-two *Visitationes* rendered the concepts immediately accessible. The use of newly composed antiphons in post-Gregorian style, with the same stylistic traits as other monophony created in the twelfth century, may have made harmonized *Visitationes* all the more attractive. But most importantly, the performance of type-two *Visitationes* before the entire clerical community and in some cases, the laity, who had gathered together to celebrate the Easter, imbued type-two *Visitationes* with the power to educate and persuade. Those present witnessed the events of Resurrection, the central event on which their faith was based, harmonized and enhanced with music and reenactment. Performing the harmonized *Visitatio* was a fitting way of celebrating Easter Sunday, the high point of the Christian year.

APPENDICES
Legend

Sigla for MS:

1) The first two or three capital letters indicate the provenance; the numbers indicate where the manuscript falls in a sequence of manuscripts from the same locality. The lower case letters indicate the type of religious institution for which it was intended:

a ....Augustinian canons or canonesses
b ....Benedictine monastery
c ....Cathedrals, collegiate and parish churches
cisc ....Cistercian monastery
con ....convent (not necessarily Benedictine)
hos ....hospital
( ) ....used when provenance is not certain
? ....used when provenance is not certain
[F]..fragment
† ....manuscript no longer extant
sn ....no shelf mark
*...no RISM siglum; Norton's sigla used

Dating examples: (Based on Klaus Thomayer, *Cantus Planus* website)
13i ....1201-33, or first half, or first third, or first quarter of the century
13m ....1234-66, or second third, or second, or third quarter of the century
13x ....1267-99, or second half, or last third, or last quarter
13xs................13th/14th century source
ca ....*circa*
a ....before
p ....post

Abbreviations to Scholarship:

LIP   Lipphardt, Walther, *Lateinischen Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*.
CARR/NORTON   Amelia Carr and Michael Norton
CANTUS/Czernin   Czernin, Martin. Inventory for *CANTUS*.
NORTON   Norton, Michael "The Type II *Visitatio sepulchri*" Ph.D. thesis
                 (Ohio State University, 1983).
Weier   Weier, Joseph. "The Osterfeiern in *Liber Ordinarius* des Stiftes
                 Essen" *Das Münster am Hellwig* (1978), 22.
Young   Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*. Vol. 1.

Appendix A. Type-One *Visitationes sepulchri* in Pre-1600 Manuscripts from the German Kingdom and Aquileia

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
AAC-1-c	Aachen, Germany Cathedral	D-AAm G. 20	97v	13/14	Antiphoner	174	Yes Heightened
AAC-2-c	Aachen, Germany Cathedral	D-AAm G. 23	45-46	14i (1330)	Antiphoner	176	Yes Heightened
AAC-3-c	Aachen, Germany Cathedral	D-AAm G. 25	39	14m (1339)	Antiphoner	175	Yes Heightened
AD-1-b	Admont, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-A ms. 6	143v	14	Breviary	178	No
AHR-1-c	Ahrweiler, Germany St. Laurentius Parish Church	D-AW 2a *	133v-134r	15i (1400ca)	Antiphoner	179	Yes Heightened
ANB-1-b	Andenne, Belgium Heiligen Begga Benedictine Convent	B-Na ms. 2 (Inv. 516)	123r	12/13	Gradual	181	Yes Heightened
ANG-1-b	Andernach, Germany St. Thomas Convent	D-TRb ms. 95/521 (173)	2v, 4v	14i	Breviary	355a	Yes Heightened
AUG?-2	Augsburg, Germany?	D-BAs Msc. Lit.10	90r-91r	12	Cantatorium	185	Yes Unheightened
BA-1-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-BAs Msc. Lit. 22	128r	12	Antiphoner	187	Yes Unheightened
BA-2-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-BAa B. 86 Nr. 241	42v-43r	13	Ordinal	190a	No
BA-3-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-BAa B 86 Nr. 242	18r	13	Ordinal	190b	No
BA-4-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-BAs Msc. Lit. 116	22r-v	13	Ordinal	190	No
BA-5-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-BAs Msc. Lit. 26	50v	13	Antiphoner	188	Yes Unheightened
BA-6-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbn ms. 2494	154v	15m (1448)	Breviary	191	No
BA-7-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-BAs Msc. Lit. 27	169v-170r	15	Antiphoner	189	Yes Heightened
BA-8-c	Bamberg, Germany Cathedral	D-Sl HB I 69 †	109r	15	Diurnale, Ordinal	192	No

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
BOR-1-c	Borken, Germany St. Remigius Collegiate Church Written elsewhere in Münster	D-MÜd GV ms. 236	151v	15x (1475-1480)	Breviary	278	Yes Heightened
DIS-1-b	Disibodenberg near Bingen, Germany Benedictine Abbey	Ch-EN ms. 103	123v	13i	Breviary	199	Yes Unheightened
ECH-1-b	Echternach, Luxembourg Benedictine Abbey	F-Pn lat. 9488	47r-v	11i	Miscellany	205	Yes Unheightened
ECH-2-b	Echternach, Luxembourg Benedictine Abbey	F-Pn lat. 10510	11r	11	Troper	204	Yes Unheightened
EIN-1-b	Einsiedeln, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	Ch-E ms. 366	55-56	12	Miscellany	563	Yes Heightened
FUL-1-b	Fulda, Germany Benedictine Abbey	I-Rvat ms. Palat. 525	208v-209r	15i (1433)	Breviary	212	No
GER-1-c	Gerresheim, Germany St. Hyppolit Chapter of Canonesses	D-DÜl C 50	17v-18r	15m	Ordinal	213	No
HE-1-c	Heidelberg, Germany Heilig Geist Collegiate Church	I-Rvat ms. Palat. lat. 522	1r	15mx (1445-1482)	Breviary	367	No
HDH-1-b	Heidenheim, Germany Benedictine Abbey	GB-Ob ms. Selden Supra 27	69v-70r	11i	Troper	75	Yes Unheightened
HIL-1-c	Hildesheim, Germany Cathedral	D-Wa VII B 206	2r	13i	Breviary	217	Yes Unheightened
HIL-2-c	Hildesheim Diocese Cathedral	D-HIb ms. 684	245v-246r	13/14	Breviary	218	Yes Heightened
HIL-3-c	Hildesheim Diocese Cathedral	D-W Cod. Guelf. 505 Helmst.	2r	14	Breviary	219	No

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
HIL-4-c	Hildesheim, Germany Cathedral	D-Hlb ms. 690	7r	15	Breviary	220	No
HIL?-5-b	Hildesheim, Germany? Monastery	D-W Cod. Guelf. 85.5 Aug 12°	11v	15	Breviary	216	No
HIR-1-b	Hirsau, Germany Benedictine Abbey	D-Sl cod. theol. 4° 249	80v-81r	15	Ordinal	223	No
KBL-1-c	Koblenz, Germany St. Castor Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/486 (L 13)	88r-v	14x	Antiphoner	348d	Yes Heightened
KBL-2-c	Koblenz, Germany St. Castor Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/492	90v-91r	15	Antiphoner	354d	Yes Heightened
KBL-3-c	Koblenz, Germany St. Castor Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/499	109r	15	Antiphoner	354f	Yes Heightened
KBL-4-(c)	Koblenz, Germany St. Castor Collegiate Chapter?	D-TRb ms. 95/485	1r-v	15	Antiphoner	348c	Yes Heightened
KBL-5-c	Koblenz, Germany St. Castor Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/495	119r-v	15	Antiphoner	354e	Yes Heightened
KBL-6-c	Koblenz, Germany St. Florin Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/490	109r-v	15	Antiphoner	354a	Yes Heightened
KBL-7-c	Koblenz, Germany St. Florin Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/494	112v-113r	15	Antiphoner	354b	Yes Heightened
KLE-1-c	Kleve, Germany Collegiate Church	D-KLE ° Sig. †	10r	15	Ordinal	224	No
KN-1-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 1013	145r-v	12i	Antiphoner	225	Yes Heightened

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
KOL-1-c	Köln, Germany St. Kunibert	D-DS 871	84v., 86r-v	13m (1250ca)	Cantatorium	227	Yes Heightened
KOL-2	Köln, Germany	F-Pn ms. lat. n.a. 3105	314r	14	Breviary Secular cursus	230	No
KOL-3-c	Köln, Germany St. Kunibert	D-DS 870	32v	14i (1300ca)	Processional	226	No
KOL-4	Köln, Germany	GB-Lbl ms. Add. 31913	262v-263r	14i	Breviary	232	Yes Heightened
KOL-5-c	Köln, Germany St. Kunibert	D-DS 977	223r	15i (1409ca)	Breviary	231	No
KOL-6-Frh	Köln, Germany Fraterherren Hl. Michael	D-DS 1854	63v	15m (1463)	Breviary	234	No
KOL-7	Köln, Germany	D-Fmusulin sn. * Private collection	?	15	Breviary	233	Yes
KOL-8-c	Köln, Germany St. Kunibert	D-DS 970	15r-16r	16i (1500ca)	Processional	237	Yes Heightened
KOL-9-a	Köln, Germany St. Reinhold Augustinian Convent	D-DS 869	79r-80r	15x	Breviary	236	No
KRE-1-b	Kremsmünster, Austria St. Agapitus Benedictine Abbey	A-KR 21	96v	12	Miscellany	247	Yes Unheightened
KRZ-1-a	Kreuzlingen, Switzerland Augustinian Canons	CH-FF Y 28 2°	91v	13	Breviary	248	No
LUT-1-c	Liège, Belgium St. Lambertus Cathedral	D-DS 394 Bl. 1	309v	14i (1320ca)	Breviary	250	No
LUT-2-c	Liège, Belgium St. Lambertus Cathedral	B-Br ms. 11971-72	39v	15	Ordinal	250a	No
MNZ-1-b	Mainz, Germany St. Alban Benedictine Monastery	A-Wn ms. lat. 1888	197r	10m (960ca.)	Miscellany	76	Yes Unheightened

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
MNZ-2-(c)	Mainz, Germany Diocese Cathedral?	D-DS 3183	108–109	12x (1187-1190)	Missal	252	Yes Unheightened
MNZ-4-c	Mainz, Germany Cathedral	D-KD Cod. A*	111v-112r	14	Gradual	253	Yes Heightened
MNZ-5-c	Mainz, Germany St. Christoph Church	D-Ma 12° Cmm 82	27r-28r	15i (1400ca)	Processional	254	Yes Heightened
MNZ-6-c	Mainz, Germany Diocese Church	D-ASh Perg. 30	252v-253r	15x (1480ca)	Breviary	256	No
MNZ-7-c	Mainz, Germany Cathedral	D-MZp ms. 100	35v-39r	15x (1500a)	Processional	257	Yes Heightened
ME-1-b	Melk, Austria Benedictine Monastery	A-M Cod. 1977	3r	11	Binding fragment	264	No
ME-6-b	Melk, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-M 931 (1094)	36r-40r	15	Processional	265	Yes Heightened
MIN-1-c	Minden, Germany Cathedral	D-Bsb ms. theol. lat 4°11	45v-46r	11i (1024-1027)	Troper	272	Yes Unheightened
MIN-2-c	Minden, Germany Cathedral	D-W ms. Helmst 1008	126r-v	11i (1024-1027)	Gradual	273	Yes Unheightened
MIN-3-c	Minden, Germany Cathedral	D-Bsb ms. theol. lat 4°15	120r-v	11i (1024-1027)	Gradual	271	Yes Unheightened
MNS-1-b	Münsterschwarzach, Germany S. Felicitas Benedictine Abbey	GB-Ob Canon. liturg. 297	111r	12m (1154p)	Breviary	300	Yes Unheightened
MTZ-1-b	Metz, France Gorz	F-ME ms. 452 †	24v-25r	11m	Troper	267	Yes Unheightened

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
MTZ-2-c	Metz, France Cathedral	F-ME ms. 82 †	82r-v	12/13	Ordinal	268	No
MTZ-3-b	Metz, France St. Arnould Benedictine Abbey	F-ME ms. 132 †	51r-v	13m (1240)	Ordinal	269	No
MTZ-4-b	Metz, France St. Arnould Benedictine Abbey	F-ME ms. 83 †	125r-v	13	Antiphoner	270a	Yes
MTZ-5-b	Metz, France St. Arnould Benedictine Abbey	F-ME ms. 45 †	64v	14i (1324)	Breviary	270	No
MÜN-1-c	Münster, Germany Cathedral	D-MÜd Dom ms. 1	78v	13	Ordinal	274	No
MÜN-2	Münster, Germany Diocese	D-MÜsa ms. 433	52v-53r	14x	Antiphoner	275	Yes Heightened
MÜN-3-c	Münster, Germany Diocese Church	D-MÜd GV ms. 234	143r-v	15x (1475ca)	Antiphoner	277	Yes Heightened
MÜN-4-c	Münster, Germany Cathedral	D-MÜd Dom. ms. 5	62r-v	15x (1489a)	Ordinal	279	No
NEW-1-b	Neuweiler, Germany St. Peter und Paul Benedictine Monastery	F-Pn ms. lat. 9486	60r-v	12	Ordinal	302	Yes Unheightened
OLF-1-c	Olfen, Germany Parish Church	D-OLf ms. Depositum Pf.-A. Olfen 2 *	93r	15x (1500a)	Antiphoner	283	Yes Heightened
OST-1-c	Osterwick, Germany Church Münster Diocese	D-MÜd GV ms. 229	240r	15i (1400ca)	Breviary	276	Yes Heightened
PDR-1-c	Paderborn, Germany S. Petri et Andreae Apostolorum Collegiate Church	D-TRb ms. 95/578 (68)	41v-42r	15x (1480)	Ordinal	308	No

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
PDR-2-c	Paderborn, Germany Cathedral	D-PA D.I.1.19 (I)	42v	13i (1324) 17th-c. copy	Ordinal	306	No
PDR-3-c	Paderborn, Germany Cathedral	D-PA D. I. 1. 19 (II)	78v-79r	13i (1324) 17th-c. copy	Processional	307	No
PRF-1-b	Prüfening, Germany St. Georges Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 23037	177v	12	Breviary	311a	Yes Unheightened
PRM-1-b	Prüm, Germany Benedictine Abbey	F-Pn lat. 9448	33v	10x (990-995)	Gradual	312	Yes Unheightened
RCH-1-b	Reichenau, Germany Benedictine Abbey	D-BAs Msc. Lit. 5	45r-v	11i (1001)	Troper	314	Yes Unheightened
REG-1-b	Regensburg, Germany St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-BAs Msc. lit. 6	94v	10x	Gradual	319	Yes Unheightened
REG-2-b	Regensburg, Germany St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 14083	89r-v	11im (1031-1037ca)	Troper	321	Yes Unheightened
REG-3-b	Regensburg, Germany St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 14845	94r-v	12m	Miscellany with hymns and sequences	320	Yes Unheightened
REG-4-a	Regensburg, Germany (in or around) Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 3205	1v	14	Breviary	313	No
REG-5-b	Regensburg, Germany St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 14741	207r	14	Breviary	322	No
REG-6-b	Regensburg, Germany St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 14183	50v-51r	15m (1435)	Ordinal	323	No
REG-7-b	Regensburg, Germany St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 14428	57r-v	15m (1435)	Ordinal	324	No

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
REG-8-c	Regensburg, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 26947	121r-v	15	Ordinal	684	No
REG-9-c	Regensburg diocese Amberg, Germany? Parish Church	D-Mbs clm. 2988	54v-55r	15	Antiphoner	180	Yes Heightened
RHE-2-b	Rheinau, Germany Benedictine Abbey	CH-Zz Rh. 132	fol. 9	11	Troper	N/A	Yes Unheightened
RHE-3-b	Rheinau, Germany Benedictine Abbey	CH-Zz Rh. 80	118-119	12i	Ordinal	315	No
RHE-4-b	Rheinau, Germany Benedictine Abbey	CH-Zz Rh. 59	112-113	12/13	Ordinal	315a	Yes Unheightened
RHE-5-b	Rheinau, Germany Benedictine Abbey	CH-Zz Rh. 18	282-283	13 (VS) 11 (MS)	Lectionary	797	Yes Unheightened
ROR-1-c	Rorup near Münster, Germany Parish church	D-DRp sn*	108v-109r	15	Gradual	317	Yes
SBL-1-b	St. Blasien, Germany Benedictine Abbey	CH-E ms. 103	121v	12m (1147a)	Gradual and Sequentiary	318a	Yes Unheightened
SEE?-1-b	Seeon or Fritzlar, Germany? Benedictine Abbey	D-Kl 4° ms. theol. 25	116v	11i	Troper	334	Yes Unheightened
SG-8-b	St. Gall, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	CH-SGs ms. 360	31-32	12	Processional	327	Yes Unheightened
SG-9-b	St. Gall, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	CH-SGs ms. 525	394	14	Miscellany	328	Yes Heightened
SG-10-b	St. Gall, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	CH-SGs ms. 384	240	14	Breviary	329	No
SGR-2-b	Southern Germany Hirsau-reformed monastery	A-Wn lat. 1890	163r-v	13i (1200ca)	Breviary	186	Yes Unheightened
SIE-1-b	Sieburg, Germany Benedictine Abbey written at St. Emmeram	D-Mbs clm. 14765	93r-94r	12i (1126-1130)	Customary	336	Yes Unheightened
SPE-1-c	Speyer, Germany Cathedral	A-Wn lat. 1882	41v	13	Ordinal	339	Yes Unheightened
SPE-2-c	Speyer, Germany Cathedral	D-KAg ms. 67/452	26v	15mx (1438-1470)	Sacramentary	340a	No

Appendix A (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
STR-1-c	Strasbourg, Germany Various Churches	GB-Lbl ms. Add. 23922	41v-44v	13	Processional	341	Yes Unheightened
STR-2-c	Strasbourg, Germany Cathedral	D-SCHbm Ms. 81 *	83r	14m (1363)	Ordinal	342	No
SWZ-1-b	Schwarzwald region Benedictine Abbey	D-KA St. Georges 1	189v-190r	15	Antiphoner	363	No
TR-1-b	Trier, Germany St. Matthias Benedictine Abbey	D-W Cod. Guelf. 1109 Helmst.	105v	10/11	Miscellany	347	Yes Unheightened
TR-2-c	Trier, Germany Cathedral	GB-Lbma Harl. 2958	37v	14i (1305-1307)	Ordinal	349	No
TR-3-c	Trier, Germany Cathedral	D-TRs 1737/66	208	14m (1345)	Ordinal	350	No
TR-4-c	Trier, Germany Diocese Cathedral or Church	D-DS 545	58r-v	14m (1350ca)	Gradual and Sequentiary	348	Yes Heightened
TR-5-b	Trier, Germany St. Maximin Benedictine Abbey	D-TRs 1635/48 °4	79v	14x (1389)	Ordinal	355	No
TR-6-c	Trier, Germany Diocese Cathedral or Chapter of Canons (St. Paulinus?)	D-TRb ms. 95/480	186	14	Antiphoner	348a	No
TR-7-c	Trier, Germany Diocese Church	D-MZp ms. 130	177r-v	14	Breviary	352	No
TR-8-c	Trier, Germany S. Lubentius Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/481	pp. 5-6	15i (1400ca)	Antiphoner	348b	Yes Heightened
TR-9-b	Trier, Germany St. Matthias Benedictine Monastery	D-TRs ms. 1238 (n.1. 602)	202v	15m (1436)	Customary	211	No
TR-10-c	Trier, Germany Cathedral	D-TRb ms. 95/489	2v-3v	15x	Antiphoner	348g	Yes Heightened
TR-11-c	Trier Cathedral or Liebfrau	D-TRb ms. 95/487 (L 36)	2v-3r	15	Antiphoner	348e	Yes Heightened

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
TR-12-c	Trier, Germany Church	D-TRb ms. 95/497 (A VIIb 16)	3r-v	15	Antiphoner	348h	Yes Heightened
TR-13-c	Trier, Germany St. Lubentius Collegiate Chapter	D-TRb ms. 95/488b	2r-3r	15	Antiphoner	348f	Yes Heightened
TR-14-b	Trier, Germany St. Simeon Benedictine Abbey	D-TRs 1738/89 4°	54v	15	Ordinal	356	No
UT-1-c	Utrecht, Netherlands Cathedral	NL-Ulm ms. 407	116v	12	Antiphoner	358	Yes Heightened
UT-2-c	Utrecht, Netherlands Cathedral	NL-Ulm ms. 406	97v	12	Antiphoner	359	Yes Heightened
VRD-1	Verdun, France Monastic church	F-VN ms. Nr. 132-133[1]	21v-23v	15x	Processional	361	Yes Heightened
VRD-2	Verdun, France Monastic church	F-VN ms. Nr. 132-133[2]	18v-22v	15x	Processional	362	Yes Heightened
VRD-3	Verdun, France Monastic church	F-VN ms. Nr. 132-133[a]	21r-25r	15x	Processional	362a	Yes Heightened
WMS?-1	Worms or Heidelberg, Germany?	I-Rvat Palat. lat. 619	25v	12-15	Miscellany	368	Yes
WMS-2	Worms, Germany Cathedral	F-Pn lat. 1310	198v-199r	15x (1472)	Breviary	366	No
WMS-3	Worms, Germany	GB-Lbl ms. Add. 19415	327r	15x (1475)	Breviary	365	No
ZWF-1-b	Zwiefalten, Germany Benedictine Abbey	D-Sl Cod. bibl. qt. 36	122v-123v	12	Antiphoner	379	Yes Unheightened

Appendix B. Type-Two *Visitationes sepulchri* in Post-1100 Manuscripts from the German Kingdom and Aquileia

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
AD-2-b	Admont, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-A ms. 790	41v-42r	15	Ordinal	485	No
AQU-1-b	Aquileia, Italy or Moggio Benedictine Monastery	GB-Ob ms. Canon. liturg. 325	82r-v	13	Ordinal	490	Yes Unheightened
AQU-2-c	Aquileia, Italy Basilica	I-GO B	141v	13/14	Antiphoner	492	No
AQU-3-c	Aquileia, Italy Basilica	I-GO K	3v	14i	Antiphoner	494	No
AUG-1-c	Augsburg, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 226	10v-11r	12	Ordinal	505	Some Unheightened
AUG?-2	Augsburg, Germany?	D-BAs Msc. Lit.10	97r-v	12	Cantatorium	185	Yes Unheightened
AUG-3-c	Augsburg, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 904	77r-v	14	Antiphoner	506	Yes Unheightened
AUG-4-b	Augsburg St. Ulrich und Afra Benedictine Abbey	D-As Ms. 4° 62	397r-398r	15i	Breviary	779a	No
AUG?-5	Augsburg, Germany?	D-Mbs clm. 11903a	253v-254r	15	Breviary	508	No
AUG-6-(c)	Augsburg, Germany Hl. Kreuz Collegiate Church?	D-Mbs clm. 4117	131r-v	15	Breviary	507	No
BEU-1-a	Beuerberg, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mu 2° Cod. ms. 150	129v	14x (1374)	Breviary	533b	Yes Unheightened
BRAN-1	Brandenburg Diocese (Berlin?)	D-Bsb theol. lat. 2° 208	19v	15	Ordinal	532	No
BRN-1-c	Braunschweig, Germany St. Blasien Cathedral Chapter	D-Wa VII B 167 [F]	1r (fly leaf)	13i (1200ca)	Agenda Ecclesiae (Sacramentale)	534	Yes Unheightened
BRN-2-c	Braunschweig, Germany St. Blasien Cathedral Chapter	D-Wa VII B 203	24r-27v	14x	Lectionary	780	Yes Heightened

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
BRN-3-c	Braunschweig, Germany St. Blasius Cathedral Chapter	D-Wa VII B 218	102r-v	14	Psalter	535	No
CHI-1-a	Chiemsee, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Ngm 22923	107v	13	Antiphoner	543	Yes Unheightened
CHI-2-a	Chiemsee, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Ngm 22923	105v-107v	13	Antiphoner	782	Yes Unheightened
CHI-3-a	Chiemsee, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 5349	211r-v (new foliation)	15	Breviary	544	No
CIV-1-c	Cividale, Italy Cathedral	I-CFm ms. 41	138v-139r	14x	Antiphoner	546	Yes Heightened
CIV-2-c	Cividale, Italy Cathedral	I-CFm ms. 101	77-79v	15x	Processional	781	Yes Heightened
DI-1-a	Diessen, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 5546	152v-153r	15	Breviary	547	No
DI-2-a	Diessen, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 5547	330r-330v	15	Breviary	Norton	No
DI-3-a	Diessen, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 5550	171r-172r	15	Breviary	548	No
DI-4-a	Diessen, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 5551	189r-190r	15	Breviary	Norton	No
DI-5-a	Diessen, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 5545	21r	15	Breviary	549	No
EIC-1-c	Eichstätt, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 3918	75v-76v	14i (1326)	Ordinal	550	No
EIC-2-b	Eichstätt, Germany Diocese St. Walpurgis Female monastery	CZ-Pu ms. XIV. F. 6	112r-v	14/15	Breviary	550a	No
EIC-3-c	Eichstätt, Germany Cathedral	D-BAs Msc. lit. 101	103r-v	15	Ordinal	551	No
EIN-1-b	Einsiedeln, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	Ch-E ms. 366	55-56	12	Miscellany	563	Yes Heightened
EIN-2-b	Einsiedeln, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	Ch-E ms. 300	93-94	12/13	Miscellany	783	Yes Unheightened
ENG-1	Engelberg, Switzerland	Ch-EN 314 (formerly I. 4/25)	75v-78v	14x (1372)	Collectio Canti	784	Yes Heightened

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
ENN-1-a	Enns, Austria St. Laurentius (ad usum)	A-SF XI 435 2°	226v	15x (1490a)	Breviary	722	No
ES-1-c	Essen, Germany Collegiate Church	D-ES ms. 19	41v-43r	14x	Ordinal	564	Yes Heightened
FNK-1-c	Frankfurt am Main Bartholomäus Collegiate Church	D-F ms. Barth. 83	13v	15x (1468)	Breviary	207	No
FRE-1-c	Freising, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 6423	1v	14	Breviary	565	Yes Unheightened
FRZ-2-c	Fritzlar, Germany St. Peter Collegiate Church	D-Kl 2° ms. theol. 129	111r	14	Antiphoner	209	Yes Heightened
FRZ-3-c	Fritzlar, Germany St. Peter Collegiate Church	D-Kl 4° ms. theol. 90	109v	14	Breviary	208	No
FRZ-4-c	Fritzlar, Germany St. Peter Collegiate Church	D-Kl 2° ms. theol. 99	87v-88r	15	Ordinal	210	No
GAN-1-b	Gandersheim, Germany Female Monastery	D-Wa B VII Ms. 48	15r-v	15m (1438) 16th-c copy	Registrum Chori	785	No
GOR-1	Goricia, Italy Aquileia diocese	I-GO I	6r-7r	14	Troper and Sequentiary	493	Yes Heightened
GOT-1-c	Gotha, Germany Collegiate Church	D-GOl II 90	8v	13	Breviary	577	Some Heightened
HAR-1	Haarlem, Netherlands	NL-Urc ms. 7 (olim 258)	44v	13	Gradual	586	Yes Unheightened
HAV-1-c	Havelberg, Germany Cathedral	D-W Cod. Guelf. 84.2 Aug 2°	23r-v	15	Ordinal	787	No
HER?-1-b	Hersfeld or St. Gall? Benedictine Abbey	Ch-SGs ms. 448	105-106	15	Ordinal	788	No
HLB-1-c	Halberstadt, Germany St. Martin Church	D-HTd Inv.-Nr. 493	89r-v	14i (1319)	Antiphoner	579	Yes Heightened
HLB-2	Halberstadt, Germany	D-W Cod. Guelf. 583 Helmst.	76r-v	14	Breviary	582a	No
HLB-3	Halberstadt, Germany	D-HTdg 164 †	50v	14	Ordinal	Young 631	No

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
HLB-4-c	Halberstadt, Germany Cathedral	D-HTd Inv.- Nr. 494	86r-v	15m (1440)	Antiphoner	578	Yes Heightened
HLB-5	Halberstadt, Germany	D-W Cod. Guelf. 1156 Helmst.	2v-3r	15x (1465)	Breviary	582	No
HLB-6	Halberstadt, Germany	D-HTdg 92 †	27r-v	15	Ordinal	583	No
HLB-7-c	Halberstadt, Germany Cathedral	D-HTd Inv.- Nr. 496	87v-88r	15	Antiphoner	580	Yes Heightened
HLB-8-c	Halberstadt, Germany Cathedral	D-HTd Inv.- Nr. 498	102r-v	15	Antiphoner	581	Yes Heightened
HZG?-1-a	Herzogenburg, Austria? Augustinian Canons	A-Wn ms. lat. 1768	190r	13	Breviary	587	No
HZG-2-a	Herzogenburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-H ms. 67	260v-261r	15m (1451)	Breviary	588	No
IND-1-a	Indersdorf, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 7691	120	15x (1496)	Breviary	590	No
KAP-1-c	Kapfenberg, Austria St. Martin Parish	A-Ks ms. Pap. 7	294r-v	15x (1478)	Breviary	591a	No
KN-2-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-Wn lat. 1717	153v-154r	13im 1st half	Breviary	Klugseder	Yes Unheightened
KN-3-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 1005 [F] (olim Liber Choral X)	F	13	Processional	593	Some Heightened
KN-4-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 589	2r-v	13	Antiphoner	594	Yes Heightened
KN-5-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria (area of)	A-KN CCl 969	355r-v	13	Breviary	CARR/ NORTON	No
KN-6-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 1018	3v-4v	14i (1310ca)	Antiphoner	CARR/ NORTON	Yes Heightened

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
KN-7-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1213	83r-v	14i (1325)	Ordinal	597	Some Unheightened
KN-8-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 602	239r-v	14i (1330ca)	Breviary	CARR/NORTON	No
KN-9-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 628	83v-85r	14i (1330ca)	Benedictional	CARR/NORTON	Yes Unheightened
KN-10-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 1022B	64r-v	14i (1330ca)	Ritual	CARR/NORTON	Yes Heightened
KN-11-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 983	67r-v	14x (1393)	Ordinal	CARR/NORTON	No
KN-12-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 590	300v-301r	14	Breviary	598	No
KN-13	Klosterneuburg (area of)	A-KN CCl 592	81r	14	Breviary	281r	No
KN-14-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 629	103r-105r	14	Ritual	595	Yes Heightened
KN-15-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 635	57v-58r	14	Ordinal	599	No
KN-16	Klosterneuburg, Austria (area of)	A-KN CCl 977	301v-302r	14	Breviary	CARR/NORTON	No
KN-17-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1021	60v-61v	14	Ritual	596	No
KN-18-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1189	253r-v	14	Breviary	CARR/NORTON	No
KN-19-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1199	358r	14	Breviary	CARR/NORTON	No
KN-20	Klosterneuburg, Austria (area of)	A-KN CCl 1200	125r-v	14	Breviary	CARR/NORTON	No

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
KN-21	Klosterneuburg, Austria (area of)	A-KN CCl 1172	211v–212r	15m (1463)	Breviary	602b	No
KN-22-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 61	193r–v	15	Breviary	600	No
KN-23-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 66	136r–139r	15	Antiphoner	599a	Yes Heightened
KN-24-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 961	271v–272r	15	Missal/Diurnal	CARR/ NORTON	No
KN-25-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 973	215v–216r	15	Breviary/Missal	CARR/ NORTON	No
KN-26	Klosterneuburg, Austria (area of)	A-KN CCl 1185	261v–262r	15	Breviary	602a	No
KN-27-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1193	240r–41r	15	Breviary	596A	No
KN-28-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1195	244v	15	Breviary	CARR/ NORTON	No
KN-29-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1210	43r–47v	15	Holy Week Ritual	CARR/ NORTON	Yes Heightened
KN-30-a	Klosterneuburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KN CCl 1211	59r–62r	15	Holy Week Ritual	CARR/ NORTON	Yes Heightened
KRE-2-b	Kremsmünster, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-KR ms. CC 24 [F]	1r (fly leaf)	12/13m	Fragment	790a	Yes Unheightened
KRE-3-b	Kremsmünster, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-KR ms. Fragm. VI	5r–v	13x (1275ca)	Antiphoner	605a	Yes Unheightened
KRE-4-(b)	Kremsmünster, Austria Benedictine Abbey?	A-KR 190	214r–216r	15	Antiphoner	605	Yes Heightened
MAG-1-c	Magdeburg, Germany Cathedral	D-Bsb ms. theol. lat. 4° 113	89r	15	Ordinal	608	No

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
MNZ-3-c	Mainz, Germany Diocese Church	D-ASh ms. 43	65v-66r	14	Processional	500	Yes Heightened
ME-2-(c)	Melk, Austria area	D-Mbs clm. 2725	71r-72r	14/15	Ordinal	618	No
ME-3-(c)	Melk, Austria area Church?	A-Wn ms. lat. 4942	394v-395v	15m (1454)	Breviary	615	No
ME-4-(c)	Melk, Austria area Church?	D-Mbs clm. 16189	383v	15x (1471)	Miscellany with an agenda	616	No
ME-5-c	Melk, Austria area Parish Church	A-M 113 (992)	121v-122r	15x (1480)	Breviary	617	No
MED-1-cist	Medingen near Lüneburg, Germany Cistercian Monastery	D-HIs Best. 52 Nr. 383	125v-127v	14i (1320ca)	Collectar	792	Yes Unheightened
MEI-1-c	Meißen, Germany St. Donatus Cathedral	CZ-Pu Ms. VI F 20	120v-121r	15	Breviary	612	No
MIL-1-(c)	Millstatt, Austria Church?	A-Ks ms. Perg. 40	451v	15m (1450ca)	Breviary	618b	No
MIN-1	Mindelheim, Germany	I-BRE C 6 (Nr. 48)	190r-v	15m (1439)	Breviary	619	No
MOG-2-b	Moggio, Italy Benedictine Abbey (ad usum)	GB-Ob ms. Canon. (misc.) liturg. 346	114v	13i (1228)	Breviary	491	Yes Unheightened
MOG-3-b	Moggio, Italy St. Gallus Benedictine Abbey	I-UD ms. 2	150r-v	13	Gradual	488	Yes Heightened
MOS-1-c	Moosburg, Austria Collegiate Chapter	D-Mbs clm. 23068	295v	14	Breviary	621	No

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
MOS-2-c	Moosburg, Austria Collegiate Chapter	D-Mbs clm. 9464	58r-59v	15	Ordinal	621a	No
NE-1-a	Neustift near Brixen, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-Iu 610	182v-183r	15	Breviary	627	No
NOT-1-a	Nottuln, Germany St. Martinus Augustinian Canonesses	D-Fmuslin sn* Privately owned Prof. Branka Musulin (deceased)	64v-65v	15i (1420ca)	Gradual	794	Yes Heightened
NOT-2-a	Nottuln, Germany St. Martinus Augustinian Canonesses	D-MÜd Pfa Ms. 113	112r-113v	15x (1493ca)	Antiphoner	795	Yes Heightened
OB-1-(c)	Oberwesel, Germany Maria ad Gradus Church?	D-TRb ms. 95/493	102v	15	Antiphoner	795a	Yes Heightened
OSS-1-b	Ossiach Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-Ks perg. 32	77v-78r	13	Miscellany	790	Yes Unheightened
OTT-1-b	Ottobeuren, Germany St. Alexander Benedictine Abbey	D-OB O. 4 (II, 314)	35r-37r	15x (1487ca)	Processional	630	Yes Heightened
PAS-1-(a)	Passau Diocese St. Pölten, Austria Augustinian Canons?	A-Wn lat. 1919	262v-263r 466v addition	13	Breviary	737 738	No
PAS-2-a	Passau, Germany St. Nikolaus Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 16141	76v-77r	13/14	Antiphoner	631	Yes Unheightened
PAS-3-c	Passau, Germany Church	A-Wn lat. 1874	58r-v	14m (1364)	Ordinal	633	No
PAS-4-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral Chapter	D-SI HB I 109	249r-v	14x	Breviary	635	No
PAS-5-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral	A-VOR 90 (34)	180v-181r	14	Breviary	632	Yes Unheightened
PAS-6-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral (ad usum)	A-M 1934 (764)	51r-v	14	Ordinal	634	No
PAS-7-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral	A-KN CCl 1194	60v-61r	14	Ordinal	CARR/ NORTON	No
PAS-8	Passau, Germany	A-KR ms. CC 341	97v	15i (1429a)	Breviary	635a	No

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	*LIP*	Music
PAS-9-c	Passau, Germany Diocese Church	A-H 183	122r-v	15i (1429)	Breviary	638	No
PAS-10-hos	Passau, Germany Diocese Passau Hospital	A-M 1568	259v-260r	15m (1466)	Breviary	639a	No
PAS-11	Passau, Germany Diocese (ad usum)	A-M 1742 (olim 1671)	511v-512r	15x (1481)	Ordinal	763	No
PAS-12	Passau, Germany	A-Wn lat. 1843	271v-272r	15x (1498)	Ordinal	640	No
PAS-13	Passau, Germany Diocese	A-KR ms. CC 274	306v-307r	15	Breviary Secular cursus	637	No
PAS-14-con?	Passau, Germany Diocese S. Leonarda Convent?	D-Mbs clm. 23181	265r-v	15	Breviary	636	No
PAS?-15-c	Passau, Germany or St. Florian Church?	A-SF XI. 471 4°	152r-v	15	Breviary	643	No
PAS-16-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 16147	202v	15	Breviary	Norton	No
PAS-17-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 23198	287v-288v	15	Breviary	644	No
PAS-18	Passau, Germany	A-KR CC 100	168v-169r	15	Breviary Secular cursus	646	No
PAS-19-c	Passau, Germany Cathedral	A-M 1114	37r	15	Ordinal	641	No
PAS-20-a	Passau, Germany St. Nikolaus Augustinian Canons	I-Rvat ms. Rossiani 116	225r-v	15	Breviary	642	No
PAS?-21-c	Passau, Germany or Church in Bohemia	CZ-Pu I. D. 20	69v	15	Antiphoner	645	Yes Heightened
PER-1-c	Perchtoldsdorf near Wien, Austria St. Augustin Parish Church	S-Sk ms. A 175	121r-v	14x (1385)	Ordinal	761	No
POL-1-a	Polling, Austria Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 11765	147r	15	Breviary	657	No
POL-2-a	Polling, Austria Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 11735	62r-63r	15	Ordinal	660	No
POL-3-a	Polling, Austria Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 11909a	31r-34v	16i (1513)	Processional	659	Yes Heightened
POL-4-a	Polling, Austria Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 11909b	31r-34v	16i (1513)	Processional	658	Yes Heightened

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
RAN-1-a	Ranshofen, Austria S. Pankratius Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 12635	59-60	13	Ordinal	682	Yes Unheigtened
RAS-1-c	Rasdorf/Rhön, Austria Collegiate Chapter	D-FUl 2° Aa 55	3r-v	14/15	Antiphoner	683	Yes Heightened
RHL-1-a	Reichenhall, Germany St. Zeno Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 23143	291r-v	14	Breviary	691	No
REI-1-a	Reichersberg am Inn, Germany Augustinian Canons	A-SP 76	54r-56v	15	Processional	692	Yes Heightened
ROT-1-a	Rottenbuch, Germany Augustinian Canons	D-Mbs clm. 12301	90r-v	15i (1431)	Ordinal	693	No
SEK-1-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU I 1549 (olim 40/6)	135r-v	12mx (1150-1190)	Breviary	741	No
SEK-2-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU II 778	84r-v	12x	Breviary	742a	No
SEK-3-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU 770	179v-180v	12x	Breviary	742b	No
SEK-4-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU II 763 (olim 40/81)	187v-188v	12x	Breviary	743	No
SEK-5-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU I 864 (olim 40/96)	1r-2r	12	Breviary	742	No
SEK-6-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-GU II 208	29r	13x	Ordinal	744	Yes Unheightened
SEK-7-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU II 789	112v-113r	13	Breviary	743a	No
SEK-8-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canonesses	A-GU 757	133v-134r	14i	Breviary	743b	No
SEK-9-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-GU II 756	90r-v	14m (1345)	Ordinal	745	Yes Unheightened

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
SEK-10-a	Seckau, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-GU 1001	238v	15x	Breviary	745c	No
SFL-1-a	St. Florian, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-SF XI. 430	201v-202r	15m (1446a)	Breviary	719	No
SFL-2-a	St. Florian, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-SF XI 403	235v-236r	15	Breviary	720	No
SFL-3-a	St. Florian, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-SF XI 420	319r-v	15	Breviary	721	No
SFL-4-a	St. Florian, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-SF XI 434	165r-170r	15	Liber Benedictionum	723	Yes Heightened
SG-12-b	St. Gall, Switzerland Benedictine Abbey	CH-SGs ms. 392	109-110	15	Miscellany	726	Yes Heightened
SGR-1-c	Southern Germany (Regensburg?) or Salzburg, Austria Diocese? Collegiate Church	GB-Ob ms. Canon. liturg. 202	72v-73r	12x	Breviary	489	Yes Unheightened
SLB-1-b	St. Lambrecht, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-Gu II 798	52r-53r	13i (1200ca)	Breviary	728	Yes Unheightened
SLB-2-b	St. Lambrecht, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-Gu III 134	247r	13	Breviary	729	Yes Unheightened
SLB-3-b	St. Lambrecht, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-GU II 193	38r-v	14i	Ordinal	730	No
SLB-4-b	St. Lambrecht, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-GU III 30	3r-4r	14m (1347a)	Antiphoner	732	Yes Heightened
SLB-5-b	St. Lambrecht, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-GU III 722	36-39	14	Ordinal	731	No
SLB-6-b	St. Lambrecht, Austria Benedictine Abbey	A-GU III 116	66r-67r	15i	Antiphoner	733	Yes Heightened
SLZ-1-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	A-Su ms. II 6	67r	12mx (1150-1190)	Ordinary	694	Yes Unheightened
SLZ-2-a	Salzburg, Austria Diocese Augustinian Canons	A-Gu 1424	312v-313r	14x (1380)	Breviary	694a	No

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Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
SLZ-3-(a)	Salzburg, Austria Diocese Augustinian Canons?	A-VOR 283 (28)	207r-v	14	Breviary	757	No
SLZ-4-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	I-UD Nr. 94 (F-35-III-20)	132v-133v	14	Antiphoner	697	Yes Heightened
SLZ-5	Salzburg, Austria Diocese	D-Mbs clm. 16404	230r-v	14	Breviary	695	No
SLZ-6	Salzburg, Austria Diocese	D-Mbs clm 23151	242v-243r	14	Breviary	696	No
SLZ-7-a	Salzburg, Austria Diocese Augustinian Canons	A-SF XI. 417	294r-v	15m (1439)	Breviary	698	No
SLZ-8-a	Salzburg, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-GU 943	221r	15m (1462)	Breviary	694b	No
SLZ-9-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	A-Gu 332	47r-v	15x (1468-9)	Directory	698a	No
SLZ-10-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	A-SSt M III 21	226r-v	15x (1470)	Breviary	698b	No
SLZ-11-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria	A-H ms. 74	305v-306r	15x (1475)	Book of Hours	699	No
SLZ-12	Salzburg, Austria Diocese	D-Mbs clm. 24881	175r	15x (1481)	Breviary	700	No
SLZ-13-a	Salzburg, Austria Diocese Augustinian Canonesses	A-Wn lat. 3824	132r	15	Breviary	620	No
SLZ-14-a	Salzburg, Austria Diocese Augustinian Canons or Canonesses	A-Wn lat. 4005	452r-v	15	Breviary	620a	No
SLZ?-15	Salzburg Diocese? Austria	A-KN CCl 1002	71r-v	15	Antiphoner	CARR/NORTON	Yes Heightened
SLZ-16-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	A-Wn lat. 1672	266r-v	15	Breviary	704	No
SLZ-17-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	A-Su II 179	55r-56r	15	Antiphoner	705	Yes Heightened
SLZ-18-a	Salzburg, Austria Augustinian Convent	D-Mbs clm. 15914	122v-123v	15	Breviary	702	No
SLZ-19-b	Salzburg, Austria Nonnberg Benedictine Abbey	A-Sn Cod. 26 E 1b	162r-163v	15	Antiphoner	718	Yes Heightened

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
SLZ-20-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	D-Mbs clm. 24900	69r-v	15	Breviary	701	No
SLZ-21-c(a)	Salzburg, Austria Cathedral	A-SSt M. II 134	216v-217r	15	Breviary	695a	No
SP-1-a	St. Pölten, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-KR Musikarchiv, Schachtel VI/258	28r-v	13mx (1250-1280)	Antiphoner	CANTUS/ CZERNIN	Yes Unheightened
SP-2-a	St. Pölten, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-Wn lat. 3569	276v-277r	15x (1474)	Breviary	740	No
SP-3-a	St. Pölten, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-SP ms. 13	37v-39r	15	Processional	736	Yes Heightened
TEG-1-b	Tegernsee, Germany S. Quirinus Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 19291	119r	15i (1432)	Breviary	754	No
TEG-2-(a)	Tegernsee, Germany (in the area of), Benedictine monastery	D-Mbs clm. 19932	294r-v	15x (1471p)	Breviary	754a	No
TRV-1 c	Treviso, Italy (ad usum); but copied at a church in Aquileia Diocese	I-UD ms. 84	94v-95v	12/13	Antiphoner	755	Yes Heightened
UT?-3-b	Utrecht diocese? Benedictine monastery	B-Br ms. 353	176v	12/13	Breviary	755b	Yes Unheightened
VOR-1-a	Vorau, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-VOR 99 (200)	35v	1220-1260	Ordinal	756	Yes Unheightened
VOR-2-a	Vorau, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-VOR 337	96v-97r	14/15	Breviary	759	No
VOR-3-a	Vorau, Austria Augustinian Canons	A-VOR 22 (228)	84r-86r	15	Gradual and Antiphoner	758	Yes Heightened
WGT-1-b	Weingarten, Germany Benedictine Abbey	D-Sl HB I 55 4°	82r-v	13	Antiphoner	760	Yes Unheightened
WGT-2-b	Weingarten, Germany Benedictine Abbey	D-FUl 4° Aa 72	70v-71r	14i (1319)	Ordinal	760a	No

Appendix B (cont.)

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript	Folios	Date	Type of Source	LIP	Music
WN-1-a	Wien, Austria St. Jakob Augustinian Canonesses	A-KN CCl 630	66v-67r	14	Breviary	602	No
WN-2-c	Wien, Austria St. Stephan Collegiate Church	A-Wn lat. 4712 (Univ. 672)	47r-v	15i (1400ca)	Ordinal	762	No
WN-3	Wien, Austria	I-Rvat ms. Vat., lat. 9210	102r-103r	15	Breviary	764	No
WNS-1	Wiener Neustadt, Austria	A-Wn lat. 1863	179v-180r	15	Breviary	765	No
WÜR-1-c	Würzburg, Germany St. Killan Cathedral	D-WÜu M p. theol. 2° 168	71r	13x (1295ca)	Ordinal	373	No
WÜR-2	Würzburg, Germany	GB-Lbl Arundel 156	35r	13	Gradual	371	Some Unheightened
WÜR-3-a	Würzburg, Germany St. Johannes Augustinian Canons	D-WÜu M. p. theol. 2° 127a	68r-v	13	Ordinal	372	No
ZÜR-1-c	Zürich, Switzerland St. Felix und Regula Collegiate Church	Ch-Zz C. 8b	55v-56r and extra folio '56r'	13m (1260)	Ordinal	767	No
ZÜR-2	Zürich, Switzerland (in the area)	Ch-E ms. 614	17r-v	14	Antiphoner	768	Yes Heightened
ZÜR-3-c	Zürich, Switzerland Collegiate Church	Ch-E ms. 81	141v	15m (1462)	Breviary	769	No

Appendix C: Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Sources of the *Quem queritis*

Abbreviation	Provenance	Manuscript and Folios	Dates	Type of Source
ECH-1-b	Echternach St. Willibrord Benedictine Abbey	F-Pn. lat. 9488 47r-v	11i	Miscellany (folio from antiphoner)
ECH-2-b	Echternach St. Willibrord Benedictine Abbey	F-Pn. lat. 10510 11r	$11^{2/2}$	Troper
HDH-1-b	Heidenheim Benedictine Abbey	GB-Ob ms. Selden supra 27 69v-70r	11i	Troper
ME-1-b	Melk Benedictine Monastery	A-M Cod. 1977	11	Binding fragment (from a breviary)
MNZ-1-b	Mainz St. Alban Benedictine Monastery	A-Wn ms. lat. 1888 197r	10m (960ca.)	Miscellany
MIN-1-c	Minden Cathedral	D-Bsb ms. theol. lat. 4°11 45v-46r	11i (1024-1027)	Troper
MIN-2-c	Minden Cathedral	D-W ms. Helmst. 1008 126r-v	11i (1024-1027)	Gradual

MIN-3-c	Minden Cathedral	D-Bsb ms. theol. lat. 4°15 120r-v	11i	Gradual
MTZ-1-c	Metz Cathedral	F-ME ms. 452 † 24v-25r	11m	Troper
PRM-1-b	Prüm Benedictine Abbey	F-Pn lat. 9448 33v	10x (990-995)	Gradual
RCH-1-b	Reichenau Benedictine Abbey	D-BAs Msc. lit. 5 45r-v	11i (1001)	Troper
REG-1-b	Regensburg St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-BAs Msc. lit. 6 94v	10x	Gradual
REG-2-b	Regensburg St. Emmeram Benedictine Abbey	D-Mbs clm. 14083 89r-v	11im (1031-1037 ca)	Troper
RHE-1-b	Rheinau Benedictine Abbey	D-Zz ms. Rheinau 97 16v-17r	11	Troper
RHE-2-b	Rheinau Benedictine Abbey	CH-Zz ms. Rheinau 132 fol. 9	11	Troper/Sequentiary
SEE?-1-b	Seeon or Fritzlar Benedictine Abbey	D-Kl 4° ms. theol. 25 116v	11i	Troper
SG-1-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 484 fol. 111	10m (965?)	Troper

SG-2-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 381 fol. 247	10m (965?)	Antiphoner
SG-3-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 391 fol. 231	11 (1000ca)	Gradual
SG-4-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 339 fol. 106	11i	Breviary
SG-5-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 387 fol. 57-8	11m (1034-1047)	Gradual
SG-6-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 376 fol. 196-7	11m (1064-1070)	Gradual
SG-7-b	St. Gall Benedictine Monastery	CH-SG ms. 374 fol. 101	11	Gradual
TR-1-b	Trier St. Matthias Benedictine Abbey	D-W Cod. Guelf. 1109 Helmst 105v	10/11	Miscellany

Appendix D. Tenth- and Eleventh-Century German *Quem queritis* Melodies

Quem que- ri- tis in se- pul- chro chri- sti- co- le

SG-2-b

RCH-1-b

MIN-2-c

REG-2-b

SEE?-1-b

MNZ-1-b

ECH-2-b   Quem que- ri- tis in se- pul- chro o chri- sti- co- le

MTZ-1-b

HDH-1-b

PRM-1-b   OM___   OM___   OM___   OM___

Ihe- sum Na- za- re- num cru- ci- fix- um o ce- li- co- le

SG-2-b

RCH-1-b

MIN-2-c

REG-2-b OM

SEE?-1-b OM

MNZ-1-b

ECH-2-b Ihe- sum Na- za- re- num cru- ci- fix- um o___ ce- li- co- le

MTZ-1-c que-ri-mus

HDH-1-b

PRM-1-b

Non est hic sur- rex- it si- cut pre- dix- er- at

lo- cu- tus est

OM

SG-2-b

RCH-1-b

MIN-2-c

REG-2-b

SEE?-1-b

MNZ-1-b

	Non	est	hic	sur-	rex-	si-	cut	pre-	dix-	er-	at
ECH-2-b											
MTZ-1-b											
HDH-1-b											
PRM-1-b											

SG-2-b

i- te nun- ci- a- te qui- a sur- rex- it de se- pul- chro

RCH-1-b

MIN-2-c

REG-2-b

di- cen- tes

SEE?-1-b

di- cen- tes

MNZ-1-b

OM

ECH-2-b

MTZ-1-b

HDH-1-b

PRM-1-b

i- te   nun - ci - a - te   qui - a   sur - rex - it   di - cen - tes

a   mor- te

Appendix E. Quem queritis in sepulchro (Type One)

Appendix E (cont.)

Appendix E (cont.)

Appendix E (cont.)

AAC-1-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it de se - pul - chro

MNZ-7-c — i - te nun - ti - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it de se - pul - chro

TR-10-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it a mor - te

KBL-6-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it

REG-9-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it

BA-7-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it de se - pul - chro

TR-4-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it

HIL-2-c — i - te nun - ti - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it Do - mi - nus

KOL-1-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it de se - pul - chro

AHR-1-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it de se - pul - chro

MÜN-3-c — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it a mor - te

SG-9-b — i - te nun - ci - a - te qui - a sur - rex - it di - cen - tes

Appendix F.
1. Maria Magdalena et alia

1. Maria Magdalena (cont.)

2. Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere (no *CAO*)

2. Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere (cont.)

2. Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere (cont.)

2. Quis revolvet nobis ... quem tegere (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (no *CAO*)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

3. Quem queritis o tremule mulieres (cont.)

4. Ad monumentum venimus (no *CAO*)

SLZ-17-c(a) 55v: Ad mo - nu - men - tum ve ni - mus___ ge - men - tes an - ge - los___ Do - mi - ni

SP-3-a 38r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum Do - mi - ni

VOR-3-a 85r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum ve ni - mus___ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KN-14-a 104r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KN-23-a 137r-v: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KN-29-a 45v-46r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KN-30-a 61r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KN-4-a 2r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KN-6-a 4r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

SFL-4-a 168r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum ve ni - mus___ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

ES-1-c 42v: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

HLB-1-c 89v: Ad mo - nu - men - tum ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum Do - mi - ni

HLB-4;7 86r; 88r: Ad mo - nu - men - tum ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum Do - mi - ni

HLB-8-c 102r-v: Ad mo - nu - men - tum ve ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - lum_ Do - mi - ni

KRE-4-(b) 215v: Ad mo - nu - men - tum_ ve - ni - mus_ ge - men - tes an - ge - l[os]_ Do - mi - ni

4. Ad monumentum venimus (cont.)

4. Ad monumentum venimus (cont.)

4. Ad monumentum venimus (cont.)

SLB-4-b: se - den - tem___ vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - re - xit___ Ihe - sus

SLB-6-b: se - den - tem___ vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

SLZ-19-b: se - den - tem vi di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ie - sus

MAR-1-a 68r: se - den - tem___ vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

BRN-2-c: se - den - tem___ vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

NOT-2-a: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

SLZ-4-c(a): se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

REI-1-a 55v: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

CIV-2-c: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

MOG-1-b: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ie - sus

GOR-1: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

EIN-1-b: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

ENG-1 77r: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it Ihe - sus

PAS?-21-c: se - den - tem vi - di - mus et di - cen - tem qui - a sur - rex - it___ Ihe - sus

5. Currebant duo (*CAO* 2081)

5. Currebant duo (cont.)

SLB-4-b
3v
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

SLB-6-b
72v
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

SLZ-19-b
163r
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

MAR-1-a
69r
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

SLZ-4-c(a)
133r-v
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

REI-1-a
55v
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

ZÜR-2
17v
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

PAS?-21-c
69v
Cur-re- bant__ du - o si - mul et il - le al - i - us dis - ci - pu - lus

5. Currebant duo

5. Currebant duo (cont.)

SLB-4-b: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

SLB-6-b: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

SLZ-19-b: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

MAR-1-a: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

SLZ-4-c(a): pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

REI-1-a: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

ZÜR-2: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us_____ Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

PAS?-21-c: pre - cu - cur - rit ci - ci - us Pe - tro_____ et_____ ve - nit_____

5. Currebant duo (cont.)

5. Currebant duo (cont.)

6. Cernitis o socii (no *CAO*)

6. Cernitis o socii (cont.)

6. Cernitis o socii (cont.)

6. Cernitis o socii (cont.)

6. Cernitis o socii (cont.)

6. Cernitis o socii (cont.)

7. Surrexit enim (*CAO* 5081)

SLZ-17-c(a)
56r
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

VOR-3-a
85v-86r
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

KN-14-a
103r-105r
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

KN-23-a
138r-v
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

KN-29-a
46v-47r
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

KN-6-a
4r
OM
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim

SLZ-4-c(a)
133v
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

REI-1-a
55v-56r
56r
Sur-rex - it___ e - nim si - cut dix - it Do- mi - nus pre- ce - det vos_____ in

7. Surrexit enim (cont.)

7. Surrexit enim (cont.)

SLZ-17-c(a)
si - cut dix - it al - le - lu - ia al - le - - - lu - ia

VOR-3-a
86r
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia

KN-14-a
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - - - lu - ia

KN-23-a
138v
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - - - lu - ia

KN-29-a
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - - - ia

KN-6-a

SLZ-4-c(a)
OM
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia

REI-1-a
al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - - - lu - ia

8. Venite et videte (*CAO* 5352)

8. Venite et videte (cont.)

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