

STM 1985

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By Keith Falconer

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One of the saddest consequences of the Reformation in Norway was the indiscriminate destruction of liturgical books. Many were used in the manufacture of cart-ridges and fireworks or otherwise destroyed, while some were mutilated to a greater or lesser extent and used as binding material for account books. Sources for the history of liturgical music in Norway during the Middle Ages are therefore extremely sparse. Complete manuscripts are rare and books for specifically musical use, such as antiphonaries and graduals, have not survived. Only fragments from the account books are left in large numbers, but comparison of these with manuscripts and early printed books from elsewhere can often lead to valuable conclusions concerning the music represented on the fragments. It is in the nature of liturgical music such as what is commonly known as Gregorian chant that a single piece may be known in many sources from various parts of Europe. What is worthy of comment in the Norwegian fragments is accordingly not so much the form of the music itself as the profile of the local traditions of which the music was a part.

The largest collection of liturgical manuscript fragments from medieval Norway is at Riksarkivet, the Norwegian National Archive, in Oslo. Most of the material has been recovered from official account books compiled during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These books were first assembled in Copenhagen but were sent back to Norway after its union with Sweden in 1814. Among the lesser known items in the collection are two fragments of a trope manuscript having the box number Lat. frag. (Esken 35) 867. To my knowledge they have not been described before despite being remarkable in several ways. Both fragments were executed by the same hand or combination of hands on the same fairly thick membrane, so it is reasonable to suppose that they were once part of the same book. Fragment 1 (figs. 1 and 2) is a vertical strip from the central portion of a single folio from which material has been cut away at either side. During its history it has been cut in half, slightly torn, and badly rubbed. Two pieces are represented on the fragment: the Kyrie with text *Kyrri genitor* on the clean side and the beginning of the Gloria trope *Quem cives caelestes* on the rubbed side. Presumably these were respectively the end of the Kyrie section and the beginning of the Gloria section in the original manuscript, thus recto and verso. The intertwining initials of *Gloria* and *Quem* on the verso are coloured red, blue and green like the minor capitals on both fragments, though green is much less common in the latter case than red or blue. A number of marks on the recto deserve special comment: various letters have been added between lines 3 and 4, apparently in imitation of the main script, and the same hand may also have copied the superfluous *Salva* on line 5. The upper row of notes on line 7 seems to be

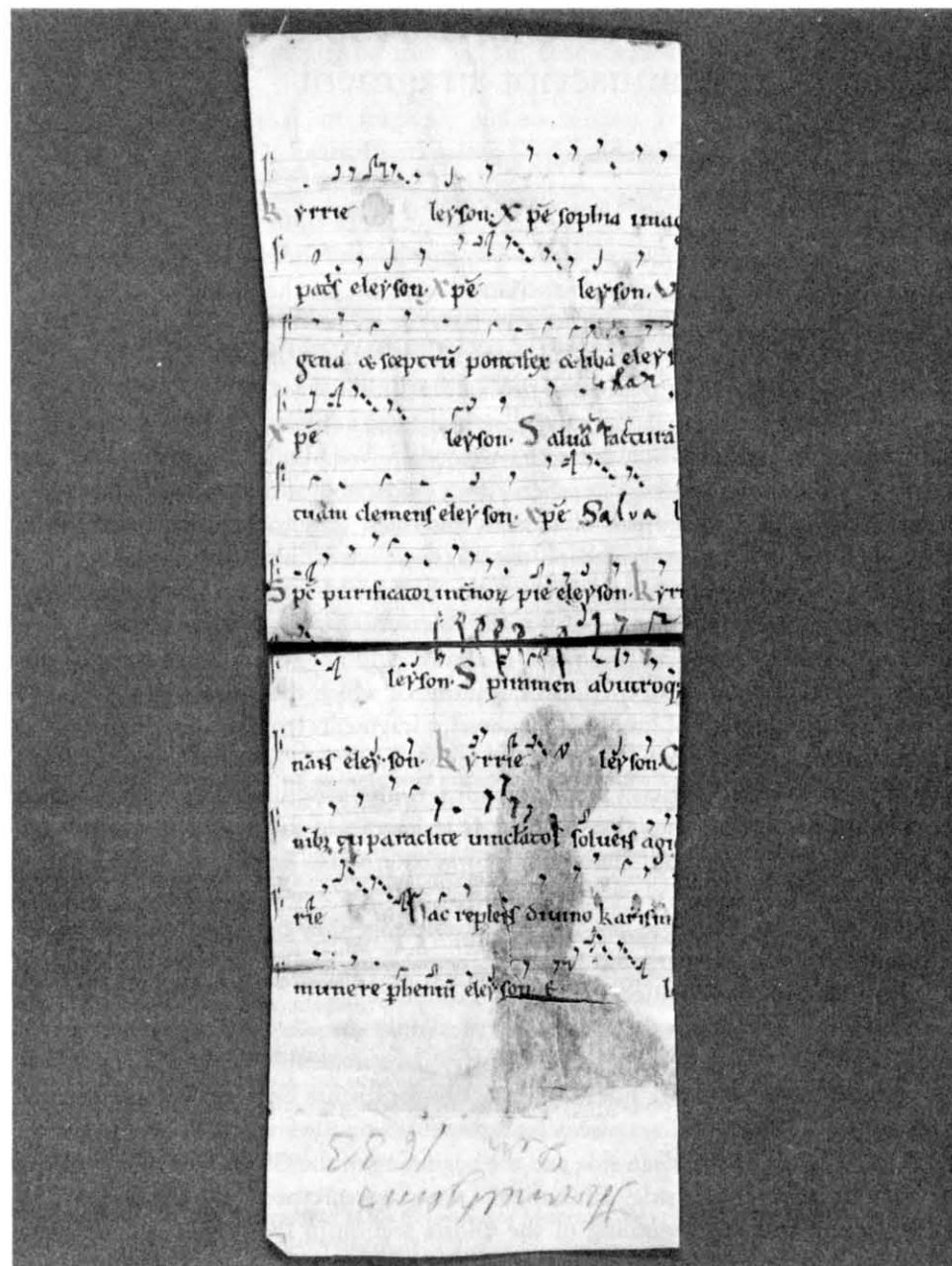


Fig. 1. Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. frag. 867, 1.

1) Kyrrī genitor, rex regum per-pes, elei-son. Kyri-e - - - - lei-son.

2) Splendiferi rutilans lux solis, nobis elei-son. Kyri-e - - - - lei-son.

3) Conditor mun-di, nos protege sem-per, elei-son. Kyri-e - - - - lei-son.

4) Christe, sophia, imagoque pa-tris, elei-son. Christe - - - - lei-son.

5) Ver-bigena et sceptrum, pontifex et liba,¹⁾ elei-son. Chris-te - - - - lei-son.

6) Salva facturam, Ie-su, tuam clemens, elei-son. Christe - - - - lei-son.

7) Spiri-tus, purificator internorum, pi-e elei-son. Kyri-e - - - - lei-son.

8) Spi-ramen ab utroque manans, elei-son. Ky-ri-e - - - lei-son. 9) Criminibus

tu, paraclite, vinculos sol-vens, agie. Kyri-e

10) Ac replens divino charismatum munere perenni, eleison. E - - - - lei-son.

1.) Elided with following vowel.

Ex. 1. Kyrrī genitor

a later addition unrelated to the rest of the music. Likewise, the heavily inked notes from the second syllable of *paraclite* on line 9 as far as *vinculos* are also later, but they were probably added over original notes since only the upper *c'* is inessential to the melody. Fragment 2 (figs. 3 and 4) is the upper part of a single folio from later in the Gloria section. Each page contains the remnants of a Gloria trope: the page beginning *laudes de pectore toto* has the end of the trope *Qui deus et rector* and the opposite page has a portion from the middle of the trope *O gloria sanctorum*. Since

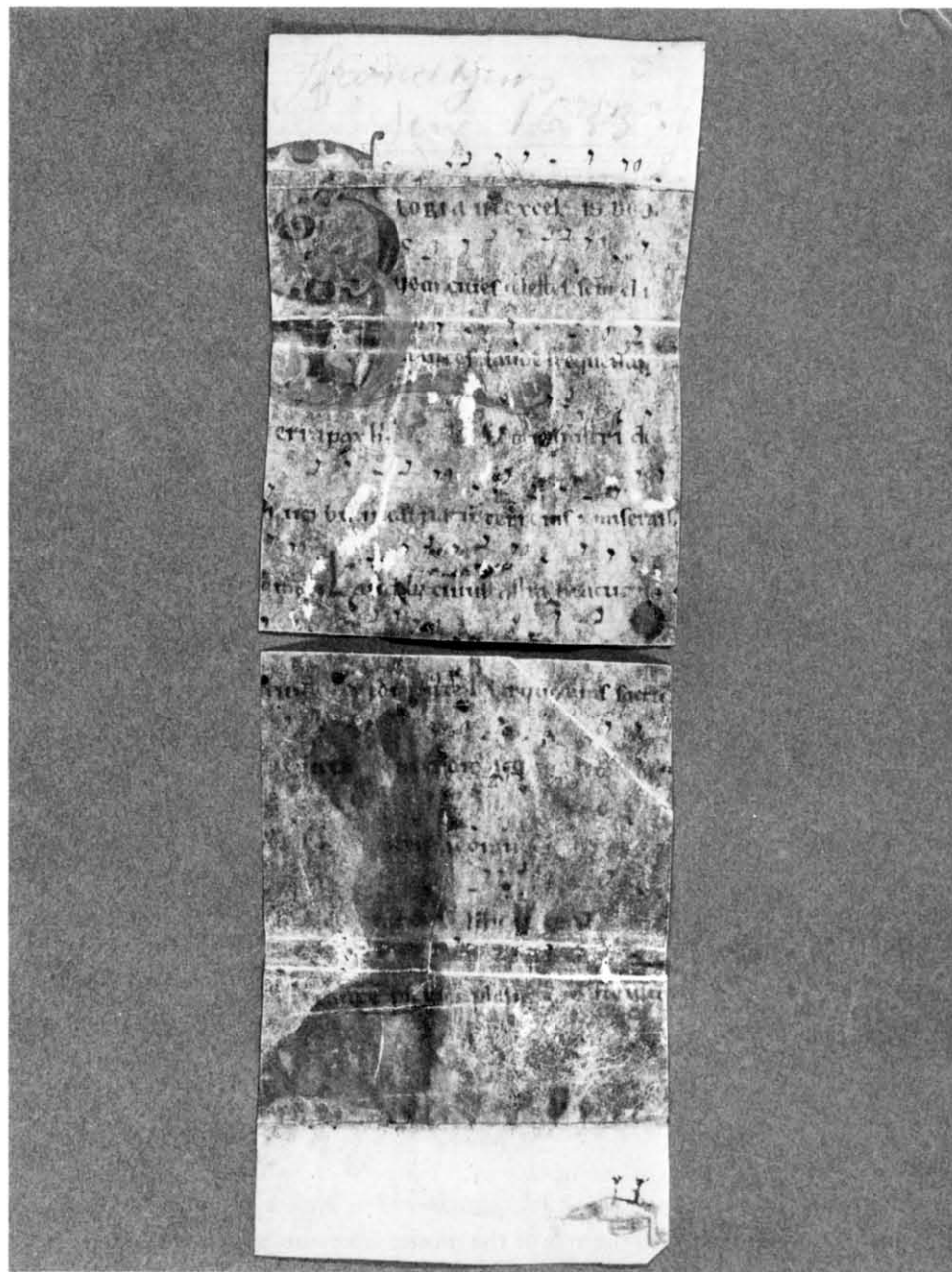


Fig. 2. Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. frag. 867, 1v.

Gloria in excelsis de-o, 1) Quem cives caelestes 'sanc- tum' clamantes laude
 frequen- tant. Et in terra.... 2) Ut mi- nis- tri do- mi- ni ver- bum incar- na- tum
 terrenis promiserant, Lau- damus te, 3) Laudibus cuius as- tra matutina insistunt.
 Bene- dicimus te 4) Per quem omne sa- crum et benedicti- o conceditur atque
 augetur. Ado- ramus te 5) Omnipotens, adoran- de, colen- de, tre- men- de, veneratione.
 Glorificamus te, 6) Ut creatura creantem, plas- ma plas- mantem, figulum
 figmen- tum. Gratias agimus tibi.... 7) Hym- num ma- iestati gra- tias au- tem
 pietati ferentes. Domine deus rex..., 8) Quem quisquis a- do- rat in spiritu et
 veri- ta- te oppor- tet orare... Domine fili..., 9) Quem pater misit in mun- dum
 ut salvaret e- um. Domine de- us, agnus de- i.... USQUE IN FINEM

Ex. 2 Quem cives caelestes

Qui deus et rector is a long trope from which eleven verses are evidently missing, it seems unlikely that it followed *O gloria sanctorum* in the original manuscript. The pages with *Qui deus et rector* and *O gloria sanctorum* may therefore be considered recto and verso respectively. If frag. 1 is representative of the average height and frag. 2 the average width, a complete folio would have measured about 20×20 cm, which is not untypical of a trope manuscript. The differing marginal rulings on either side of frag. 2 and the uneven ruling of the staves both have a makeshift appearance suggesting that the original manuscript was not of the highest quality.

A slightly different impression is given by the script, which is a competent and

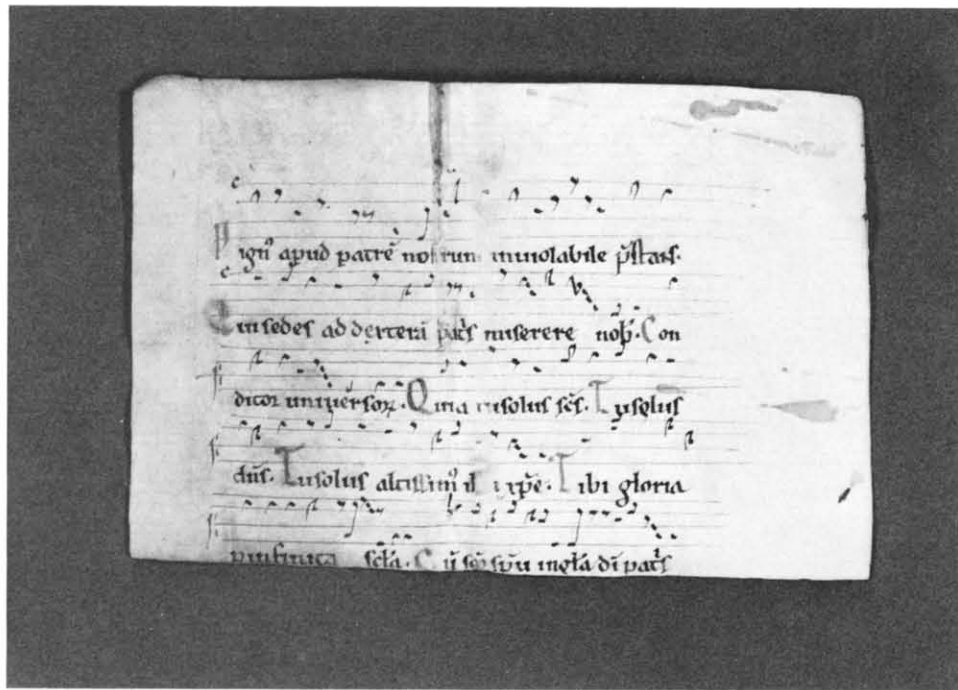


Fig. 3. Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. frag. 867, 2.

well spaced *littera textualis formata* with some Gothic elements. Vertical ascenders are lightly forked but round *d* (upright *d* occurs twice on frag. 2v) has an added hairline across the top of the ascender. Hairlines are also added across the bottom of the descenders, including *s*, to the heads and feet of minims and at the end of *e*. Abbreviations are few, as in most chant manuscripts, and even the *ns* ligature is uncommon, though *t, f* and *g* are connected with links to following letters. Round *r*

Ex. 3 Qui deus et rector

Gloria in excelsis deo, 1) Qui deus et rector mundi manet at-que creator.

Et in terra - 2) Quem laudant humana agmina - Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis,

3) Quae sociat homines iam caeli civibus omnes. Laudamus te.

4) Laudant in excelsis quem super caelitus ordo. Benedicimus te,

5) Quem benedicit superus chorus senatorum. Adoramus te, 6) Personis
trinum, pro maiestate sed unum. Glorificamus te. 7) Te quem glorificat
necnon simul or - bis adorat. Gratias agimus tibi propter tuam magnam gloriam.

8) Tibi gloria, laus, honor et imperium. Domine deus, rex
caelestis, deus pater omni-factor. 9) Indueras fragilis propter nos
pondera carnis. Domine, fili unigenite, Iesu Christe - et sancte
spiritus. 10) Qui poteras lapsi peccatum tollere mundi. Domine deus,
agnus dei, filius patris, qui tollis peccata mundi. 11) Rex pie,
quadrifidi conscendens robora ligni, Miserere nobis....

12) Pignus apud patrem nostrum inviolabile praestans, Qui sedes
ad dexteram patris, miserere nobis, 13) Conditor uniuersorum.

Qui a tu solus sanctus, tu solus dominus, tu solus altissimus Iesu Christe.

14) Tibi gloria per infinita saecula Cum sancto spiritu in
gloria dei patris. Amen.

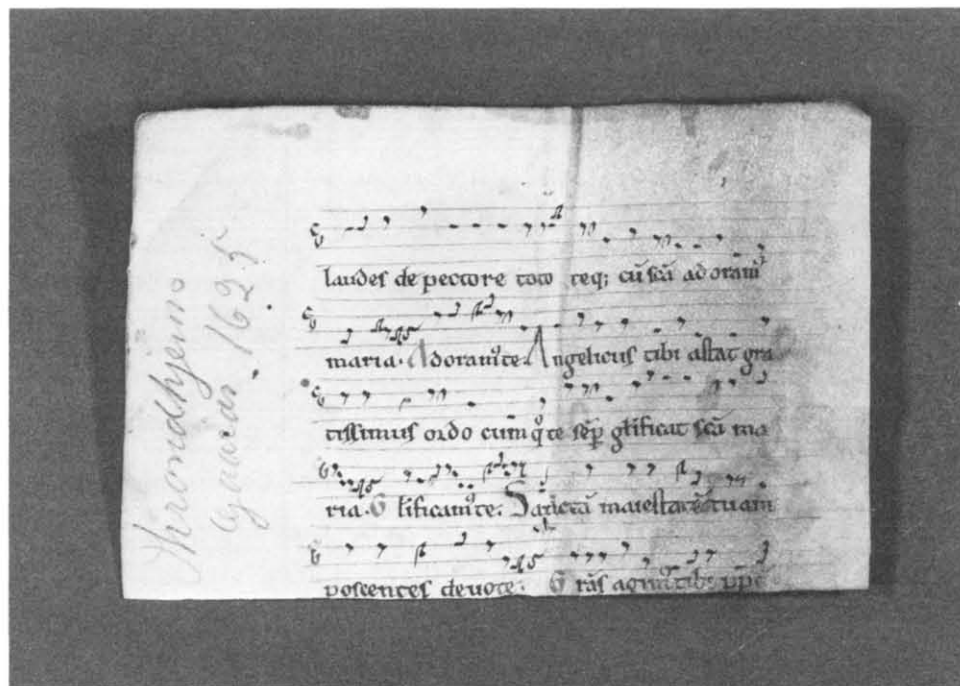


Fig. 4. Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. frag. 867, 2v.

after *o* is rare, round *s* does not occur at all and *et* is always rendered by the ampersand (though not within words), all of which are probably due to the special formal requirements of copying liturgical books even at a relatively late date. The forms of *g* and *a* are worth special notice: *g* has a long descender and a tight loop at the bottom which occasionally crosses the descender; *a* is written in two strokes with a straight, almost upright shaft and a lobe on the left that often reaches the top of the shaft. Although the decorative initials have faded at different rates according to their colours, they are all in the same slightly awkward *capitalis* of no undue refinement. The height of each note in the music is carefully marked by a rectangular thickening but the forms of the northern French type of neumes are clearly visible underneath in the shapes of the pes, clivis, torculus and porrectus. In the use of rectangles with and without tails the distinction between virga and punctum may still be observed. There is a tendency to set the tail on the left side of the rectangle when the note has an upper semitone close to it.¹ A certain lack of sophistication, though not of experience perhaps, is evident in the general inclination of the music towards the right and a slight clumsiness in the formation of the ligatures.

From the general appearance of the fragments, as opposed to the more reliable codicological 'tests', their date may be set around the second quarter of the

Ex. 4. O gloria sanctorum

¹ I owe this point to David Hiley.

thirteenth century. They were probably written in England, though conceivably by an English scribe elsewhere in which case they may be of somewhat later origin.² They bear a certain resemblance to trope manuscripts copied in southwest England at around the same time, as for instance the St. Albans manuscript London, B.L., Royal 2.B.IV. There is little in comparison to suggest that the fragments were copied in Scandinavia, nor how the original manuscript came to Norway. Pencil markings or signatures on each fragment apparently refer to the books from which the fragments were removed, and these are all the more important because accurate records have not been kept. According to the signatures on each half of frag. 1 the account book served the 'county' (*len*) of Trondheim in 1633. Frag. 2 was taken from a different book serving a much smaller administrative district, Trondheim's *gård*, in 1625. These indications are no proof that the original manuscript was used in Trondheim itself, though it is possible, but they do suggest a route by which the manuscript may have reached Norway from England—assuming the palaeographical evidence is correct. During the thirteenth century Trondheim was the centre of the ecclesiastical province of Nidaros whose influence extended as far as Iceland, Greenland and the Western Isles of Scotland.³ Christ Church Cathedral, rebuilt during the time of Archbishop Øystein (1161–88), was not only the centre of the cult of St. Olav but also a centre of political and economic influence. Trade with England was conducted by the archbishop himself, even to the exclusion of private merchants, under the terms of a privilege granted to Øystein by Henry II of England and renewed for the last time in 1241.⁴ Here would be a convenient channel for the importation of English liturgical books, if one were required, and in fact English manuscripts are well represented among the Norwegian fragments. The Ordinary of Nidaros also demonstrates various English influences—which is far from saying that Nidaros was slavishly dependent on England in liturgical matters.⁵

The English origin of the trope fragments requires a degree of qualification from an historical point of view, because although they were copied in England only one piece, the Kyrie, may actually be English. And although each of the Gloria tropes occurs in English manuscripts they frequently appear with different arrangements of verses from those discernible in the fragments. It may be assumed, though without good evidence, that whoever copied the manuscript from which the fragments came had one or more exemplars before him that are now lost. Since English liturgy was dominated by northern France—and specifically Normandy—during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, any manuscript copied in England was almost bound to reflect northern French influence. A closer examination of the music in the frag-

ments should confirm this supposition. Indeed it is quite possible that the manuscript sent to Norway was copied directly from a northern French exemplar. Since each of the pieces on the fragments appears in one or other of the Winchester tropers, lists of concordant sources may be found in the repertorial study of those manuscripts by Alejandro Planchart.⁶ Examples 1 to 4 are intended only as hypothetical reconstructions of the music on the fragments, not critical editions. Sections given in the fragments are marked by asterisks in the examples.

1. The Kyrie with text *Kyrri genitor* (ex. 1) is known from two other manuscripts, both of the twelfth century: one is English, the supplement to the Winchester troper now in Oxford, and the other is of uncertain origin—either northern French or English.⁷ The term 'Kyrie with text' has been devised for such pieces to avoid the assumption commonly applied to the trope that the text was set to a melody already in existence.⁸ It is quite likely that in the present case the version with text is actually older, because manuscripts containing the melody alone date from no earlier than the thirteenth century.⁹ Ex. 1 has been transcribed almost entirely from the Oslo fragment with only occasional references to the other two manuscripts containing the version with text.

2. The Gloria trope *Quem cives caelestes* is found in several versions having their origins in centres all over western Europe from the tenth century. The fragment containing the trope (fig. 2) is badly damaged but the text, which consists of six verses, can be reconstructed easily enough. Unfortunately, the text says very little about the version of the piece in the original manuscript because the six verses occur at the beginning of almost every version. Several English and northern French manuscripts might have been used in reconstructing the music on the fragment (ex. 2), and the choice of the manuscript from St. Evroult¹⁰ was made partly at random. Since the musical notation of the fragment is often illegible, even the transcription of the first six verses in ex. 2 required support from the Evroult manuscript, and the rest must be regarded as conjectural.¹¹

3. The Gloria trope *Qui deus et rector* is also found in sources from all over Europe but its textual tradition is much stabler than that of *Quem cives caelestes*. The most common version of the piece consists of fifteen verses of which frag. 2 omits the fourteenth, *Et salvator saeculorum*. None of the English manuscripts

² I owe this information to Dr. Lilli Gjerløw of Riksarkivet in Oslo; it was she who communicated the existence of the fragments to the Corpus Troporum project in Stockholm. I am grateful to her for allowing me to study the fragments themselves and providing me with the photographs reproduced here.

³ L. Gjerløw (ed.), *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae*, Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi 2 (Oslo, 1968), pp. 29–30.

⁴ G. A. Blom, *Trondheim bys historia: 1. St. Olavs by, ca. 1000–1537* (The History of Trondheim: 1. The Town of St. Olav) (Trondheim, 1956), pp. 371–3.

⁵ L. Gjerløw, *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, p. 128.

⁶ A. E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 250 (*Kyrri genitor*), 300–4 (*Quem cives caelestes*), 310–2 (*Qui deus et rector*) and 282–5 (*O gloria sanctorum*).

⁷ Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS Bod. 775, ff. 6–6v; London, B.L., MS Royal 8.C.XIII., ff. 5–5v.

⁸ R. L. Crocker, 'The troping hypothesis', *Musical Quarterly*, 52 (1966), 196; for early examples see D. Bjork, 'The early Frankish Kyrie text: a reappraisal', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 12 (1981), 9–35.

⁹ M. Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Regensburg, 1954), p. 118, no. 214; three of the four sources listed are from Salisbury.

¹⁰ Paris, B.N., fonds lat., 10508, ff. 23–23v.

¹¹ The Gloria melody is no. XV in official chant books and no. 43 in D. Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger Melodien zum 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'*, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Regensburg, 1955), p. 96.

omits this verse alone but one of them omits the whole second half of the piece.¹² Various manuscripts from the continent omit the verse as well, though there may be different reasons for this in each case. One of the trope manuscripts from Nevers has been used to transcribe the sections not covered by frag. 2.¹³ A peculiar feature of the Gloria melody associated with *Qui deus et rector* is the occurrence of certain variations from the standard text of the Latin Gloria, and one of these occurs in the fragment: *Quia* for *Quoniam tu solus sanctus*. The others are given in ex. 3 as they occur in the Nevers manuscript.¹⁴

4. The Gloria trope *O gloria sanctorum* is found in manuscripts from most parts of western Europe with the exceptions of Germany and Switzerland. Originally it consisted of four verses in honour of St. John the Evangelist, but in time these were adapted for other saints, above all Mary, and extra verses were added. Frag. 2v has the Marian adaptation and one extra verse, *Sanctam maiestatem tuam poscentes devote*, a so-called 'wandering verse' that appears in several Gloria tropes (usually with the verb form *poscimus*).¹⁵ None of the English manuscripts gives this verse with *O gloria sanctorum*, and the only other witnesses to this version are the three Norman-Sicilian trope manuscripts now in the national library in Madrid.¹⁶ Two of these have been used in the transcription of ex. 3.¹⁷

As expected, the influence of northern France on the fragments is reflected both in the tropes chosen and the versions used. What is more remarkable is the disagreement between the fragments and other British sources; this suggests that there was probably no single tradition of Gloria tropes in circulation in England during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. That at least one tradition found its way to Norway is hardly surprising, but the Trondheim area may have been exceptional in the cultivation of tropes and it could be mistaken to assume that these fragments represent a widespread practice during the thirteenth century. Tropes and sequences are known from later Scandinavian sources,¹⁸ but the pieces concerned belong to later traditions that are not directly comparable. The value and interest of the fragments lies largely in what they say about the history of liturgical chant in England.¹⁹

¹² Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS Laud misc. 358, ff. 16v–7 from St. Albans (c 1160); Gloria tropes are frequently abbreviated in this manuscript.

¹³ Paris, B.N., nouv. acq. 1235, ff. 224v–5.

¹⁴ The melody is no. XV in official chant books and no. 11 in Bosse, *Untersuchung*, p. 87.

¹⁵ For 'wandering verses' see K. Rönna, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 85.

¹⁶ On the filiation of these manuscripts with others from northern France, see D. Hiley, 'Quanto c'è di normanno nei troperi siculo-normanni?', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 18 (1983), 3–28; and 'The Norman Chant Traditions-Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107 (1980–1), 1–33.

¹⁷ Madrid, B.N., MS lat. 289, ff. 14v–15 and MS lat. 19421, ff. 22v–23v.

¹⁸ See for instance J. Bergsagel, 'Remarks concerning some tropes in Scandinavian manuscripts', *Nordisk Kollokvium for Latinsk Liturgiforskning* 5, ed. K. Ottosen (Aarhus, 1982), pp. 187–205.

¹⁹ Work on this article has been supported by scholarships from the Swedish Institute; I would also like to thank the members of the Corpus Troporum project at the University of Stockholm for their help and advice.